



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://lcn.loc.gov/2022046388>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.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 Bît-Dakkûri	68
6.6. The Revolts of Abdi-Milkûti and Sanda-uarrî	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

CAM	<i>Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea</i>
CANE	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
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CIPOA	Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient ancien du Collège de France
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute
CRRAI	Comptes Rendus des Rencontres Assyriologiques internationales
CT	Cuneiform Texts
CWA	<i>Current World Archaeology</i>
ERC	Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
HANEM	History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HIMA	<i>Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire Ancienne</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IrAnt	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
JĀ	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JĀOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JCSMS	<i>Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex oriente lux</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSEEA	<i>Journal de la Société d'étude des antiquités égyptiennes</i>
LAS	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
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
MKNAW	Medelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen
NABU	<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	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia NS</i>
<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<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), Part 1</i> . 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), Part 2</i> . 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–II</i> . 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 Greta 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-Iskun 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
<i>Trans</i>	<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 Orientalgesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Key to Transliterated Words

<i>kibrāt</i>	Akkadian words are indicated by italics
DINGIR	Sumerian word signs are indicated by capital letters

Explanation of Symbols

Single brackets [] enclose restorations

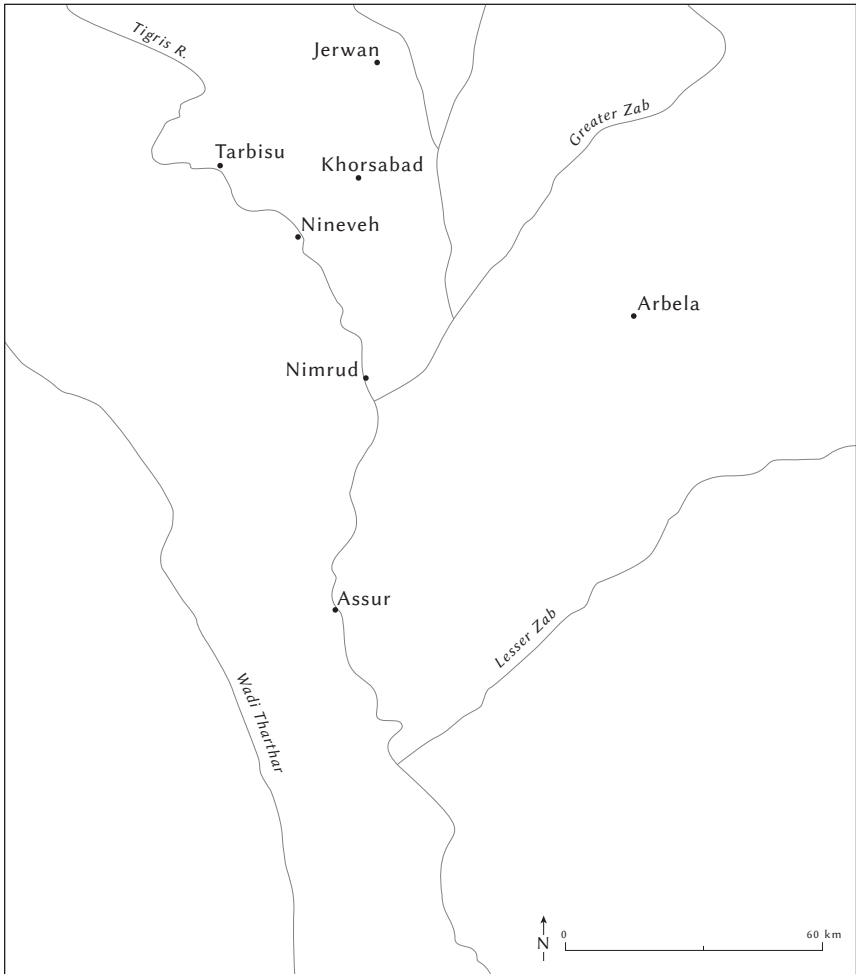
Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translation

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

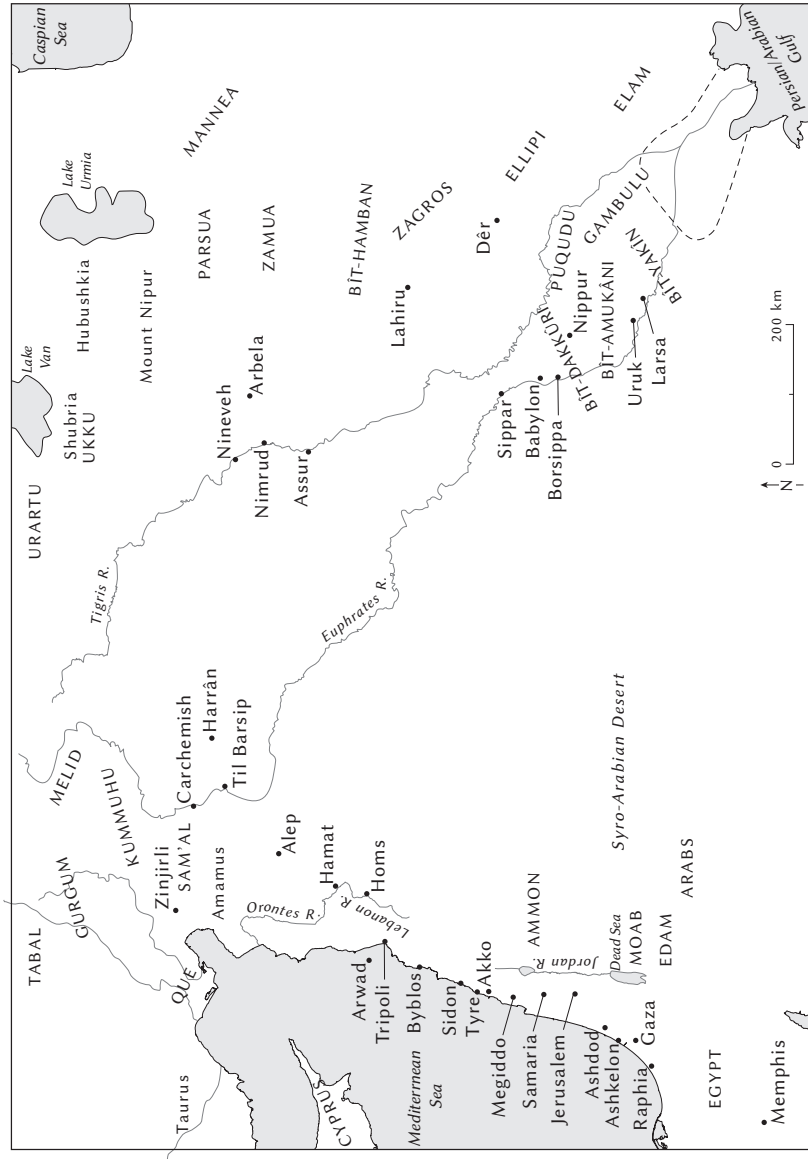
The Chronology of Esarhaddon's Reign

Dates (BCE)	Year of Reign	Campaigns and Activities
681	Accession	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'alu, 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-hammat, Esarhaddon's wife.
672	Year 9	Succession treaty: Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shumu-ukîn crown princes.
671	Year 10	Second campaign against Egypt. Against Ba'alu of Tyre on the way to Egypt. Conquest of Lower Egypt. Conspiracies against Esarhaddon.

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.

CHAPTER TEN

An Assessment of Esarhaddon's Reign

Esarhaddon's reign leaves quite a mixed impression because on the one hand, he suffered from severe disabilities and made serious mistakes, yet on the other, he realized some important achievements. To begin with, his father Sennacherib's murder by his half-brother Urdu-Mullissu represented circumstances that were difficult for him to accept.¹ In normal circumstances, he was not destined to reign, for several reasons: he was not, by far, the legitimate successor of his father because he had been imposed as Sennacherib's crown prince by his mother Naqi'a in 683.² Urdu-Mullissu was probably crown prince from 698 to 684. Also, he was Sennacherib's youngest son. Furthermore, he had a chronic disease, identified as *lupus erythematosus disseminatus*, mainly characterized by a rash and periods of depression, which forced him to be inactive and to isolate himself. Most of the time, he was under the control of his mother Naqi'a and he was permanently under the influence of diviners and exorcists.³

At the same time, he succeeded in putting down all the uprisings that sprang up, such as those of the Sealand, Bit-Dakkûri, Bâzu and Shubria, Cilicia and the Cimmerians, Tyre, and Arzâ. He had restored the political and economic order established by his predecessors over the west of the empire, and this provided an important contribution to the empire's resources. He managed to stabilize the empire by restoring Assyrian control, direct or indirect. Moreover, he succeeded in extending its boundaries thanks to a conquest that all his predecessors had dreamt of: Egypt. Even if it was not Esarhaddon himself, but Ashur-nasir, the chief eunuch, who carried out this conquest, the result was an extension to the empire. In reality, only Lower Egypt had been conquered because the Assyrian army stopped in Memphis. And it proved to be a short-lived conquest, lasting only twenty years, because the Assyrians were not able to keep it in their grasp. Except for Egypt, which remained restless, Esarhaddon left to his successors a stable and peaceful empire.

He was also aware of the propaganda value of a large-scale building program. He realized several construction works: first in his capital Nineveh, where he built his palace and rebuilt the armory, also restoring several temples. He also carried out construction activities in other cities of the north such as Assur, Arbela, and Nimrud. In central and southern Mesopotamia, he performed building activities in the cities of Dêr, Cutha, Borsippa, Nippur, and

Uruk. However, the priority program for him was to sponsor the rebuilding of Babylon. Several factors explain his decision. He was shocked by the assassination of Sennacherib and wanted to exorcise the past: he decided to rectify the grave sin of his father, who had destroyed Babylon.⁴ He intended to restore the cosmic order violated by him, thus expecting divine reward for his reconstruction work. He also made a political calculation: as the relationship between Assyria and Babylonia was a complicated one, he was in favor of a reconciliation to simplify the situation. In the end it was a serious political mistake. The fact is that Sennacherib's understanding of the problem was that the only way to defeat the power of Babylon was to destroy it.⁵ Conversely, by rebuilding the destroyed city, Esarhaddon was rebuilding, in parallel, both the power of Babylon and its desire to defeat Assyria. Moreover, Assyria failed to benefit from the riches the king used to rebuild Babylon. The rebuilding of Babylon was continued and achieved by Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's son and successor.⁶ This rebuilding was one of the main reasons for the fall of the Assyrian Empire in 610.⁷ If Babylon had remained in a state of destruction, Nabopolassar would not have seized power and created the Neo-Babylonian Empire.⁸ The Median king Cyaxares would probably not have defeated the Assyrian Empire by himself in 610. Even if the restoration of Babylonian power was the main cause of the fall of the Assyrian Empire, there were other reasons, internal and external, which also combined in determining this outcome.⁹ Some of these reasons were the disproportionate expansion of the empire, which made it difficult to manage, the reduction of war booty, and the decreasing number of deportees and therefore of the workforce.¹⁰ Another possible cause was a period of drought.¹¹ Other reasons would have been the lack of integration of the conquered populations, the hostility of the elites, and the succession problems.¹²

In support of a positive assessment of Esarhaddon must figure the treaty concluded in 676 with Ba'alû, king of Tyre.¹³ This treaty gave Ba'alû access to all the Levantine ports, with control merely being limited to the presence of an Assyrian official and the imposition of tolls.¹⁴ It defined the rights and duties of the Tyrian king, and established a strict control over his activities. It was the first maritime treaty to regulate sea trade along the Levantine coast since the Assyrian Empire had become a maritime power.¹⁵

Another positive assessment of Esarhaddon derives from the fact that he had many tablets copied for the Nineveh libraries, which he developed because he was interested in the knowledge of his time. He took care of the education of his scholars as is illustrated by the lists of Nineveh library acquisitions, which were in a wide variety of specialized fields.¹⁶ He developed an efficient spy system, inherited from his predecessors. He owed his personal salvation and

his political survival to an excellent domestic intelligence network including spies, informants, and professional agents provocateurs.¹⁷

The appointment of a crown prince was inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser III who had designated Shalmaneser V as his heir.¹⁸ Although mindful of Sennacherib's difficulties in organizing his succession, in 672 Esarhaddon inaugurated a new format of succession by designating two crown princes. His son Ashurbanipal was crown prince of Assyria and his other son Shamash-shumu-ukîn was crown prince of Babylonia.¹⁹ The advantage of having two crown princes would be to ensure an easier governance of Assyria and Babylonia. The disadvantage was the risk of conflict between the two brothers, which actually happened after Esarhaddon's death. The two-king system worked well for a long period from 669 to 652,²⁰ however, in the long run, several factors provoked a conflict between the two brothers: Ashurbanipal, who was a little younger than his brother, actually occupied a higher rank and he was constantly interfering in Babylonia in place of his brother. This resulted in a civil war between Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shumu-ukîn from 652 to 648.²¹

The end of Esarhaddon's reign was very difficult for him because he had to face several conspiracies, occurring moreover in a period when his disease was probably worsening.²² However, even if he was extremely concerned for his safety and his life, he did not immediately take action against the conspirators. Probably under the influence of diviners and exorcists, he chose to perform the substitute king ritual again, only three months after the end of the preceding ritual. It was a measure that effectively removed him from the public eye and thus offered protection against any attempt on his life. Straight after the end of the ritual, he ordered the slaughter of many of his magnates.²³ After the purge, the atmosphere of fear and suspicion in Assyria probably became overwhelming. Esarhaddon owed his personal salvation to the strengthening of the security measures operating in the royal palace.²⁴ Moreover, in such a repressive situation, no one dared to revolt anymore. The result was that the whole empire, with the exception of Egypt, was pacified when Esarhaddon died. We must not forget the role of his mother Naqi'a who helped her son to maintain the empire. In 672, she probably prepared Esarhaddon's succession, and in 669, she organized oaths (*adê*) by which the royal family, the magnates and the Assyrians swore loyalty to the new king, her grandson Ashurbanipal.²⁵ In short, Naqi'a played a significant role during the reigns of three Assyrian kings: Sennacherib her husband, Esarhaddon her son, and Ashurbanipal her grandson.

Notes to Conclusion

1. Elayi, *Sennacherib*, 145–52.
2. Elayi, *Sennacherib*, 138–45.
3. Marti, “L’empereur assyrien et ses devins,” 495–515.
4. Tadmor, Landsberger, and Parpola, “Sin of Sargon,” 3–52.
5. Elayi, *Sennacherib*, 125–31.
6. Arnaud, *Assurbanipal roi d’Assyrie*; RINAP 5.1:27, no. 41–42, 1.vii.1’–25’; 5.1:51, no. 2.vii.4’–8’.
7. I thank Alain G. Elayi for having suggested this idea to me.
8. Francis Joannès, “La stratégie des rois néo-babyloniens contre l’Assyrie, de 616 à 606 av. J.-C.,” in *Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien (III^e–I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.)*, ed. Philippe Abrahamsi and Laura Battini (Oxford: Hedges, 2008), 207–8.
9. Mario Liverani, “The Fall of the Assyrian Empire: Ancient and Modern Interpretations,” in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. Susan E. Alcock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 374–89.
10. Josette Elayi, *L’Empire assyrien*, 263–68.
11. Adam W. Schneider, “‘No Harvest Was Reaped’: Demographic and Climatic Factors in the Decline of the Neo-Assyrian Empire,” *Climatic Change* 127 (2014): 435–46, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-014-1269-y>; Arkadiusz Sołtysiak, “Drought and the Fall of Assyria: Quite Another Story,” *Climatic Change* 136 (2016): 389–94, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-016-1676-3>.
12. Stefan Zawadzki, “Chronology of the Last Days of the Assyrian Empire,” *ZA* 85 (1995): 67–73.
13. Elayi, *History of Phoenicia*, 169–70.
14. Pettinato, “I rapporti politici di Tiro,” 145–60; *SAA* 2:24–27, no. 5.
15. Josette Elayi, “Terminologie de la mer Méditerranée dans les Annales assyriennes,” *OrAnt* 23 (1984): 75–92.
16. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology*, 55–57.
17. Frahm, “Hochverrat in Assur”; Villard, “Quelques aspects du renseignement militaire,” 94–95.
18. RINAP 4:22, 1.v.18–23.
19. RINAP 4:230, 113.30–32; Lauinger, “Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty,” 87–123; Barcina, “Display of Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty,” 23.
20. Arnaud, *Assurbanipal roi d’Assyrie*, 37–40; Elayi, *L’Empire assyrien*, 232–39.
21. Elayi, *L’Empire assyrien*, 246–48.
22. Radner, “Trials of Esarhaddon,” 165–84; Frahm, “Hochverrat in Assur,” 89–139.
23. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 86, ch. 1, iv.29.
24. Radner, “Trials of Esarhaddon,” 176.
25. *SAA* 16:XXVII–XXVIII; Elayi, *L’Empire assyrien*, 230.
26. *SAAS* 9:13–16; Elayi, *L’Empire assyrien*, 238.