



ESARHADDON,  
King of Assyria

*Josette Elayi*

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Stela of Esarhaddon from Zincirli-Sam'al. Pergamon Museum  
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Josette Elayi



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## 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

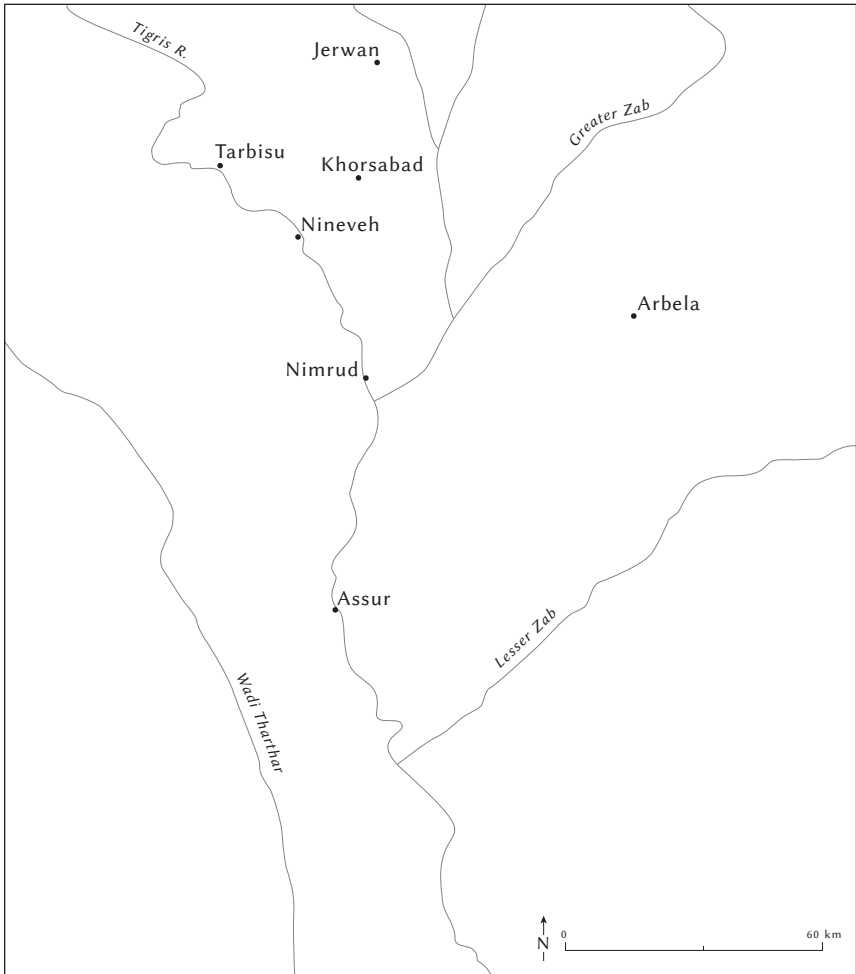
Parentheses ( ) enclose additions in the English translation

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 Bit-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.

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