

## Paper #2: Babylonian Dynastic History – A late 10<sup>th</sup> to late 8<sup>th</sup> century outline. The beginning of a revision of Babylonian history.

This paper has three objectives, alphabetized below:

A) In our previous paper (#1) we claimed to have “proved” the existence of a “king of Assur” named Ashuruballit, “governing” the western half of Assyria around the year 930 B.C., precisely where and when we had previously conjectured his existence (i.e. in Volume three of our Displaced Dynasties series). The proof of the existence of our king Ashuruballit was derived via an analysis of two key documents, an Assyrian tablet (plus two fragments) entitled the “Synchronistic History” and a Babylonian tablet entitled “Chronicle P”. Actually, the Synchronistic History was included primarily as a “foil”, to contrast how the traditional history understands the “Ashuruballit incident” with the interpretation provided by the Chronicle P. Our proof of the existence of a 10<sup>th</sup> century Ashuruballit was derived entirely from the text of the Chronicle P. What we failed to do in that earlier paper, an omission we now intend to correct, is to explain how the Chronicle P, especially its 4<sup>th</sup> column, has been altered and misinterpreted by Assyriologists and ancient historians alike, so as to make this document conform to the traditional history. We began that process in our earlier analysis, but the issue needs to be raised again, this time with emphasis on the 4<sup>th</sup> column.

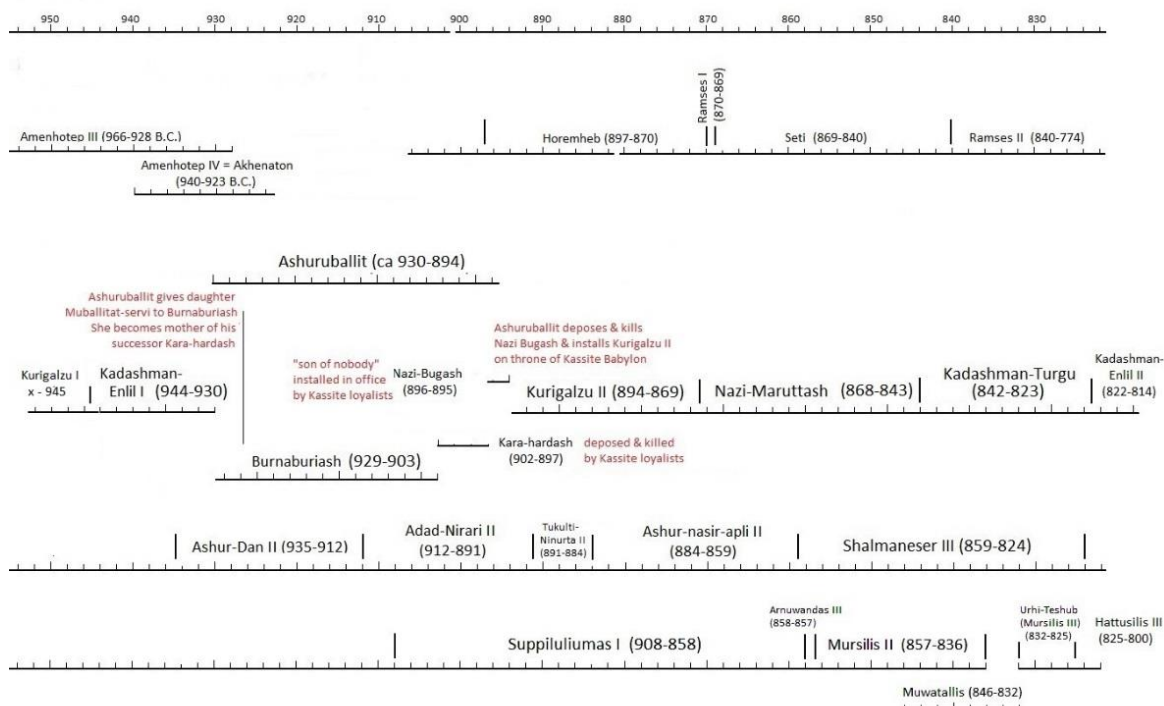
B) The analysis of the previous paper also resulted in a chart showing multiple timelines, one each for the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia from the year 950 B.C. to the year 800 B.C.” (see Figure 3 on page 27 in the earlier paper). That chart, reproduced on the following page as our Figure 1, provided visual confirmation of close to a dozen synchronisms between these nations, which served to strengthen our claim to have correctly positioned the Amarna king Ashuruballit. It follows that the more we lengthen those timelines, the greater the assurance that our kings are correctly positioned. This paper therefore intends to begin this lengthening process by extending the four timelines forward through to the year 714 B.C., the year when the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon ended.

C) Since ultimately we intend to rewrite Babylonian history back at least as far as the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> dynasty, we need to discuss the pros and cons of two important documents which feature prominently in all scholarly discussion relating to the history of ancient Babylon. We refer specifically to the “Babylonian King List A” and the “Assyrian Synchronistic Chronicle”. Included in our discussion will be comment on changes that are currently taking place within the scholarly community on topics such as ‘overlapping dynasties’ and ‘resident vs non-resident’ Kassite kings. A concluding section begins the process of moving backward in time, by ignoring the immediate ancestors of Kadashman-Enlil I, and leapfrogging back in time to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> (Kassite) dynasty. Fortunately, thanks to the Babylonian King List A, we are able to identify, quite precisely, the date of the initial Kassite invasion of Babylonia, and provide reliable dates for the initial kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty.

We meet these three objectives in the order listed.

Figure 1: 'Revised History' Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 950-800 B.C.

(Reproduced from Figure 3 on page 27 of Paper #1, with Kurigalzu 1 added)



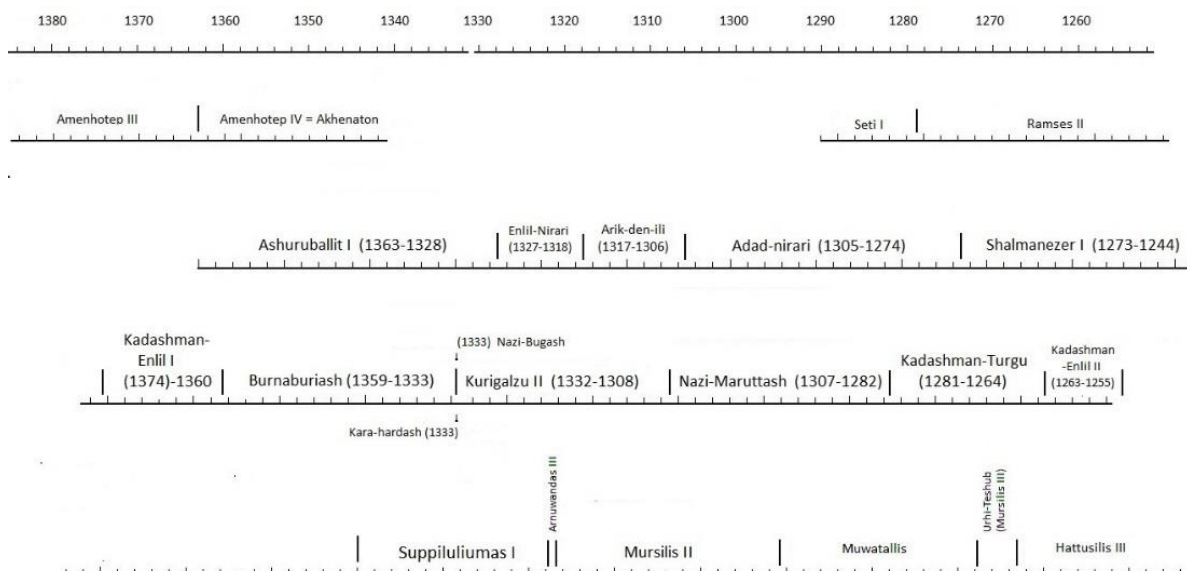
## A. Analysis of the Synchronistic History and the Chronicle P by traditional historians.

The Figure 1 timeline shown above, which resulted from our analysis of the Chronicle P, has its counterpart in the traditional history, depicted on the following page as our Figure 2. As we explained in the earlier paper, the only change necessary to transform Figure 1 into Figure 2 was the increase of all dates on the Egyptian, Hittite, and Babylonian timelines by approximately 430 years, and the replacement of the 10<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century section of the Assyrian timeline with an earlier 14<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century section, this in order to synchronize the Assyrian timeline with the other altered timelines.

In altering our Figure 1 to produce Figure 2 we have made some cosmetic changes to the Egyptian timeline in order to more accurately represent the consensus view of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century Egyptologists. Thus we adjusted reign lengths slightly to reflect the current scholarly consensus that the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaton did not overlap, and that the reign

of Seti I was relatively short, certainly not the nearly 30 years we have assigned to this king. But we have left the relative chronology of the Hittite Empire intact, simply because there appears to be no scholarly consensus on when the reign of Suppiluliumas I began, nor how long it lasted, and because opinion varies on the reign lengths of several other Hittite kings. Regardless, these changes, or the lack of them, are really not at issue here. This paper is concerned only with the placement of the Kassite kings in relation to the Assyrian timeline.

Figure 2: Traditional History Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 1400-1250 B.C.



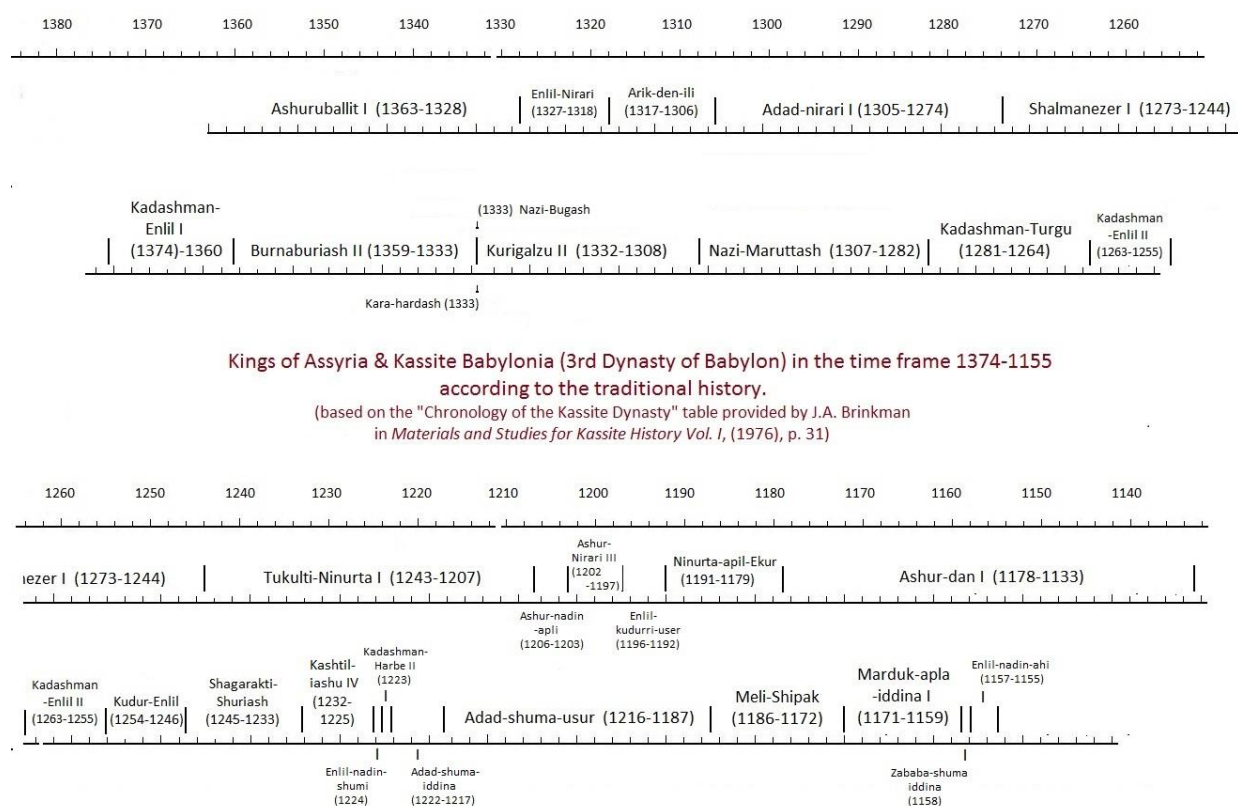
It is important that the reader understands the significance of the Figure 2 chart. It represents how 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars conceive the history of the Ancient Near East as that history unfolded in the 14<sup>th</sup> - mid-12<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. Thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of books and journal articles have been written outlining this history, making minute changes to these timelines, analyzing in excruciating detail every newly discovered tablet, or inscribed artifact, but always interpreting these discoveries in relation to this basic temporal framework. To these scholars even minor changes in this outline are met with extreme skepticism and fierce debate. The notion that three of the four timelines depicted are in error by well over 400 years would not even be entertained. We understand this mindset completely.

When we suggest, as we did in our 3<sup>rd</sup> paper, that the Babylonian history is “out of synch” with the Assyrian timeline by roughly 430 years, an opinion based entirely on our interpretation of the Chronicle P, we are not surprised that Assyrian scholars have altered that document in order to maintain their Figure 2 conception of history. Our 10<sup>th</sup> century positioning of Ashuruballit would never have been entertained, even as a passing thought. But since these

same scholars write the textbooks, and fill the internet with their biased interpretation of Babylonian history, we sense the need to at least inform our readers precisely how they have interpreted the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P, the key section of that document. It is absolutely incredible how often the Chronicle P is cited in support of the traditional Assyrian history, especially considering the fact that not a single name of an Assyrian king in the entire document is consistent with that history.

Since the following discussion is entirely related to the Assyrian and Babylonia timelines in our Figure 2, we reproduce just those two timelines in greater detail in yet a third figure (our Figure 3 below), extending them in this instance to include the eleven Kassite kings who follow Kadashman-Enlil II, thus paving the way for meeting the second of our three objectives.

Figure 3: The Kassite kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon in the time frame 1400-1155 B.C.



As suggested above, this diagram will serve multiple purposes, including acting as a springboard to our later discussion of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Kassite kings. However, in this section its primary purpose is to illustrate the flawed interpretation of the "Chronicle P" history at the hands of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars, a discussion necessary as an adjunct to the positive interpretation of that document provided in our third paper. Later still the Figure 3 will serve

to assist our discussion of the “Babylonian King List A” and the “Assyrian Synchronistic History” and the related description of the process by which the Babylonian history of the Kassite kings has become displaced in time by well over four hundred years. And in that final section as well, we will use this same diagram, minus the names of the Kassite kings, all of whom are wrongly positioned in this time frame, as a template on which to begin reconstructing the first 150 years of the Kassite Dynasty.

Having said all that, we turn our attention to the relevant lines of the Chronicle P, itemized below in our Table 1. We have highlighted the key names.

Table 1: Relevant lines of the Chronicle P

<p>Column 1 (lines 5-14)</p> <p>5' Kadašman-harbe, son of Karaindaš, son of Muballitat-serua,</p> <p>6' the daughter of Aššur-uballit,[1] king of Assyria, ordered[7] the overthrow of the Suteans</p> <p>7' from the east to west, and annihilated their extensive forces.</p> <p>8' He reinforced the fortresses in Mount Šaršar.[2] He dug wells and</p> <p>9' settled people on fertile lands to strengthen the guard. Afterwards</p> <p>10' the Kassite people rebelled against him and killed him. Šuzigaš, a Kassite,</p> <p>11' the son of a nobody,[3] they appointed as sovereign over them. Aššur-uballit,</p> <p>12' king of Assyria, marched to Karduniaš[13], to avenge Kadašman-harbe, his daughter's son, and</p> <p>13' Šuzigaš, the Kassite,</p> <p>14' he killed. Aššur-uballit put Kurigalzu, son of Kadašman-harbe, on his father's throne.</p> <p>End of Column 3 (lines 20-24)</p> <p>20' He went to conquer <b>Adad-nirari</b>, king of Assyria.</p> <p>21' He did battle against him at Sugaga, which is on the Tigris, and brought about his defeat.</p>	<p>22' He slaughtered his soldiers and captured his officers.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...] [2]</p> <p>24' king of Assyria in [...].</p> <p><b>Lacuna</b></p> <p>Beginning of Column 4 (lines 1-11)</p> <p>1' [...]</p> <p>2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...] [3]</p> <p>3' [...] <b>Tukulti-Ninurta</b> returned to Babylon and</p> <p>4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put[5] the Babylonians to the sword.</p> <p>5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk</p> <p>6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria.</p> <p>7' He put his governors[6] in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta</p> <p>8' controlled Karduniaš[7]. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and</p> <p>9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne,</p> <p>10' <b>Aššur-nasir-apli</b>, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had[9] carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta,</p> <p>11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.</p>
--	---

We do not intend to repeat our previous analysis of this document, that which led to our 10<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century positioning of these events. The reader can peruse our third paper to evaluate the argument. Nor do we intend to reference the Synchronistic History again, a document

which we readily admit is absolutely consistent with the traditional history depicted in Figure 3. In our final section we will explain what circumstances led to the creation of this document, and why it should be ignored. Our intent here is narrowly focused on how the traditional history has treated the text of the Chronicle P and “turned a blind eye” to the multiple problems that accompany its interpretation, all in order to defend a grossly distorted timeline for Egypt, Hatti and Babylonia.

The relevant Chronicle P text appears to feature just two military battles, one pitting Kurigalzu II against an Assyrian king Adad-nirari, and a second one featuring Nazi-Maruttash fighting against a king Tukulti-Ninurta, who is ultimately assassinated by his son and successor Ashurnasir-apli (Ashurnasirpal). A quick glance at our Figure 3 leaves us perplexed. In our Figure 3 there is no king Adad-nirari contemporary with Kurigalzu II, and there is no king Tukulti-Ninurta opposite Nazi-Marrutash. The first difficulty was dealt with efficiently by scholars. The name of Adad-nirari was simply changed to Enlil-nirari. The second difficulty was more problematic. The solution was to assume that the description of the battle which features Nazi-Maruttash, which occupies eight lines of text in the Synchronistic History narrative, is over and done with in the two damaged lines at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> column. By the time the cuneiform text becomes legible in the second line of the 4<sup>th</sup> column, an entirely new battle has been engaged and won by Tukulti-Ninurta. The typical four or five line introduction to such battles has apparently been contained in a single line, unfortunately illegible, and someone, presumably the unknown opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta, has been defeated, taken captive, and put in irons. The balance of the 4<sup>th</sup> column, which is almost wholly intact, takes up the story of Tukulti-Ninurta, his follow-up attack on the city of Babylon, the symbolic removal of the statue of Marduk, the seven year governance of Babylonia, a rebellion led by his son Ashurbanipal, followed by Tukulti-Ninurta’s arrest, incarceration, and summary execution. There the story ends.

Four questions immediately surface. 1) Who is the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta, father of Ashurnasirpal, who stars in this new vignette? 2) And who was his opponent? 3) How does this document condense an 8 line story about a battle fought by Nazi-Maruttash into two lines of text (column 3, lines 23, 24)? and 4) How does this document confine the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta and his unknown opponent, including the introduction of the participants, the location of the battle, the outcome of the battle and the capture of the Babylonian opponent, data which normally occupies four or five lines of text, into a single line? We answer these four questions in the order cited, and use the opportunity to voice our objections.

Question 1: The answer to the first question is predictable. Only two Assyrian kings named Tukulti-Ninurta are known to history - Tukulti-Ninurta I who ruled Assyria in the years 1243-1207 B.C. and was succeeded by a son named Ashurnadin-apli, and Tukulti-Ninurta II, who ruled Assyria in the years 891-894 and was succeeded by a son named Ashurnasir-apli (Ashurnasirpal). Of the two possibilities only Tukulti-Ninurta II had a son and successor with the correct name. Unfortunately that king could not even be considered by scholars. His name is not even mentioned in the literature related to the Chronicle P. We are not surprised. If any

scholar were to suggest that the 4<sup>th</sup> column is referencing Tukulti-Ninurta II he/she would be ostracized by the academic community. As we have already shown, interpreting the Chronicle P at face value immediately causes the timelines of Babylonia, Hatti, and Egypt to implode. 14<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century events must move to the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Tens of thousands of books and journal articles become instantly obsolete, careers and reputations are destroyed, damaged, or at minimum depreciated, not to mention the scores of bruised egos in the academic world. Even if the Chronicle P text had additionally referred to Tukulti-Ninurta as the son of Adad-Nirari and the grandson of Ashur-Dan, scholars would find a way to discount the evidence. The traditional history is a sacred cow. It must not be tampered with. Consequently, 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars simply changed the name of Tukulti-Ninurta's son from Ashur-nasir-apli to Ashur-nadin-apli. After all, the two names resemble each other, at least in English translation, though not so much in the Assyrian cuneiform text.

The identification of the Tukulti-Ninurta named in the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P as Tukulti-Ninurta I has not come without cost. Not only were two name changes made to the Chronicle P text, a procedure which does not instill confidence in the integrity of the community of scholars who made them and continue to defend them, but now the Chronicle P material is out of order. These ancient Chronicles *always* arrange their materials so that the older vignettes precede the accounts of incidents that are more recent. But now, were we to scan further down in the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P we would read about two invasions of Babylonia by an Elamite king named Kidin-Hutran, who was powerful enough to depose two Babylonian kings, Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224) and Adad-shuma-iddina (1222-1217), both contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). But the 4<sup>th</sup> column text has already recounted the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1207 B.C., and now the Chronicler is back-tracking at least a decade. This deviation from custom might not upset the readers of this paper, but it has provoked comment from several Assyriologists.

To make matters worse, momentarily we will comment on the fact that scholars have identified the unnamed opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta in the column 4 battle as king Kashtiliashu IV, whose reign ended in the year 1225 B.C. A glance at the timelines in our Figure 3 (see page 4 above) informs us that three kings bearing the names Enlil-nadin-shumi, Kadashman-Herbe, and Adad-shuma-iddina, two of whom were mentioned in the previous paragraph, were ruling Babylonia throughout the seven year stretch following the demise of Kashtiliashu IV, thus during in which Tukulti-Ninurta I was supposedly ruling Babylonia, not through local kings, but through proxy governors. Assyrian scholars have spent ages, and filled volumes of journals with articles, attempting to reason out what precisely is happening. They are somewhat comforted by the fact that the three kings, who don't seem to "fit in" chronologically, were succeeded by a king Adad-shuma-usur, who ruled Babylonia for 30 years (1216-1187). The timing is close to correct since this king begins his reign only 9 years after Tukulti-Ninurta (supposedly) defeated Kashtiliashu. He is therefore identified as the Adad-shuma-usur who, according to the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P, was placed on the throne in the southern part of Babylonia at the very end of Tukulti-Ninurta's seven year domination of that country. But not only is the

beginning of the reign of Adad-shuma-usur two years too late, since the seven year governance of Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I must have ended in 1218 (= 1225 – 7), but once again we have a problem with the sequencing of names, even more severe than that described in the previous paragraph. The ascendancy of Adad-shuma-usur is recounted in verse 9 of column 4 (see Table I on page 5). The naming of Enlil-nadin-shumi and Adad-shuma-iddina as kings deposed by the Elamite king Kidin-Hutran is described later in the 4<sup>th</sup> column, on lines 14 and 16 respectively. A dividing line is added to the cuneiform tablet between the between the two sets of names (see discussion of these dividing lines on page 11 below) indicating conclusively that the Adad-shuma-usur incident took place prior to the Elamite invasion of Kidin-Hutran. Thus the beginning of the reign of Adad-shuma-usur must precede, not follow, the reigns of the other three named kings. There is no escaping this conclusion if convention is being followed. And how is it, we enquire further, that all the while that Tukulti-Ninurta I is supposedly governing Babylonia through proxies, that two successful Elamite invasions of the country take place successfully and without reprisal? The idea is beyond the comprehension of this author. And these are but a few of the chronological enigmas that have resulted from the identification of the column 4 king as Tukulti-Ninurta I.

All these difficulties and more will disappear once it is admitted that the first dozen verses of the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P is talking about a war between the 9<sup>th</sup> century king Nazi-Maruttash (at the time leading the army on behalf of Kuigalzu II, and possibly co-ruler with that king) and Tukulti-Ninurta II. Once the 13<sup>th</sup> century Kassite kings, supposedly contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I, are removed 440 years into the future, all of the conflicts will disappear. The Tukulti-Ninurta II battle with Nazi-Maruttash took place in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The kings Kashtiliashu IV, Enlil-nadin-shumi, Kadashman-Herbe, and Adad-shuma-usur ruled in succession in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. There exists a gap of over a century between the end of the Tukulti-Ninurta dialogue in verse 13 and the beginning of the Kidin-Hutrin invasion accounts in verses 14-16 of the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P. It is strange how problems disappear when kings are restored to their proper historical context.

Question 2: And who do scholars identify as the opponent of Tukulti-Ninurta I? Out of necessity we have already supplied the answer, but the question was easily answered in antiquity and 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars have never been in doubt. The Tukulti-Ninurta Epic, a voluminous literary composition, by far the largest literary document in the Assyrian archives, describes a lengthy battle between an Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta and a Babylonian opponent named Kashtiliashu. And in our Figure 3 the reign of Kashtiliashu IV (1232-1225) lies squarely in the middle of the 36 year reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). Besides, other Assyrian documents, including fragment C of the Synchronistic History, which contains the first two lines of column 2 of that document, mentions this very same conflict, or at least it gives that appearance until we read the footnote.

C1'\* [Tukulti-Ninurta, king of Assyria, and] Kashtiliashu, king of Karduniash [6]

C2'\* [...] in open battle.



Note 6: Only the name Kaštiliašu (1222-1215) is legible. The name of his opponent is a conjecture, and the identification with the fourth king called Kaštiliašu is hypothetical

Clearly the mere mention in an Assyrian or Babylonian document of the name of either Kashtiliashu or Tukulti-Ninurta doing battle is sufficient to conjure up memories of the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic in the minds of scribes and scholars alike, and the name of the missing party will automatically be assumed.

It follows from the dates of the two kings that Tukulti-Ninurta I must have defeated Kashtiliashu IV and captured Babylon several decades after the beginning of his reign. But the only existing evidence that a king Tukulti-Ninurta was ever in control of Babylon is an economic text dated to the accession year of an Assyrian king bearing that name. That document, in and of itself, all but proves that Tukulti-Ninurta I is not the king named in column 4 of the Chronicle P. And how do scholars respond to that evidence? They cite the existence of the text, and make no further comment.

The accession year document referred to in the previous paragraph actually supports the claim made in our previous paper, that the Chronicle P invasion of Babylon took place shortly after the beginning of the reign of the Tukulti-Ninurta named in that document, and that, in view of his assassination seven years later, the Chronicle P king only reigned in Assyria for seven years. Contrast that evidence with the known fact that Tukulti-Ninurta I ruled Assyria for 37 years and we should rest our case. But give scholars credit. They do have the semblance of an answer. According to them the incarceration of Tukulti-Ninurta in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta - as recorded in column 4, line 11 - lasted for many years. But there is no evidence that this was the case, and the plain reading of the column 4 text, added to a dose of common sense, would seem to argue that his assassination followed on the heels of his incarceration. Let the reader decide. And why, we ask, would a lengthy incarceration add to his regnal year total. Did he rule Assyria from prison?

And we enquire further, does the existence of a “Tukulti-Ninurta Epic” recording a conflict between a king Tukulti-Ninurta and a king Kashtiliashu, necessarily argue that the king Tukulti-Ninurta I fought a battle against the king Kashtiliashu IV, thereby providing scholars with an antecedent invasion to explain the Chronicle P incident. Kashtiliashu IV only appears in the Figure 3 diagram opposite Tukulti-Ninurta 1 *because* scholars have *assumed* that the Ashuruballit in the column one narrative of the Chronicle P is the Assyrian king Ashuruballit I, son of Eriba-Adad. If that assumption is incorrect, and we assume instead that the column one Ashuruballit is our late 10<sup>th</sup> century Ashuruballit, then Kashtiliashu IV will disappear from the Figure 3 timeline. In fact all of the Babylonian kings named in our Figure 3 will march forward 430 years into the future, where the kings from Kadashman-Enlil I to Kadashman-Enlil II will reappear as in our Figure 1 timeline, and their eleven successors, from Kudur-Enlil to Enlil-nadin-ahi, including Kashtiliashu IV and his three successors Enlil-nadin-shumi, Kadashman-Harbe, and Adad-shuma-iddina, will fill an 8<sup>th</sup> century Kassite dynasty timeline. And as we will demonstrate in the concluding section of this paper, the Babylonian timeline in the Figure 3

diagram will be filled with new occupants, one of which, a king named Kashtiliashu II (or less likely Kashtiliashu III), will occupy a position contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I

Questions 3 & 4: For the sake of the reader, let me repeat the questions. Earlier we asked concerning the columns 3 and 4 of the Chronicle P:

3) How does this document condense an 8 line story about a battle fought by Nazi-Maruttash into two lines of text (column 3, lines 23, 24)? and 4) How does this document confine the battle between Tukulti-Ninurta and his unknown opponent, including the introduction of the participants, the location of the battle, the outcome of the battle and the capture of the Babylonian opponent, data which normally occupies four or five lines of text (at minimum), into a single line?

On both questions our answer can be brief. There is not the slightest chance that the Nazi-Murattash incident could be concluded in two lines of text, nor that an *alleged* battle between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliash IV, complete with outcome, could be introduced in a single line (column 4, line 1), now missing. This proposal is not scholarship, it is pure sophistry.

We have produced on the next page, as our Figures 4 and 5, a photo and a line drawing of the cuneiform text of the two columns in question, both available online. The British Museum photo of the Reverse of the Chronicle P tablet is available [here](#), and the line art of the Assyrian cuneiform text of all four columns, originally published by Hugo Winckler, "Text der Chronik P", *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1895), pp. 297-303, is available [here](#).

It seems incredible to this author that the scenario described above was ever proposed. When we read the Chronicle P translation of the last two lines of column 3 and the initial line of column 4 (see above, Table 1 on p. 5), and hear the proposal by scholars that these three lines are all that remains of the description of two major battles, one fought in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and one in the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C., we were highly skeptical, but were put off by the indication that there was a LACUNA at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> column, indication that a large section of the tablet was missing. But fortune smiles, and we were able to find online photos of BM 92701, and were doubly blessed to find Hugo Winkler's line drawings of the cuneiform text.

Needless to say we looked in vain for the promised lacuna. There are indeed many damaged lines of text in both columns, but in the estimation of this author there are no missing lines. In the middle of the reverse of the tablet, that which contains both the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> columns of the Chronicle P, remnants of all the original lines cuneiform text are visible from the top to the bottom of the tablet. There is no indication that portions of the tablet below column three or above column 4 have broken off. That suggestion appears to be "wishful thinking" on the part of scholars, who of necessity cannot tolerate the suggestion that Nazi-Maruttash, son of the Babylonian king Kurigalzu II, and an Assyrian king named Tukulti-Ninurta, are contemporaries and are engaged in battle with one another.

Figure 4: Photo of Columns 3 & 4 on the Reverse of BM 92701 (Chronicle P)

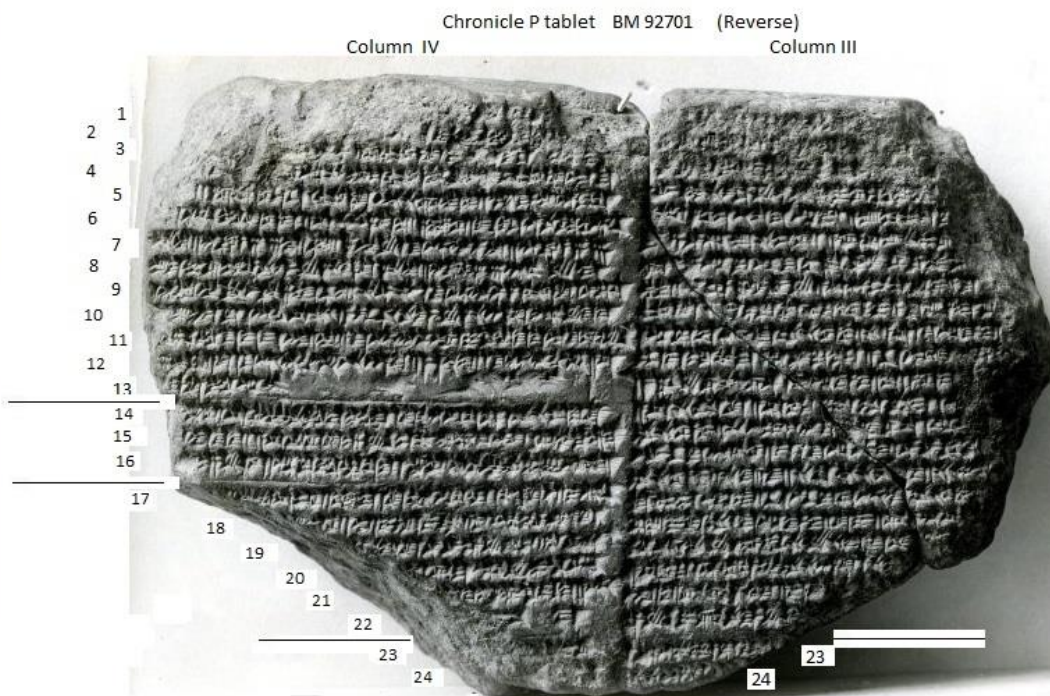
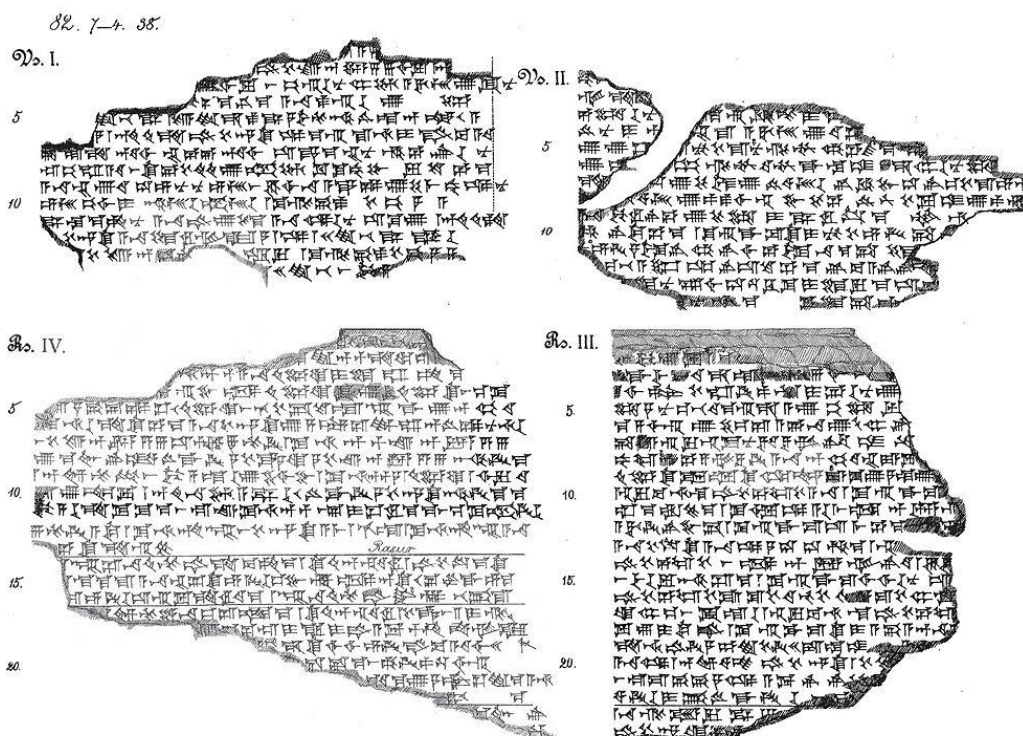


Figure 5: Hugo Winkler's line art diagram of the cuneiform text of all four columns of the Chronicle P tablet, BM 92701.



Assuming that there is no lacuna in the text, there is clear indication that the entire narrative, beginning with the 23<sup>rd</sup> line of the 3<sup>rd</sup> column and ending with the 13<sup>th</sup> verse of the 4<sup>th</sup> column, is one complete vignette, not two. And since that single narrative names the Babylonian Nazi-Maruttash and the Assyrian Tukulti-Ninurta, these must be the participants in the conflict. The evidence is found in the narrative dividers, horizontal lines produced by the stylus of the scribe to separate the distinct narratives in his composition. Both on the tablet itself, and on Hugo Winkler's line drawing, these lines are clearly visible, and I have edited the tablet photo by numbering the lines and inserting a horizontal stroke in the margin to indicate where the narrative dividers are to be seen on the photo. One is present just before line 23 of column 3 and one is present between lines 13 and 14 of column 4. Hugo Winkler, who examined the actual tablet, could see no dividing line after line 24 of column 3, even though the text of line 24 in places extends to the bottom of the tablet. The entire Nazi-Maruttash/ Tukulti-Ninurta II incident occupies 15 lines of text.

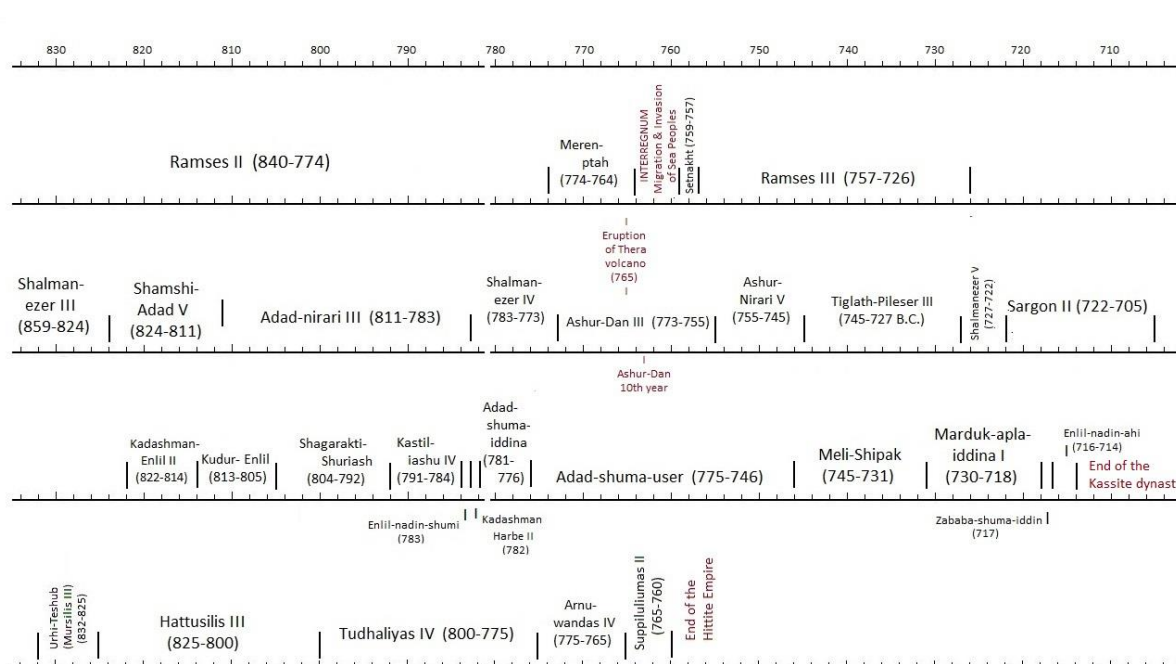
We now move on to the B section of this paper. In sports, as the adage goes, the best offense is a good defense. In papers such as this, the reverse is true. The best defense is a good offense. Rather than fill volumes arguing against the 14<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century positioning of our mid to late Kassite kings, we choose instead to prove that these kings belong to the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. We have already begun the process by positioning the Kassite kings Kadashman-Enlil I through to Kadashman-Enlil II in our previous paper. We now reposition the eleven successors of Kadashman-Enlil II and spend some time proving that they belong to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

## B. Kassite Successors of Kadashman-Enlil II Moved to the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

When we began our analysis of Babylonian history less than a month ago, we mistakenly thought that the 36 kings who are presumed to belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon were positioned as they were via two sources, some because archaeologists have unearthed the actual treaty documents and correspondence which link them to specific Egyptian or Hittite kings, and some because they are conclusively linked to specific Assyrian kings in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, where these Kassite kings are said to have lived. The Kassite kings belonging to the first subgroup not only could, but must be moved, in order to maintain that synchronism, no matter where their contemporary Egyptian and/or Hittite kings were re-positioned. On the other hand, Kassite kings belonging to the second subgroup must be left in their 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium context, contemporary with their Assyrian counterparts. While that analysis was logical, it was mistaken, largely because this author had not bothered to look at a single document related to specific Babylonian kings, other than the Synchronistic History (ABC 20) and the Chronicle P (ABC 21). After all, we were looking for a 10<sup>th</sup> century Ashuruballit. We had absolutely no intention of beginning a restructuring of Babylonian dynastic history. But since our analysis of the Chronicle P convinced us that the Kassite king Burnaburiash II must be dated in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, and that his immediate predecessors and successors fit perfectly in the 10<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century of our revised history, thus opening a “can of worms” so to speak, we began, in earnest, an “in depth” investigation of Babylonian history. And the first document we examined, the Babylonian King List A, convinced this author, and will assuredly convince all readers of this paper once we discuss that king list in the next section of this paper, that moving one Kassite king forward in time, whatever the number of years, implies that all the Kassite kings must move forward in time by that same amount. The Babylonian time line is not a construct that has been tampered with by modern historians. It was constructed in antiquity as carefully as was the Assyrian timeline, and like the Assyrian king lists, has been left intact and followed dutifully by modern scholars. It differs from the Assyrian timeline in only one respect. The Assyrian timeline was provided with anchor points that allowed the relative dating of the Assyrian kings to be transformed into absolute dates, largely via synchronisms with the firmly dated kings of Israel. By the end of this section, at long last, we will also have established a link between the Kassite timeline and the kings of Israel.

It is time to move the eleven Kassite kings from Kudur-Enlil to Enlil-nadin-ahi to their rightful place in history, filling the 100 year interval between the death of Kadashman-Enlil II and the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon. The result is diagrammed below in our Figure 6.

Figure 6: Revised History Timeline showing the kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, and Kassite Babylonia in the time frame 814-714 B.C.



To arrive at the dates for the successors of Kadashman-Enlil II (822-814), we simply started with his dates from our Figure 1, and used the reign length numbers for his descendents as recorded on the Babylonian King List A to move forward in time to the end of the dynasty. In only one instance did we alter the numbers of the King List A. Following Brinkman we increased the reign length of Kudur-Enlil from 6 to 9 years. Now, with our Kassite kings firmly entrenched in their 8<sup>th</sup> century context, we look for synchronisms that will confirm that they have been correctly positioned. And where else to begin than with our problematic Adad-shuma-usur, whose dates are now 775-746 B.C.

### **Adad-shuma-user (775-731)**

According to the Wikipedia article cited below, “there is surprisingly little contemporary evidence for this king considering the purported length of his reign, which was the longest recorded in the Kassite dynasty.” The article goes on to discuss this king’s relationship to the 13<sup>th</sup> century king Tukulti-Ninurta I, this from the point of view of the traditional history. Thus it assumes the accuracy of the errant Chronicle P, 4<sup>th</sup> column history followed religiously by all 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars. We have finished arguing against that interpretation. But we read in the article two informative paragraphs which are relevant to our 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. positioning of Adad-shuma-user, and which, therefore, we need to read in their entirety.

The first paragraph concerns a letter, purportedly written by the 13<sup>th</sup> century Tukulti-Ninurta to a Hittite king. Needless to say, we will argue against that assumed authorship, but first let us quote the paragraph.



Tukulti-Ninurta wrote a letter to the Hittite king, thought to be Suppiluliuma II, four fragments of which were discovered at the site of excavations of Hattusha in the 1930's. It was dated in the limmu year of Ili-pada, in the latter part of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign. In it, he recaps the genealogy of the recent Kassite dynasty, mentioning Kurigalzu II, Kadashman-Enlil II, and Kudur-Enlil, then apparently castigating Shagarakti-Shuriash, the "non-son of Kudur-Enlil", and his sons, one of whom, Kashtiliashu, had provoked the war by his dastardly pre-emptive strike against Assyria. In one place, the sons of Shagarakti-Shuriash have been killed, almost certainly by none other than Tukulti-Ninurta himself. He then makes reference to a "servant of Suhi", where Suhi is a region of northeast Syria, and Itamar Singer proposes this individual to be Adad-Shuma-usur, the implication being he was a foreigner, not of the royal stock and consequently unqualified for office.

While we quote the letter here, we leave its analysis to the next subsection, when we look for synchronisms in the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. We make only one comment in passing. The letter being referenced in the above paragraph was not written by the 13<sup>th</sup> century king Tukulti-Ninurta. The name of Tukulti-Ninurta appears nowhere in the letter. It was authored and signed by an 8<sup>th</sup> century Assyrian king named Ili-pada, whom we meet again in the next paragraph. The occurrence of his name is the only reason we mention the letter here.

The second Wikipedia paragraph (actually three paragraphs) of interest concerns yet another letter, this one authored by Adad-shuma-user himself. Once again we are forced to endure references to the Chronicle P column 4 incident, wrongly interpreted, before the Wikipedia author mentions the letter.

Tukulti-Ninurta, who "carried criminal designs against Babylon", was succeeded by his son and possible assassin Ashur-nadin-apli, but whose brief reign was succeeded in turn by his son, Ashur-nirari III. He was the recipient of an extremely offensive letter from Adad-shuma-user, which he addressed to "the Assyrian kings," putting Ashur-nirari on an equal footing with his subordinate for added insult, a fragment of which has fortuitously survived:

[The god Ash]ur to Assur-nirari and Ili-Hadda [... through] slovenliness, drunkenness, and indecisiveness, things have taken a turn for the worse for you. Now there is neither sense nor reason in your heads. Since the great [gods] have driven you mad you speak [...]. Your faces [.....with] iniquitous and criminal counsel

- Adad-shuma-usur, letter to Ashur-nirari and Ili-Hadda.

The Ili-hadda mentioned is none other than Ili-pada, the viceroy of Hanigalbat, Ashur-nirari's distant relative (sharing a common ancestor in Eriba-Adad I) and the official for whose limmu year Tukulti-Ninurta's letter to the Hittite king had been dated. The letter was carefully copied and preserved in the library at Nineveh. Grayson speculates it was kept to "goad" the Assyrians to vengeance.

We introduce this letter for three reasons, which we itemize and discuss in order:

1) Initially we simply want to use this article to caution the reader. These paragraphs are typical of what the researcher will encounter when reading an article related to ancient history on the internet or in textbooks. It is filled with statements which are a mixture of fact and fiction, and the uncritical reader will often not be able to distinguish which is which without digging deeper into the material. For example, the initial sentence is factually correct, providing we disregard the comments about the "criminal designs" of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and the possibility that he was assassinated by his son Ashur-nadin-apli. Those comments stem from a faulty interpretation of

the 4<sup>th</sup> column of the Chronicle P. The second sentence is correct providing we omit the identification of the Ashur-Nirari to whom the letter was sent. We argue that it was Ashur-Nirari V, not III. The letter itself, together with its signature, are simply matters of fact and are presumed to be accurate, though absolutely nothing should be taken for granted. The first sentence in the final paragraph is accurate except for two items. Ili-pada may have been related to the Ashur-Nirari who received this letter, but there is absolutely no evidence that this was the case. As we will show momentarily, and as the author of this Wikipedia article is well aware, this letter was written by an official named Ili-pada whose father's name was Ashur-iddin and whose grandfather's name was Qibi-Ashur. And we argue that the letter was written in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. There did exist another Ili-pada in the 12<sup>th</sup> century who was either a "son", or a "descendent" of "Eriba-Adad" (who may or may not have been the father of the king Ashuruballit I, and to whom Ashur-Nirari III may or may not have been related). But the two officials named Ili-pada are clearly not the same person. And finally, we should disregard entirely the remarks related to the limmu year signature on the letter purported authored by Tukulti-Ninurta I. As we have already stated, those comments are factually incorrect, as we will see when we look at the document in the section dealing with the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash.

2) We also introduce this letter because it does provide the revised chronology with yet another synchronism, mitigated somewhat by the fact that the traditional history claims to be supported by the same correspondence of names. In the traditional history the reign of Adad-shuma-user (1216-1187) overlaps the reign of Ashur-nirari III (1202-1197) (see Figure 3, page 4). With the lowering of his dates by 430 years, Adad-shuma-usur's reign (now dated 775-746) overlaps that of Ashur-nirari V (755-745) (see Figure 6). Both positions allow this Babylonian king to be the author of the derogatory letter quoted above. Now if only we could decide whose claim to the letter is more valid.

Two questions arise immediately from the provenance and the content of the letter. The document we are discussing is part of the [Kuyunyik collection](#) in the British Museum, material most of which originates from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century excavation of Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh. Then how did the letter survive for the five and a half centuries that separated its composition and its ultimate burial in the ruins of that library? And why was such a derogatory letter deemed worthy of preservation in the first place?

The first question, of course, cannot be answered, other than by pointing out that the preservation of such an ancient artifact is rare. Excavations of ancient libraries usually recover correspondence received and authored by the last sovereign who lived at the excavation site prior to its destruction. Letters and artifacts of immediate ancestors of that king are also frequently excavated, but five hundred year old correspondence is rarely, if ever, discovered. And why was such a derogatory letter preserved at all, even by the king who received it, much less considered worthy of preservation over the ensuing centuries. That question was deemed sufficiently important to warrant a response by A.K. Grayson quoted at the end of the third paragraph above. To suggest it was kept (initially) to "goad" the Assyrians to vengeance is



plausible, providing there is some evidence of Assyrian aggression against Babylonia during the reign of Ashur-Nirari III or his immediate successors. But evidence of that is lacking.

The situation is quite different with our Ashur-Nirari V, if for no other reason than the fact that his reign (755-745) is separated from that of Ashurbanipal (669-627) by as little as 75 years. The problems related to the letter's retention and preservation do not exist. No amount of speculation will ever explain how a now fragmented tablet became archived in Ashurbanipal's library, but the removal of the 550 year interval seems to favor our assumed 8<sup>th</sup> century provenance.

And there is yet another reason to favor the revised history's identification of the Ashur-Nirari named in the letter. The letter holds up for ridicule the "slovenliness, drunkenness, and indecisiveness", not to mention the "lack of common sense", of the two Assyrian kings. Admittedly the reign of Ashur-Nirari III was extremely short, and his five year reign might be interpreted as that of an ineffectual king. But since Ashur-Nirari III is known to have usurped the throne late in life, and the king who preceded him, and another who followed him, were both sons of the powerful king Tukulti-Ninurta I, who ruled Assyria effectively for 36 years, all three were undoubtedly old when they began their reigns. The brevity of those reigns speaks to their advanced age and says nothing negative concerning their effectiveness as sovereigns. And history records nothing about them that would warrant the derogatory letter authored by Adad-shuma-user. Not so for the reign of Ashur-Nirari V.

Ashur-Nirari V and his two predecessors Ashur-Dan III and Shalmaneser IV also followed a lengthy reign of a powerful king, this time a king named Adad-nirari III (811-783). But their reigns seemed to become increasingly ineffectual with the passing of time. One [source](#) calls the duration of these three reigns a "period of stagnation".

#### **Period of stagnation, 783–745 BC**

Adad-nirari III died prematurely in 783 BC, and this led to a period of true stagnation. Shalmaneser IV (783-772 BC) seems to have wielded little authority, and a victory over Argishti I, king of Urartu at Til Barsip, is accredited to a general ('Turtanu') named Shamshi-ilu who does not even bother to mention his king. Shamshi-ilu also scored victories over the Arameans and Neo-Hittites, and again, takes personal credit at the expense of his king.

Ashur-dan III ascended the throne in 772 BC. He proved to be a largely ineffectual ruler who was beset by internal rebellions in the cities Ashur, Arrapkha, and Guzana. He failed to make further gains in Babylonia and Aram (Syria). His reign was also marred by Plague and an ominous Solar Eclipse. Ashur-nirari V became king in 754 BC, but his reign seems to have been one of permanent revolution, and he appears to have barely left his palace in Nineveh before he was deposed by Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 BC, bringing a resurgence to Assyria.

We leave it to the reader to decide the issue. Was Adad-shumer-usur a contemporary of Ashur-nirari III or Ashur-nirari V? At the very least it must be admitted that we have been most fortunate. Moving the Babylonian king blindly 430 years into the future might easily have

resulted in a situation wherein he had no contemporary Assyrian king who would qualify as the recipient of his derogatory letter. Then what would we have done?

3) The third reason for quoting the letter to kings Ashur-nirari and Ili-pada is to introduce the latter “king”. Here we are not interested in synchronisms. We are instead intrigued by the fact that a lesser official of the Assyrian Empire could attain the status of a king. The reader will understand why. Several times already we have argued that our late 10<sup>th</sup> century Ashuruballit was also merely an Assyrian governor and army commander, yet assumed the title “king of Assyria”, and was recognized as such by the Egyptian king to whom he addressed his letters, as was Ili-pada by the Babylonian king. And what makes the parallel between the two “kings” even more interesting, is the fact that both of these individuals acted as governors in precisely the same region of Assyria.

The third paragraph of the Wikipedia article identifies Ili-pada as the “viceroy of Hanigalbat”. Another [article](#) expands on that title by adding that he “was a member of a side-branch of the Assyrian royal family who served as grand vizier, or *sukkallu rabi’u*, of Assyria, and also as king, or *shar*, of the dependent state of Hanigalbat”. His immediate ancestry is well known, at least by name, thanks to excavations at a site in the Balikh River valley in the western half of Assyria, not far from Harran, also on the Balikh River, where earlier we positioned our el Amarna Ashuruballit.

In 1986 a team of archaeologists, led by Peter Akkermans, began digging at Tell Sabi Abyd, in the upper Balikh valley, excavations that would be ongoing today were it not for the presence of ISIL terrorists in the area, forcing a halt to operations. Akkermans has written numerous articles over the years describing developments as they progressed. We depend [here](#) on a comprehensive description of the ongoing work, written in 2006.

At that site “large-scale excavations since 1986 have revealed a small yet heavily fortified frontier settlement or dunnu, built by the Assyrians to protect and administer the western most province of their kingdom (p. 201). Six major building phases have been revealed, the earliest dating back to the Mitanni period. For Akkermans that “Mitanni period” would date to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the other phases being constructed in the Middle Assyrian period. For our revised history, the Mitanni period primarily encompassed the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the other five phases would date within the Neo-Assyrian time frame, i.e. from the early 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C. through to the time of Ili-pada in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

Over four hundred tablets were found over the several decades of excavation at Tell Sabi Abyad. According to Akkermans:

The many cuneiform texts include official and private letters, military orders, records of economic transactions, personnel lists, etc. They refer to a wide range of both official and personal activities of a number of high-ranking Assyrian officials, who lived and worked at Sabi Abyad. The fortress had many faces in this respect: it was a military outpost on the western frontier of Assyria; it was an administrative centre in control of the westernmost province of the kingdom; and it provided customs facilities on the route from Carchemish to the Assyrian capital of Assur. (p. 201)

Preliminary translation of a few of these tablets has provided some information about the family of Ili-pada, including the fact that his father was named Ashur-iddin and his grandfather Qibi-Ashur, both of whom served as grand viziers and kings of Hanigalbat. The translation of the 400 plus tablets was entrusted to the Assyriologist F.A.M. Wiggermann of the Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, but to date I have been unable to determine if, when and where the translations have been published. They will provide fascinating reading, once located and accessed.

By now the reader will have surmised precisely why we are so interested in the excavation of the Sabi Abyd site. We believe that Ashuruballit, who occupied the area in the last phase of the “Mitanni period” may have possessed the identical titles as Ili-pada, Ashur-iddin, and Qibi-Ashur. And since Ashuruballit, in his Amarna letters, identifies himself as a son of Ashur-nadin-Ahhe, the latter may have held the post before him. It is tempting, in fact, to identify all five “kings” as part of the same extended family.

### **Shagarakti-Shuriash (804-792)**

In our comments regarding the reign of Adad-shuma-usur we referred to a letter purportedly referring to that king, but which actually deals more extensively with the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. For that reason we postponed examining the letter till now. For the convenience of the reader we repeat the Wikipedia comment regarding the letter quoted earlier.

Tukulti-Ninurta wrote a letter to the Hittite king, thought to be Suppiluliuma II, four fragments of which were discovered at the site of excavations of Hattusha in the 1930's. It was dated in the limmu year of Ili-pada, in the latter part of Tukulti-Ninurta's reign. In it, he recaps the genealogy of the recent Kassite dynasty, mentioning Kurigalzu II, Kadashman-Enlil II, and Kudur-Enlil, then apparently castigating Shagarakti-Shuriash, the “non-son of Kudur-Enlil”, and his sons, one of whom, Kashtiliashu, had provoked the war by his dastardly pre-emptive strike against Assyria. In one place, the sons of Shagarakti-Shuriash have been killed, almost certainly by none other than Tukulti-Ninurta himself. He then makes reference to a “servant of Suhi”, where Suhi is a region of northeast Syria, and Itamar Singer proposes this individual to be Adad-Shuma-usur, the implication being he was a foreigner, not of the royal stock and consequently unqualified for office.

Fortunately, this letter can be read in its entirety online [here](#). But since the fragments of the tablet(s) which contained the letter were so badly damaged, and since only the first 28 lines and the final line of the letter contain names, we reproduce below only those 29 lines. It is virtually impossible to make sense of the content of even these lines. Fortunately we don't need to make sense of the letter. We are looking for synchronisms.

### **Table 2: Letter from Ili-pada to Khashtiliash IV (KBo 28:61-62)**

The following uses Freydank's transliteration, which does not differ much from Von Soden's. Hagenbuchner follows Freydank mostly. The only lines where there is a material difference in translation are lines 14-17, where von Soden's translation is shown beside Freydank's. The letter is from Tukulti-ninurta 1, king of Assyria in eponym year Ili-ipadda, which is probably no earlier than 1215. Lines 14-17 seem to indicate that there is some question about whether Sagarakti-suriash has been displaced from the throne and the Great Kings of Assyria and Hatti are attempting to develop a policy on this. Virtually all Assyrian-Babylonian synchronisms have Sagarakti-suriash's

reign ending some years before this, and the letter has accordingly puzzled commentators. This letter was viewed as part of a letter also including KBo 28:63 and KBo 28:64, but this view is not adopted here.

	Freydank's transliteration		German	English
1	]??[		(Anfang fehlt)	(Beginning is missing)]
2	] ša-nu-[		]anderer/zweiter	other/second]
3	] ri-ta-ka-[..		]du hast gesetzt.	You have set. ]
4	x] iš-tu Ku-ri-[gal-zu]		] seit Kuri[galzu]	Since Kuri[galzu]]
5	X i]š-tu Ku-du-ur-I[l-li-il]		] seit Kudur-I[llil]	since Kudur-E[nlil]
6	] it-ta-m[...		]...[	]... [
7	x]u SES-ia at-ta		]auch bist du mein Bruder.	] also you are my brother.
8	[x IR ša- kur S]u-hi e-li-am-ma		Nach] Suḥi kam ich herauf, dann	To] Suḥi I came up, then
9	X] (EN.MES)-šu		] seine Herren.	] its lord
10	x]-la-a DUMU Ku-du-ur-Il-li-[il]		]ein Nicht-Sohn des Kudur-Ilil	] a not-son of Kudur-Enlil
11	x x x[..... x]ka-ia-ma-ni-tu šu-nu		]das ständige [....] sind sie.	]... the permanent [....] they are.
12	Tu-ut-ḥa[-li-ia.... X N]UMUN ša Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šu-r[i-aš]		Tuṭḥa[lija ... Fa]milie des Šagarakti-Šuri[aš],	Tuṭḥa[lija.... Fa]mily of Šagarakti-Šuri[aš],
13	IR ša kur [Su-ḥi.....x] qa-la-tu-nu		Der Knecht von [Suhi ]ihr [sollt] schweigen.	The Servant of [Suhi should] be quiet.
14	šum-ma Ša-g[a-ra-ak-ti-šu-ri-aš... ..x]ib? a-na UGU-ka a-[n] LU Te-te?[-en-ni]	F; <a href="#">V#1</a>	Wenn sich Sag[arakti-suriash...auf den Thron se]tze, so wurde er an dich wegen Bruderschaft nicht schreiben.	If Šag[arakti-Šuriaš ...set down from the throne, he would not write to you of Brotherhood,
15	la-a i-šap[-par.....X GIS.GU].ZA (ša)] is-ziz SES-ia at-ta	F; <a href="#">V#2</a>	[Wenn ..meinen ]Thron usurpiert hatte, so hattest, mein Bruder, du geschwiegen.	[If.. my] throne had been usurped, you, my brother, would have been quiet.
16	qa-la-ta x[.....x]u?-u ša IR ša kur Su-hi	V:	Die Hand ....[ ]...des Knechtes von Suhi.	The hand [....]of the servant of Suhi.
17	il-li-[.....X Ša-ga-ra-ak-t]i-Šu-ri-aš SES-ka ba-la-at	F; <a href="#">V#3</a>	[Wenn Sagarak]ti-Suriash, dein Bruder, lebt, so würdest du...zurückbringen	[If Sagarak]ti- Suriash, your brother lives, you will bring back...

18	KUR-šu ta?[-.....Xt]u-ta-a-ar IR.MEŠ [ša]-nu-u	V:	Sein Land ....[ ] bringst du zurück. [Meine] Knechte	His country .... [....] you bring back. [My] servants
19	li-it-x[.... ...x]?-tu a-na a-be-te an-ni-te	V:	Mögen ...[ ] ...auf dieses Wort hin	like ... [....] ...of this word there
20	ŠEŠ-i[a.....]?-al-ka	V:	Mein Bruder [ ]....	My brother [....]....
21	Ša[ga-ra-ak-ti-šu-ri-aš.... ...]-te ša IR ša kur Su-ĥi	V:	Ša[garakti-Šuriaš]...des Knechtes von Suĥi	Ša[garakti-Šuriaš] ...of the servant of Suĥi ...
22	il-[.....X GIS.GU.ZA ša] KUR Kar- du-ni-aš is-bu-tu-ni	V:	...[den ..na]ch Karduniaš er/man nahm,	[that t]o Karduniaš he/one took
23	ŠEŠ-[ia at-ta.....X]ta- qu-al	V:	Bruder [ ] du wirst aufpassen.	Brother... you will pay attention
24	.....Ša-ga-r[a-ak-ti- Šu-ri-aš	V:	.....[ Šagar]akti-Šuriaš	...[Šagar]akti-Šuriaš
25	.....X -š[a?-ni u KUR Ha-at-te ša- ni-ma	V:	]...und Hatti-Land irgendwo	...and Hatti-country somewhere
26	.....] šum-ma gab-bu-šu-nu-ma	V:	]...Wenn sie alle	....If they all
27	.....x-š]u-nu-la-a ku-bu?-ut?- qa ....[š]u-nu	V:	[ ]...Naqabib....sie.	....Naqabib....they..
28	.....] IR? ša kur [Su-ĥi]	V:	[ ]Knecht von {Suhi .}	] servant of {Suhi.]
59	limu] DINGIR-i-pada	V:	[Aponym] Ilu-iĥadda.	[Eponym] Ilu-iĥadda.

We are concerned about only three things regarding this letter. When was it written? Who was it written to? And who wrote it? We begin by answering the last question.

Who wrote it? Assyrian and Babylonian letters typically end in one of two ways. Some, including the derogatory letter written by Adad-shuma-usur to Ashur-nirari V and Ili-pada, close with precisely that combination of the three names, i.e. “Adad-shuma-usur, letter to Ashur-nirari and Ili-Hadda”. Others merely conclude with a name which provides a date for the letter. Throughout Assyrian history, each year in a king’s reign was named after different leading officials in the realm, including the king. This official was referred to as a “limmu”, and the name of the official was referred to as an “eponym”. This [eponym dating system](#) works fine, providing it can otherwise be determined what year each eponym represents. And in this instance that proves to be impossible, regardless of whether we date the letter in the 12<sup>th</sup> century or the 8<sup>th</sup>. Eponym lists for the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium do not exist, and are only known sporadically. While they do exist for the neo-Assyrian period, and we are able to determine the eponyms of all 28 limmu officials whose names were used during the reign of Adad-nirari III – which spans the reign of Shararakti-Shuriash - the name of Ili-pada is not among them. It follows that the name Ili-pada which concludes this letter could be either a name or an eponym if the letter is dated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, but can only be a name if dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century. 21<sup>st</sup> century Assyriologists, who unanimously date the letter to the 12<sup>th</sup> century are divided on

whether the name represents the author or is an eponym. This paper, which dates the letter to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, has no choice but to argue that it is authored by Ili-pada, and almost certainly the Ili-pada, governor of Hanigalbat, and “king of Ashur” addressed by the derogatory letter written by Adad-shuma-user. It may not have been written while Shagarakti-Shuriash was living, but still may date within the reign of Adad-nirari III (811-783) or even later. Many scholars believe that Shagarakti-Shuriash is deceased, and it is his family that is being discussed, perhaps in relation to customs matter, by Ili-pada. Regardless, we should disregard the fact that in Table 7 Ili-pada is being treated as an eponym. We assume the name of the addressee has been lost in the damaged area of the tablet.

When was it written? The reason for the lengthy excursus in the previous paragraph was in part to underscore the fact that the 12<sup>th</sup> century king Tukulti-Ninurta had nothing to do with this letter. As we pointed out in the previous paragraph it was almost certainly written by Ili-pada, “king of Ashur”, and was likely written while Assyria was ruled by the 8<sup>th</sup> century king Adad-nirari III (811-783), and possibly late in that king’s reign.

Who was it written to? The beginning sentence of the quoted Wikipedia article suggested that this letter was written by Tukulti-Ninurta to a Hittite king, “thought to be Suppiluliuma II”. That comment was motivated by the assumed 12<sup>th</sup> century provenance of the letter and the fact that the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I is by traditional scholars synchronized with the very end of the Hittite Empire. But only one Hittite king is actually named in the letter, and interestingly, in the same line as the name of Shagarakti-Shuriash. We refer to line 12 which makes reference to a “Tutḫa[lija.... Fa]mily of Šagarakti- Šuri[aš]”, a perfect fit with our 8<sup>th</sup> century timeline (see Figure 6 on page 12). The reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliyas IV not only overlapped the last half of the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash, but that of the next two Kassite kings as well. Since it is the family of Shagarakti that is being addressed here, it is quite possible that this king is dead. Regardless, the synchronism between Shagarakti-Shuriash and Tudhaliyas IV is certain.

### **Enlil-nadin-shumi (783) and Adad-shuma-iddina (781-776)**

When we looked at the Chronicle P earlier, we cut short our analysis of column 4 at verse 13, that being the end of the Nazi-Maruttash/Tukulti-Ninurta II narrative. Had we continued through the balance of the column we would have read a succinct account of two additional incidents, each involving invasions of Babylonia by a king of Elam named Kiden-Hutran. The following table reproduces column 4, lines 14-22 for reference purposes.

Table 3: The invasions of Babylonia by Kiden-Hutran, king of Elam

<b>14'</b> At the time of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king, Kiden-Hutran, king of Elam, attacked.
<b>15'</b> He went into action against Nippur and scattered its people. Der and Edimgalkamma
<b>16'</b> he destroyed, carried off its people, drove them away and eliminated the suzerainty of Enlil-nadin-šumi, the king.

-----
<b>17'</b> At the time of Adad-šuma-iddina, Kiden-Hutran returned and attacked Akkad a second time.
<b>18'</b> [...] he destroyed Isin, crossed the Tigris, all of
<b>19'</b> [...] Maradda. A terrible defeat of an extensive people
<b>20'</b> he brought about. [...] and with oxen [...]
<b>21'</b> [...] he removed to wasteland [...]
<b>22'</b> [...]

As mentioned earlier, the two Babylonian kings are part of the trio of kings who ruled briefly between the reigns of Kashtiliashu IV and Adad-shuma-usur. In the traditional history all of these kings are considered to be part of the aftermath of the war between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliashu IV. They supposedly reigned at the same time that Tukulti-Ninurta I was governing Babylonia. Consequently, scholars are left to speculate on how these two kings, and the king Kadashman-Harbe II who ruled briefly between them, fit into the overall scheme of things, and volumes have been written on the subject. Scholars wonder additionally why the author of the Chronicle P has listed these two vignettes out of order, discussing the death of Tukulti-Ninurta before introducing these two minor kings, both of whom reigned, at minimum, a decade earlier. As we mentioned earlier, Chroniclers are careful to place their stories in chronological order, starting with the oldest. For the revised history there is no problem. The column 4 Tukulti-Ninurta story took place in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. These two incidents took place two decades into the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. In our Figure 6 (see above, page 12) the reigns of the two [Babylonian](#) kings are dated to the years 783 and 781-776 respectively.

We wonder if there is evidence of the invasions by Kiden-Hutran near the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. At first glance we are disappointed. Iranian scholars tell us that they have no records of any Elamite kings ruling at that time, and that for 350 years, from 1100-750 B.C. Elam is in the midst of a prolonged “dark age” (see Table 4 below). But we know the cause of this “dark age”, and more importantly, we know how to at least partially fill it.

Table 4: Elamite King List according to the traditional history

## Middle Elamite Kingdom

### Dynasty of Igi-Halki

Name	Period of Reign
Igi-Halki	c. 1350-1330 B.C.
Pakhir-Ishshan	c. 1330-1310 B.C.
Attar-Kittakh	c. 1310-1300 B.C.
Khuman-Numena	c. 1300-1275 B.C.
Untash-napir-risha	c. 1275-1250 B.C.
Unpatar-napir-risha	c. 1250-1235 B.C.
Kiten-Hutran	c. 1235-1210 B.C.
Interregnum	c. 1210-1200 B.C.

### Dynasty of Hullutush-Inshushinak

Name	Period of Reign
Hullutush-Inshushinak	c. 1205-1185 B.C.
Shutruk-Nahhunte	c. 1185-1155 B.C.
Kutir-Nahhunte	c. 1155-1150 B.C.
Shilak-Inshushinak I	c. 1150-1120 B.C.
Hutelush-Inshushinak	c. 1120-1110 B.C.
Shilhana-Hamru-Lagamar	c. 1110-

## Neo-Elamite Kingdom

Name	Period of Reign
Humban-Tahrah	c. 820 B.C.
Humban-Nikash	743-717 B.C.>
Shutruk-Nahhunte II	717-699 B.C.
Hallushu-Inshushinak	699-693 B.C.
Humban-Numena	693-687 B.C.
Humban-Haltash I	687-681 B.C.
Humban-Haltash II	681-676 B.C.
Shilhak-Inshushinak	680-653 B.C.
Urtaku	676-664 B.C.
Tempt-Humban-Inshushinak	663-653 B.C.
Atta-Humban-Inshushinak	653-648 B.C.
Khumbanigash II	653-651 B.C.
Tammaritu	651-649 B.C.
Indabigash	697-647 B.C.

We direct the reader's attention to the Middle Kingdom "Dynasty of Igi-Halki" in our Table 4, and particularly to the last named king of that dynasty, where we find our elusive Kiten-Hutran, wrongly credited with ruling Elam in the years 1235-1210 B.C. And how, we ask, did this Elamite king end up in this time slot? To this question the informed reader will readily answer – these are the dates of Enlil-nadin-šumi (1224) and Adad-šuma-iddina (1222-1217) according to the timeline of the traditional Babylonian history (see Figure 3 on page 4). Apparently the only historical source for the reign of Kiten-Hutran is the "Chronicle P".



And what does this information imply concerning Kidin-Hutran, the last named king of the “Dynasty of Igi-Halki”. Again the informed reader will answer - “Since Enlil-nadin-šumi and Adad-šuma-iddina actually ruled Babylonia in the years 783 B.C. and 781-776 B.C. respectively (see Figure 6 on page 129) then the reign of Kidin-Hutran must be moved to span those 8<sup>th</sup> century years. But this is not the end of the story.

The “Dynasty of Igi-Halki”, more often referenced as the Igehalkid Dynasty, is renowned for its intermarriages with Kassite kings, particularly the families of Kurigalzu I and his grandson Burnaburiash II. From the Wikipedia article on [Burnaburiash II](#) we read

Diplomacy with Babylon's neighbor, [Elam](#), was conducted through royal marriages. A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter, now located in the [Vorderasiatisches Museum](#) in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King. It details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period, and from it we find that Pahir-Iššan married Kurigalzu I's sister and Humban-Numena married his daughter and their son, [Untash-Napirisha](#) was betrothed to Burna-Buriaš's daughter. This may have been Napir-asu, whose headless statue now resides in the [Louvre](#) in Paris.

And from the Wikipedia article on [Kurigalzu I](#) we read

A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter now located in the [Vorderasiatisches Museum](#) in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King and details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period. Apparently, he married his sister to the Elamite king Paḫir-iššan, the son of Ige-Halki, and a daughter to his successor, Humban-numena. This may have been Mishim-ruh, who is cited in royal inscriptions. The princess went on to bear Untash-Napirisha, the next king who was destined to marry Burna-Buriaš' daughter. The author of the letter is thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, ca. 1190-1155 BC, who claims descent from Kurigalzu's eldest daughter and also wed the eldest daughter of [Meli-Šipak](#), the 33rd Kassite king. Unfortunately the letter inserts [Nabu-apla-iddina](#) (888 – 855 BC) “an abomination, son of a [Hittite](#)”, into the narrative in the place one might have supposed that [Marduk-apla-iddina I](#) was to appear, the substitution of <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU by <sup>d</sup>AG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making **a chronological conundrum** and this may be the purpose of the “letter”, to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one. (emphasis added)

From these two paragraphs we know that the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> kings of the Igehalkid Dynasty were linked by marriage to the Kassite kings. And the letter that is referenced in both paragraphs, the tablet VAT 17020 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, clearly shows that Kidin-Hutran is a descendant in this complicated family tree. It follows that the dates of the entire Igehalkid dynasty need to be lowered to bring Kidin-Hutran to his rightful place in history.

There is no problem determining by how much to lower the dates for this Dynasty. In our previous paper, in Table 6 on page 15, we reduced the dates for the Babylonian kings from Kurigalzu 1 to Kadashman-Enlil II, initially by 430 years. Further fine tuning increased that figure slightly as we progressed through to the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II, but for our purposes here, the 430 year total should bring the Igehalkid Dynasty dates tolerably close to where they should be. Thus in our Table 5 below, we apply the 430 year reduction, moving the Dynasty of Igi-Halki into the “dark-age” gap in the Elamite chronology.

Table 5: Elamite Dynastic King List Adjusted to Eliminate the “Dark Age”

## Middle Elamite Kingdom

### Dynasty of Hullutush-Inshushinak

Name	Period of Reign
Hullutush-Inshushinak	c. 1205-1185 B.C.
Shutruk-Nahhunte	c. 1185-1155 B.C.
Kutir-Nahhunte	c. 1155-1150 B.C.
Shilak-Inshushinak I	c. 1150-1120 B.C.
Hutelush-Inshushinak	c. 1120-1110 B.C.
Shilhana-Hamru-Lagamar	c. 1110-

### Dynasty of Igi-Halki

Name	Period of Reign	Reign with dates lowered by 430 yrs
Igi-Halki	c. 1350-1330 B.C.	c. 920-900 B.C.
Pakhir-Ishshan	c. 1330-1310 B.C.	c. 900-880 B.C.
Attar-Kittakh	c. 1310-1300 B.C.	c. 880-870 B.C.
Khuman-Numena	c. 1300-1275 B.C.	c. 870-845 B.C.
Untash-napir-risha	c. 1275-1250 B.C.	c. 845-820 B.C.
Unpatar-napir-risha	c. 1250-1235 B.C.	c. 820-805 B.C.
Kiten-Hutran	c. 1235-1210 B.C.	c. 805-780 B.C.
Interregnum	c. 1210-1200 B.C.	

## Neo-Elamite Kingdom

Name	Period of Reign
Humban-Tahrah	c. 820 B.C.
Humban-Nikash	743-717 B.C.>
Shutruk-Nahhunte II	717-699 B.C.
Hallushu-Inshushinak	699-693 B.C.
Humban-Numena	693-687 B.C.
Humban-Haltash I	687-681 B.C.
Humban-Haltash II	681-676 B.C.
Shilhak-Inshushinak	680-653 B.C.
Urtaku	676-664 B.C.
Tempt-Humban-Inshushinak	663-653 B.C.
Atta-Humban-Inshushinak	653-648 B.C.
Khumbanigash II	653-651 B.C.
Tammaritu	651-649 B.C.
Indabigash	697-647 B.C.

The revised dates for Kiten-Hutran (805-780) now provide a credible synchronism with the reigns of Enlil-nadin-šumi (783 B.C.) and Adad-šuma-iddina (781-776). The correspondence could be improved were we to apply the result of our fine tuning in the previous paper, but the reader will get the point.

Adherents of the traditional history will no doubt cry “foul”. It will be claimed that we have randomly moved a Dynasty to create our synchronism. But we would counter that our move was not random. Of necessity we had to move the Igehalkid Dynasty 430 years into the future.

We had no notion whatsoever, prior to making this move, that the new location of the Dynasty would bring the two Babylonian kings into line with Kidin-Hutran. And what are the odds that there would exist a complete “dark-age” gap in the Elamite King List that would allow us to move a sequence of kings, 140 years in length, to a new location, and not be confronted with multiple, embarrassing conflicts with the existing occupants of that location.

The gap in the Elamite king list is graphic evidence of the distortion in the historical records of many countries caused by an Egyptian chronology which is 430 years out of synch with reality, and a Babylonian history similarly distorted. At long last the Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite, and now the Elamite kings of the 10<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, wrongly positioned for centuries in the 14<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, are being returned to their rightful time frame.

We close this section with one further comment. Moments ago we quoted a paragraph from the Wikipedia article on Kurigalzu I, which contained essentially the same information as the paragraph from the Wikipedia article on Burnaburiash II, except for the final comment, which we repeat again here. The author is referring to the Berlin letter VAT 17020, which both paragraphs identify as a Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text.

Unfortunately the letter inserts [Nabu-apla-iddina](#) (888 – 855 BC) “an abomination, son of a [Hittite](#)”, into the narrative in the place one might have supposed that [Marduk-apla-iddina I](#) was to appear, the substitution of <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU by <sup>d</sup>AG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making a chronological conundrum and this may be the purpose of the “letter”, to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one.

It is curious, to say the least, that a letter written to the Kassite court by an Elamite king, supposedly early in the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C., would make a derogatory comment about a Babylonian king named Nabu-apla-iddina, who governed the city of Babylon in the years 888-855 B.C. Even the most avid critic of the revised chronology would agree that, if this is what the letter is saying, then – to quote an old biblical cleric – this reference “does not even rise to the level of a contradiction; it makes no sense at all”. What is happening here? And how do we explain it to our readers?

Let us be clear. A letter written in the 12<sup>th</sup> century B.C. cannot make reference to a 9<sup>th</sup> century Babylonian king. But a letter written in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. not only can, but very likely will, make such a reference, especially since the context is dealing with the family of Burnaburiash II. We have positioned Kurigalzu II, son of Burnaburiash II, in the years 894-869 B.C. In the next section of this paper we will explain the fact that all of the Kassite rulers in this time frame were served by native vassal kings, who governed the day-to-day operation of Babylonia. And the king Nabu-apla-iddina, whose dates are 888-855 B.C., served both Kurigalzu II and his son Nazi-Maruttash. His name can be found in a downloaded Wikipedia chart listing the names of all of the “kings of Babylon”. The chart lists all the vassal [kings of Babylon](#) in the time frame 979-748 B.C. under the headings “Dynasties VIII” and “Dynasty IX”. In the revised history the “chronological conundrum” disappears. And there is more to be said.

The two quoted paragraphs refer to the Berlin letter as a “Neo-Babylonian” copy of a 12<sup>th</sup> century letter. They base this statement on the fact that the letter possesses certain neo-Babylonian literary characteristics, and yet, based on the content, the original was clearly written in the late Kassite era, which in the traditional history ended in the year 1155 B.C. We are therefore intrigued by the quoted paragraph concerned with the reign of Kurigalzu I on page 23 above, which makes an interesting comment about the letter’s possible author. The comment is relevant to our revised chronology and deserves a response.

The author of the letter is thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, ca. 1190-1155 BC, who claims descent from Kurigalzu’s eldest daughter and also wed the eldest daughter of [Meli-Šipak](#), the 33rd Kassite king.

Surprisingly, we agree with this proposed authorship. But there are two kings in the Elamite chart by the name Shutruk-Nahhunte (see Table 5 on page 24 above). Shutruk-Nahhunte I supposedly ruled from 1190-1155 B.C. This is the king referred to in the quoted statement. Shutruk-Nahhunte II ruled from 717-699 B.C. The reader should not be surprised to learn that they are the same king. The 12<sup>th</sup> century Shutruk-Nahhunte I will soon be moved to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, where he will emerge as Shutruk-Nahhunte II. And we think it quite possible that in this Neo-Babylonian time frame he wrote to the Kassites, now living out the final years of their dynasty. The Berlin letter VAT 17020 is not a late 8<sup>th</sup> century copy of a 12<sup>th</sup> century letter. All Near Eastern kings made duplicates of letters written to foreign dignitaries. The Berlin letter to the Kassites was likely duplicated at the time of writing, in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, and that duplicate would have been preserved in the Elamite archives. But the letter VAT 17020 housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin is more than likely the original. The only way to distinguish the two would be to enquire of the authorities at the Museum the provenance of the letter.

### **Marduk-apla-iddina (730-718)**

This king is absolutely unique, being the only Babylonian king who is synchronized with himself, albeit obliquely. This makes twice in succession that this unique phenomenon has occurred, since in the previous paragraph we have claimed a fact yet to be proven, i.e. that the necessary lowering of the dates of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte I identifies him with the 8<sup>th</sup> century Shutruk-Nahhunte II. Other details will demonstrate that there was only one king by that name. They are not father and son; they are not namesake relatives; they are the same king.

Similarly, the “third from the last” Kassite king was named Marduk-apla-iddina I, and in the traditional history he supposedly ruled from 1171-1159 B.C. (see Figure 3 on page 4 above). Only one other Babylonian king bore that same name, and this Marduk-apla-iddina II ruled between the years 722-710 B.C., and surprisingly, again in 703 B.C., though only for only a few months this second time. The reader will find the two mentions of this later king listed in Dynasty X on the same downloaded table of [kings of Babylon](#) used moments ago. In this list of

kings of Babylon the first mention of Marduk-apla-iddina II is qualified by the phrase “the Biblical Merodach-Baladan”.

It is no coincidence that when we lowered the dates of the 12<sup>th</sup> century king he reappeared in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century with dates 730-718 B.C. (see Figure 4 on page 10 above). We are here late in the Neo-Assyrian period, where dates are completely reliable. The list of kings of Babylon inserts as a comment following the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun (761-748) that “from this point on, the Babylonian chronology is securely known via Ptolemy’s Canon of Kings and other sources”.

But for the slight difference in dates (730-718 versus 722-710) we might immediately conclude that Marduk-apla-iddina I = Marduk-apla-iddina II. The discrepancy between the dates notwithstanding, there is no other king by this name anywhere in the thousand year long list of Kassite kings, or kings of Babylon, unless, of course, we distinguish between the first and second mentions of Marduk-apla-iddina II in the Dynasty X list. A word of explanation is clearly in order, if only to clarify the dual mentions of the 8<sup>th</sup> century Merodach-Baladan.

The Babylonian King List A on which we have relied for the dates of all the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century Kassite kings, including those of Marduk-apla-iddina, has thus far been proven reliable in our analysis by the multiple synchronisms which resulted from its use, and we are therefore confident about the accuracy of the 730-718 dates it provides for Marduk-apla-iddina here. And the dates for the dynasty X chronology of the kings of Babylon are “securely known” according to the final sentence in the previous paragraph, in which case the 722-710 dates for Marduk-apla-iddina should be regarded as accurate. Then how do we reconcile the two sets of dates, both of which claim validity, but which differ by eight years? And how do we explain the brief resurgence of this king in 703 B.C., eleven years after the end of the Kassite dynasty and fifteen years after his reign as Kassite king ended, probably because he died at the time? A complete analysis of the question is “out of the question” here, but we can suggest where the answer is probably to be found. For this we look to the Hebrew Bible

In the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, a delegation was sent to Israel bearing letters and a gift from the king of Babylon. The arrival of these emissaries was duly recorded in the archives of the nation, whence it made its way into the Hebrew Bible, in two separate accounts.

At that time Berodach-baladan a son of Baladan, king of Babylon sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he heard that Hezekiah had been sick (2 Kings 20:12)

At that time Merodach-baladan son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, for he heard that he had been sick and had recovered. (Isaiah 39:1)

The details of what ensued in the story is of little relevance to the present discussion. Our interest lies solely in establishing the reason behind the difference in the dates assigned to the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina and those assigned by the Dynasty X king list to the king of Babylon named Marduk-apla-iddina.

We begin by pointing out the obvious, namely, that in the 2 Kings record of the incident a scribe has mistakenly written Berodach instead of Merodach, and a note in the Hebrew text reminds the reader that we should read the name as Merodach, following the Hebrew texts of 2 Kings used by the translators of the LXX, the Syriac, and the Vulgate. The Isaiah text retains the original Hebrew reading. And scholars are unanimous in the opinion that the name Merodach-baladan is the Hebrew version of the Babylonian Marduk-apla-idinna. They are also unanimous in their opinion that the biblical king Merodach-baladan must be identified as the king who ruled Babylon in the time frame 722-710 B.C. We agree entirely. But it might surprise the reader to learn that this king is definitely not the Kassite king who bears that name. It is the opinion of this paper that while Merodach-baladan the son must be identified as the king who ruled Babylon from 720-708, and again briefly in 703 B.C., it is his father, Baladan, who is to be identified as the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty Kassite king whose reign spanned the years 730-718. We itemize below seven reasons for making this claim.

1. The name Baladan is clearly a shortened form of this king's full Babylonian name, which would necessarily have included the name of a god from the Babylonian pantheon. We believe further that his name was identical to that of his son, Marduk-apla-idinna, a name which means "*Marduk (the Babylonian god by that name) has given (iddina) a son (or heir) (Akkadian aplu, here in the accusative case).*" Baladan by itself would translate "He has given a son/heir", with essentially the same meaning, minus the name of the responsible deity. Thus the name would be perfectly suited as an epithet, and assuming that this king was well known to foreign dignitaries by that abbreviated name, it would be a familiar and fitting way to reference him.
2. Referring to foreign kings by name is a relatively rare occurrence in the Hebrew Bible, though it does occur an unusual number of times in the neo-Assyrian time frame. But adding the name of a parent never happens, except in this one instance. We ask the obvious question. Why here? It seems to this author that the Hebrew text adds the name of the father because Marduk-apla-idinna the son, king of Babylon, was not well known to Hezekiah, nor to the readers of the Hebrew text, and therefore had to be introduced as the son of his more illustrious father. Merodach-Baladan the father, Kassite king of Babylonia, would be infinitely more important a dignitary, with greater notoriety than a namesake son recently installed as "king of Babylon" by his father.
3. The Marduk-apla-idinna, son of Baladan, cannot be the Kassite king by that name, because the Kassite king is known to be the son of his predecessor Meli-Shipak, though we admit that this information is recorded on only one document, a kudurru (boundary) stone Sb 22, excavated at Susa and currently in the Louvre. The kudurru records a land grant from Meli-Shipak to his son Marduk-apla-iddina. That information can be found [here](#).
4. Kassite kings rarely, if ever, called themselves "king of Babylon", and for a good reason. They were not kings of Babylon. They were kings of Karduniash, the Kassite name for the country of Babylonia. In the next section we will argue that when the Kassites invaded and conquered Karduniash, they left the political structure of the country virtually unchanged. The

ruling kings, and all government officials were left to govern the day-to-day operations of the county without intervention by the Kassites, and whether domiciled in Babylon or elsewhere in Babylonia, those native kings self-styled themselves “kings of Babylon.” The Kassites, as we will also argue next, never did reside in Karduniash.

5. Though we don’t know precisely when these emissaries arrived for their audience with Hezekiah, it is likely that when they did, the Kassite king, whom we identify as Baladan, was already deceased. According to the online [Encyclopedia Britannica](#) article related to the reign of Hezekiah, the Israeli king ruled from 715 to 686 B.C.

The dates of his reign are often given as about 715 to about 686 BC, but inconsistencies in biblical and [Assyrian](#) cuneiform records have yielded a wide range of possible dates.

According to our revised chronology, the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina died in 718 B.C. If these dates are correct it follows that he cannot be the Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, who sent gifts to Hezekiah.

It is true that some scholars suggest a lengthy co-regency between Hezekiah and his father Ahaz, stretching back in time as much as a dozen years. If so, then this argument loses its potency.

6. The death of the Kassite king in 718 B.C. precludes the possibility that he can be the “king of Babylon” Marduk-apla-iddina for yet another reason, already mentioned. The latter ruled from 722-710 B.C. and again, briefly, in 703 B.C. The latter date is definitely the clincher. The 730-718 dates and the 722-710 dates could conceivably result from some error in the source documents and thus be reconciled. But there is no possibility that the 3<sup>rd</sup> to last Kassite king was still alive and engaged in a battle with the Assyrians in 703, eleven years after the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty ended.

7. The assumption that the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina and Baladan, father of the “king of Babylon” Marduk-apla-iddina are the same king, alone maintains the synchronism we set out to establish, and makes perfect sense of the dates assigned to the father and his namesake son. According to the dynasty X list of kings on the Wikipedia list of [kings of Babylon](#), in 748 B.C. Tiglath-Pilezer III subjugated Babylonia and installed Nabu-nasir as “king of Babylon.” Assyria continued to hold Babylonia captive through five successive Assyrian “kings of Babylon,” the last two brief stints in office taken by the Assyrian kings Tiglath-Pilezer III and Shalmaneser V. . Finally, in 722 B.C., in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina re-captured Babylonia, and immediately installed his son Marduk-apla-iddina as “king of Babylon.” Four years later the father died, ending his 12 year tenure as Kassite king (730-718). The Kassites replaced Marduk-apla-iddina (Baladan) first with Zababa-shuma-iddina (717) and then with Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714). The fate of each of these kings is discussed in our next section. During their brief reigns, and for another four years, Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon continued to hold on to his Babylonian kingship. But in 710 B.C. he was driven from Babylon by the army of the powerful Assyrian king Sargon (722-705 B.C.). In 705 B.C. Sargon died,



supposedly in battle, and was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, who inherited from Sargon the dual offices of “king of Ashur” and “king of Babylon”. Several years later, in 703 B.C., Sennacherib installed a vassal named Marduk-zakir-shumi as his replacement “king of Babylon”. Marduk-apla-iddina opportunistically reappeared to reclaim his former domain. He was successful, but his tenure in office was brief. Within months he was challenged and defeated by Sennacherib, who continued to rule Babylonia through proxies until 694 B.C., interrupted only in 700 B.C. by yet another attempt on the part of Marduk-apla-iddina to retake the throne of Babylon. This time the attempted coup was unsuccessful. A [Wikipedia article](#) describes the final days of the son of Baladin.

During his reign Sennacherib encountered various problems with [Babylonia](#). His first campaign took place in 703 BC against [Marduk-apla-iddina II](#) who had seized the throne of Babylon and gathered an alliance supported by [Chaldeans](#), [Aramaeans](#) and [Elamites](#). The visit of Babylonian ambassadors to [Hezekiah](#) of [Judah](#) is traditionally dated to this period. The allies wanted to make use of the unrest that arose at the accession of Sennacherib. Sennacherib split his army and had one part attack the stationed enemy at [Kish](#) while he and the rest of the army proceeded to capture the city [Cutha](#). After that was done the king returned swiftly to aid the rest of his army. The rebellion was defeated and Marduk-apla-iddina II fled. [Babylon](#) was taken, and its palace plundered but its citizens were left unharmed. The Assyrians searched for Marduk-apla-iddina II, especially in the southern marshes, but he was not found. The rebellion forces in the Babylonian cities were wiped out and a Babylonian named [Bel-ibni](#) who was raised at the Assyrian court was placed on the throne. When the Assyrians left, Marduk-apla-iddina II started to prepare another rebellion. In 700 BC, the [Assyrian army](#) returned to fight the rebels in the marshes again. Not surprisingly, Marduk-apla-iddina II fled again to Elam and died there.

### **Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) and Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714)**

According to the traditional history Zababa-shuma-iddin and his successor Enlil-nadin-ahi had very short reigns, both cut short by Elamite invasions, the first led by the Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) and the second by his son Kutir-Nahhunte I (1155-1150). Several times recently in this paper we have indicated that we would be lowering the dates of the king Shutruk-Nahhunte, bringing him into alignment with his late 8<sup>th</sup> century namesake Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699). What we did not say earlier, but now admit, we must also lower the dates for Kutir-Nahhunte. Hopefully we will be able to identify both namesake kings in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century.

It is time to argue the case. Assuming we can do so, we will have proved our contention that Zababa-shuma-iddin and Enlil-nadin-ahi are correctly positioned at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. We itemize our argument in point form.

1. All scholars of the traditional history agree that the Elamite king list presented earlier in this paper is essentially accurate (see Table 4, p. 22 above), including the fact that Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) is correctly positioned several decades after Kiden-Hutran (1235-1210), the last Elamite king of the Igehalkid dynasty. They are also adamant that these two kings are responsible for bringing about an end to the Kassite dynasty, by deposing its last two kings, and



destroying the Kassite's only outpost in Babylonia, the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. In order to compare these 12<sup>th</sup> century Elamite kings with their namesakes in the late 8<sup>th</sup>/early 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, we briefly summarize their actions via an analysis of the reigns of the two Kassite kings they deposed, namely, Zababa-shuma-iddin and Enlil-nadin-ahi.

#### Zababa-shuma-iddin:

It is argued by scholars that the king Zababa-shuma-iddin was not a son of Marduk-apla-iddina, his predecessor, a fact consistent with our claim that the eldest son of the Kassite king Marduk-apla-iddina (alias "Baladan") was his namesake son, installed in the year 722 B.C. as "king of Babylon" by his father, who had just retaken control of Babylonia. Marduk-apla-iddina the son was the legitimate heir of his father. Zababa-shuma-iddin was an interloper. Scholars argue, correctly in our opinion, that Shutruk-Nahhunte was a member of the Igehalkid dynasty family that had for generations been intermarrying with the Kassites, and that his military action against Zababa-shuma-iddin was motivated by the presence of this "outsider" on the Kassite throne, and his frustration at having his claim to the vacated throne overlooked. Thus we read in a [Wikipedia article](#) concerned with the reign of the Kassite king Zababa-shuma-iddina:

His lack of connection to the previous royal family into which the Elamite rulers had intermarried for several generations led Shutruk-Nahhunte, king of Elam, who was himself married to the thirty-third Babylonian king [Meli-Šipak's](#) eldest daughter, to believe his claim to the throne of Babylon was more legitimate. A Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text which takes the form of a letter, now located in the [Vorderasiatisches Museum](#) in Berlin, is addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite King, thought to be Shutruk-Nahhunte, and details the genealogy of the Elamite royalty of this period. He casts aspersions on their choice of king and then declares:

Why I, who am a king, son of a king, seed of a king, scion of a king, who am king (?) for the lands, for the land of Babylonia and the land of [El]am, descendant of the eldest daughter of the mighty King [Kurigalzu](#), (why) do I not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia? I sent you a sincere proposal; you however have granted me no reply: you may climb up to heaven – [but I'll pull you down] by your hem; you may go down to hell – [but I'll pull you up] by your hair! I shall destroy your cities, dem[olish] your fortresses, stop up your (irrigation) ditches, cut down your orchards, [pull out] the rings [of the sluices] at the mouths of your (irrigation) canals...  
—*Shutruk Nahhunte?, Letter to the Kassite court.*

The article continues with a description of the assault:

Shutruk-Nahhunte led an assault on northern Babylonia which resulted in the end of Zababa-šuma-iddina's reign. The event is described in a late Babylonian poetic text purporting to be narrated by a later king, possibly [Nabû-kudurri-ušur I](#). He left his inscriptions on many of the trophies he collected for display in the temples of [Susa](#), each with its boastful addendum, to confirm it was he who had conquered Babylonia. A fragment of an Elamite stele describes crossing the river Uai and seizing seven hundred towns. Another fragment lists the northern cities that had been overthrown including [Dur-Kurigalzu](#), [Sippar](#), [Opis](#), perhaps [Akkad](#) and [Eshnunna](#).

These two paragraphs leave no doubt that Shutruk-Nahhunte was the author of the Berlin letter we referenced in a previous section of this paper, and furthermore, that he was a member of the Elamite extended family that intermarried with the Kassite descendants of Kurigalzu I. We have no idea why he and his son Kudir-Nahhunte were selected by scholars to

initiate a successor dynasty, the Shutrukids, but since Shutruk-Nahhunte was married to a daughter of Meli-Shipak and declares himself a successor of Kurigalzu I, there can be no doubt that his dates must be lowered by approximately 430 years.

### Enlil-nadin-ahi

In yet another [Wikipedia article](#), this time describing the reign of Enlil-nadin-ahi, we read:

**Shutruk-Nahhunte**, king of **Elam**, had overrun Babylonia bringing Enlil-nādin-aḥe's predecessor, **Zababa-šuma-iddina**'s brief rule to an end. He had then returned to **Susa** leaving his son, Kutir-Nahhunte, to govern. Enlil-nādin-aḥe was proclaimed king of "Sumer and Akkad", and ruled for three years, possibly in defiance of the occupying Elamite forces. A single **kudurru**, or boundary stone detailing a royal land grant, an administrative text listing recipients of grain from **Ur**, and a couple of tablets from a small cache from the Merkes section of Babylon, all bear witness to his reign.

According to later chronicles, his short reign was brought to a dramatic close when he led a campaign against the Elamite forces and suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Kutir-Nahhunte, who was possibly now the successor of Shutruk-Nahhunte. He was deported with the Kassite noblemen in chains to Susa accompanied by the booty pillaged from the various Babylonian temples, whose most notable example was the cult statue of **Marduk**, an act so sacrilegious to the Babylonians that it would forever cast Kutir-Nahhunte in infamy.

We learn very little new from these two paragraphs, save for the fact that Kutir-Nahhunte was the son of Shutruk-Nahhunte, confirmation that he alone was responsible for the ultimate fall of the Kassite Empire, and that his name was held in contempt by later generations. As the son of Shutruk-Nahhunte, it follows that his dates also must also be lowered by 430 years.

The necessary 430 year reduction in the dates for Shutruk-Nahhunte I (1185-1155) and Kutir-Nahhunte I (1155-1150) repositions them in the approximate time frames 755-725 and 725-720 B.C. respectively. The fact that these dates are approximately one decade too early should not be considered a deterrent. The interregnum between the Igehalkid dynasty and following Shutrukid dynasty (in which Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir have been mistakenly placed) is estimated to be only 10 years, and five of those years are given over to the reign of Hullutush-Inshushinak (1205-1185), the assumed predecessor of Shutruk-Nahhunte I in the Shutrukid dynasty (see Table 4 page 22). It should surprise no-one if we were to lower the dates for Shutruk-Nahhunte I by yet another decade.

2. In a sense we have already confirmed that Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son Kutir belong to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Every argument previously advanced in this paper, and in the paper which preceded it - those which confirm that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Marduk-apla-iddina (Baladan) ruled Babylonia from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> through to the late 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. - also support our contention that the last two final Kassite kings must have ruled in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. And since their brief reigns ended via military action led by the Elamite kings Shutruk-Nahhunte and his son, the names of those two kings should be present in the Elamite king list, assuming that the Elamite king list has been preserved in this time frame. They may not have

been assigned dates consistent with those determined in the previous paragraph, partly because Elamite scholars may have erred in fine tuning the dates for the 12<sup>th</sup> century namesakes, and partly because their determination of the late 8<sup>th</sup> century dates must necessarily have been based on very limited inscriptional material. After all, much of the data concerning the reigns of the late 8<sup>th</sup>, early 7<sup>th</sup> century Shutruk-Nahhunte II and Kutir-Nahhunte II has been wrongly assigned to their two fictional 12<sup>th</sup> century namesakes. Certainly we do not expect to read anything about them that would remotely connect them with the Kassite kings they deposed, this for the same reason. All we can expect to see is a record of their existence.

This said, a glance at our Table 3 on page 15 confirms the existence of a king Shutruk-Nahhunte II, with assigned dates 717-699 B.C. Those dates differ from the 755-725 time frame arrived at by our reduction of the 12<sup>th</sup> century dates of his namesake, but we feel fortunate that the reign of this king has even been documented, much less with dates even closer to those of the two deposed Kassite kings Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) and Enlil-nadin-ahi (716-714) than the dates arrived at by our 425 year reduction of 12<sup>th</sup> century dates.

But what about Kutir-Nahhunte? He is not listed in the Elamite king list. That omission may or may not be significant. Recall our earlier Wikipedia article that described the invasion of Shutruk-Nahhunte, and the fact that the father left his son Kutir to govern the conquered Babylonian territory. Three years later Kutir deposed the replacement king Enlil-nadin-ahi. The Elamite scholars have assumed that Kutir had by this time replaced his deceased father on the Elamite throne, and accordingly list him as king, succeeding his father in the Shutrukid dynasty. But there is no textual evidence supporting this assumed kingship of Kutir-Nahhunte. It is therefore not surprising that he is absent from the 8<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century list of Elamite kings. But having said that, we are gratified to learn that Shutruk-Nahhunte II did have a son named Kutir-Nahhunte, and in spite of not being listed on the king list, he did briefly rule the country. For this information we turn our attention to a [Wikipedia article](#) discussing the history of Elam, our attention focused on the section dealing with the Neo-Elamite period (c. 770-646 B.C.).

More details are known from the late 8th century BC, when the Elamites were allied with the [Chaldean](#) chieftain [Merodach-baladan](#) to defend the cause of Babylonian independence from Assyria. Khumbanigash (743–717) supported Merodach-baladan against [Sargon II](#), apparently without success; while his successor, Shutruk-Nakhkhunte II (716–699), was routed by Sargon's troops during an expedition in 710, and another Elamite defeat by Sargon's troops is recorded for 708. The Assyrian dominion over Babylon was underlined by Sargon's son [Sennacherib](#), who defeated the Elamites, Chaldeans and Babylonians and dethroned Merodach-baladan for a second time, installing his own son [Ashur-nadin-shumi](#) on the Babylonian throne in 700.

**Shutruk-Nakhkhunte II**, the last Elamite to claim the old title "king of Anshan and Susa", was murdered by his brother [Khallushu](#), who managed to briefly capture the Assyrian governor of Babylonia Ashur-nadin-shumi and the city Babylon in 694. [Sennacherib](#) avenged this by invading and ravaging Elam in 694 BC, and destroying Babylon. Khallushu was in turn assassinated by **Kutir-Nakhkhunte**, who succeeded him, but soon abdicated in favor of Khumma-Menanu III (692–689). Khumma-Menanu recruited a new army to help the Babylonians and Chaldeans against the Assyrians at the [battle of Halule](#) in 691 BC. Both sides claimed the victory in their annals, but Babylon was destroyed by [Sennacherib](#) only two years later, and their Elamite allies defeated in the process. (emphasis added)

This source informs us that Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699) was murdered by his brother Khallushu (699-693) who in turn was assassinated by Kutir-Nahhunte (693-692), likely to avenge the earlier murder of his father, an ironic turn of events according to one Oxford source. There exists no other information than this concerning Kutir-Nahhunte, though the back to back assassinations at least suggest, if they don't prove, that Kutir-Nahhunte was the legitimate heir to the throne of Shutruk-Nahhunte, and that therefore he was his eldest son.

With that we rest our case. Elamite scholars have dated these kings several decades too late. But that is a small error, considering that they have dated the entire Ingehalkid and at least two kings from the Shutrukid dynasty, well over 430 years too early.

As always, let the reader decide if we are right.

### C. Babylonian King List A & The Assyrian Synchronistic King List

Two documents alone will suffice to explain how and why the traditional and revised chronologies of Babylonian dynastic history differ as much as they do. Their analysis will also pave the way for our intended extension of the revised Babylonian timeline backward in time through the 1<sup>st</sup> dynasty, including revised dates for the infamous Hammurabi. As mentioned earlier, the two documents are known by the names "Babylonian King List A" and the "Assyrian Synchronistic King List". We begin with the Babylonian King List.

#### **Babylonian King List A**

This King List, unlike its Assyrian counterparts, exists in only one version. In fact, there is preserved only one copy of this list, the only Babylonian document which itemizes and provides the reign lengths of all the kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> (Kassite) dynasty, unfortunately surviving on a single, damaged tablet. There are three good online copies of this Kinglist available for the reader to download, print, or peruse:

- 1) p. 272 of Pritchard's ANET <http://www.ericlevy.com/Revel/Intro2/ANET%20265-275%20and%20564-567.PDF>
- 2) [http://www.geocities.ws/farfarer2001/chronicles/bkl\\_a.html](http://www.geocities.ws/farfarer2001/chronicles/bkl_a.html)
- 3) pp. 424-439 from J.A. Brinkman, Materials and Studies for Kassite History, Chicago, Oriental Institute, 1976  
<http://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/mskh1.pdf>

Of these three, Brinkman's is by far the most extensive analysis, and Pritchard's has the advantage that it also contains, on page 72-74, a copy of the Assyrian Synchronistic King List, which Pritchard entitles the "Synchronistic Chronicle".

Brinkman's two introductory paragraphs to his APPENDIX D "NOTES ON KINGLIST A" read:

Kinglist A (BM33332) is the only Babylonian document presently known that originally purported to list all the monarchs of Babylonia and the lengths of their reigns from 1894 till at least 626 B.C. (note 1) Most detailed reconstructions of Babylonian chronology and history for this period (note 2) draw heavily on this tablet for primary data, which are often unavailable elsewhere; (note 3) and its sequence of rulers and dynasties provides the basic framework upon which most historians of Babylonia at least implicitly rely” Over the years since the first publication of Kinglist A by Pinches in 1884, there have been widely varying estimates of the trustworthiness of its data, especially the numbers listed for the lengths of individual reigns and dynasties. Modern attitudes have ranged from an uncritical acceptance of most material in the list to rejection of any regnal number unless it is confirmed by independent sources such as economic texts. It is the purpose of the present appendix to examine the kinglist in more detail and to see where within this broad spectrum of scholarly opinion the truth is more likely to lie. (p. 424)

Note 1: The list may have continued down to 539 B.C. or slightly later, but the end is broken away...

Note 2: With the exception of the Hammurapi dynasty, which is almost completely broken away at the beginning of the text.

Note 3: Especially concerning the lengths of reigns.

We have no intention of analyzing this document, save for comment on the one major change in its interpretation we are about to make.

This king list reminds this author of a similar Egyptian document, preserved only in fragments in quotations by later authors, and purportedly authored by an Egyptian priest named Manetho in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Like that early Egyptian document, the Babylonian kinglist suffers from an extremely important deficiency. Both documents appear to list dynasties in the chronological order in which they began, but both make no mention of any overlap in the timelines of the dynasties, even though later research has shown that some dynasties do overlap. That deficiency was not corrected by 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars in either the Assyro-Babylonian or the Egyptian fields of studies. And 21<sup>st</sup> century Egyptologists seem determined to preserve the status quo. But it is somewhat comforting to note a gradual change taking place in the research conducted by Babylonian scholars. It has been recognized in the latest (late 20<sup>th</sup>/ early 21<sup>st</sup> century) research that several of the early Babylonian dynasties did, in fact, overlap for considerable portions of their lengths. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, no researcher has dared to tamper with the presumed back-to-back sequencing of dynasties 3-9. Until today.

At the beginning of our radical revision of Egyptian dynastic history we reasoned, with ample precedent to guide our research, that the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> dynasties of Egypt overlapped throughout their lengths. There existed abundant research confirming that when the army of one ANE kingdom defeated that of a foreign nation, and the latter became a vassal state of the conqueror, the defeated nation was generally allowed to resume its day-to-day governmental and priestly operations, quite often without even replacing the defeated king, providing treaties were signed with conditions favorable to the conqueror, with future fealty and delivery of annual tribute promised. The conqueror then moved on, either back to the homeland, or forward to yet other battles. Such was the case with the Persian king Cyrus in almost all of his world-dominating conquests. Egypt was an exception in one respect only. Having been

devastated by a Babylonian invasion in 565 B.C. - an invasion that killed and deported a high percentage of the population, and left the country kingless and desolate – the army of Cyrus in 543 B.C. encountered virtually no opposition as they overran the country, and simply left behind a garrison of soldiers to loot the temples, and set up a puppet kingdom of Saite dynasty governors to regulate the recovering nation. It is doubtful that Cyrus ever visited Egypt. And in his much later enumeration of dynasties Manetho listed the Saite dynasty vassal kings as his dynasty number 26 and the Persian overlords as number 27, though both sequences of “kings” ruled their respective domains in precisely the same time-frame. And subsequent generations listed these dynasties as if their kings ruled Egypt in succession. The result, of course, was that the Egyptian timeline was extended by a fictional 121 years.

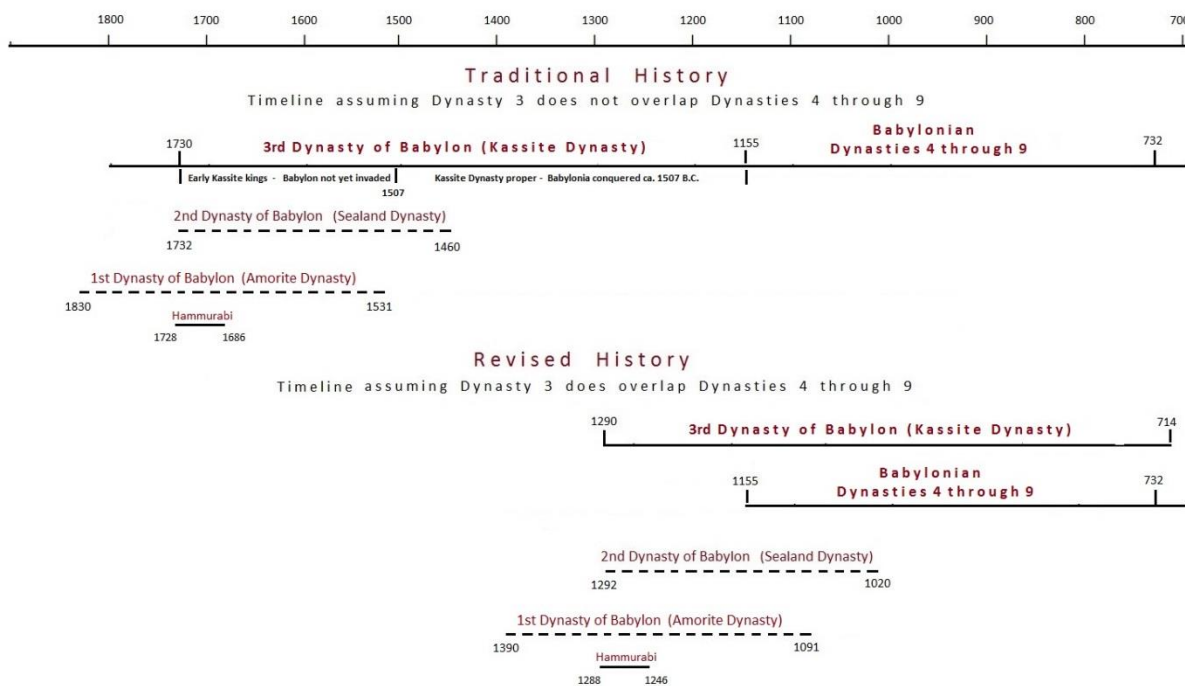
We argue here that a similar error took place approximately 750 years earlier, when the Kassites, yet another “Iranian” kingdom, invaded and conquered Babylonia, left “as is” the ruling faction or factions of the country, and after receiving assurances of future loyalty, and after installing minor governmental officials to represent their interests (and perhaps an army garrison, or garrisons), returned to their homeland in the Zagros region of present day western Iran. In the last decades scholars have increasingly come to the realization that, at least in the early stages of what 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars called the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty, the Kassite kings did not inhabit Babylonia. Thus in the downloaded Wikipedia list of [kings of Babylon](#) used in our third paper, and many times earlier in this paper, eight of the earliest 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty kings of the Babylonian King List A are listed separately and described simply as a separate dynasty of “Early Kassite Kings” with the added explanation that “this dynasty did not actually rule Babylon, but their numbering scheme was continued by later Kassite Kings of Babylon, and so they are listed here”. By this means the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon was reduced in number from 36 to 28 kings. That was a mistake, and we are here to restore the integrity of the Babylonian King List A.

In our understanding, none of the 36 Kassite kings ever actually governed the day-by-day operations of Babylonia, which throughout its history functioned as a semi-autonomous nation, suffering invasions and periodic replacements of kings, and the shifting of the political centers of power common to the region of “Sumer and Akkad” of older times. This situation prevailed for the duration of Kassite “overlordship” of Babylonia, while the Kassite kings continued to function independently, centered in their traditional homeland in the Zagros Mountain region. Even after the 17<sup>th</sup> Kassite king Kurigalzu I constructed a namesake city Dur-Kurigalzu north and slightly east of Babylon, around the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (using revised history dates), we believe the Kassites rulers spent most of their time elsewhere.

Summing up, we have absolutely no reason at this time to doubt that the 36 Kassite kings, whose combined reign lengths totaled 576 years as listed on the Babylonian King List A, were the legitimate rulers of the country for the whole of that time, all the while the land was governed by kings centered in Babylon or elsewhere in Babylonia.

In our estimation the 4<sup>th</sup> through the 9<sup>th</sup> dynasties of Babylon, as described on the Wikipedia list of Babylonian rulers, were merely the vassal kings running the country on behalf of the Kassite overlords, precisely as the 26<sup>th</sup> (Saite) dynasty “kings” governed Egypt on behalf of the 27<sup>th</sup> (Persian) dynasty conquerors. In this scenario there were always two kings controlling Babylonia (the country that the Kassites called Karduniash), a Kassite king who resided elsewhere, and a “king of Babylon” who governed the country. The situation is depicted graphically in the following figure.

Figure 7: Timelines showing sequencing of Babylonian Dynasties  
in the Traditional versus the Revised history



We itemize the several comments related to the above diagram:

1. The result of our determination that the Kassite dynasty overlapped dynasties 4-9, and that the dynasty ended in 714 B.C., is the fact that the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon must have begun around 1290 B.C., as stated on our Figure 6. This date reflects our confidence in the number 576 for the combined regnal length of the dynasty 3 kings as provided by the Babylonian King List A, a number relied upon by almost all Babylonian scholars.
2. It is immediately apparent that this diagram describes the process by which the Babylonian timeline was erroneously lengthened by approximately 440 years. In the traditional history the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty began around the year 1730 B.C. In the revised history, it began 440 years later, around 1290 B.C. Those 440 years result from a simple interpretive error, a mistaken belief that the Babylonian dynasties of kings, as listed on the King List A, ruled sequentially.



3. The Babylonian King List A begins its enumeration of kings with the eleven member kings of what modern scholars call the “Amorite dynasty” or, following their numerical schema, the 1<sup>st</sup> dynasty of Babylon. The King List itself designates this sequence of kings, which includes Hammurabi as its sixth member, as the “dynasty of Babylon”. Unfortunately all eleven names are in a damaged section of the tablet and are missing. The King List continues in sequence to itemize the monarchs of each of the following eight dynasties, using its own unique names for each, several of which are illegible on the damaged tablet. Scholars have maintained the use of most of these names in addition to their numbering schema for the dynasties. Thus the King List follows the “dynasty of Babylon” with the names of the eleven kings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> dynasty of Babylon (the 1<sup>st</sup> Sealand dynasty), the 36 Kassite kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty, the 11 kings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty of Isin, the 3 kings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Sealand Dynasty, the 3 Kassite kings of the “Bit-Bazi Dynasty”, a single “Elamite Dynasty” king, and finally, the 14 kings of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> dynasties, treated as a single composite dynasty and titled “the Dynasty of E”. The “vassal kings” of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 9<sup>th</sup> dynasties will in due time be included in our timeline charts on a separate line below the timeline of the Kassite kings, where they will add further proof that we have correctly positioned the Kassite kings. This process will also add further synchronisms to our revised Babylonian history.

4. The upper portion of the diagram in Figure 6 represents how the ancient Assyrian scribes conceptualized Kassite history. This was the case at least as early as the reign of Ashurbanipal, as we will see when we examine the Synchronistic King List in the next section. And it remains today universally accepted as an accurate representation of Babylonian chronology by the majority of 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars. Revisionist historians are the sole exception. On the contrary, at least in the early decades following the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty in 714 B.C., Babylonian scribes almost certainly understood that the Kassites and the kings of dynasties 4-9 had jointly ruled Babylonia for centuries. The Babylonians themselves would certainly have agreed with the overlapping dynasties depicted in the lower portion of the diagram.

Unfortunately, the history of Babylonia was not preserved by the Babylonians. It remained for centuries the domain of Assyrian scribes, preserved in dozen of “synchronistic king lists” and “synchronistic chronicles”. And in these the history of Babylonia was consistently misinterpreted, with dynasty 3 beginning around 1730 B.C., and dynasties 4-9 following from 1155-811 B.C.

5. We have included the [1<sup>st</sup> Sealand dynasty](#) (= the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty of Babylon) in our chart to illustrate the fact that at no time were the Kassite kings the sole rulers of Babylonia. According to the Babylonian King List A this dynasty consisted of 11 kings who ruled for a combined 368 years. Modern scholars add one king to the number, but drastically lower the regnal year total, a wise decision according to this author. While this leaves us temporarily at limbo regarding where precisely to place this dynasty in our Figure 7, there are two details which assist us. On the one hand, the fact that the Babylonian King List A lists this dynasty as its second and the Kassite dynasty as its third, tells us that the Sealand dynasty began at least slightly earlier than



the Kassite dynasty. In the traditional history it supposedly began only a few years earlier. It is also acknowledged by 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars that the 12<sup>th</sup> and final king of this dynasty, named Ea-gamil, was overthrown by the Kassite king Ulamburiash, the 12<sup>th</sup> Kassite king, whose dates fall roughly in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Tentatively we follow 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars and estimate its duration to be around 270 years. Thus, for the time being, we assign to the dynasty the years 1292-1020. Those numbers will likely change marginally with further research.

6. We have also included the Amorite dynasty (= the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty of Babylon) in our diagram, positioned in relation to the Sealand and Kassite Dynasties precisely as in the traditional history, but with dates reduced 440 years, from 1830-1531 to 1390-1091. We are less confident in the positioning of the Amorite dynasty than we are for the Sealand dynasty, and further research will almost certainly move these dates further into the past, though probably by less than a century. Time will tell. This opinion relates also to the dates assigned to the 6<sup>th</sup> king of this dynasty, the infamous Hammurabi, who ruled from 1728-1686 according to the traditional history, but from 1288-1246 B.C. in the revised timeline, with his dates reduced by 440 years. . While at this time we cannot say precisely how many years the Amorite Dynasty timeline should be moved back, the reign of Hammurabi almost certainly begins in the 14<sup>th</sup> century at the earliest. Enough said for now.

7. The reader will notice that the inclusion of the Amorite dynasty and the 1<sup>st</sup> Sealand dynasty means that for over a century at minimum, from ca. 1155 to ca. 1020, Babylonia was governed by at least three kings, the Sealand dynasty in the south, the earliest dynasty 4 kings in the north, with Babylon as a base, and the Kassite kings, absentee landlords as per usual. Leaving the Amorite dynasty in its present position would create an intolerable situation with four ruling kings, suggesting that at minimum the Amorite dates must move backward in time by 59 years, dating the dynasty 1449-1155 instead of the 1390-1091 assigned in Figure 7. Since at present we do not know precisely where to position the Amorite kings, we leave the diagram as is. In the scenario with three governing kings there is no conflict. The downloaded Wikipedia article on the “Kings of Babylon”, in its summary statement for the Sealand Dynasty, readily acknowledges the fact that ...

These rulers may not have ruled Babylonia itself for more than the briefest of periods, but rather the formerly Sumerian regions south of it. Nevertheless, it is often traditionally numbered the Second Dynasty of Babylon, and so is listed here.”

8. We note in our Figure 7 that according to 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars the first 8 Kassite dynasty kings (from Gandash to Agum II) should not be included as part of the “3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty of Babylon”, since the initial invasion and conquest of Babylonia is best dated around 1507 B.C., thus 223 years after the beginning of the dynasty. These 8 kings are accordingly entitled simply as “Early Kassite Kings” and are distinguished from the kings of the “3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty” proper, which follows. For the time being we ignore that distinction in our revision, believing instead that all of the Kassite kings resided outside of Babylonia and had minimal involvement in the affairs of the vassal state, and very little presence in the country. We continue to believe that the conquest

of the Babylonia took place around 1290 B.C. Further research should confirm that conjecture. Hopefully we can resolve the matter in a future paper

### **Assyrian Synchronistic King List**

This section will be brief, but for those interested in doing further research on Babylonian history it is perhaps the most important item of all. Two distinct sources potentially contribute to our understanding of early Babylonian history. On the one hand there exist multiple documents which describe synchronisms between the actions of the Babylonian kings and the reasonably accurate Assyrian timeline, as that timeline is depicted on multiple Assyrian king lists. *A priori* this would seem like the best source on which to depend when constructing a Babylonian time line. On the other hand there do exist multiple copies of actual correspondence and treaties and records of military encounters between the Babylonian kings and the rulers of other nations, such as the Egyptians, the Hittites, and most recently the Elamites and the divided kingdom of Israel. These documents also provide valuable synchronisms.

Unfortunately, the first source, which is by far the most plentiful, is of almost no value at all, a lesson learned with difficulty by this author. Frequently he has agonized when perusing the Assyrian Synchronistic King List, and the multiple smaller versions of that king list, usually entitled “Chronicles”. The latter documents consistently seem to support the timeline of the traditional history, whereas the other types of sources, without exception, describe the revised timeline. It took a while before it dawned on this author how to explain this dichotomy between the two types of source documents, the one seemingly describing a 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty timeline beginning in 1730 B.C., the other a Kassite history beginning in 1290 B.C.

The answer is to be found in a single document – the Assyrian Synchronistic King List.

A downloadable copy of this “king list” can be found at either of the sources listed below.

<http://www.livius.org/k/kinglist/synchronic.html>

<http://www.ericlevy.com/Revel/Intro2/ANET%20265-275%20and%20564-567.PDF> p. 272-274

The Synchronistic King List is an uncomplicated document. Side by side it lists the kings of Assyria and Babylon who are contemporary with one another, including the names of multiple kings contemporary with any single king of the other country.

According to the Livius copy of the Assyrian Synchronistic King list:

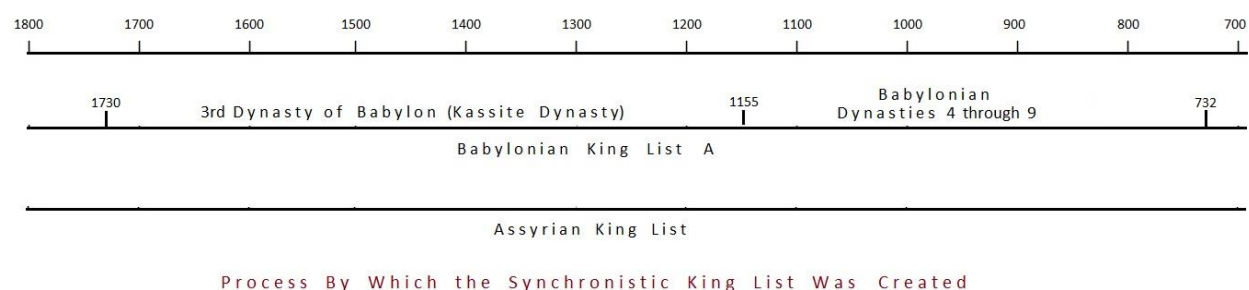
The original cuneiform tablet, from Aššur, had four columns and is comparatively well preserved. It mentioned (presumed) synchronisms between monarchs from the Assyrian king Erišu and his Babylonian colleague Sumulail (the first ruler of the First dynasty of the Sealand) down to the reign of Aššurbanipal and Kandalanu in the mid-seventh century.

From that same source we learn that “the document contains the names of 82 kings of Assyria from Erishum, son of Ilushuma to Ashurbanipal and 98 kings of Akkad from Sumulael to Kandalanu”. It thus cover the time span from the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> Sealand dynasty to the middle of the seventh century B.C. We have only three questions to ask regarding this document. When was it created? How was it created? And how reliable is it? The questions are, of course, related.

The Time: The document, as presently construed, was obviously created by the scribes of Ashurbanipal, since it was found at Ashur and it names that king at the end of the document. It is conceivable that it was copied from an earlier document, and the names of the most recent kings then added to the copy. But we think not, largely because the process by which such a document could be produced was readily at hand in the seventh century B.C., and the king list, or any portion of it, could have been produced in a few days by any competent schoolboy. In fact, it might well have been a standard curriculum exercise.

The Method: Our Figure 8 below illustrates the process.

Figure 8: Process by which the Synchronistic King List was created



This is not space science. Every 7<sup>th</sup> century scribe had access to multiple Assyrian king lists. They were without doubt ubiquitous items in every scriptorium. The Babylonian King List, examined in the previous section, was also easily accessible. Our Figure 8 represents how any reader of this paper, much less some ancient scribe, would proceed to manufacture a Synchronistic King List, by simply listing the timelines for Assyria and Babylonia side by side, and making note which kings are contemporary. In fact, our Figure 3 on page 4 illustrates precisely what would be visible between the years 1374 and 1133 B.C. when detailed Assyrian and Babylonian timelines are oriented side by side, as in our Figure 8. The scribes might well have used manufactured timelines, or more than likely they simply replaced the timeline with some basic calculations using the known reign lengths of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. The result would be the same.

The Reliability: A glance at our Figure 3 speaks volumes about the accuracy of this method. Providing the time lines are properly scaled, and are accurately positioned, an extremely accurate Synchronistic King List will result. But therein lies a multitude of minor problems.

Positioning the two king lists relative to one another is problematic, and there is evidence that different scribes synchronized the timelines differently. But there does appear to be one constant in the methodology. All Assyrian scribes are clearly informed that the reign of the Babylonian king Burnaburiash II must overlap that of Ashuruballit I, regardless of variations in the amount of overlap. As for the timelines themselves, the ancients surely recognized that there existed multiple Assyrian King Lists, each with its own peculiarities. And 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars admit that strict accuracy in interpreting the king lists is only possible in the most recent lists, those which describe the reigns of the neo-Assyrian kings. The further back in time we locate an Assyrian king, the more questionable the dates assigned to his reign

The major problem, however, is not with the relative positioning of the timelines, nor the variations in the Assyrian king lists, but with the Babylonian King List A. Even assuming that the early scribes possessed undamaged copies of this list, and that the numbers included on the tablet were all legible and completely accurate, the results of this procedure would be disastrous since, as we have argued earlier, the Assyrian scribes without exception assumed that the dynasties on the Babylonian king list A did not overlap. If we are correct in our assumption that the Kassite kings did not rule in the time frame 1730-1155, but rather in the years between 1294 and 714, it follows that none of the Babylonian kings on the Assyrian synchronistic King List are even remotely contemporary with their Assyrian counterparts. Each Assyrian king would be paired with a Babylonian king whose reign would not begin for another 430-440 years. In our Figure 3, which incorporates the data on the Synchronistic King List in the interval 1374-1133 B.C., the Babylonian kings listed as synchronous with any given Assyrian king have not yet been born. In fact, over 400 years must pass before their parents are born. It follows that the Assyrian Synchronistic King List is absolutely worthless as an historical document, save for two redeeming features. It does preserve a record of the sequence of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, insofar as the Assyrian King List and Babylonian King List utilized by the scribes have accurately preserved the respective historical records. Additionally, the synchronisms produced for Assyrian and Babylonian kings who reigned after the approximate year 1155 B.C., *the synchronisms will actually be accurate*, since the failure to overlap the dynasties does not affect the positioning (and hence the dates) of the vassal Babylonian kings of dynasties 4-9 vis-à-vis their Assyrian contemporaries (see Figure 7 on page 38).

It is important to repeat our earlier comment that the reliability of the Assyrian Synchronistic King List is not restricted to that document. In the early 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and in the decades following, multiple “mini synchronistic king lists” called Chronicles were produced by the scribes, this for reasons no longer clear. We have already encountered one such “mini synchronistic king list” in our previous paper. The “Synchronistic History” discussed in our 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> papers is essentially a listing of multiple Assyrian/Babylonian synchronisms precisely as they would appear on the more complete Assyrian Synchronistic King List, but in this instance with added commentary concerned alleged military confrontations and other assorted matters. The kings selected as the subject matter on these tablets did not rule consecutively. They are often separated in time by multiple decades, even a century or more. But they share the same

criticism applied to the larger, more complete, parent document, the Assyrian Synchronistic King List. Where the Babylonian kings being synchronized belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup> dynasty, that king's positioning alongside his Assyrian counterpart is in error by over 400 years. Where the Babylonian king is part of the dynasty 4-9 group of Babylonian vassals, the synchronism should be reliable, though the details accompanying the names of the kings must always be read with caution. These "mini synchronized king lists" are generally, though not always, referred to by 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars as Babylonian Chronicles, though most were authored by Assyrian scribes. The only notable exception discovered to date has been the "Chronicle P" analyzed in depth in the last paper and further in this document. The Chronicle P is unique in two respects. It includes several synchronisms between Babylonian and Elamite kings and is therefore clearly not the result of placing Babylonian and Assyrian timelines side by side. And it is not the product of Assyrian scribes. As such it is unique among Chronicles in preserving reliable synchronisms involving Kassite kings.

A few notable Babylonian Chronicles, such as the [Walker's Chronicle](#) and the [Dynastic Chronicle](#), contain Kassite/Assyrian synchronisms, and are thus historically unreliable. Other documents, such as the [Eclectic Chronicle](#) and the [Religious Chronicle](#) deal solely with dynasties 4-9 synchronisms and are extremely reliable, and therefore qualify as essential reference materials.

Any readers who intend to do research in Babylonian history must be aware of the deficiencies inherent in the Assyrian source documents.

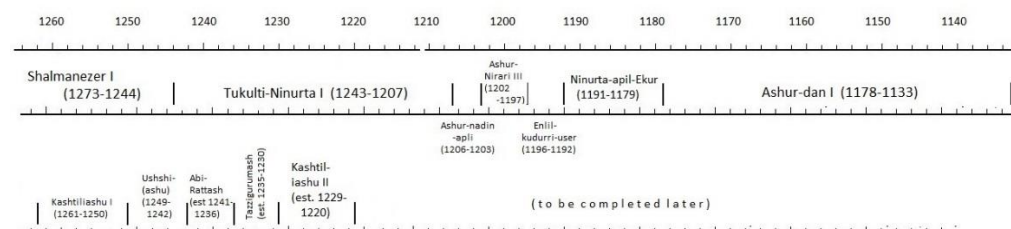
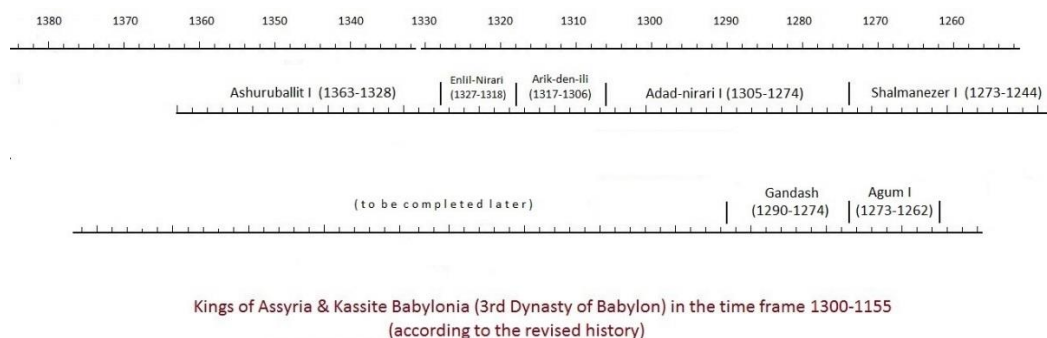
## A Look Ahead

Clearly there remains a great deal of work to be done in this revision of Babylonian history. We have yet to move back in time to reposition the Kassite kings who ruled prior to Kurigalzu I, though we begin that process today with the inclusion of our Figure 9 below. We also need to include in our timeline charts the vassal "kings of Babylon" who governed Babylonia on behalf of their "absentee landlords", the Kassites. This will include the kings of dynasty 2 (the Sealand Dynasty), the kings of dynasties 4 through 9, as recorded on the Babylonian King List A, and the kings of dynasty 10, who functioned primarily in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. And at some time in the future we need to determine precisely when (and where) the dynasty of Larsa and the Amorite dynasty fit into the temporal framework. This will take time, and I would not anticipate

publishing any results of this investigation for upwards of a year. In the meanwhile we hope to add to our list of papers examining other areas of our Displaced Dynasties timeline.

We close this paper by producing a tentative timetable of the earliest Kassite kings, with minimal discussion added. There exists considerable disagreement among scholars not only regarding the sequence of names that should be included, but also the reign length of each king. In our Table 9 we use the data from [p. 272 of Pritchard's ANET](#) (Ancient Near Eastern Texts), one of the sources we recommended earlier for the Babylonian King List A (and the Assyrian Synchronistic King List). Pritchard simply reproduces the data from that King List, and attempts to read the reign length numbers on the damaged tablet. Thus, according to him, the earliest half-dozen kings (with reign lengths in brackets) were Gandash (16), Agum I (12), Kashtiliashu I (22), Ushshi (8), Abi-Rattash (unknown) and Tazzigurumash (unknown). We have added a single name to this list, based on other sources, that of a Kashtiliashu II (years unknown). Assuming that the Kassite dynasty began in 1290 B.C. (714 + 576), we have simply erased the names of the Kassite kings from our Table 3 chart [none of whom belonged in that time frame] and have added the names of these seven kings, estimating the reign lengths of the final three kings from discussions regarding their reigns found elsewhere. This produces at least a rough estimate of the historical placement of these kings. The dates on the charts assume that these kings followed an accession year dating system, as did the much later kings. The reader will note that in this chart the king Kashtiliashu II is contemporary with the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta 1, as promised in the first section of this paper. And even a slight change in the dates of the named kings would make Kashtiliashu I also a contemporary of Tukulti-Ninurta I. There is therefore no need to look elsewhere to find the likely opponent of the Assyrian king in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.

Figure 9: Timeline of the earliest kings of the Kassite dynasty



Assuming that objections might be raised because of our addition of the final name, we produce below yet another version of the list of the earliest Kassite kings, this time based on the most recent scholarship and published online in a [Wikipedia article](#) in table form. We note from that article that the current generation of scholars read the Babylonian King List A differently than did Pritchard. Both the reading of names and the reign lengths differ. We now have two kings by the name Kashtiliashu. And the reign lengths of the first two kings, Gandash and Agum I have increased from 16 and 12 to 26 and 22 years respectively. Assuming these numbers are correct, the first three kings of the dynasty, Gandash, Agum I and Kashtiliashu I ruled during the years 1290-1264, 1264-1242, and 1242-1220 respectively. In this scenario it is Kashtiliashu I (1242-1220) who was contemporary with Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). Regardless, in either situation we have confirmation that the Tuklti-Ninurta Epic was not based on a war between the 12<sup>th</sup> century king Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliashu IV, who ruled in the 8<sup>th</sup> century.