THE HISTORY OF ESARHADDON

ERNEST A. BUDGE
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THE

HISTORY OF ESARHADDON

(SON OF SENNACHERIB)

KING OF ASSYRIA, B.C. 681—668

Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions upon Cylinders and Tablets in the British Museum Collection

TOGETHER WITH

Original Texts

A GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF EACH WORD, EXPLANATIONS OF THE IDEOGRAPHS BY EXTRACTS FROM THE BI-LINGUAL SYLLABARIES, AND LIST OF EPOYMS, ETC.

BY

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This Book is Dedicated

TO

HIS TRUSTY FRIEND AND TEACHER,

THE REV. A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford, &c. &c. &c.

BY THE AUTHOR,

IN GRATFUL REMEMBRANCE OF MANY YEARS' VALUABLE TUITION.
The histories of Sennacherib and Assur-bani-pal, kings of Assyria, have already been written by the late Mr. George Smith. Sennacherib ruled over Assyria from B.C. 705 to B.C. 681; Assur-bani-pal from B.C. 668 to B.C. 626. But from B.C. 681 to B.C. 668 a king called Esarhaddon reigned, and the annals of this king have been translated to form the present history. Esarhaddon was the son of Sennacherib, and father of Assur-bani-pal. Thus we have the history of father, son, and grandson; consequently, a fair knowledge of the warlike expeditions which were undertaken, and what countries were subdued by the Assyrians, between the years B.C. 705 and B.C. 626. Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Assur-bani-pal were certainly three of the greatest kings that ever ruled over Assyria. Their reigns, taken together, cover nearly eighty years; but an exact idea of the influence that this family had upon Assyria can only be made out clearly from the records and documents which they themselves caused to be written. Sennacherib was the true type of the Oriental conqueror—delighting in war for its own sake, proud, cruel, and fond of power. The Bible preserves for us a speech of the Rabshakeh.

1 This is the Accadian 𒈪𒊏𒈵𒊏𒆠, D.P., HAB-SAK, borrowed by the Hebrews under the form נחשנ; Rab is the Semitic equivalent of the Accadian 𒌷𒆠, gal, "great."
of Sennacherib, so well known on account of the boastfulness and pride so vividly portrayed in every word. The commence-
ment, Thus saith "the great king, the King of Assyria," is the oft-repeated formula beginning all the inscriptions of this monarch. We can quite understand such a king asking, "Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? who are they among all the gods of the countries, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?" for he frequently boasts, "the gods of his country I carried off, I spoiled."

The sway of Esarhaddon was, however, milder, and although he warred as much as "the king his father, who went before," yet he exhibits many signs of gentleness, and it is evident that he tried to pacify all those subjects that successful warfare had allowed him to conquer. It must be clear to all how valuable are the cuneiform inscriptions that give us the history of this monarch. The Bible mentions him but three times by name; he is alluded to once.

Esarhaddon's son, Assur-bani-pal, was the literary king par excellence, and he records of himself that "Nebo and Tasmit gave him broad ears, and his seeing eyes regarded the engraved characters of the tablets, the secrets of Nebo, the literature of the library, as much as is suitable, on tablets I wrote, I engraved, I explained, and for the inspection of my subjects in the midst of my palace I placed" (W.A.L. iv. pl. 55).

The following is his full and interesting account of his sub-

1 E 己I- E 二F 二E. 2 2 Kings xix. 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38; Ezra iv. 2.
2 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.
banipal," recently brought from the East, and bearing the number R$^2$ in the British Museum collection:—

1. In my first expedition to the land of Māgan and Meluhkha, then I went.
2. Tirhakah, King of Egypt and Cush,
3. of whom Esarhaddon, King of Assyria, the father, my begetter,
4. his overthrow had accomplished, and had ruled over his land, then he, Tirhakah,
5. the power of Assur (and) Istar, the great gods, my lords, despised, and
6. he trusted to his own might. Against the kings,
7. prefects, which within Egypt, the father, my begetter, had appointed
8. to slay, plunder, and capture Egypt, he came
9. against them, he entered and dwelt within Memphis,
10. the city which the father, my begetter, had captured, and
to the border of Assyria had added it.
11. I was walking within Nineveh, (when) one came and
12. repeated to me concerning these deeds.
13. My heart groaned and was smitten down my liver.
14. I lifted up my two hands; I besought Assur and Istar, the holy one.
15. (Then) I assembled my powerful forces, (with) which Assur and Istar
16. had filled my two hands. Against the lands of Egypt and Cush
17. I set straight the expedition. . . . . . . .
18. Tirhakah, King of Egypt and Cush, within Memphis,
19. of the march of my expedition heard, and to make battle;
(his) weapons
20. and army (against) me he assembled, (with) his soldiers.
21. In the service of Assur, Bel, the great gods, my lords,
22. the marchers before me in a great field battle, I accomplished the overthrow of his army.
PREFACE.

25 Tirhakah, within Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army.
26 the terror of Assur and Istar overwhelmed him, and he went backward,
27 the fear (approach) of my lordship covered him.
28 The city Memphis he turned from, and for the saving of his life
29 he fled to the midst of Thebes.
30 That city I captured, my army I caused to enter and to dwell within it.

Col. 2.

20 Tirhakah fled from his locality, (but) the fire of the weapon of Assur, my lord,
21 overwhelmed him, and he went to his dark destiny.

His grandest work was the institution of the great library of clay tablets at Koyunjik.

And now as regards the texts, translations and notes that are contained in this book. I have used all the principal historical texts, and every line of these has been carefully compared with the original clay tablets and cylinders in the British Museum. But it cannot be expected that every notice concerning Esarhaddon which may be found upon contract or other tablets will be given in so small a book.

In the first place, it would necessitate a strict and careful examination of every tablet and tablet-fragment in the British Museum collection, which alone would require many many months to be devoted entirely to the purpose—no small task either, as any will see who knows the nature of the writing on the tablets.

Secondly, when done, the chances are that it would place the book entirely out of the reach of commercial enterprise.
These two reasons, taken together, will account for the omission of the text and translation of a tablet containing "Addresses to Esarhaddon," and also of another containing an account of Esarhaddon's buildings, and numbered X 3053.

The translations are as literal as possible, and all added words are enclosed in brackets. Parts of the texts relating the history of Esarhaddon have been translated before by my friend Dr. Julius Oppert, Professor of Arabic in the University of France, the profound scholar and earliest pioneer of Assyrian in France.

The grammatical analysis has been thrown into a vocabulary arranged according to the order of the English alphabet. The object has been to make the words easily accessible and useful. Wherever I have known a Semitic equivalent for the Assyrian word it has been given, but words properly Syriac have been turned into Hebrew letters. The sense of some of the words is only known from the context, and of course there are some the meaning of which I do not know at all.

Here I take the opportunity of expressing my great obligations to the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., for several years past my kind friend and teacher. It is to him that I am indebted for anything I may know of Assyrian. The whole of the MS. for this book was read by him before it went to press, and it owes much to his scholarly and accurately critical eye.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Pinches for copies of texts and verifications of existing copies.

1 The text is printed in W.A.I., iv. 68, and translated in the Records of the Past, vol. xi.

PREFACE.

New advances are made in Assyrian with every new tablet that is found. Old readings are corrected, new words are found, and what is almost unintelligible to-day becomes quite clear to-morrow. With such progress going on, no book can be perfect; and as for this, I feel that

"Truly I have committed errors, for there is no man who does not err; so that my error cleaves to me. I pray, therefore, that whoever understands and knows them, may correct my errors according to his wisdom."

E. A. BUDGE.

CHRIST’S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

October, 1880.

1 I quote from Levita, Masoreth Ha-massoreth, p. 268, by Dr. Ginsburg. Longmans. 1867.
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ADDENDA.

I. While The History of Esarhaddon was passing through the press Dr. Schrader's new work, Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tigrath-Pileser's II. des Assurnaddon und des Assurbanipal, appeared. On pages 34 and 35 he identifies some of the towns and countries mentioned by Esarhaddon, and printed on pages 103–107 of this book. Thus, concerning "Samsimuruna" he says, "Eine Stadt des Namens Samsimurun ist bis jetzt in Palistina-Phönizien überhaupt nicht nachzuweisen." He points out (as I have also done on page 107 of The History of Esarhaddon) that the hitherto accepted reading of "dmtilihadatst" is wrong, and should be "Karti-khadatst," "Newstadt," "Assyrisch regelrecht (Asyrisches) bedeutet und einfach ein cyprisches Kapitol = Karthago ist." Dr. Schrader likewise points out that in Esarhaddon's List of Kings the King of Arvad is called, "Matanbaal (מאתבאל), but in Assurbanipal's list "Yacinlu" (יאינל), also the name of the King of Beth-Ammon in the former list is "Paduila (פדוילא), but in the latter Amminadbi, Heb. תמים, and thinks "dass wir es bei dieser zweiten Liste nichts weniger als mit einer gedankenlosen oder gar frivol-leichtsinnigen Reproducirung der früheren des Asarhaddon zu thun haben." Also, see "Zusätze," page 36 of Dr. Schrader's book, for the opinion of Professor R. A. Lepsius, of Jena, concerning the town of Lidir, situated in Cyprus.

II. In the "Vocabulary" all parts of the verb "suzubu" have been compared with the Hebrew בונ. But I believe its correct equivalent to be found in the Chaldee ישיב, "to save," "to deliver;" Syriac סירא, Compare Targum on Isaiah xx. 6, הינתנש, "themselves they deliver (save) not;" "and who is the wicked man that shall be saved" (Ephraem, "Carmina," Opp. iii. p. 635; Rödiger, Chrestomathy, p. 79); שוא, אֲנָכי אֲנָכי שוא, "that I shall save the world" (John xii. 47). In the expression, "ana suzub napsate su," "for the saving of his life," I would compare the word "suzub" with Chaldee שיב, or Rabbinic יִשְׁבָּה, "deliverance, escape."

III. Ittagil, from יִתם dagalu." With this compare Chaldee שיב, "tidere, confidere, fiduciam ponere vel collocare;" and see Psalm ix. 11, where יָשַׁב is translated by one MS. יָשַׁב, "and they trusted."
ויושב מנחירך מלך אשוהר וחושב בניו:
ויו היה משתחוה בת נפרך אלהי
ואדרכל ושארץ בני בהזה ברבר
והזמר נשלט א rahats אראם מלך
אסיריהם בנו חתניה.
(Isai. xxxvii. 37, 38.)

אפר חורן מלך אשור. בני של מנחירך בלשחת מנחירך.
(Rashi on Ezra iv. 2.)

כי מנחירך שבעל את ירשהל הוא בני יבין מצא אפר חורן בן חתניה
(on Ezra iv. 2.)
THE GENEALOGY AND ACCESSION OF ESARHADDON, AND PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HIS REIGN.

Esarhaddon was the son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, B.C. 705-681. The Sin-akhi-irib of the cuneiform inscriptions is the—

בִּתֵּן of the Bible;
LXX. Σενναχήριμ, or Σενναχηρίμ;
Josephus, Σενναχήριμος;
Herodotus, Σαναχήριμος.

The sons of Sennacherib were—
1 Sharesar, Biblical נָטַר (Nergal-sarra-yutsur);
2 Adrammelech, " נִבֶּל רָעָן;
3 Esarhaddon, " נְתֹנִי נָטַר,
written Ἀσαρδάν and Ἀσαρθώμος, Berosus and LXX.;
" Ἀσαρθώμος, Ptolemy;
" Ἀσαρδάν, Ezra;
" Ἀσαρθώμος, Codex Alex.
" Ἀσαρθώμος, Compl.

The account of the death of Sennacherib is told us by the Bible, and very briefly, for we read (2 Kings xix. 37) "And it came to pass as he (Sennacherib) was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Shareser his
sons smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the
land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his
stead."

Josephus says (Ant., x. 1, sec. 5) that Sennacherib was
buried "in his own temple called Araske" (ιν τῷ ἑαυτῷ ναῷ
'Αράσκη θεόκτιστο).

It has been generally thought that Esarhaddon was Sen-
nacherib's eldest son, and this seems to have been the idea of
Polyhistor, who made Sennacherib place a son, Assurdanes, on
the throne of Babylon during his own lifetime (Ap. Euseb.,
Chron., Can. i. 5).2 The testimony of a small tablet (W. A. I.,
iii., 16) supports this view.

It has been aptly called the "Will of Sennacherib." It
reads—

"I, Sennacherib, king of multitudes, king of Assyria,
have given chains of gold, etc., to
Esarhaddon, my son, who was afterwards named
Assur-ebil-mucin-pal,

(\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{D.P. Assur-akha-idinnan.-i. 48, 5, 1.}
\end{array}\]

according to my wish."

The name of Esarhaddon is written in the following ways—

(\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{D.P. Assur-akha-idinnan.-i. 48, 2, 1.}
\end{array}\]

It means "Assur gave a brother."

1 These events are mentioned, with additions, by Berosus (Berosus and
Gesenius, Theaaurus, p. 562.
2 Smith's Dict. of Bible, large edition.
OF ESARHADDON.

The syllabaries explain the ideograph employed in the name thus:—

- = i-luv. Heb. ס, ii. 31, 27.
- = Assur. Heb. הס, Sayce, Syl., 414.
- = a-klu. Heb. ב, ii. 2, 276.
- = na-da-nu. Heb. מז, iii. 70, 77.
- = a-klu. Sayce, Syl., 15.
- = na-da-nu. Sayce, Syl. 1.

The character  is a variant form for Assur. It is found on an altar slab of Assur-natsir-pal (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. vii.).

Esarhaddon began to reign B.C. 681, and he reigned until B.C. 668. His brothers Adrammelech and Shareser attempted to obtain the throne, but Esarhaddon drew up his army, and, marching against them, gained a complete victory at Khani-rabbat, a district on the Upper Euphrates. According to some, Adrammelech was killed in battle; according to others, he escaped with his brother and took refuge in Armenia. According to local tradition, the king of Armenia received the vanquished with great kindness, and gave them land to dwell in.¹

A tablet, containing "addresses" to Esarhaddon, was probably drawn up at the time when Esarhaddon was preparing to fight against his brothers. Column II. speaks thus (W.I.I. iv. 68):—

14 Fear not, Oh Esarhaddon,
15 I (am) Bel, thy strength.
16 & 17 I will ease the supports of thy heart.
18 Respect, as for thy mother,
19 Thou hast caused to be shown to me.
20 (Each) of the sixty great gods, my strong ones,
21 Will guide thee with his life——
25 Upon mankind trust not, (but)

¹ Maspero, Histoire Assyr., p. 422. Moses of Khorene, History of Armenia, 1, i. p. 22.
26 Bend thine eyes
27 Upon me—trust to me! (for)
28 I am Istar of Arbela.

After the battle (B.C. 685), Esarhaddon marched into Nineveh. But about this time Nabu-zir-napisti-eser, son of Merodach-Baladan, an old enemy of Assyria, raised an army and went to attack the city of Ur, whose eponym's name was Nin-gal-iddina (?). He was successful in his siege, and captured the city. Esarhaddon sent out his officers, and Nabu-zir-napisti-esir, knowing this, fled to Elam, asking protection from Umman-aldas, king of that country. But this was refused; and in col. 2, lines 33 and 34, we read that “he had trusted to the king of Elam, who had not caused his life to be spared.” Nahid-Marduk, another son of Merodach-Baladan, hearing of the death of his brother, came to Nineveh and sought alliance with Esarhaddon, who received him graciously, and gave him the sea-coast to rule over.

Another revolt in Syria now claimed the attention of the Assyrian king. Abdi-milcutti, king of the city of Zidon, had made alliance with 'Sa'nduarri, king of Cundi and 'Siza. Esarhaddon marched against Zidon, besieged and captured it. He cut off the heads of Abdi-milcutti and 'Sa'nduarri, and, hanging them upon the necks of their great men, exhibited them in the wide spaces (Rehoboth) in Nineveh.

All Palestine and the neighbouring regions now submitted to Esarhaddon—viz., twelve districts in Palestine, and ten in Cyprus. Each king sent presents.

At this time, also, he captured the city of Arzani, perhaps a city of Egypt.

Esarhaddon's next expedition was against the Gimirrai, or Kimmerians, whose king was called Teuspa. He conquered them, and, at the same time, the inhabitants of Cilicia and Dûha submitted.

Soon after this, Esarhaddon attacked the Mannai, but in this attempt he appears not to have been quite as successful. However, five Median chiefs came to Nineveh and submitted to Esarhaddon.
OF ESARHADDON.

Esarhaddon now attempted the conquest of Arabia. Many of the Assyrian kings before Esarhaddon had made some conquests in the land of Edom. But he went farther, and reached two cities, called Bazu and Khazu (the Biblical Haz and Buz), and conquered eight kings and queens. The journey, however, was very difficult, and little more is said about it.

A king, called Lailie, asked that the gods which Esarhaddon had captured from him might be restored. His request was granted, and Esarhaddon says—"I spoke to him of brotherhood, and entrusted to him the sovereignty of the districts of Bazu."

Esarhaddon being master of Arabia, Syria, Media, and the other countries which had rebelled against him, was now troubled by Egypt. Before the reign of Esarhaddon, an Ethiopian, called Sabaka, had conquered Egypt. He died, and Sabatok, his successor, made good his cause, and was recognised as king. But now Tirhakah fought Sabatok, who was vanquished, taken prisoner, and put to death.¹

Tirhakah had been a stubborn and rebellious enemy against Sennacherib, the father of Esarhaddon. It was his army that had opposed Sennacherib at the time of the overthrow of the Assyrian army. Tirhakah, having reigned about twenty years, considered himself well established on the Egyptian throne, so he made an alliance with Bâhlu, king of Tyre, and as it is said—

"The yoke of Assur, my lord, they despised; they were insolent and rebellious."

"Esarhaddon had entered into a convention with Bâhlu, by which, in return for services rendered by the Tyrians, the Assyrian monarch ceded to the king of Tyre a considerable portion of the coast of Palestine, including Accho, Dor, and all the northern coast of the Philistines, with the cities and Gebal, and Lebanon, and the cities in the mountains behind Tyre."²

This very serious rebellion aroused Esarhaddon and brought him and his army against the rebels. He started from the

² Manetho, edited Unger, p. 251.
city Aphek, and marched as far as Rapikhi (?), a journey of 30 "cudu, or 210 miles.

The Assyrian army was short of water, and was obliged to drink whatever water could be found, for he says—

"Marsh waters from buckets I caused my army to drink."

He then marched into Egypt, and Tirhakah was beaten.

Esarhaddon next divided Egypt into twenty provinces; all, except two, being governed by Egyptian generals.

The exceptions are:—

Sar-ludari, king of the city of Tsiahnu (Zon, or Tanis), and

Bucur-Ninip, king of the city of Pâkhnuiti.

Esarhaddon caused to be carved upon the rocks of the Nahr-el-Kelb a long inscription, in which he called himself "King of Egypt, Thebes, and Ethiopia." B.C. 672.

Esarhaddon now began his buildings. He first built "ten fortresses" in Assyria and Accad. He then repaired and enlarged the palace at Nineveh, which had been made for the "custody of the camp-baggage." The twenty-two kings of Syria (for their names see text) brought him materials for his works. He began a palace at Calah, but it was never finished; and he built one for his son, Assur-bani-pal, at Tarbitsi (modern Shere Khan).

While Esarhaddon was yet king, he set his son Assur-bani-pal upon the throne to reign with him. This is evident from W.A.I., iii., 1, 7, 9, where it is said:—

9 Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father, my begetter.
10 The will of Assur and Bel-tis the gods, his ministers, he exalted.
11 Which (gods) commanded him to establish my kingship.

The inscription then goes on to say that, on the 12th day of May, Esarhaddon gathered together the principal men of the kingdom, and it was decreed that Assur-bani-pal should be made king. This event must have taken place between B.C. 671 and B.C. 668.

1 Oppert, Mémoires sur les Rapports de l'Egypte et de l'Assyrie, pp. 38, 43, 80, et seq.
When Esarhaddon returned to Assyria, Tirhakah raised a large army and went to besiege Memphis. The city fell into his hands after a "murderous siege." The account of his defeat is given by the annals of Assur-bani-pal. Esarhaddon died in the year B.C. 668.

He left one son, Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, and another called generally Saulmugina, king of Babylon. Their names are thus written:

Assur-bani-pal, \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{A} \\
\text{B} \\
\text{C} \\
\text{D} \\
\end{array}\]

Saulmugina, \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{E} \\
\text{F} \\
\text{G} \\
\text{H} \\
\end{array}\]

Esarhaddon was truly "the great king," and he adopted the policy of holding court at Nineveh and Babylon. Babylon was the scene of many great battles, and during its existence was fought for oftener than, perhaps, any other city in the Babylonian and Assyrian empires. It was said to have been built in very early times, became capital under Khammuragas, and held this position for 1200 years (Babylonia, p. 75). Khammuragas (about B.C. 1700) calls himself "king of Babylon." He built there a temple to Merodach.

It was conquered by Taculti-Ninip B.C. 1271; by Tiglath-Pileser I. B.C. 1110; by Tiglath-Pileser II. B.C. 731; by Merodach-Baladan B.C. 722; by Sargon B.C. 721; it was sacked and burnt by Sennacherib B.C. 692, but restored by Esarhaddon B.C. 675; captured by Assur-bani-pal B.C. 648, also by Nabu-pal-yutsur B.C. 626, and finally taken by the Medes and Persians B.C. 539.\\1\\2

In his capacity of ruler he was comparatively merciful and kind, for the phrase "riemu ursi-su" (I showed mercy to him) occurs frequently in the inscriptions; also his restoration

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1 Oppert, Les Assyriques, p. 57.
2 For the measurement of its walls, etc.—See Diodorus Siculus, vol. i. pp. 118, 120. Amstelodami, 1746.
to his enemies of the gods which he had captured is probably without equal among the deeds of the mighty kings of Assyria "who went before." Another proof of his generosity to his enemies is shown by the fact of his releasing Manasseh, king of Judah, and restoring to him his kingdom after he had been carried captive to Babylon (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11). He extended the Assyrian empire by the conquests of Arabia and Egypt, and does not appear to have taken delight in warlike expeditions for their own sake, but only undertook them when necessity required for the submission of his enemies.