

Paper #4 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the “dynasty of E”
were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty.
(Arguments 1 & 2: The Babylonian Campaigns and Annals of Adad-nirari II).

In our last paper we argued that the 8th century positioning of the last 8 kings of the Babylonian “dynasty of E” (= dynasties 8 and 9 combined) was at least consistent with our revised dating of the 8th century Kassite kings. At minimum we determined that no major conflicts were created by overlapping the Kassite and the “Post-Kassite” kings. On a more positive note we established the fact that the catastrophic effects of the 765 B.C. eruption in the Mediterranean of the volcanic island of Santorini were strongly felt both in Assyria and Babylonia at this identical time. The date of this massive explosion thus served to synchronize the timelines of Egypt, Hatti, Assyria and Babylonia, absolutely confirming the accuracy of our revision, now linked firmly with the Assyrian timeline.

Beginning in the present paper, and continuing in multiple papers following, we place the initial kings of the composite “dynasty of E” alongside the Kassite kings of the mid-10th/ 9th centuries, and argue for the accuracy of this positioning. Multiple papers, rather than one, are deemed necessary for two reasons, namely, 1) to accommodate the added relevant documentation related to this time frame, and 2) to hold in check the size of these papers, which have lengthened considerably since we began modifying Babylonian history in our paper #1.

The foundational chart for these monographs is presented in our Figure 2 on page 3 following. This timeline is essentially identical to Figure 3 on page 26 of our 3rd paper, with the addition of the early “kings of Babylon” belonging to the “dynasty of E” on the third timeline from the bottom of the chart. As in our previous paper we use the dates for these kings supplied by J.A. Brinkman in his 1968 classic *“A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia: 1158-722 B.C.”* (henceforth PKB), modified slightly in order to accommodate the discovery, discussed in our 3rd paper, that during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884) Babylonia was governed by Assyrian officials rather than by “kings of Babylon”. This last comment deserves some explanation.

The upper timeline in our Figure 1 diagrams the reigns of the successive “dynasty of E” kings Nabu-shuma-ukin I, Nabu-apla-iddina, Marduk-zakir-shumi and Marduk-balassu-iqbi as they occur with dates supplied by Brinkman in 1968. When we insist that neither Nabu-shuma-ukin I nor Nabu-apla-iddina was ruling in the time frame 891-884 this necessitates a series of changes to the dates of these kings, as depicted in the lower timeline. Specifically, we are compelled to argue 1) that the reign of Nabu-shuma-ukin I must have ended in 891 rather than three years later in 888, and 2) that the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina must have begun in 884 rather than in 888. Accommodating the first of these changes is not problematic, since Brinkman, commenting on the reign of Nabu-shuma-ukin I, states that “the total of his regnal years is now completely lost” (PKB 180) , leaving us free to decrease the length of his reign from 12 to 9 years without fear of contradiction. A problem does arise, however, when we come to the

reign of Nabu-apla-iddina, who is known to have reigned for 32 (or 33) official years. In the traditional chronology his dates (887-855) barely accommodate this reign length. In the revised history, assuming 883 B.C. is this king's first official year, his 32nd year would fall in 852 B.C., three years after Brinkman dates his death. What to do? The problem was solved recently with a discovery that confirmed that Nabu-apla-iddina died in the 8th official year of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824), thus in 851 B.C. Brinkman's comment adjusting his date for the death of Nabu-apla-iddina can be found at the end of a brief paper entitled "[Notes on three kudurrus in the Louvre](#)", published on pages 30-32 in the journal *Nouvelle Assyriologiques Breves et Utilitaires* (N.A.B.U.) (see page 32, note 7). Because of these two changes a domino effect compels us to alter the dates of the final two named kings. The 36 year reign length of Marduk-zakir-shumi I, the successor of Nabu-apla-iddina, must be changed from 854-819, Brinkman's original figure, to 850-815, and the dates of that king's successor Marduk-balassu-iqbi must be reduced from 818-813 to 814-813.

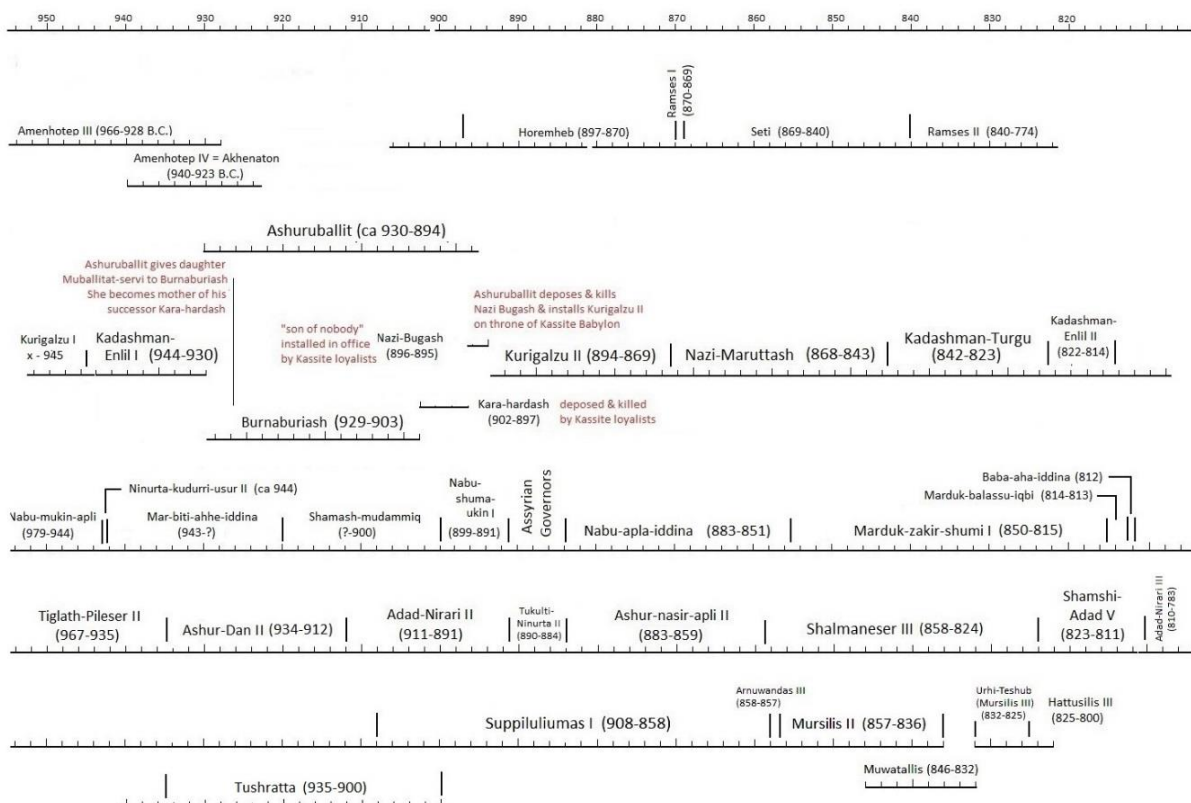
Figure 1: The Traditional versus the Revised History Dates for the Dynasty of E kings Nabu-shuma-ukin I, Nabu-apla-iddina, Marduk-zakir-shumi and Marduk-balassu-iqbi.



One additional item deserves mention before we proceed. The reader will notice in our Figure 2 on the next page the addition of a single name – Tushratta (935-900) - at the bottom left of the chart. As early as our first paper on Babylon it became evident that in due time the nation of Mitanni would have to be introduced to our timelines. We begin slowly, introducing the Mitanni kings only as needed, and with caution, since the archives of the Mitanni kings have yet to be unearthed and all we know about this ethnic group is what can be gleaned from references to them in the literature of the surrounding nations, particularly those of Egypt and Hatti. That fact alone creates problems of dating for the revised history, since those references, at least in the case of the Hittites and Egyptians, will position most of the well-known Mitanni kings in the 15th through the 13th centuries B.C., including [Tushratta](#), who is dated by the traditional history in the mid to late 14th century. In our Displaced Dynasties revised history the dates of all the relevant Egyptian and Hittite kings have been reduced by approximately 440 years, and these reductions necessarily apply to all nations contemporary with them, including the Mitanni. On the other hand, this reduction in dates does not apply to references to the

Mitanni in the annals of the Assyrian kings, whose dates are not affected by our revision. It follows that references to the Mitanni by Assyrian kings such as Adad-nirari I (1295-1264) and Shalmaneser I (1263-1234) are reliably dated. In consequence, these latter references, supposedly discussing this nation in the days of its fading glory, will actually be referencing the Mitanni in their formative years. The resulting situation can at times be confusing. One consequence follows naturally. We cannot blindly rely on the extensive analyses of the Mitanni in the scholarly literature of the 19th through 21st centuries. Enough said about this nation at this time. We will say more about them as we proceed through the following papers.

Figure 2: Timeline Showing the Reigns of the mid-10th/9th century kings of Egypt, Assyria, Hatti, Kassite Babylonia, and the early kings of the Babylonian composite “dynasty of E”.



Chronicle P

23' Nazi-maruttaš, son of [...] [2]

24' king of Assyria in [...].

Lacuna

Beginning of Column 4 (lines 1-11)

1' [...]

2' [...] he threw iron bands and [...] [3]

3' [...] Tukulti-Ninurta returned to Babylon and

4' brought [...] near. He destroyed the wall of Babylon and put[5] the Babylonians to the sword.

5' He took out the property of the Esagila and Babylon amid the booty. The statue of the great lord Marduk

6' he removed from his dwelling-place and sent him to Assyria.

7' He put his governors[6] in Karduniaš. For seven years, Tukulti-Ninurta

8' controlled Karduniaš[7]. After the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš had rebelled and

9' put Adad-šuma-ušur on his father's throne,

10' Aššur-nasir-apli, son of that Tukulti-Ninurta who had[9] carried criminal designs against Babylon, and the officers of Assyria rebelled against Tukulti-Ninurta,

11' removed him from the throne, shut him up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta and killed him.

As we move forward we need to stress the fact that our objective in these papers is not to prove that the “dynasty of E” kings of Babylon belong in this mid-10th/9th century time frame. All scholars are convinced of that fact. It is the Kassite kings that are the interlopers in this rewriting of history. In our 3rd paper we demonstrated that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Kadashman-Enlil II fit perfectly in the 10th/9th century revised context in which they were positioned. But the majority of the synchronisms that resulted from the positioning of the Kassite kings in this time frame were with the Egyptian and Hittite timelines, themselves the subject of a prior major revision. What is needed here is further evidence that links the Kassite kings, whether directly or indirectly, with either the Assyrian timeline or with the newly introduced timeline of the “dynasty of E” kings of Babylon. That will be our focus going forward. In the pages that follow we will catalogue roughly two dozen such synchronisms, moving roughly from left to right in our Figure 2 timeline. By the time we finish, we hope to have removed the last vestige of doubt in the minds of our readers. But before we begin that process we need to itemize a few general considerations which are supportive of our overall argument.

A. General Considerations.

The consensus view of scholars today is that the Kassites, with homeland somewhere in the Zagros mountain range east or north-east of Babylonia, conquered their near-neighbor sometime around the beginning of the 16th century, and ruled the country directly, without subordinate vassal kings, until invaded by the Iranian king Shutruk-Nahhunte around the year 1155 B.C. The Kassite invaders referred to the conquered country by the Kassite name Karduniash. Enlil-nadin-ahi, the last Kassite king of the 3rd dynasty, lost control of the country via the Iranian invasion, was taken captive and imprisoned in Iran, where he apparently died. The Kassites were then succeeded by six dynasties of kings numbered four through nine, though the eighth and ninth dynasties were combined, for unknown reasons, under the rubric “dynasty of E”. But this numeration of dynastic changes actually underreports the reality. There were not six dynasties of “kings of Babylon” following the demise of the Kassites. There were upward of a dozen “family dynasties” where kings were succeeded by descendants for several generations. And these family dynasties were often followed by sequences of rulers, each unrelated to their predecessors, and often of different ethnicities, intrusions which clearly qualify as “dynastic changes”. In the “dynasty of E” alone there exist two lengthy dynasties of four family members, and one with three, and these were interspersed with multiple other more isolated changes of leadership.

This brief summary of the facts raises several questions for the adherents of the traditional history. We mention them only in passing. A book could be written on each subject.

1) *Is it a fact that the Kassite kings ruled Babylonia directly, without employing vassal kings entrusted with the major decision making power characteristic of this office?* If true, then surely this implies that the Kassite rulers must have resided permanently in Babylonia, and if so, where? Dur-Kurigalzu, the only known location of a Kassite palace, was not constructed until the reign of Kurigalzu I, the 17th king of the dynasty, and there is absolutely no record of the families of Kassite kings residing there. Neither is there evidence that they resided in Babylon or Nippur, the other major cities of the country. We assume their permanent residence was always in the Kassite homeland, probably hundreds of miles away in the Zagros region, and that they only visited Karduniash when circumstances warranted. This scenario finds its parallel in multiple instances in the Near East. We mention only a single case in point, namely, the Persian “conquest” of Egypt in 543 B.C., discussed at length at the beginning of our Displaced Dynasties series.

According to our revised history of Egypt, when Cyrus invaded Egypt in 543 B.C. and found Egypt to be lacking a king, he went so far as to install one himself, placing a native Egyptian, Psamtik I, on the throne as pharaoh of the entire country, albeit as a Persian vassal. So absolute were Psamtik’s powers that historians wrongly assumed this 139 year-long family

dynasty had absolute authority over the country, and assigned them their own time frame in history as the 26th Egyptian dynasty, distinct from the time frame assigned to the Persian overlords, who were designated as the 27th dynasty, the two dynasties ruling in succession. We argue that the identical situation prevailed in Babylonia, where the conquerors (the Kassites) and the vassals (dynasties 4-9) were wrongly deemed to have rule sequentially. In Egypt, visits by the Persians conquerors were few and far between, since the distance between the two countries was enormous. The Kassite kings probably visited Karduniash frequently, but subordinate kings and trusted government officials were relied upon to provide leadership in the interim.

2) Administering a country requires a bureaucracy employing hundreds of bureaucrats functioning under some central authority. It is known that the Kassites installed multiple functionaries, many of whom bore Kassite names, to administer the affairs of the country. Each of the provinces was assigned a governor (*shaknu*) to represent and defend Kassite interests. Chief among these was the governor of Nippur, given a unique Kassite title (*shandabakku*) to reflect his unique position and stature. Even the traditional history accepts the fact that Nippur functioned as the administrative center of the country throughout the Kassite period, with the *shandabakku* as its *major domo*.

As we have noted elsewhere, when the University of Pennsylvania conducted a series of excavations in Nippur in the final years of the 19th century and the initial years of the 20th, they unearthed upwards of twelve thousand tablets and tablet fragments, not to mention a large number of assorted inscriptional artifacts, mostly of an administrative nature, a large percentage of which remain untranslated. But this raises a question for adherents of the traditional history. *Since the shandabakku was a unique official belonging to a unique period in history, i.e. the Kassite period, then why do we find record of multiple officials bearing this identical title throughout the "post Kassite" period? Does the change in leadership, from that of a foreign conqueror residing outside the country to a sequence of independent native rulers, not imply a necessary change in domestic bureaucracy?*

3) Speaking of traditions which surprisingly do not change when a long-standing foreign dynasty is replaced by a sequence of short-lived local administrations, we wonder *how it is that the Kassites renamed the county of Babylonia, employing the unique Kassite name Karduniash, and their "successors", the occupants of the county through the 4th through the 9th dynasties, did not revert to naming the country Babylonia for the next 400 years?* What is perhaps even more surprising is that the Assyrians, who interacted with Babylonia constantly over both time frames, use no other word when referencing their southern neighbor. The traditional history will no doubt shrug off this question as being of little consequence, but it is certainly a consideration for the revised history. We are most fortunate that the country was actually called Karduniash during the post-Kassite period, since otherwise our hypothesis of overlapping dynasties would be severely discredited, this for obvious reasons. From 1155 to 732 B.C. the Kassites *were* the rulers of Babylonia. It is a necessity therefore that the country retained its

Kassite name in this time frame. Names are important. Let the adherents of the traditional history explain why the name Karduniash was retained for over 400 years after the Kassite dynasty had run its course and Babylonian rule was returned to native rulers.

4) The traditional history accepts without question that a Kassite invasion of Babylonia took place early in the 16th century. That was, after all, the primary cause of dynastic change in the turbulent environment of the first and second millennia in the Ancient Near East. Dynasties didn't simply die out. There were no democratic elections. So if there were changes in dynastic leadership during the hundreds of years following the exit of the Kassites they should normally be explained as resulting from some invasive element, usually a coup-d'état or an invasion by some nearby nation. In our introduction to this section we mentioned the fact that a dozen dynastic changes took place during the lengthy time frame of the "dynasty of E" alone. Extrapolating, this amounts to forty to fifty over the time frame of the "post-Kassite" period. *Did these changes result from invasion from without?* If so the intrusive elements are never mentioned in the literature of the period. It cannot be assumed that some higher governmental authority merely ordered the change in leadership - which no doubt was the case for lesser government officials such as the provincial governors - for in the case of the "kings of Babylon", there was no "higher governmental authority", at least as far as adherents of the traditional history are concerned. This "succession problem" has no solution in the traditional history. In the revised history, with the Kassite overlords in control of the country, changes in governmental structure could be (and no doubt were) achieved instantaneously by fiat, for multiple reasons known only to the Kassites themselves.

B. Specific Arguments

We begin in this section to outline the arguments supporting our timeline in Figure 2 above. The reader is encouraged to duplicate this figure and have ready access to it as we proceed. The same goes for other charts and figures as they appear. With five nations and literally dozens of kings vying for attention in the commentary, the reader can easily become disoriented. We number our argument headings consecutively, though the reader will usually find multiple synchronisms discussed under each numerical heading.

Argument 1. Adad-nirari II – Conflict and treaty with Shamash-mudammiq and Nabu-shuma-ukin I

Twice in the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-894), the Assyrian king launched an assault on his southern neighbors, one campaign against Shamash-mudammiq and another against Nabu-shuma-ukin. While it is no surprise that the Assyrian king was a contemporary of these two

Babylonians (see Figure 2), there is nevertheless evidentiary value in the details of these campaigns.

a) Campaign against Shamash-mudammig

The annals of Adad-nirari II inform us that sometime in his tenure as king - we suspect in the fall of the year 902 B.C., the middle of his 10th official year - the Assyrian king invaded Karduniash and conquered its southern neighbor, supposedly “in its entirety”. The invasion is recorded as a *fait accompli* in the introductory portion of the annals, in a section immediately preceding the description of the campaigns of the Assyrian king against Hanigalbat to the north, invasions which spanned the years 901-894 B.C. Since Shamash-mudammig died in the year 900, it is tempting to relate his death to the invasion, but Brinkman states that there is no evidence of this, and he claims that the Babylonian king died a natural death. The reader can peruse the details of the annals either on pages 145-155 in A. Kirk Grayson’s [Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I \(1114-859 BC\)](#) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers], or alternatively on pages 109-116 of volume I of Daniel David Luckenbill’s [“Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia”](#) (henceforth ARAB). The description of the assault on Karduniash, contained in section 360 of Luckenbill’s translation, is duplicated below. In it Adad-nirari II identifies himself as the

Conqueror of Karduniash (Babylonia) in its entirety, who established the overthrow of Shamash-mudammik, king of Karduniash, from Ialman to the river of Dur-ilani; - (the land) from Lahiru to the plain of Salum was added to the territory of Assyria. The land of Der I conquered in its entirety. Arrapha, Lubda, strongholds of Karduniash, I restored to the territory of Assyria. (ARAB, 110-11)

One feature of this translation of particular interest to us is that Babylonia is referred to by its Kassite name Karduniash, and we furnish the above quotation from the annals of Adad-nirari as an example of this phenomenon, described earlier without examples in the “general considerations” section which began this paper. The name Babylonia, which Luckenbill adds in brackets to his translation, is found nowhere in the text. As per our discussion in the earlier section (A.3), this is precisely what we expected. It is not an isolated instance of this usage, and it is particularly supportive of our overall argument since it is used as part of the title of the Babylonian king. As we explained earlier, reference to Babylonia in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods must necessarily refer to the country by its Kassite name, since the Kassite period is ongoing throughout. But the reader should take note that many modern scholarly works, unlike the translation by Luckenbill, replace the name Karduniash with “Babylonia” when referencing such texts, omitting any mention of the substitution.

But demonstrating the usage of the country name is only one reason for mentioning this “invasion”. J.A. Brinkman, in commenting on it, supplies details not specifically mentioned in the cited quotation from Adad-nirari’s annals, details gleaned from a generalist knowledge of the geography of the region.

Shamash-mudammig, if we can believe the Assyrian sources at this point, seems to have been a singularly unlucky ruler. During his reign, the whole of Babylonia was supposedly overrun by the Assyrian armies; and the official borders of the land receded in both the northwest and northeast. In the northeast, he

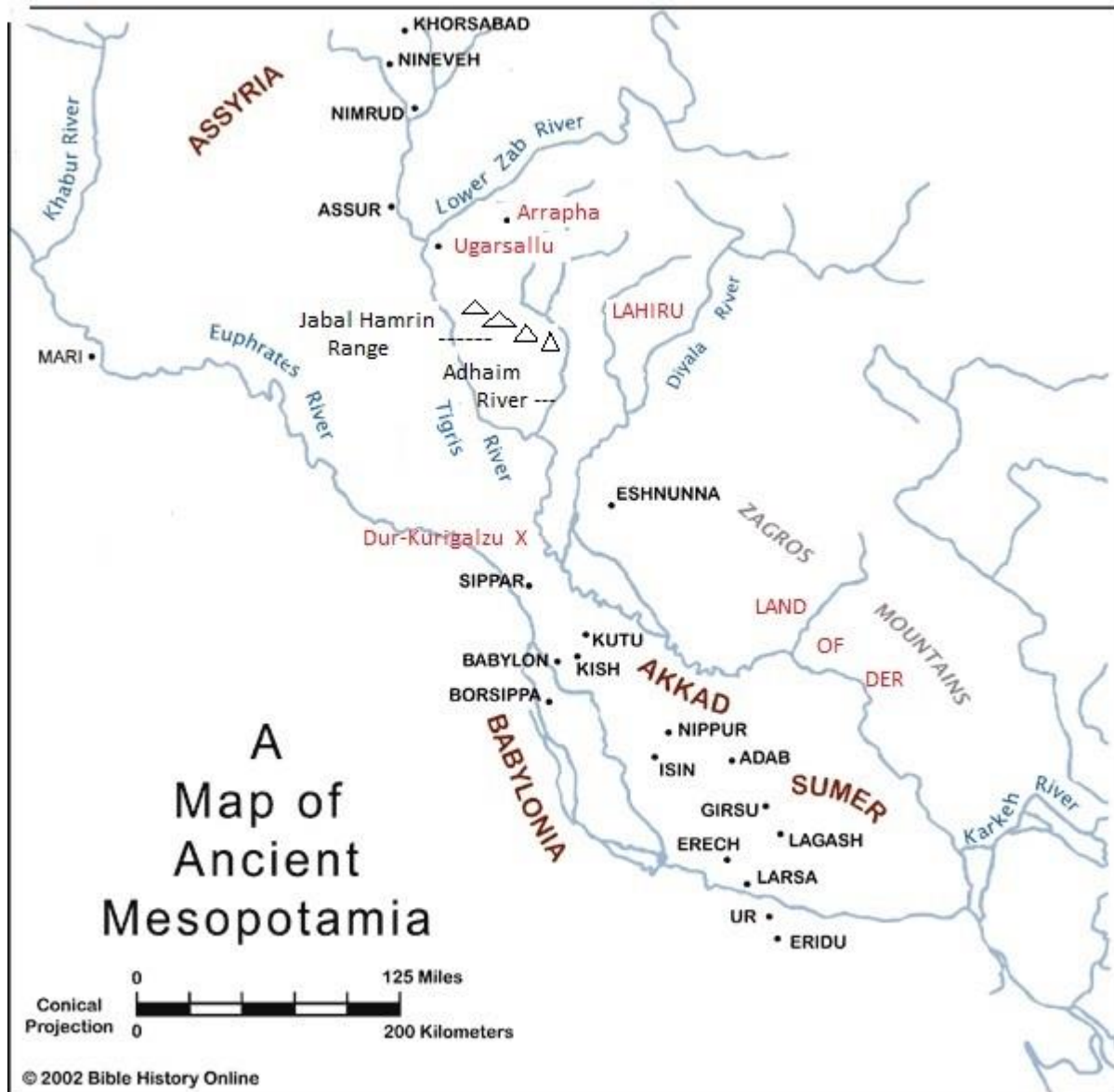
was defeated by Adad-nirari II at the foot of Mt Jalman (probably towards the southeastern end of the Jebel Hamrin range). The Assyrians then annexed Babylonian territory from Lahiru to Ugarsallu into their country. The whole of the land of Der was conquered; and the fortified cities of Arrapha and Lubdu, which had served as outposts for the northern border of Babylonia, were reincorporated into Assyria proper... (Brinkman, PKB, pp 177-178.)

We need to interject here one explanatory remark, namely, that Brinkman's reference to an Assyrian army attacking the *northwest* of Karduniash has nothing to do with this particular invasion, though it did occur earlier in the reign of Shamash-mudammiq and a brief allusion to it is contained in the annals. The campaign against Shamash-mudammiq being referenced at this time was actually confined to the extreme north eastern and eastern regions. The densely populated cities in the heart of Karduniash were studiously avoided (as they apparently were also on the earlier occasion). On reaching the region around the city of Der, a rich fertile plain, the Assyrian army is still more than a hundred kilometers distant from the fortress of Dur-Kurigalzu and around 150 kilometers from the city of Babylon. This appears to be its closest approach to Karduniash in the strictest interpretation of that geographic name.

Reading the two quotations related to the Assyrian campaign the reader will immediately notice that not a single one of the Babylonian names mentioned are recognizable. Arrapha (present day Kirkuk) is a city state, the district lying on the east side of the Tigris bordering the Lower Zab River, which itself is less than twenty miles from Assur, the Assyrian capital. Lahiru is a district bordering the Diyala River on the north, far to the east of the Tigris. Both the Arrapha and Lahiru districts are separated from the Tigris by a small mountain range known as the Jebel Hamrin range, the south eastern slopes of which are mentioned by Brinkman as the site of the battle between Adad-nirari and Shamash-mudammiq. Though the fate of Shamash-mudammiq is not known, we suspect that he was simply driven back into Babylonian territory. Neither his capture nor his retreat are mentioned in Adad-nirari's annals, nor elsewhere - only the fact that he was "overthrown", whatever that expression implies. The Assyrian army then proceeded to conquer cities in the district of Lahiru and in the district of Ugarsallu. The latter area, in our opinion, encompasses the land mass between the Jebel Hamrin range and the Tigris, while the city Ugarsallu itself lies very close to the juncture of the Lower Zab and the Tigris.

To enable the reader to follow the details of this invasion more closely, we reproduce the following map, borrowed from the Bible History Online site [here](#), and modified slightly to include some names mentioned by Brinkman.

Figure 3: Map of Karduniash at the time of Adad-nirari II



The description of the Assyrian invasion, as outlined above, raises several questions related to our paper. On the assumption that our thesis is correct, and that a Kassite king in this time frame - likely Burnaburiash II - is the legitimate ruler of Karduniash, why is the response to this invasion led by the vassal Shamash-mudammiq? And if the intent of Adad-nirari II was to conquer his southern neighbor, why does he avoid the heartland of the country? The answers to both questions are related, and can be summed up in one word – timing. As we proceed in this paper, in particular in the critical final section, we will learn that Adad-nirari was a meticulous planner. Every military action described in his annals has a specific purpose, and is carefully timed, and the annals can only be understood if and when the reader is familiar with the timeline of the evolving situation.

We answer the second question first. The intent of this invasion was not the conquest of Karduniash. Its purpose was two-fold. On the one hand Adad-nirari, throughout his annals, makes clear the fact that his intent on all campaigns, both to the south and to the north, is the recovery of cities and lands that once belonged to Assyria, and have been lost to the country during the previous centuries of national weakness. On the other hand, to achieve that end he is compelled to equip, and feed an enlarged Assyrian army. Both of those objectives are clearly being met on this campaign. The recovery of territory in the extreme north-east, formerly held by Assyria - who at one time ruled as far south as the Diyala River, and infrequently as far as the region of Der – clearly meets the first objective. And if we are correct that the invasion took place in the fall, when crops were ready for harvest, and late in the year 902 B.C., only months before the beginning of his lengthy assault on Hanigalbat in the spring of 901 B.C. his timing is clearly manifest.

As for the first question we remind the reader of our earlier remarks concerning Kassite residency. We are firmly convinced that the Kassites did not reside permanently in Karduniash, but only visited on an ad hoc basis. Knowing that, we can be sure that Adad-nirari would have first established the fact that the Kassites at the time were absent from Dur-Kurigalzu. Simple reconnaissance would have informed him when the Kassites were in Karduniash and when they were not. His attack on the country would have been timed accordingly. Adad-nirari was careful to avoid unnecessary conflict, so long as his two objectives were met. The campaigns against Karduniash and Hanigalbat could well have waited a year, if that were necessary.

In the opinion of this author the land of Der is as far as the army of Adad-nirari journeyed. After conquering multiple towns in the region of Der, and harvesting their crops as part of his tribute, he returned to Assur, his capital. He then proceeded to make final plans for his assault on Hanigalbat. Assuming that the attack against the “land of Der” took place in the fall of 902 B.C., as we claim, and that the campaigns against Hanigalbat began in the spring of 901 B.C., which fact is confirmed in the annals, he has only months to ready his army. His claim to have conquered the whole of the land of Karduniash was just a boastful exaggeration, typical of the extravagant claims that fill the annals of Assyrian kings. In fact, Adad-nirari did not invade, much less conquer a single Babylonian city lying in the heart of the country, the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris. If he had, then surely mention of the fact would be included in his annals.

b) Campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin

We turn once again to Brinkman, the foremost authority on matters Babylonian, to describe the second of two battles fought between Adad-nirari II and Assyria's neighbor to the south.

The Synchronistic History is the source of our knowledge of Nabu-shuma-ukin's relations with Adad-nirari II. According to this Assyrian document, Adad-nirari defeated the Babylonian king, despoiled several Babylonian towns, and brought the booty home to Assyria. Then, following a brief broken passage that is

at present unintelligible, we learn that the two kings exchanged daughters in marriage and established amicable relations between the two lands...

The date of this battle between Nabu-shuma-ukin and Adad-nirari may be fixed with reasonable probability late in the reign of the latter. Since Adad-nirari's campaigns are recounted in summary fashion between 911 and 902 and then year by year from the eponymate of Dur-mat-Ashur (901) through the eponymate of Shamash-abua (894), his second encounter with Babylonia must be dated between 893 and the end of his reign in 891. The power of the Assyrian may well have failed during his declining years. (PKB, 180-181)

For the benefit of the reader the text of the relevant portion of the 3rd column of the [Synchronistic History](#) is reproduced below:

- A9 Nabu-shuma-ishkun (sic!), son of [Shamash-mudammīq, ascended his father's throne?]
- A10 Adad-nirari, king of Assyria, fought with Nabu-shuma-ishkun (sic!)
- A11 king of Karduniash, and defeated him.
- A12 [...]banbala Huda[...]
- A13 [...] numerous cities
- A14 [...] he conquered. Their vast booty
- A15 he took to Assyria.
- A16 [...] his land, he enclosed him.
- A17 [...] he received from him. They gave their daughters to one another in marriage.
- A18 Together they made an entente cordiale.
- A19 The peoples of Assyria and Akkad were joined together.
- A20 They established a boundary to Til=Sha-Abtani and Til-sha-Zabdani
- A21 from Til-Bit-Bari, which is upstream on the Zab.

Two important facts emerge from these two quoted paragraphs from Brinkman, both assisting our overall argument. The first relates to comments we made in our last paper regarding the name of Nazi-Maruttash (1307-1282 B.C.) occurring in a document entitled the *Adad-nirari Epic*, a document which, according to scholars of the traditional history, was authored by the king Adad-nirari I (1295-1264 B.C.) in the last third of the 2nd millennium B.C. Needless to say those claims, were we to believe them, would absolutely negate our dating of the Kassite kings. As usual, however, the experts were totally off base, and we explained the data on the document as follows. First we acknowledged the fact that the names of Nazi-Maruttash and a king named Adad-nirari do occur in the same context on one of four highly fragmented, extremely damaged tablets containing a text that 20th century scholars *assume* had originated in the 2nd millennium. We then countered with the claim that the tablets are clearly the work of Assyrian scribes in the 9th century or later, judging by the orthography of the writing, a claim not disputed by historians who acknowledge that the existing tablets are later copies of the original composition. Finally we explained the fact that enough remains of the context to inform us that the tablet was clearly documenting the fact that Nazi-Maruttash (868-843) had violated a treaty made earlier between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911-891) and the Babylonians. What we failed to provide on pages 9 and 10 in our paper #3 was proof positive that there did exist a treaty between the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II and the Babylonians. The omission at the time was necessary because we had not yet introduced the dynasty of E kings to our timelines, specifically

the king Nabu-shuma-ukin. His inclusion now confirms the accuracy of our comments in the previous paper. Brinkman has mentioned the fact that Adad-nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin, not long after the invasion of Karduniash by the Assyrian king, “exchanged daughters in marriage and established amicable relations between the two lands”. Scholars are unanimous in claiming that this exchange of daughters formalized a treaty between the two nations. We agree.

The second relevant fact cited by Brinkman concerns the date of Adad-nirari’s campaign against Babylon. He suggests the date 893 as the earliest possibility. We suggest that the date was 894, and that the Babylonian campaign was the third “campaign” conducted by Adad-nirari II that year. Our argument goes as follows. In 895, in the eponymy of Ina-ilia-alak, in the month Simanu (May/June), the 3rd month of the year, Adad-nirari led the Assyrian army 200 miles north-east to defend Kumme (or Kumm), an independent city state loyal to Assyria but besieged by the neighboring province of Kirhi (or Habhu). There he burned several cities in Kirhi, gathered their crops, and imposed tribute and tax on the remaining cities (Luckenbill, section 371). Finally, in the month Nisanu (March/April), the beginning of the next Assyrian year, in the eponymy of Adad(?) -ia, (894 B.C.), for the second time Adad-nirari “went to the aid of Kumme” and captured and burned four more cities in Kirhi, those that had withheld tribute imposed the year prior (section 372). Then in the month Simanu (May/June) of that same year, for the “fifth (sic.) time” – a scribal error which should read “seventh time” - he marched against Hanigalbat, north and south” receiving tribute (section 373), during which time Adad-nirari finally acknowledged his victory over Hanigalbat.

“The tribute of Hanigalbat, north and south I received. The whole of the wide land of Hanigalbat I brought under my sway. To the territory of my land I turned it. I made them all subject to one rule.” (Luckenbill ARAB 115, sect 373)

During the last leg of this round trip journey collecting tax and tribute, Adad-nirari travelled down the length of the Khabur River valley, from Guzanu (present day Tel Halaf, which some would argue is the site of the Mitanni capital Washukkanni) to “Siuki, situated at the base of the Khabur, on the south bank of the Euphrates”, then east along the Euphrates to the towns of Lake and Hindani in the district of Suhu, then back across the Euphrates and overland to Assur. The entire tribute collecting journey probably took less than a month, since the Assyrian army stopped only a day or two at each location. The whole of the year 894 thus far is confined to two sections of Luckenbill’s translation (sections 372-373). No further campaigns by Adad-nirari are mentioned in the annals. In the final sections of the annals (374-76) the Assyrian king boasts of his actions rebuilding the infrastructure of the country and describes at some length his prowess at hunting. Were it not for the reference in the Synchronistic History, we would know nothing of his second major campaign against Karduniash. What we can say to conclude this brief excursus is that the campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin could easily have taken place in the fall of 894 B.C. And why is that important?

A glance at our Figure 2 reminds us that Ashuruballit was in Babylon in 894 BC, deposing and killing Nazi-Bugash and installing his grandson Kurigalzu II as the Kassite king. It is not critical that the date of this action was 894 BC, rather than 893 or even 892, since there is some “wobble-room” in the dates we have assigned to the installation of Kurigalzu II (see our discussion of the subject in paper #1). But we are reluctant to change the date of Ashuruballit’s “visit” unless compelled to do so. And we cannot help but assume that the two incidents are related, i.e. that in the fall of 894 BC the Assyrian army, perhaps led by Ashuruballit, entered Karduniash, probably encountering minimal opposition, perhaps none at all.

And while there Ashuruballit, assisted by the Assyrian army, instigated the regime change. We could, if necessary, assume that the invasion was timed to avoid confrontation with the Kassites, but in this case the installation of Kurigalzu was probably sanctioned by, if not requested by, the Kassites.

Let the reader decide.

Argument 2. Adad-nirari II – The Annals

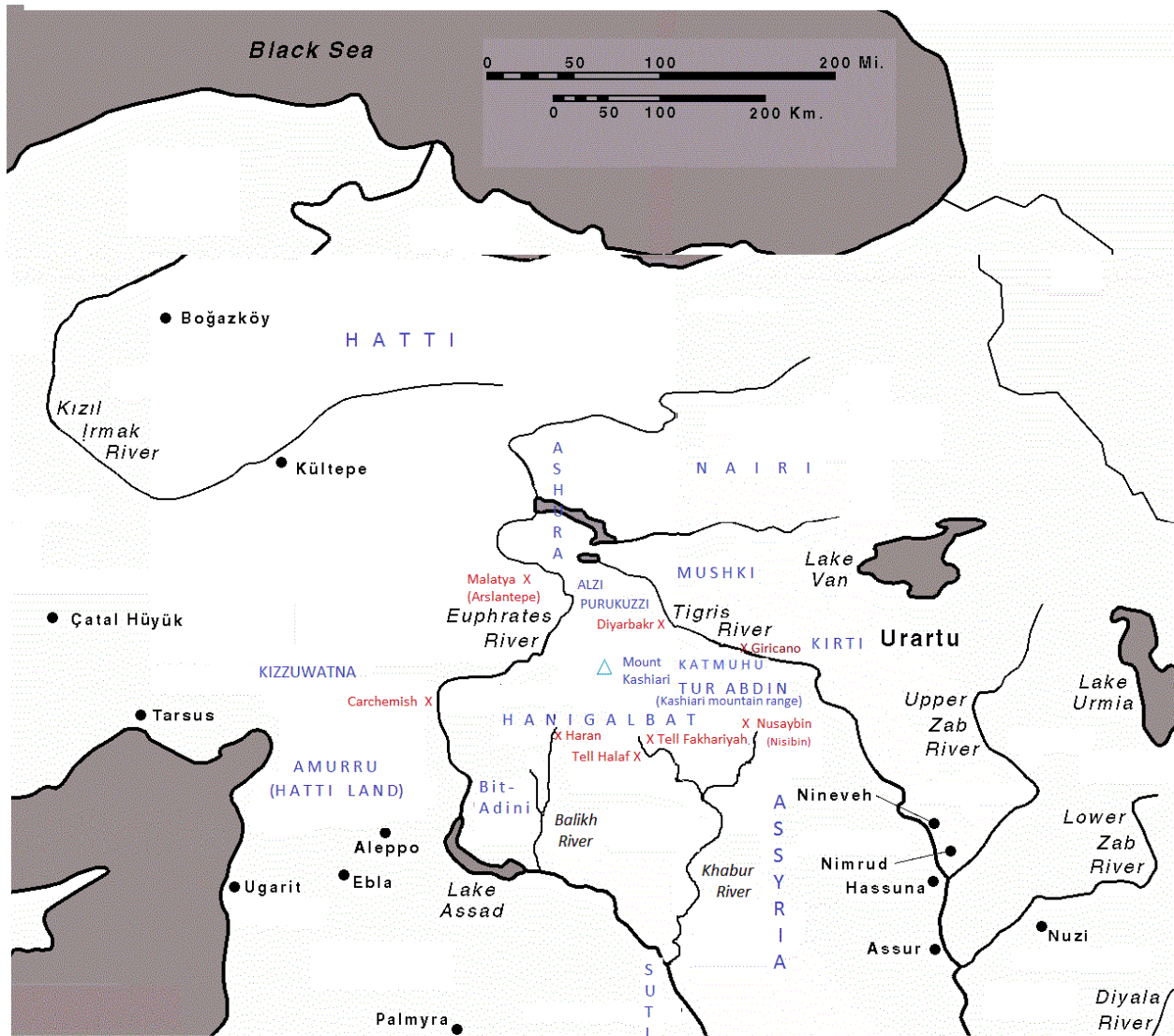
The second argument we outline in support of our 10th/9th century timeline concerns the annals of Adad-nirari II viewed as a whole. In the last section we discussed only a few lines of text concerned with that king's campaign against Shamash-mudammīq. And we took the opportunity, when referencing the Assyrian campaign against Adad-shuma-ukin I, to review sections 371 and 372 of the annals. Here we are concerned with all sections of that document, with emphasis on their interpretation and with particular attention paid to the timing of the campaigns against Hanigalbat. We divide our discussion into three sections, namely, A) the history leading up to the annals, B) the historical background to the campaigns themselves and C) the annals themselves. This will take some time. Hopefully it will be time well spent.

A. The past: Assyrian history leading up to the annals.

By the time Adad-nirari II came on the scene in 911 B.C. the Mitanni, a nation consisting of a Hurrian population base with ethnic Indo-European leadership, had existed in the northern extremities of Mesopotamia, particularly in regions immediately north and north-east of Assyria, for at least four hundred years. Their homeland, referred to consistently as Hanigalbat in Assyrian documents, varied in extent over time, but by the late 12th century B.C. it appears to have stretched east to west from the western bend of the Euphrates to the Tigris, passing through the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers, and extending northward to the Tigris, as that river wraps around the mountain range known variously as the Kashiari mountains or, to use the modern name, the Tur-ʿAbdin. Below we have included a map which may assist the reader in appreciating the relevant geography (see Figure 4).

This description of the region occupied by the Mitanni, including the related alterations to the land mass occupied by the Assyrians and the Arameans, was changed in varying degrees during three key periods of Assyrian history, namely, 1) during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076), 2) during the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972), and finally 3) during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935). We will examine these time frames in chronological order. If our analysis is correct, we should end up in a good position to evaluate what is happening in the annals of Adad-nirari II where the Mitanni, the Assyrians, and the Arameans play a major role.

Figure 4: Map showing the region of Hanigalbat, homeland of the Mitanni



i) Tiglath-Pileser I.

Though Hanigalbat likely stretched to the Tigris River, to the north and north-east of Assyria at the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser 1 (1114-1076), very early in this king's reign much of the land mass bordering that River, running north from Nineveh and extending through the region of Katmuhu, and beyond into the city states of Alzi and Purukuzzi (see Figure 4), was forfeited to the Assyrians. Much of that land mass belonged to the Mitanni and to related Hurrian tribes. Annals from the first five years of Tiglath-Pileser I describe in detail his conquests in these areas. Documents from this king's reign also attest to the beginnings of aggression against both Babylon and Assyria by semi-nomadic desert dwellers from south and east of the Euphrates, tribal groups referred to in Assyrian documents as Arameans, if not by their tribal names. The movement of these Arameans across the Euphrates, threatening both

Babylonia and Assyria, increased in intensity throughout the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I and beyond for well over a century and a half. Since the Arameans occupy the extreme eastern region of Hanigalbat at the time of Adad-nirari II, and are the object of his campaigns against that region, we need to briefly examine how they arrived in that location, and precisely what was their relationship with the Mitanni. Thus our discussion of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I.

Fortunately, Tiglath-Pileser I is the first Assyrian king to have authored detailed annals, at least annals that have survived to the present. Unfortunately, those annals only document the first five years of his reign. Fortunately again, five years is sufficient to establish this king as one of the most successful military campaigners in Assyrian history. For the most part, to avoid being unnecessarily side-tracked, we will ignore the bulk of his annals, save for the following two paragraphs which summarize their content. The reader interested in more detail can peruse the annals in translation for himself/herself either on pages 72-91 of the 1926 translation by Daniel David Luckenbill in his [Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I](#) [ARAB] or on pages 12-31 of A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled [Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I \(1114-859 BC\)](#) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers or RIMA 2].

The five years documented in the annals witnessed the Assyrian army marching through largely mountainous territory north as far as the Black Sea, eastward to the vicinity of Lake Van and the headwaters of the Upper Zab River, north and east as far as Ashura and across the Euphrates to the region of Milidia (modern Malatya, Mildish in ARAB), and eastward along the Euphrates to its western bend. There Tiglath-Pileser crossed the Euphrates and conquered the land of Amurru, ending up on the shore of the Mediterranean, where he washed his weapons in the Sea and then went on a Mediterranean hunting expedition/cruise. One of the regions emphasized in the annals was the area of Katmuhu, mentioned above, bordering the south side of the Tigris as that River takes a westerly turn north of the Tur 'Abdin range. Twice he visited this area, the second time after the neighboring territory of Kirti had come to the aid of the defeated cities of Kutmuhi. In the end, Tiglath-pileser won the day, bringing this territory back into the Assyrian fold. In our next paper we will have cause to revisit this region and comment on these campaigns, this in order to correct a faulty interpretation of the recent archaeological excavation of the ruins at Giricano (see Figure 4 above).

Tiglath-Pileser himself is impressed by his conquests, and boasts of them in a summary statement near the end of his annals.

In all, forty-two lands and their princes from beyond the Lower Zab, a region of distant hills, unto the further side of the Euphrates, and the land of Hatti and the Upper Sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule up to the fifth year of my reign, my hand has conquered. I have made them to be under one rule; I have taken hostages from them, and have laid tribute and tax upon them. – This does not include many other wars against enemies who could not oppose my might. – I have pursued them in my chariots where the country was good, and on foot where it was difficult. I have kept back the foot of the enemy from my land. (ARAB 85, sect 245)

Before leaving the annals behind it is important to note that in those five years of campaigning Tiglath-Pileser mentions Hanigalbat only once, and includes a rare mention of the name Mitanni once also. The first reference is found in year 3 of the annals, those documenting the campaign against the lands of Nairi, in the section describing military actions taken against the city of Milidia (Malatya).

The broad lands of Nairi in their length and breadth I brought under my sway, and all their kings I brought into subjection at my feet. In the course of this campaign I marched against the city of Milidia, which is in the land of Hanigalbat, (with its) haughty and rebellious (people). They took fright at the approach of my mighty battle array, and embraced my feet. I had mercy upon them and did not capture that city. I took their hostages and one homer of magnesium ore for offerings, as a yearly tribute which should never cease, I laid on them. (ARAB, 82, sect. 237)

The reference to Mitanni is equally brief. It occurs near the end of the annals where the king documents his hunting skills, and boasts of having killed nearly a thousand lions, ten elephants, and four enormous wild bulls, at least one of which came from Hanigalbat.

At the bidding of Urta [Ninurta], who loves me, four wild bulls (aurochs), which were mighty and of monstrous size, in the desert, in the country of Mitani, and near to the city of Araziki, which is over against the land of Hatti ... (ARAB 86, sect. 247)

Scholars refer to the near absence of Mitanni references as proof of their claim that the glory days of this nation are long since past, that Hanigalbat was marginalized almost two centuries earlier in the days of Adad-nirari I (1295-1264) and his son Shalmaneser I (1263-1234). Inscriptions of these two kings confirm that Hanigalbat was devastated by them in a series of attacks, and what was left of the nation was made a vassal state of Assyria. All this happened during the reigns of the Mitanni kings Shattuara I, his son Wasashatta, and his grandson Shattuara II (see the Wikipedia list of Mitanni kings [here](#), revised below in Table 1).

We have already noted the fact that this view of history is not correct, that during the reigns of Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I the "Empire period" of the Mitanni is not ancient history, it lies almost three centuries in the future. Besides, in the one quoted section from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, Mitanni is referred to as a "country" and the other confirms the fact that Hanigalbat, in the late 12th century, extends as far north and east as Milatya, a city sufficiently well-fortified that Tiglath-Pileser refrained from attacking it, excusing his inaction with a face-saving reference to his benevolence. The Assyrian king's reference to the taking of hostages and the collection of tribute (however trivial) can be passed off as mere propaganda. Clearly Hanigalbat still occupies its traditional boundaries, and if anything it was, prior to the Assyrian campaigns at least, more expansive than at any time prior. If the critic should enquire as to the reason the name Hanigalbat does not occur elsewhere in Tiglath-Pileser's annals we would argue that the nation, at this stage in history, was sufficiently strong militarily to discourage thoughts of conquest by Tiglath-Pileser I. Consequently, he did not invade the traditional Mitanni homeland running westward through the headwaters of the Khabur to the Euphrates. Not confronting the Mitanni in battle, he had no reason to include the name among campaigns documented in his annals.

Table 1 – List of Mitanni kings according to the Revised History
(The table is copied from the Wikipedia article on the Mitanni, then revised
by moving kings Shattuara I, Wasashatta, and Shattuara II
from the end to the beginning of the list. The dates are added by this author.)

Rulers	Reigned	Comments
Shattuara	Early 13th C	Mitanni becomes vassal of Assyria under Adad-nirari I
Wasashatta	Late 13 th C.	Son of Shattuara
Shattuara II	Late 13 th C	Son of Wasashatta
Kirta		
Shuttarna I		Son of Kirta
Parshatatar or Parrattarna	1010-990	Son of Kirta
Shaushtatar	990-970	Contemporary of Idrimi of Alalakh , Sacks Ashur
Artatama I	970-950	Treaty with Pharaoh Thutmose IV of Egypt , Contemporary of Pharaoh Amenhotep II of Egypt
Shuttarna II	950-935	Daughter marries Pharaoh Amenhotep III of Egypt in his year 10
Artashumara		Son of Shutarna II, brief reign
Tushratta	935-900	Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites and Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV of Egypt, Amarna letters
Artatama II		Treaty with Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites, ruled same time as Tushratta
Shuttarna III		Contemporary of Suppiluliuma I of the Hittites
Shattiwaza or Kurtiwaza		Mitanni becomes vassal of the Hittite Empire

So much for the Mitanni. The other key player in this drama are the Arameans. Only once in his initial five years does Tiglath-Pileser I mention this nomadic group. This reference comes during his year 4 campaign where the Ahlami, one of these nomadic tribes, are listed among his conquests.

With the help of Assur, my lord, I led forth my chariots and warriors and went into the desert. Into the midst of the Ahlami, Arameans, enemies of Assur, my lord, I marched. The country from Suhi to the city of Carchemish, in the land of Hatti, I raided in one day. I slew their troops, their spoil, their goods, and their possessions in countless numbers, I carried away. The rest of their forces, which had fled from before the terrible weapons of Assur, my lord, and had crossed over the Euphrates, - in pursuit of them I crossed the Euphrates in vessels made of skins. Six of their cities, which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri, I captured, I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). Their spoil, their goods and their possessions I carried away to my city Assur. (ARAB, p. 83, sect. 239)

There follows a gap of almost twenty years till we hear from Tiglath-Pileser again regarding the Arameans. When the subject is broached again it appears that the Arameans are far from

defeated, but have grown in numbers and emerged as perhaps the number one threat to Assyrian sovereignty in upper Mesopotamia. The following quote from Edward Lipinski's book *The Arameans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* [Lipinski, Arameans] must suffice to summarize the details:

Summarizing his campaigns against the Aramaeans, Tiglath-pileser I says in his later annalistic texts: "I have crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times, twice in one year, in pursuit of the Aramaean Ahlamu (kur Ah-la-me-e kur Ar-ma-a-ia mesh). I brought about their defeat from the city Tadmar (Palmyra) of the land Amurru, Anat of the land Suhu, as far as the city Rapiqu of Karduniash (Babylonia). I brought their booty (and) possessions to my city Ashur" (Lipinski, Arameans 35-36).

And still later, probably now thirty five years into his reign, a Babylonian Chronicle reveals the escalating chaotic situation:

A somewhat different picture of the events emerges from a fragment of a Middle Assyrian chronicle which describes a serious famine that occurred in the later part of Tiglath-pileser's reign, probably in 1082 and 1081. The Assyrians, pressured by starving Aramean tribes, took then refuge in Kurruri, in the Zagros area, northeast of Erbil, and the Aramaeans probably captured Nineveh before Tiglath-pileser I could respond to the threat by marching to Katmuhu, on the eastern edge of the Tur 'Abdin, from which the Aramaeans had apparently pushed their way into Assyria proper by advancing down the Tigris river. *The text, though very fragmentary and in parts obscure*, certainly refers to the "houses" or clans of the Aramaeans, without characterizing them as Ahlamu. (Lipinski, Arameans 36).

The last two quoted paragraphs are without doubt a source, though by no means the major source, of the scholarly opinion that a few cities formerly belonging to Assyria, and certainly much of the land mass between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin mountains, traditionally part of eastern Hanigalbat, became an Aramean state at this time. That opinion is totally incorrect, if based on the 13 lines of text in this extremely damaged "Middle Assyrian chronicle". This document, known by the title "Chronicle of Tiglath-Pileser", can be read on the Livius website [here](#) or below as translated by Lipinski. We suggest that the reader peruse both translations, which differ quite radically, and decide for himself/herself if that text justifies the conclusions based upon it.

Table 2: Text of the "Chronicle of Tiglath-pileser".
Translated by Edward Lipinski on page 36 of *The Arameans*.

- 2) "[...], the people ate flesh of each other, [...]"
- 3) [...] the 'houses' of the Aramaeans
- 4) [...] the relief, they seized the roads
- 5) [...] they conquered, they took {the ...} of Assyria.
- 6) [...] to the mountains of Kurrur [...] life.
- 7) [...] took their [gold], silver, and all their property.
- 8) Marduk-nadin-ahhe passed away; Marduk-shapik-zeri,
- 9) [his son], entered [the house of his father]. Marduk-nadin-ahhe had reigned 18 years.
- 10) [...] the entire crops of the land of Assyria [...]

- 11) [...] became numerous, they seized (or: afflicted) the 'houses' of the Aramaeans,
- 12) [...] the side of the fortress of Nineveh, the country downstream [...]
- 13) [... Tiglath-pi]eser, the king of Assyria, [went] to Katmuhu"

Several features of this document need to be noted.

1. The cause of this unprecedented mass migration of Aramean tribes was an horrific famine, so severe that people resorted to eating human flesh. We assume that the Assyrians were also seriously affected by the famine, especially after their crops were plundered by starving Arameans.
2. The document actually describes two periods of famine, since two eponym years are referenced, one introducing lines 2-9 and the other lines 10-13. One famine possibly occurred several years after the first. The partial limmu references were not included in Lipinski's translation, but are translated in the Livius website publication.
3. During the first famine "something" was conquered and "something" belonging to Assyria was taken. The online translation reads "fortified cities" in the first instance. Lipinski is unable to read this section of the damaged inscription. The second "something" is probably a reference to Assyrian crops. The possibility exists that the document is describing the progress of the Aramean advance into Assyria from Babylonia, and if so the conquered item was likely a Babylonian possession, since this first famine reference seems to have both nations in mind. This would explain the insertion of details related to the Babylonian kings in verses 8 and 9. The death of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1099-1082), presumably as a result of the famine or at the hands of the advancing Arameans, serves also to date this famine to the year 1082 BC.
4. The opinion of scholars that the Arameans at this time conquered and inhabited large swaths of land and numerous cities between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin, is actually not based on the Assyrian Chronicle at all. Rather, it is based primarily on another document, and the opinion thus formed has unduly influenced the translation and interpretation of the Chronicle. The document we refer to is popularly known as the *Broken Obelisk*. According to scholars the inscription on this monument was written less than a decade after the first famine, and possibly as early as three or four years after the second famine. And in that document the Arameans are clearly in control of a large land mass and multiple cities lying between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin, an area that the Obelisk calls the "land of Arime", i.e. the land of an Aramean tribe called the Arime, from which the name Aramean likely derives. And this state of affairs demands that the Chronicle inscription be interpreted as an Aramean conquest. But as we will explain momentarily, the Broken Obelisk has been misdated by upwards of a century. It belongs to the middle of the 10th century, not the 11th.

5. Curiously, no mention is made of the whereabouts of Tiglath-Pileser I during the first famine, leading us to presume that he and his army were out of the country on a campaign, a fact which explains how the Arameans managed to infiltrate and loot parts of Assyria with no apparent response by the king. When we quote Brinkman in a moment we will be informed precisely where the Babylonian army was at the time. Meanwhile the reader can take an educated guess, since the middle lines of the Chronicle mention the death of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe.

6. We assume that when Tiglath-Pileser returned from his campaign he immediately drove the unwanted Arameans from Assyria. That fact may well have been mentioned in the elided portions of the tablet. Certainly by the time of the second famine he and his army are present in Assur, and appear to have limited the advance of the Arameans, though to be fair the damaged text makes interpretation extremely difficult. The Livius translation states that the Arameans tribes “increased and seized the bank of the Tigris, whence they plundered the district of Nineveh” while Lipinski, an extremely well qualified Assyriologist, provides a translation that suggests that the military action is directed against the Aramean tribes (lit. houses) in the vicinity of Nineveh. Clearly we should treat both translations with caution. And any attempt to interpret the concluding reference to Tiglath-Pileser leading his army to Katmuhu, an Assyrian town on the Tigris on the east side of the Tur ‘Abdin, would be sheer guesswork.

We argue in this paper that by the time of the death of Tiglath-Pileser I in 1076 B.C., five years after the first famine, there were no Arameans remaining in Assyria, and that Hanigalbat (i.e. the Mitanni) still existed on the land between the Tur ‘Abdin and the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers, while Assyria continued to have a tenuous hold on the northern Tigris regions formerly belonging to Hanigalbat (or minimally to a related Hurrian population).

We devote our next paper in its entirety to proving our contention that the “Broken Obelisk” is misdated. We restrict our comments here to the next few paragraphs. Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) was succeeded briefly by Asharid-apal-Ekur (1075-74) and then by Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056), who is today credited with authoring the whole of this controversial monument inscription. The first four columns of text on this monument contain the annals of an unidentified king whose campaigns are directed primarily against the aforementioned “land of Arime”. If we are correct and Tiglath-Pileser I had freed that area of its Aramean occupants by the end of his reign, then it is clearly impossible that they had re-occupied the region as little as three years later? The dating of that monument must change.

On the other hand, for adherents of the traditional history there is no doubt that Ashur-bel-kala inherited a kingdom already occupied by Arameans, an opinion based entirely on the Broken Obelisk. Thus we read in the reference book authored by Trevor Bryce entitled [“The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia:](#)

In Assyrian texts from the late M2 [= 2nd millennium] onwards, Hanigalbat appears as a land occupied by Aramaean peoples. It is referred to as such by the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056) (RIMA 2: 102). (Bryce, RHPP, 287-88, s.v. Hanigalbat)

To which we reply that the Broken Obelisk, though correctly interpreted, is wrongly attributed. It was definitely not authored by Ashur-bel-kala, in spite of near unanimous scholarly opinion to the contrary. Instead we argue that the annals contained in the first four columns of the Broken Obelisk belong to Tiglath-Pileser II and the fifth column was authored by Adad-nirari III! We are not guessing. We are firmly convinced of these facts, though proving them, as stated, will occupy the whole of our next paper.

Before moving on to the second “key juncture” in the fortunes of Assyria, Mitanni and the Arameans, we should at least comment on the extent of the famine in the days of Tiglath-Pileser I, mentioned twice already. Brinkman, an advocate of the dual famine theory, provides us with an analysis of the reign of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1099-1082), the Babylonian king contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) at the time of the famine, informing us, as the reader has no doubt already surmised, that during the first famine the Assyrian king was absent doing battle with this 4th (Isin) dynasty “king of Babylon”.

Having thus discussed the dating of four major events of Marduk-nadin-ahhe’s reign (1099-1082) which were connected with the Assyrians or Arameans, I wish to propose a chronologically ordered but admittedly hypothetical account of Babylonian foreign relations at this time. After the first five years of his reign, Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) was largely concerned with campaigns against his enemies to the west, especially the Ahlamu Arameans. In his inscriptions he noted that he crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times to do battle against these Arameans and that he defeated them over a wide area ranging from Carchemish and the foot of the Lebanon to Rapiqu on the northwestern border of Babylonia. Save for a battle in his second year against mountaineers south of the Lower Zab, he left the region east of the Tigris pretty well alone. Marduk-nadin-ahhe, on the other hand, in the early years of his reign consolidated the provincial holdings of Babylonia between the Lower Zab and the Diyala. He defeated Assyria in a minor battle in the border regions there about his ninth year and had earlier dared a raid into the Assyrian homeland against Ekallate, north of Assur itself, when he had stolen the statues of the gods Adad and Shala from the town. Probably sometime during Marduk-nadin-ahhe’s last years of reign, Tiglath-Pileser tried to even the score. On his first attempt, Tiglath-Pileser mustered all the chariotry he had available in the region of the Lower Zab and drew up his forces in battle formation opposite the city of Arzuhina. The outcome of the battle is unstated, but Tiglath-Pileser had to content himself with despoiling the area between the Lower Zab and the Adhaim and a few villages across the Adhaim. Thwarted in his attempts in the northeastern provinces of Babylonia, Tiglath-Pileser then spent the rest of his campaign despoiling the land of Suhi on the middle Euphrates.

In the next year, Tiglath-Pileser bypassed the Babylonian provincial strongholds around Lubdu and marched down the Tigris into northern Babylonia. His chariotry fought a victorious battle against the outflanked forces of Marduk-nadin-ahhe at a place which the Synchronistic History calls Gur-mar-ri-ti. Tiglath-Pileser then captured the principal cult centers of northern Babylonia: Dur-Kurigalzu, the Sippar of Shamash and Annunitum, Babylon, and Opis. At Babylon he burnt the palace of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, but retired without recapturing the purloined gods of Ekallate.

Not too long after this, Babylonia and Assyria were afflicted with a common scourge, famine. This hardship drove the semi-nomad Arameans, who relied on trade with the settled peoples of Mesopotamia

for some of their food, into the cultivated lands to seek sustenance by force. This famine is dated in the eighteenth year of Marduk-nadin-ahhe, and it became so severe that people resorted to eating human flesh. In the midst of this crisis, Marduk-nadin-ahhe disappeared from power; and his vanishing from the political scene is recorded in an Assyrian chronicle with the cryptic phrase *shada emid*, for which the best translation seems simply to be “he disappeared.” Subsequently, another famine and Aramean invasion were to force Tiglath-Pileser to retire to the outlying region of Katmuhi for safety. In these days, the Arameans, who had long been the object of military campaigns by Tiglath-Pileser, became for the first time a direct menace to the heartlands of Assyria and Babylonia. **The Arameans and their semi-nomadic confreres were to prove a major factor in the political decline of Babylonia and Assyria over the next two centuries.** Brinkman, PKB, 128-130. (emphasis added)

We proceed to follow up on Brinkman’s last sentence and investigate the political fortunes of the Arameans and Assyrians over the next several centuries. And for good measure we will evaluate the changing landscape of Hanigalbat as well.

While Tiglath-Pileser I managed to minimize the damage caused by the Arameans, his successors were not so successful. Through the reigns of the next seven kings, thus through the years 1076-1013, the Aramean threat to both the Mitanni and the Assyrians continued, though largely held in check.

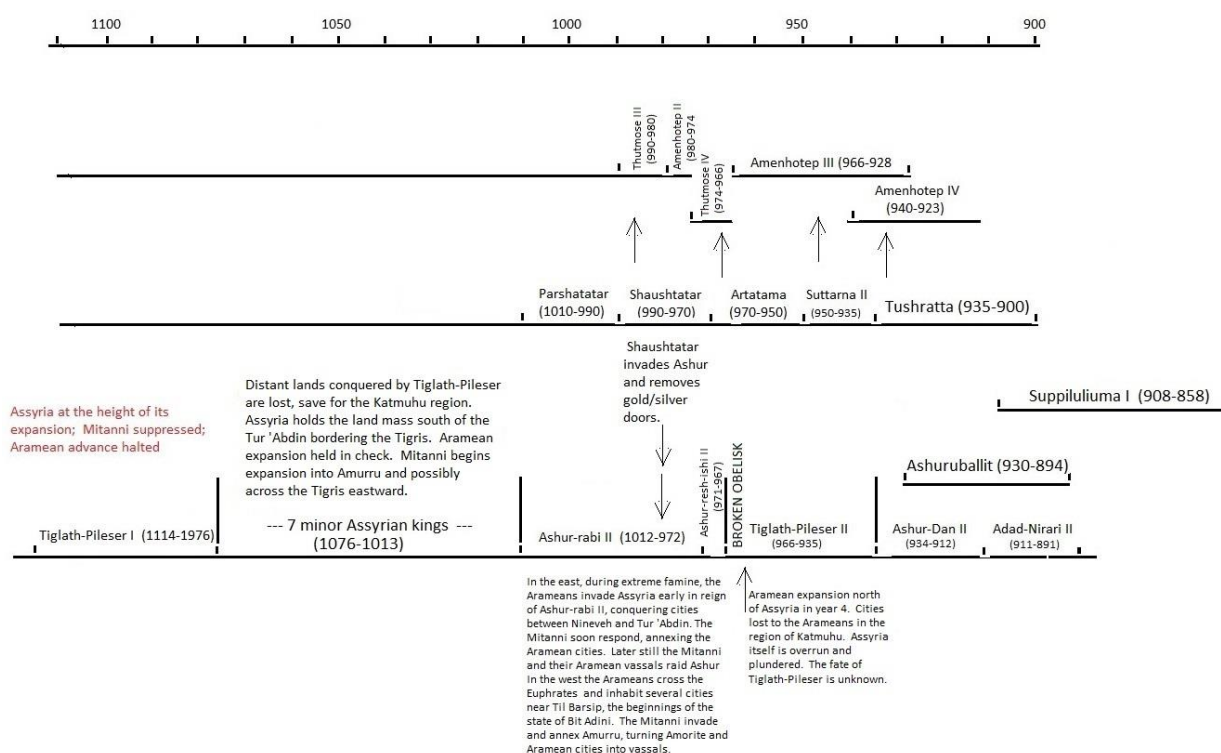
Almost all of the distant lands conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I were lost by the Assyrians, reverting to the control of their former occupants. This would include much of the land mass east of the Tigris running north to the vicinity of Lake Van, including territories north of the Tigris after the river makes its westward turn, thus through the lands of Mushki and Nairi to the Black Sea, and westward to the headwaters of the Tigris and across the Euphrates to the border of Hatti. Amurru, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, reverted into Aramean and Amorite hands. No military campaigns were necessary. These lands simply stopped paying tribute to the Assyrian kings and those kings were not sufficiently strong to respond. The Assyrians did manage to hold on to a narrow strip of land between Assyria and the Tur-Abdin and the region of Katmuhu north of those Kashiari foothills to the south bank of the Tigris, though late in this time frame or early in the next, the Mitanni re-occupied some of this land as they expanded east across the Tigris.

In the west, late in this time frame, the Mitanni moved across the Euphrates into Amurru, ostensibly to assist the Amorite and Aramean city states protect themselves against the threat of Assyrian aggression. This was a mistake, since early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II, whose reign we discuss next, the Mitanni under their king Parshatatar, forcibly conquered the country. The Mitanni, as noted in the previous paragraph, also expanded eastward late in this time frame (or early in the next), crossing the Tigris engulfing cities to the east and to the south as far as Nuzi. These increases in land mass by the Mitanni were a reflection of their increasing strength and growing Assyrian weakness. The Arameans, meanwhile were largely held at bay, again the result of increasing Mitanni strength, as we enter the period we refer to as the “Empire Period” of this nation, the height of its power.

Thus in the following chart (Figure 5), where we produce a timeline which follows the advance or regression of the three nations during the 63 year long time frame which separates the death of Tiglath-Pileser and the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, we summarize developments by adding the summary statement:

Distant lands conquered by Tiglath-pileser I are lost save for Katmuhu . Assyria holds the land mass south of the Tur-'Abdin bordering the Tigris. Aramean expansion held in check. Mitanni begin expansion into Amurru and possibly across Tigris eastward.

Figure 5: Timeline documenting significant changes in the extent of lands occupied by Hanigalbat, Assyria, and the Arameans over a two century time frame ca. 1114-910 B.C.



The chart shown above in Figure 5 includes portions of the Egyptian and Mitanni timelines needed for later reference. Much of this section can be neglected for the time being.

ii) Ashur-rabi II (1012-972).

During the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972) Assyria lost even more of the land mass bequeathed to his successors by Tiglath-Pileser I. Around the year 1005 B.C., thus during the brief reign of the Babylonian 5th dynasty king [Kashshu-nadin-ahi](#) (ca. 1006-1004), "distress and famine" (BBSt 36 col I, pp 24-28) caused food offerings to the gods to cease, a state of affairs that continued into the reign of Eulmash-shakin-shumi (1004-987). Whether at this time or

slightly later, famine set in motion an Aramean advance resembling that which took place during the famines of the last years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, the difference being that this time the Arameans did establish a permanent presence immediately north-east of Assyria, which no doubt enlarged over the length of the reign of Ashur-rabi. Few inscriptions confirm that conclusion, but since what amounts to an Aramean state exists immediately to the north of Assyria by the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935) and remains in place at the beginning of the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891), it is a near certainty that Arameans arrived *en masse* during the reign of Ashur-rabi II, and arguably during the initial years of that reign.

Two other arguments support that conclusion. On the one hand the cessation of food offerings to the gods in the time of Eulmash-shakin-shumi continued for decades after, and in Mesopotamian society the population would be left to starve before the gods would be deprived of food. Famine thus characterized the whole of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, and famine implied Aramean aggression, not just in Babylonia, but also in Assyria. Additionally we do have one later reference which singles out the reign of Ashur-rabi as a major source of Assyrian territorial loss to the Arameans. One of the few surviving annals from the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912), unfortunately only partially preserved on badly damaged clay tablet fragments from Ashur, included the comment quoted below. According to Grayson, on page 131 of his *Assyrian Rulers*, these annals are “largely concerned with the Assyrian king’s successful attempts to regain territory lost to such people as the Aramaeans and restoring this land to the Assyrians”. The relevant section of Ashur-dan’s annals refers to,

I]ahanu, the land of the Aramaeans, which is behind the land Pi[...], which from the time of Ashur-ra]bi (II), king of Assyria, my forefather, the cities of the district of [my land, ...] they captured for themselves; [I mustered] chariots (and) troops. [I plundered ...] (and) inflicted upon them a major defeat. [Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers*, 133]

The Wikipedia article referencing [Ashur-rabi II](#) does allude to Aramean expansion at the western bend of the Euphrates, near Til Barsip, in an area across the Euphrates from “the mountain of Beshri” where Tiglath-Pileser I, a century earlier, had boasted of destroying six Aramean cities:

Six of their cities, which lay at the foot of the mountain of Beshri, I captured, I burned with fire, I laid (them) waste, I destroyed (them). (quoted earlier in this paper on pages 17-18).

These earlier enclaves were likely part of the Aramean expansion caused by the great famine of 1082, destroyed soon after by the Assyrian king. But during the reign of Ashur-rabi, the Aramean expansion into this same general area (though across the Euphrates) likely remained, since scholars are in agreement that the Aramean state of Bit-Adini on the east side of the Euphrates, the location of Til Barsip, came into existence in the 10th century. Thus we read in the Ashur-rabi II Wikipedia article:

Some Assyrian settlements on the Middle [Euphrates](#) were lost to the [Arameans](#) as they were able to cross the river and establish a network of autonomous but interrelated settlements that began to encroach on the Assyrian heartland. [Šulmānu-ašarēdu III](#) [= Shalmaneser III] recalled the loss of Ana-Aššur-utēr-ašbat

(Pitru, possibly Tell Aushariye) and Mutkinu, two towns close to [Til Barsip](#), which had originally been taken and colonized by [Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I](#) [= Tiglath-pileser I] around a hundred years earlier.

Though few inscriptions from the reign of Ashur-rabi II exist to confirm the loss of Assyrian territory in the west and in the east, and while the Arameans themselves have left absolutely no records for posterity from this time frame, at least one reference to an action by the Mitanni does suggest that Assyria was seriously weakened, if not overrun, during the reign of Ashur-rabi II. We have already begun to add Mitanni kings to our timeline, and though dates are only approximate, they are at least accurate to within ten years in the time of Parshatatar and Shaushtatar. And in this schema the powerful Mitanni kings [Parshatatar](#) and [Shaushtatar](#) are dated ca. 1010-990 and 990-970 BC respectively (see Table 1 on page 17 and Figure 5 on page 23 above). It follows that Shaushtatar was ruling Hanigalbat throughout the last half of the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972). The Wikipedia article on Shaushtatar will inform the reader that during his reign this king “invaded Assyria and sacked and looted its capital, [Assur](#).” In truth the evidence which backs this statement is an inscription which credits Shaushtatar only with looting some gold and silver doors from Assur to adorn his palace in the Mitanni capital Washukkanni. Though this does appear to suggest that the Mitanni at least participated in an assault on the Assyrian capital, it is conceivable that the raid on Assyria also involved the Arameans who, if we are correct, by this time inhabit the land mass bordered by the Tur ‘Abdin to the north, the eastern headwaters of the Khabur River to the south and the Tigris River. In the next paragraph we will suggest the possibility, if not the probability, that “the land of Arime” has by this time become a vassal state of Hanigalbat and the Aramean vassals and the Mitanni overlords have combined forces to unseat the Assyrian king. Regardless, the “assault on” and “looting of” the city of Assur did not likely result in Assyria becoming a vassal state, at least judging from the one contemporary inscription of [Ashur-resh-ishi II](#) (971-967), son and successor of Ashur-rabi II. The clay cylinder inscription of this king describes repairs made to the damaged temple in Assur, damage likely resulting from the aforementioned attack on the city. This activity, in combination with the fact that his brief reign preceded by at most four years that of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), suggests that Assyria survived the attack. Tiglath-Pileser II, at the beginning of his reign, was fully in control of Assyria and initiating attacks in the reverse direction, i.e. on the “land of Arime” in the region of eastern Hanigalbat.

The reign of Ashur-rabi II not only witnessed the encroachment into Assyria proper of the Arameans, it also saw the Mitanni conquering Amurru, a land held jointly by the Amorites and the Arameans since shortly after the death of Tiglath-Pileser I. This westward expansion, already alluded to in the previous section, apparently took place during the reign of the Mitanni king [Parshatatar](#) (aka Barattarna, Parattarna) whose approximate dates (1010-990) place him near the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1012-972). Thus this westward advance, which turned the Arameans in Amurru into vassals provides a precedent for our claim in the previous paragraph that in the east the Mitanni had already overrun the Arameans in the “land of Arime”, turning those Aramean cities into vassals of Hanigalbat.

We will mention the Mitanni conquest of Amurru again near the end of this paper, since the loss of this land mass to the Hittites during the latter part of the reign of Tushratta (935-900), a

century after it was conquered at the beginning of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, played a role in the ultimate victory of Adad-nirari II over Hanigalbat.

Resulting from this brief analysis of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, our Figure 5 chart summarizes the reigns of Ashur-rabi II and Ashur-resh-ishi II as follows:

In the east, during extreme famine, the Arameans invade Assyria early in reign of Ashur-rabi II, conquering Assyrian cities between Nineveh and the Tur 'Abdin. Mitanni soon responds annexing the Aramean cities, turning them into a vassal state. Later still the Mitanni and their Aramean vassals raid Ashur. In the west the Arameans cross the Euphrates and inhabit several cities, the beginnings of the state of Bit-Adini. The Mitanni invade and annex Amurru, turning Amorite and Aramean cities into vassals.

iii) Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935).

And at long last we get to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, from whose reign only one document of any significance has survived, i.e. the Broken Obelisk, which contains annals from this king's initial four years.

In this paper we will say very little about the details of the campaigns recorded in columns 1-4 of the Obelisk inscription, except to say that at least a dozen times in those four columns Tiglath-Pileser is recorded as campaigning against the "land of Arime", a phrase that almost certainly refers to the region to the north-west of Assyria infiltrated by the Arameans early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II. While we speculated earlier that these conquered Assyrian cities were possibly annexed by the Mitanni soon after they were conquered by the Arameans, and thus collectively became a vassal state of Hanigalbat, it appears from Tiglath-Pileser's annals that they are regarded first and foremost as a state unto themselves, much as Amurru in the extreme west retained its traditional name, though vassal to the Mitanni kingdom. Hanigalbat is never mentioned in the Obelisk inscription. By the time of Adad-nirari II things have changed, and "the land of Arime" is constantly referred to as Hanigalbat, which according to this author at least, amounts to confirmation that it is part of the Mitanni kingdom. Prior to the publication of our next paper we suggest that the interested reader peruse the Broken Obelisk for himself/herself at either of two online sites, either on pages 118-125 of the 1926 translation by Daniel David Luckenbill in his timeless classic [Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I](#) [ARAB] or on pages 99-105 of A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled [Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I \(1114-859 BC\)](#) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2].

Our interest in the Obelisk inscription at this time is not with the details of the campaigns. We are more concerned with why the listing of the campaigns came to an abrupt end in column four, with the Obelisk as yet unfinished. We believe that something catastrophic must have taken place in Assyria to cause the scribe to abandon his work, and not return to complete it during the balance of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II. And since those annals are preoccupied with the conflict between Assyria and the "land of Arime" it is almost certain that the Arameans

have turned the tide, so to speak, and invaded the invader. It follows that in the 5th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, thus around 762 BC, an unprecedented Aramean invasion of upper Mesopotamia took place, enlarging the Aramean presence in the region both toward the north and south of the “land of Arime”. Whether because of a resurgence of famine or simply an expansion in the number of Aramean tribes seeking an improved life style, we cannot say. Regardless, Aramean territorial expansion was the result. To the north the region of Katmuhu between the Tur ‘Abdin and the Tigris was lost to the Assyrians. To the south Assyria was overrun, at least for the moment, adding to the number of cities controlled by the Arameans. Hanigalbat did not change appreciably at the time, though if the Arameans are indeed a vassal state, and are expanding their territory, it would follow that Hanigalbat is the ultimate beneficiary. We are now well within the Empire period of this nation, the time of its maximum strength. Shaushtatar is dead, but his son and grandson, Artatama and Shuttarna II, followed by Tushratta, would keep the nation strong through to the time of Suppiluliuma I. But Assyria did not fare well, and Tiglath-Pileser II likely witnessed the loss of multiple cities. It is almost certain that Assyria itself was overrun and plundered, and it is conceivable that Tiglath-Pileser II was taken captive for a time. We will probably never know exactly what happened, because no further records from the reign of this king have ever been located. If the reader were to do a Wikipedia search of the reign of [Tiglath-Pileser II](#), he will discover a complete blank, along with an invitation for someone, anyone, to supply information on this king’s reign. But here we are getting ahead of ourselves. In the next paper we will set the record straight.

The above discussion has prompted us to add the following summary statement to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.

Aramean expansion north of Assyria in year 5. Assyrian cities in the region of Katmuhu, between the Tur ‘Abdin and the Tigris River, are lost to the Arameans. Assyria itself is overrun and undoubtedly plundered. The fate of Tiglath-Pileser II is unknown.

B. The present: Historical background to the campaigns against Hanigalbat

In the previous section we detailed what we believe to be an accurate summary of close to 200 years of Assyrian, Mitanni, and Aramean history, from the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I in 1114 BC to the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II in 935 BC. At the end of this time frame there existed in the north of Mesopotamia an Assyrian kingdom barely in control of its own highly confined region between the lower Khabur and the Tigris, and a Mitanni kingdom called Hanigalbat which stretched from the Euphrates to the Tigris, extending north to the Tur ‘Abdin foothills, and beyond to the region of Katmuhu, south of the Tigris River. Part of this territory is governed by the Arameans, an enclave of vassal city states. This is precisely the situation that prevailed when Adad-nirari began his reign in 911 BC., suggesting that no major changes to the extent of the kingdoms of Assyria and Mitanni took place during the reign of Ashur-Dan II (934-912), though that king does boast of having recovered some of the cities lost to the Arameans in the days of Ashur-rabi II, most of which appear to lie east of the Tigris.

Having said that, we are still not quite ready to summarize and explain the content of the annals.

We have previously remarked on the fact that our knowledge of the Mitanni kings is wholly dependent on references to them in the literature of surrounding nations, primarily the Egyptians and the Hittites, this because Washukkanni, the capital city of Hanigalbat, has yet to be located and fully excavated. Before we look to Egypt and Hatti for more information that will assist us in interpreting the annals of Adad-nirari II, we need to briefly summarize what is presently known about Washukkanni, since we will encounter a possible reference to it in Adad-nirari II's annals.

Washukkanni is generally identified with either Tell Halaf or Tell Fakhariyah, mounds on the extreme west of the headwaters of the Khabur River (see Figure 4), where archaeologists, in the case of Tell Halaf (ancient Guzanu), have been unable to identify a strata associated with the Mitanni or, in the case of Tell Fakhariyah, have been unable to reach what they think is the Mitanni layer, because it lies below the present water level. Thus historians look elsewhere for information about the Mitanni kings, i.e. to Alalakh in north Syria on the west side of the Euphrates, to Nuzi on the east side of the Tigris, and perhaps most of all, to the Egyptians, the Empire Hittites, and the Assyrians.

For more insight into the situation vis-à-vis the city of Washukkanni we turn to Amanda H. Podany, in her discussion regarding the Mitanni kingdom, this from her 2010 publication ["Brotherhood of Kings"](#):

The capital city of Mittani was at Washshukkanni. This city lay somewhere in or near the triangle of fertile land bounded by the rivers that flow south into the Khabur River, which in turn flows into the Euphrates. The area is now near Syria's border with Turkey, considerably to the north of Mari. The ancient capital hasn't been excavated yet – it's one of the great, undiscovered cities that will one day undoubtedly transform our understanding of the era. For decades, archaeologists and historians have thought that it may be beneath later occupation levels in the huge tell at a place called Tell Fakhariyah. Chemical analysis of the clay used for tablets written in Washshukkanni confirms that they came from somewhere in the area of Tell Fakhariyah. But it may be decades before the excavations there turn up anything from the time of Mittani.

Without Washshukkanni, we have no archives belonging to the kings of Mittani, and unfortunately there's no other city that might be equivalent to the excavations at Ebla or Mari to provide details of the Mittani kings and their administrations. Here's a sobering fact: across all of Mittani, from a town called Nuzi in the far east to Alalakh, hundreds of miles away near the Mediterranean coast [*a distance of 500 miles as noted elsewhere by Podany*], only sixteen cuneiform documents have been found that include the names of kings of Mitanni and that were written during their reigns (some other documents have been found outside of Mitanni). Just sixteen. And these weren't royal inscriptions or annals or diplomatic letters. Most of them were contracts that include the seal of a king and a brief reference to the king. (Podany, *Brotherhood*, 134-135) [*italicized comment added*]

By far the most informative outside source for the Mitanni, at least for the dating of that nation, is the massive archive of 18th dynasty Egyptian tablets known as the Tell el Amarna

letters. Tablets unearthed at the El Amarna location in Egypt reveal that at least four of the kings of Mitanni, at the height of Mitanni power, were contemporaries of and interacted with four kings of the 18th dynasty of Egypt. [Shaushtatar](#) was supposedly a confederate of Thutmosis III (1479-1425), Artatama gave a daughter in marriage to Thutmosis IV (1401-1391), likewise did Shuttarna II to Amenhotep III (1391-1353) and Tushratta to Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) (1353-1336). These Egyptian kings all lived either in the middle half of the 15th century B.C. or in the first half of the 14th century, this according to traditional historians. In our revised history they span the length of the 10th century. Tushratta, the most widely recognized name among these kings, is known to have authored as many as [13 Tell-el-Amarna documents](#), addressing eight letters to Amenhotep III (EA 17-24), one to Tiye, his widow (EA 26), and four to Amenhotep IV (EA 25, 27-29). The length of this article precludes our analyzing these letters. Here we merely use the itemized relationship facts to assist in positioning these kings on our timeline chart. Needless to say, our primary interest is in the king named Tushratta.

The positioning of the five Mitanni kings has already been diagrammed on the upper half of our Figure 5 chart on page 23 above. The right half of that chart has been duplicated on the following page (see Figure 6) for greater clarity. Though our interest at the moment concerns only the years 911-891 BC, the dates of Adad-nirari II, we need to momentarily “flash back” in time to the reign of the Mitanni king Parshatatar

When earlier we mentioned the reign of Parshatatar we mentioned only the fact that early in the reign of Ashur-rabi II this Mitanni king overran the land of Amurru, at the time composed of city states controlled by the Amorites and the Arameans, who thus became vassals of Hanigalbat. Here we want to flash-back to the time of this same king in order to include mention of the Hittites (and to a lesser extent the buffer state of Kizzuwatna), not because the Hittites are mentioned in the annals of Adad-nirari II, but because the interaction between the Mitanni and the Hittites is absolutely essential to the understanding and the interpretation of those annals. Thus we refer the reader to the Wikipedia article on [Mitanni](#) where in the summary section near the end of the article we read:

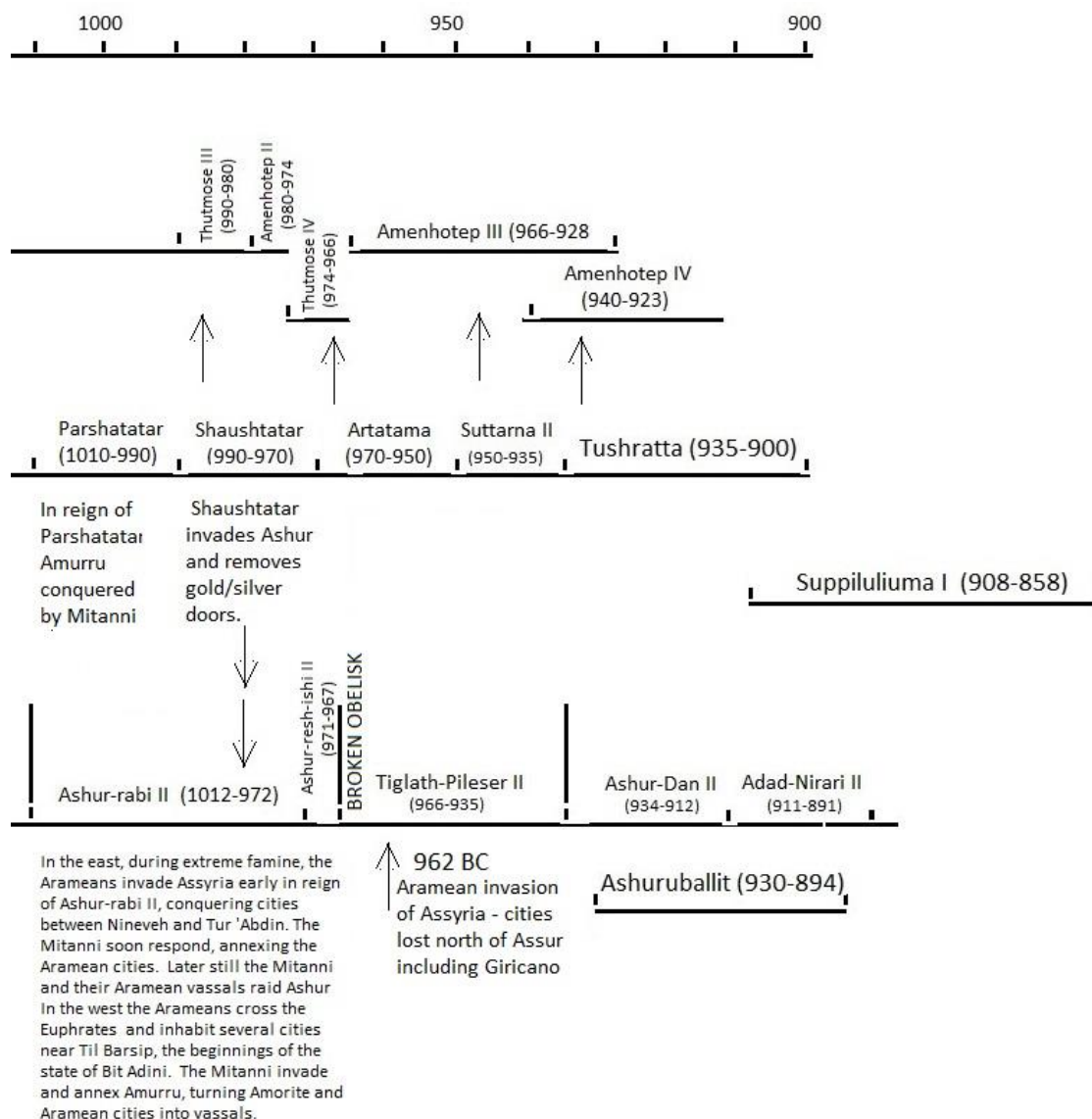
King Barattarna [= Parshatatar] of Mitanni expanded the kingdom west to Halab (Aleppo) and made the Canaanite king Idrimi of Alalakh his vassal. The state of Kizzuwatna in the west also shifted its allegiance to Mitanni ... The nation grew stronger during the reign of Shaushtatar, but the Hurrians [= the Mitanni] were keen to keep the Hittites inside the Anatolian highland. Kizzuwatna in the west, and Ishuwa in the north, were important allies against the hostile Hittites.

After a few successful clashes with the Pharaohs over the control of Syria, Mitanni sought peace with Egypt and an alliance was formed. During the reign of Shuttarna in the early 14th century BC the relationship was very amicable, and he sent his daughter Gilu-Hepa to Egypt for a marriage with Pharaoh Amenhotep III. Mitanni was now at its peak of power ...

At the death of Shuttarna, Mitanni was ravaged by a war of succession. Eventually Tushratta, a son of Shuttarna, ascended the throne, but the kingdom had been weakened considerably and both the Hittite and Assyrian threats increased. At the same time, the diplomatic relationship with Egypt went cold, the Egyptians fearing the growing power of the Hittites and Assyrians. The Hittite king Suppiluliuma I invaded the Mitanni vassal states in northern Syria and replaced them with loyal subjects.

In the capital Washukkanni, a new power struggle broke out. The Hittites and the Assyrians supported different pretenders to the throne. Finally a Hittite army conquered the capital Washukkanni and installed Shattiwaza, the son of Tushratta, as their vassal king of Mitanni in the late 14th century BC. (sections of the Wikipedia article on the Mitanni)

Figure 6: Timeline of the 10th century Mitanni kings



We have been somewhat selective in our quotations from the Wikipedia article, omitting sections that gratuitously added the names of 14th century Assyrian kings to the discussion, not because there are inscriptions which actually link these Assyrian kings to the Mitanni kings named in our Figures 5 and 6, but simply because of an assumed correspondence in dates between the Mitanni and Assyrian kings in this early time frame. In case we have not made the

point absolutely clear earlier, we repeat it here. There are absolutely no Assyrian documents from the 15th and 14th centuries, the time assumed in the traditional history to be the height of Mitanni power, which name the Mitanni kings found in our Figure 5. We are not surprised. The kings from Shaushtatar to Tushratta belong to the late 11th and the whole of the 10th centuries, not the 15th and early 14th centuries BC.

Having said that, we are in general agreement with the quoted discussion, save for the inclusion of 14th century dates cited for Shuttarna and Tushratta and some of the discussion related to Egypt. But that article has served its purpose, bringing us forward in time from the days of Parshatatar to the final years of the reign of Tushratta, when the fortunes of that king take an abrupt turn for the worse.

As for the Hittite participation in the decline of Mitanni fortunes at that time, we restrict our comments here to the early years of the Hittite Empire period. By the time that [Suppiluliuma 1 \(908-858\)](#) came on the scene we have fast forwarded from the time of Shaushtatar to the time of Tushratta. In the interim it appears that both Kissuwatna and Nuzi have been lost to the Mitanni, but Tushratta still has control of Amurru, as well as the original Mitanni homeland of Hanigalbat, stretching east west across the headwaters of the Balikh and Khabur Rivers from the Euphrates to the Tigris. But Suppiluliuma clearly had his sights set on Tushratta's holdings in upper Syria, if not on the whole of Hanigalbat. And with Kizzuwatna freed from Mitanni suzerainty, he has ready access to the conglomerate of city states in Amurru to the south, which became known subsequently as the "Hatti Lands". Soon after taking office Suppiluliuma conducted the first of two campaigns against the Mitanni, quickly assuming control of upper Syria (Amurru). Tushratta retreated east of the Euphrates, across from Carchemish, and awaited developments. Later still Suppiluliuma launched a second campaign, a surprise raid on Hanigalbat via a circuitous route across the northern extremities of the Euphrates headwaters, through the province of Ishuwa and south through northern Mesopotamia to attack Washukkanni from the north. The city may or may not have been overrun and completely destroyed. Scholars are divided on the issue. Regardless, Tushratta escaped, if he was even resident at his capital at the time. It is conceivable that the attack caught him totally by surprise, stranded along with the bulk of his army at his defensive position east of the Euphrates at its western bend, a hundred miles from Washukkanni. While he was awaiting a frontal attack across the Euphrates, Hanigalbat was overrun by the Hittites a hundred miles behind his back.

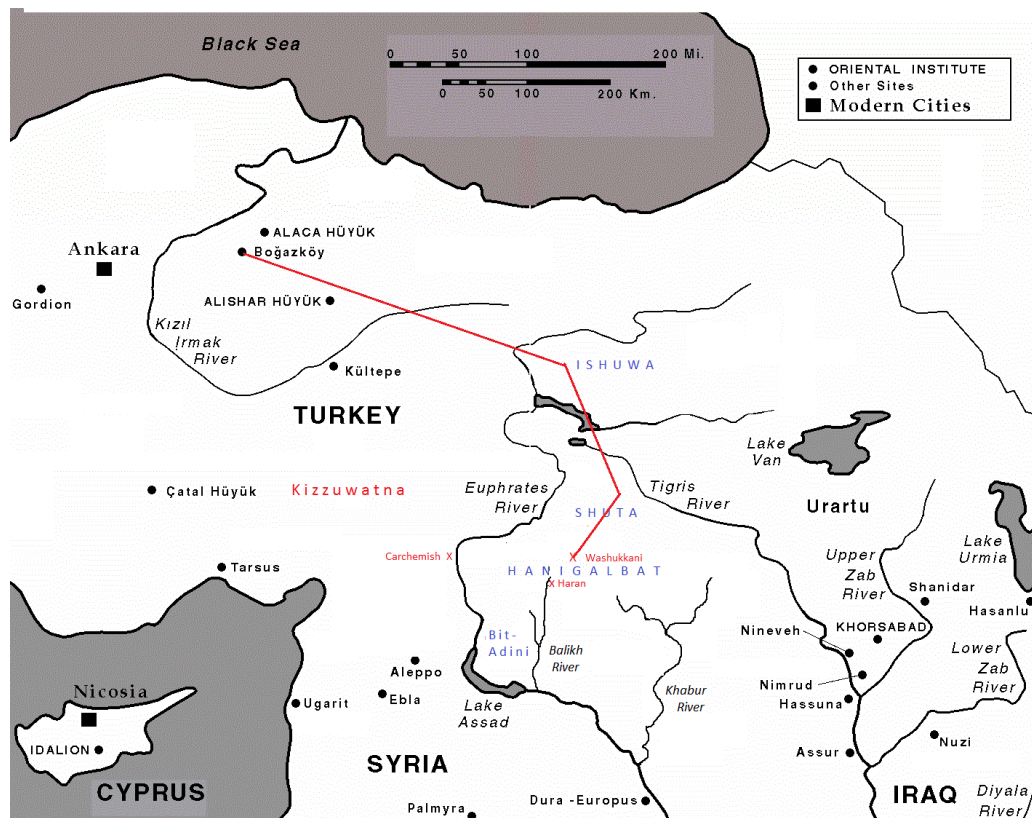
In Figure 7 on the next page, we diagram this second Hittite campaign, following details provided by Robert Mcroberts in a 2010 online article entitled "[The Great Syrian War; The Sack of Washukkanni](#)". Mcroberts in turn bases his description totally on the book by Trevor Bryce entitled "*Kingdom of the Hittites*", the only item cited as a source for the article. We need to make only one comment regarding this map. Since no-one knows for sure the location of Washukkanni, we have merely placed it in a convenient position for purposes of diagramming, north and east of the region where scholars traditionally place it. The reader should not assume that we are arguing that this location is correct.

The history of Mitanni continues on for several decades, but now the nation is considerably reduced in size and no longer in control of the region running east-west through the headwaters of the Khabur. Tushratta himself, not long after losing his Hanigalbat homeland, was assassinated by a nephew, though

his line of descendants continued in regions further north. In due time we will survey some of this subsequent Mitanni history, but not in this paper.

We leave the matter there. The history of this later interaction between the Mitanni and the Hittites is not in question. It is precisely what is espoused by the traditional history, but in that history it takes place in the middle of the 14th century BC. In the revised history we are at the end of the 10th century, 450 years removed in time.

Figure 7: The Campaign against Washukkanni by Suppiluliuma around 902 B.C.



As for the dates of Tushratta and his ancestors in our Figures 5 and 6 maps, and in Table 1, we have reasoned as follows. A glance at our Figure 2 timelines informs us that Amenhotep III ruled in the years 966-928 B.C. and his son Amenhotep IV, elevated to joint rule with his gravely ill father in the last decade of his life, ruled during the years 940-930 B.C. It follows that the Mitanni king Tushratta, who communicated with both kings, began his reign around 935 B.C. As he states in one of his letters ([EA 17](#)), he was extremely young when his reign began, and the kingdom was administered by a regent named Tuhi, not well liked by Tushratta who later had him assassinated. The reader will also be reminded that we have dated the reign of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma in the years 908-858, a fifty year reign as opposed to the twenty years assigned this king by the traditional history. But both of the revised dates are well documented. The year 908 follows from the fact that Suppiluliuma wrote an el-Amarna letter to Tutankhamon - whose brief reign spanned this date - and he also corresponded with

that king's widow. The 858 date follows from the fact that Suppiluliuma is mentioned in the annals of the Assyrian king Shalmanezar III (858-824), this in the first year campaign described in that king's annals. Assuming that the first and second campaigns of Suppiluliuma against Tushratta took place very soon after his reign began, we can tentatively date his conquest of the "Hatti Land" to around the year 905 and his attack on Washukkanni to approximately 902 BC. If Tushratta's assassination occurred several years after the sack of Washukkanni, around 900 B.C., we can date his reign to the years 935-900 with some confidence. In a moment it will be clear to the reader that the 905 and 902 dates are accurate to within a year. We have the advantage of having read the Assyrian annals.

The revised history dates assigned to Tushratta (935-900) imply that he ruled Hanigalbat during the entirety of the reign of Ashur-Dan II (934-912) and the first half of the reign of Adad-nirari II (911-891). In due time we will return to discuss the situation with Ashur-Dan II. Our focus in this paper is on the annals of Adad-nirari II. All of our discussion to this point has been intended to set the stage. Finally, at long last, we are prepared to examine those annals, where the underlined sentences in the previous paragraph will prove to be critical components of our analysis.

If our revision is correct the annals of Adad-nirari II should confirm the existence of a strong Mitanni kingdom in its traditional location, running east/west from the Euphrates to the Tigris, where the easternmost section consists largely of Arameans, clearly vassals of the Mitanni. The Aramean section of Hanigalbat should run northward at least as far as Mount Kashiari and the Tur 'Abdin. We should also find evidence that the Assyrians are confined to a relatively small region of upper Mesopotamia, and have been so since the days of the Tiglath-pileser II (967-935). There should be clear evidence that Hanigalbat and the Hittites were engaged in battle around the year 905 BC and that much of the traditional homeland of the Mitanni, including its capital city Washukkanni, had succumbed to the Hittite invasion of 902 BC, leaving the Aramean vassal state in the eastern Hanigalbat region to fight alone against the Assyrian king.

C. Content of the Annals.

We urge the reader to read the [annals of Adad-nirari II](#). Earlier on page 7 we suggested two online translations, either pages 145-155 in A. Kirk Grayson's 1991 publication entitled [Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I \(1114-859 BC\)](#) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2], or alternatively on pages 109-116 of volume I of Daniel David Luckenbill's 1926 volume "[Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia](#)" [ARAB]. Alternatively, he/she may simply follow our commentary, as we briefly summarize the campaigns, with appropriate explanatory comment. This summary of the annals utilizes the paragraph numbering system employed by Luckenbill.

The first two pages of Adad-nirari's annals are dedicated to extolling the virtues of Assyrian gods and boasting of his own greatness (sect. 355-359). There follows an extremely brief summary of his military accomplishments during the first ten years of his reign (sect 360-362), during which time he was engaged in a series of raids northward along the east side of the Tigris into the lands of Nairi and the mountainous regions of Armenia, conquering what were essentially undefended cities. At some time, probably late in this time frame, he also moved

south into Karduniash, again avoiding major confrontation, and for the most part confining his raids to the north of that country, and to the cities of the region of Der, east of the Tigris. As already mentioned, he was careful to avoid the Kassite fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu, and the major cities of the country, all of which lay between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. We discussed this raid briefly in our last section, but mention it again to place it in context. These three sections, which summarize ten years of campaigns, comprise only a single page of text. And a small portion of this is given over to describing one of the only two building enterprises recorded for this entire reign, the rebuilding of the city of Apku, which had “decayed and collapsed into a heap of ruins”. We suspect the city was actually attacked, destroyed, and abandoned by the Arameans early in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935)), about fifty years prior, an event so important that we devote the entirety of our next paper to its description.

The reconstruction of Apku is described in a section which begins with the statement that “the defeat of the desert folk, the Ahlame Arameans, was accomplished, the tribute of Suhi was received.” It is likely by design that the restoration of Apku and an accounting of tribute received from the Arameans are mentioned in the same breath. One of the reasons for these attacks on the Ahlame Arameans and the Suhi appears to be retribution for the damage wrought by the Arameans over the years, of which the city Apku is but one visible reminder. Additionally, as we mentioned previously in our discussion of the campaign against Shamash-mudammiq, Adad-nirari is preparing his army for an all-out assault on Aramean cities in the Hanigalbat region to his north, this in order to liberate cities conquered by the Arameans in previous centuries, a subject already discussed in previous sections of this paper. While we don’t know where the raids against the Ahlame tribe took place, the region occupied by the Suhi lies across the Euphrates due south of Assyria and can be viewed on the map in Figure 4 above. When we read the accounts of the Adad-nirari’s campaigns against the Arameans to the north it is the Temanite Arameans that are the object of the king’s wrath. Already, in section 362 of the annals, he confirms the fact that the recovery of Assyrian territory is his overriding objective.

(I am he) who returned the cities of Hit, (Idu, and) Zakku, strongholds of Assyria, to the territory of his land. The cities of Arinu, Turhu, Zaduri, the confederacy (?) of Shupre, were torn from Assyria. (Annals sect. 362)

Before we move on to the main section of the annals we need to mention the fact that these introductory campaigns are not dated and are apparently not in chronological order. No eponym years are mentioned in sections 360-362. Thus, though the campaign against Shamash-mudammiq is mentioned before a 4th campaign against the Nairi-lands and a campaign up the Tigris to the region of Alzi, we previously dated the Babylonian campaign to the fall of 902 BC. But no harm results to our overall argument if that is not the case.

The ten years we have been discussing are clearly preparatory for the one task which Adad-nirari is hoping to accomplish, namely, liberating his country from its confinement, surrounded as it is by Arameans and the Mitanni. Assyria is apparently impoverished. Its resources are depleted. It is in need of supplies and weapons to supply its army, and metals with which to forge implements of war. Thus its campaigns toward the metal rich mountains of Armenia and south to the rich pasturelands of the region of Der. This preparatory activity almost certainly increased in intensity after 908 B.C., when news of the rise of Suppiluliuma I reached Assyria. It would have intensified further in the year 905 B.C. when the Hittites launched a successful campaign to conquer Amurru, and Tushratta in the several years which followed was increasingly absent from his capital, drawn hundreds of miles to the west to ensure that Suppiluliuma did not cross the Euphrates and launch an attack on the Hittite capital. Anticipating the day when Hatti and Hanigalbat would collide, Adad-nirari was readying the Assyrian army to launch a series of campaigns against Hanigalbat.

Whereas only a single page describes the military operations of Adad-nirari during his first ten years (911-902), four pages (sect 363-373) are devoted to the next eight years, entirely given over to the campaigns against Hanigalbat. Each yearly campaign is introduced by an eponym, and since the eponyms for this king's reign are well known, each campaign can be dated precisely. If the reader wonders why Adad-nirari II placed so much emphasis on these campaigns and why they began in 901 B.C. we can summarize in two sentences. Freeing Assyria from Mitanni (and Aramean) domination was to be the crowning achievement of his life, something he had been preparing for throughout his reign. And in 902 B.C., when Suppiluliuma attacked Washukkanni, likely decimating the city, but certainly removing Tushratta and his army from the scene, Mitanni lands became vulnerable to attack by the Assyrian army. The assault on Hanigalbat began the next year.

The first five of the dated campaigns against Hanigalbat were directed against the cities captured by the Arameans in the days of Ashur-rabi II and Tiglath-Pileser II. They were located to the extreme east and north-east of "the wide land of Hanigalbat." Two distinct Aramean tribes are mentioned, the Temanites and the Arime. We look at each campaign separately.

First campaign against Hanigalbat (901 BC)

In the eponymy of Dur-mati-Assur, I marched against the wide land of Hanigalbat. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, mustered his hosts. By (in) the city of Pa'zi, which is at the foot of Mount Kashiari, we drew up the battle line; we battled with one another. From Pa'zi to Nusaybin, I accomplished their defeat. Multitudes of his chariots I carried off. (Luckenbill ARAB 111 sect.363)

Earlier in this paper (top of page 21) we quoted the opinion of Trevor Bryce, representative of the mindset of all scholars of the traditional history, that the Mitanni ceased to exist in the region of Hanigalbat by the end of the 2nd millennium BC, and that the former Mitanni territory,

supposedly in its entirety, was occupied by Arameans. We have devoted multiple pages to explain that this opinion is grossly in error. One of the sources of this mistaken opinion was the Broken Obelisk, which we leave for analysis in our next paper. Another source, though not mentioned by Bryce, was undoubtedly the annals of Adad-nirari II. When 21st century scholars refer to these annals, the name of Mitanni is nowhere mentioned, because they are of the same opinion as Bryce. It is time to set the record straight.

Two arguments can immediately be raised against the errant view that Hanigalbat in the annals is merely a geographical reference and its occupants are Arameans throughout, not Mitanni. The first argument has already been presented. In well over a dozen pages we have reviewed the history of Aramean infiltration into the eastern section of Hanigalbat, where that so-called geographical term consistently referred to the Mitanni homeland. A second argument might be drawn from the fact that this initial campaign is directed against “the wide land of Hanigalbat”, yet the battle that follows is narrowly construed as one between Adad-nirari and a single Aramean tribe, localized in a narrow strip of land running from Mount Kashiari to Nusaybin. In fact all of the campaigns against Hanigalbat described in the annals are restricted to the region encompassed by the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River. Under no circumstances can scholars extrapolate from this circumstance to the conclusion that Arameans occupy the whole of “the wide land of Hanigalbat.” Then why is this language being used by Adad-nirari? The answer is not complicated, assuming that our timeline of events presented earlier is accurate. In 902 BC Suppiluliuma attacked and destroyed Washukkanni and drove Tushratta and his army westward and to the north, far from the traditional Mitanni homeland. Only indefensible Hurrian villages remain in Hanigalbat proper, save for the Aramean controlled eastern enclaves in the “land of Arime”. To defeat these is to be in possession of the whole of the Mitanni homeland. More will be said on this subject as we continue through the annals.

One last comment on this first campaign concerns the city of Pa’zi at the foot of Mount Kashiari, transcribed Pauza by Grayson (*Assyrian Rulers* 149 lines 40, 41). This is almost certainly the same city mentioned in the Broken Obelisk, 3rd column, line 8 where we read concerning the author of these annals that ...

“In that year, and in the month Iyyar, on an expedition against the land of Arime, in the city of Pausa, which lieth at the foot of the mountain of Kasiari (?) he fought”

Clearly in both instances the city of Pausa was an Aramean stronghold, and very likely, as in the annals of Adad-nirari, the capital of a swath of Aramean land running from Mount Kashiari south and east toward to the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River. Which raises once again the issue of the authorship of the annals of the Broken Obelisk. We will mention this text again in our next paper as but one of over a several dozen reasons for favoring Tiglath-Pileser II over Ashur-bel-kala as the king whose annals fill columns 1-4 of the Obelisk. This reference to Pausa at the foot of Mount Kashiari is dated to the year 901 BC. Is it more reasonable to assume that

the Obelisk inscription naming the same Aramean held city was authored roughly 60 years earlier, during the initial years of Tiglath-pileser II (966-935) or over 170 years earlier, during the initial years of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). In the case of Tiglath-pileser II, we can at least argue that the Arameans arrived en masse and occupied that city during the initial years of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, approximately 40 years earlier, time to develop into a major Aramean stronghold. In the case of Ashur-bel-kala the Arameans occupying the Mount Kashiari region would have arrived a mere six or seven years earlier, during the hypothetical Aramean raid on Assyria attested by a badly damaged chronicle. Let the reader decide.

Second campaign against Hanigalbat (900 BC)

In the eponymy of Ekaia, I marched against Hanigalbat the second time. By (in) Nusaybin I fought with him. With the blood of his warriors I dyed the plain. I entered the city of Iaridi. The crops of its land I reaped. I counted the city of Saralu as my own. Grain and straw I heaped up therein. (Luckenbill ARAB 111-12 sect. 364)

It is clear from the language describing this second campaign that Nur-Adad, the Temanite Aramean, was not conquered in first campaign. And not only is no mention made of the conquest of Nusaybin here, but when we get to the fifth campaign in the year 887 BC this Aramean king is still occupying the same fortress city. Instead, in this second campaign, Adad-nirari (II), apparently without a struggle, occupies two defenseless cities nearby, Iaridi and Saralu. Which makes us wonder why he does not venture elsewhere in “the wide land of Hanigalbat”, if scholars are correct in assuming that Hanigalbat is everywhere occupied by Arameans.

Third campaign against Hanigalbat (899 BC)

In the eponymy of Ninuaia, I marched against Hanigalbat the third time. I took the city of Huzirina. (Its wall I leveled flat (with the ground). The cities at the foot of Mount Kashiari, which Mamli, the Temanite, had taken, seized my feet; his palaces I counted as my own. At that time I received a great *pagutu* and a small *pagutu*, products of the land of Tur-adini which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates. (Luckenbill ARAB 112 sect. 365)

We continue to be perplexed, still waiting for Adad-nirari to leave this relatively narrow strip of land between Mount Kashiari and the city of Nusaybin located on an eastern tributary of the Khabur River. There is only one explanation possible. This is all that is left of the “wide land of Hanigalbat”. And we have previously explained the circumstance which produced this situation, namely, the destruction of Washukkanni and the removal of Tushratta and his army in 902 BC. There does remain the problem of identifying the date of arrival of these Temanite Arameans in the Kashiari foothills. For the revised history there is a clearly defined answer, since we have surmised that around the 5th year of Tiglath-Pileser II Aramean tribes overran Assyria and the Mitanni lands in the region of Mount Kashiari, and also further north in the region of Katmuhu. That the Temanite tribe was among these invaders is almost certain.

The reference to “a great paqutu and a small paqutu , products of the land of Tur-adini is interesting but largely irrelevant to the subject at hand. It is generally accepted that the Assyrian word paqutu refers to the hippopotamus and “the land of Tur-Adini” (= “the land of the son of Adini” is almost certainly a reference to the state of Bit-Adini on the east side of the Euphrates at its western bend (see Figure 4 on page 14). This son of Adini is not named in the annals, but several decades after the time of Adad-nirari another son, “Ahuni mar (= son of) Adini” was a prominent antagonist of both Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III and in the reign of the latter king Til-Barsip, the capital of Bit-Adini, was overrun by the Assyrians and the Aramean state brought to an end.

Fourth campaign against Hanigalbat (898 BC)

In the eponymy of Likberu, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fourth time. Then Mukur, the Temanite, became afraid of the curse of the great gods, and forced me into battle and combat. He put his trust in his fortified city, his mighty bow, his widespreading hosts, and the Arime (the Arameans) and broke (the treaty with me. I mustered my chariots and armies. Against Gidara, which the Arameans call Ratammatu, and which since (the days of) Tiglath-pileser, son of Assur-resh-ishi, king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, the Arameans had held by force, I marched. In the wisdom of my heart, such as (lit. which) did not exist among the kings, my fathers, I overthrew the cities round about it. In order to level that city of his to the ground, I dug a ditch (around) it. Before my terrible arms, the violent and mighty onsets of my attack, they became afraid and with a powerful (or brave) assault I entered into Ratammatu against that one. I brought him down out of his palace. His possessions, valuable mountain stone (crystal), his chariots, horses, his wives, his sons, his daughters, an enormous booty, he collected in front of me. On him and his brothers, - with bonds of copper I had them bound, to my city Assur I brought (them). The might and power of Assur, my lord, I established over Hanigalbat. (Luckenbill, ARAB 112 sect. 366)

Once again Hanigalbat becomes synonymous with a narrow strip of land between Mount Kashiari and Nusaybin. This third reference to the Temanite Arameans involves the city of Gidara and its Aramean king Mukur. The location of this former Assyrian city, renamed Ratammatu by its Aramean conquerors, is described by Trevor Bryce, whose book entitled [The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia](#) we used earlier in this paper when discussing the extent of Hanigalbat (see above, top of p 21). The article is sufficiently brief and informative to warrant quoting in its entirety.

GIDARA Iron age city located in the upper Habur region of northern Mesopotamia, west of Nusaybin and north of Guzana. It had apparently been seized from the Assyrians by an Aramaean tribe called the Temanites (q.v.) after the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser II (967-935), and renamed Raqamatu by them. This information is provided by Adad-nirari II (911-891), Tiglath-pileser's successor-but-one, who marched upon the city during his campaign in the region in 898, captured it after a siege, plundered it of its most valuable possessions, and deported its Temanite ruler Muquru and his family to Assyria (*RIMA 2: 150). A provincial governor of Raqamaru is attested in 773 at the latest; subsequently, the city may have been incorporated into the Province of the Commander-in-Chief (see glossary). Lipinski notes that Gidara is a West Semitic name, and suggests that the dual name of the city (Gidara Raqamatu),

recorded by the Assyrians, implies the coexistence of two population groups in Gidara: the anc. Urban population and the Aramaeans who seized the city in Tiglath-pileser's reign. (Bryce, RHPP 256, s.v. Gidara)

The reader can locate this city on our Figure 4 map by following Bryce's directions – west of Nusaybin (Nisibin) and north of Guzana (Tell Halaf), thus near the L in the name HANIGALBAT. Unfortunately there was insufficient space to add the name to the map.

We needn't remind the reader that this reference to the time of Tiglath-pileser II, one of the few references to this king in the Assyrian archives, is perfectly consistent with our attribution of the annals of the Broken Obelisk to the reign of this king. Those annals terminate abruptly in his fourth year, and soon thereafter Assyria was overrun by Arameans who travelled precisely through the region Adad-nirari is now invading and through the range of the Kashiari mountains to region of Katmuhu, on the south bank of the Tigris. We are surprised to see Bryce suggest that this Aramean conquest of Gidara took place *after* the reign of this Tiglath-Pileser II, since the phrasing of the text of the annals clearly suggests otherwise, and the brief extant annals of his son Ashur-dan II provide not the slightest hint of an Aramean invasion in this region.

One other reference in the annals of this year brings to mind the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II. Near the beginning of the annals entry for this year, when Mukur the Temanite challenged Adad-nirari II to battle, it is stated that he did so because "He put his trust in his fortified city, his mighty bow, his widespreading hosts, and the Arime (the Arameans)" This is the only time in the annals that reference is made to an Aramean tribe called the "Arime", but in the Broken Obelisk, which we have attributed to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, there are at least a dozen mentions of campaigns directed by Tiglath-pileser II against the "land of Arime". This tribe is seldom, if ever, encountered elsewhere in Assyrian literature. We assume they entered this region in the early years of Ashur-rabi II, lending credence to our argument that the Obelisk belongs to the 10th century, not the beginning of the 11th.

Our final comment on the 4th campaign annals concerns the reference to Adad-nirari mustering his "chariots and *armies*" against the city of Gadara. On his sixth campaign as well, en route to the mountain fortresses of Sikkur (and) Sappanu, Adad-nirari commented on how difficult the ascent was for his "chariots (and) *armies*" (see below p. 42). And why are these references to multiple armies important? One reason will become obvious in our commentary on the 5th campaign, where we point out that the annals of Adad-nirari register primarily campaigns where battles are taking place. This, after all, is what annals typically do. But these annals twice interject "campaigns" whose purpose is solely to collect tribute. Which makes us wonder if other branches of the Assyrian army are constantly operating in the same capacity elsewhere. After all, Hanigalbat has only recently been invaded by the Hitties, who left behind hundreds of poorly defended cities east of Nusaybin, a city which is located approximately 150 miles from the Euphrates at the western extremity of Hanigalbat. These western cities may not have been rebellious, as were the Aramean vassals in the east, but they needed to be visited, if only to

swear allegiance to the Assyrians. And tribute and tax was surely levied on them very soon after the Hittites departed. Thus this speculative query.

And there is a second pressing issue related to the multiplicity of Assyrian armies, namely, the whereabouts of our elusive subordinate Assyrian king named Ashuruballit. We have argued in other papers and in one of our mainstream Displaced Dynasties books, that this king, at one time at least, governed the eastern half of Assyria, and was likely domiciled on the Balikh River, possibly, though not certainly in Harran. Early in this paper we suggested that he (and his army) likely accompanied Adad-nirari on his 904 campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin I. That would suggest that he is leading one branch of the Assyrian army assisting Adad-nirari in some his campaigns. It is also conceivable that soon after the beginning of the campaigns against Hanigalbat he was active in the western regions insuring the allegiance of cities in that area. After all, the western region of Assyria was apparently his responsibility.

Fifth campaign against Hanigalbat (897 BC)

In the eponymy of Adad-ah-iddina, governor of Assur, I marched against Hanigalbat for the fifth time. The tribute of the lands I received. (Luckenbill, ARAB 113 sect. 367)

This can hardly be called a military campaign, though undoubtedly the army was essential, since Adad-nirari spent the year collecting tribute, and intimidation was clearly a necessary component of that exercise. But in spite of its brevity, this entry in the annals is extremely important and should not be too quickly glossed over. To this point in time Adad-nirari has conquered at most a dozen cities and, with the single exception of Gadara, these were hardly more than villages surrounding the major fortified cities of Pausa and Nusaybin, which appear to have withstood the assaults. All of these towns are located in the same general region of eastern Hanigalbat, as noted repeatedly in our previous comments. The exercise of collecting tribute and tax from these locations would consume at most a few weeks. Three years later, in yet another campaign to gather tribute and taxes, the annals specifically state that the army spent only one or two days at each location. Which raises the question: What does Adad-nirari mean by the statement “The tribute of the lands I received”. Are there more “lands” to visit than Hanigalbat, or is Hanigalbat larger than the region dominated by the Temanite Arameans?

There is no need to answer the previous question. The reader of the earlier sections of this paper already knows the answer. Suppiluliuma has conquered Washukkanni, but the cities near the capital were probably never forcefully engaged. We presume that many (if not all) have accepted their fate and have embraced their new overlords. This would apply to the Tigris tributaries as well as cities westward to the Euphrates. At least one branch of Adad-nirari’s military may have been engaged since 901 BC visiting many of these cities, encounters which never made their way into the annals because they did not resist the advance of the Assyrian army. Clearly, a wealth of information lies behind this solitary allusion to the reception of “the

tribute of the lands". We will return to the subject when momentarily we examine the "tribute collecting" campaign of 894 BC.

Sixth campaign against Hanigalbat (896 BC)

In the eponym of Adad-dan, with the fury of my mighty weapons I proceeded against Hanigalbat the sixth time. Nur-Adad, the Temanite, I shut up in Nusaybin. Seven cities round about it I overthrew. Assur-dini-amur, the tartan, I caused to remain there (lit., dwell therein). A moat such as had never existed before, I cut around it, through the solid rock (lit., mighty mountain). I made it 9 cubits wide. Below, I made its bottom reach the (nether) waters. The ditch as a flame (would level it). They cried out over it, -a mighty roar as of a fierce, leveling storm. Fire [broke out] in it. . . . grain, I watched it. At the command of Assur, the great god, my lord, out of that city . . . his . . . , his gold, his possessions, precious mountain-stone, his gods, his chariots and teams of horses . . . for my yoke (?), the staff he used in battle, golden chairs, dishes of shining gold . . . inlaid . . . , costly inlaid weapons, a golden tent, befitting his royalty . . . whose weight I could not lift (lit., grasp), and the wealth of his spacious palace, I carried off.

(Rev.) . . . king of [all peoples] . . . on his royal throne took his seat. In the midst of . . . pure sacrifices he apportioned (divided) . . . cattle he . . . , (sesame) wine, -choice wine, he furnished (caused to flow); wines, food, sweetmeats for my country, he supplied, his sacrifices he offered, the effulgence of his surpassing glory consumed all of them. The lands of the kings were distressed. The mountains trembled. The king solemnly (?) spoke to his nobles: "The hero of Assur, -the glory of his might is surpassing; his work is that of Dagan; (he is) a king making great his glory." Nur-Adad, together with his widespreading armies, as booty I brought before me. Cities from those of the people of Assyria I gave them. His number I counted.

(Luckenbill, ARAB 113-14 sect. 368, 369)

We need not spend much time discussing this prolonged assault on Nusaybin, the third of Adad-nirari's campaigns involving this city and its powerful Aramean king Nur-Adad. At long last the city and the king succumb to the Assyrians assaults. Details of the siege are largely immaterial. The fact that three campaigns were required to unseat Nur-Adad speaks volumes concerning the importance and military power of this one man. The fact that he occupies a region identified as part of Hanigalbat identifies him as a vassal of the Mitanni. That fact alone helps us to appreciate the strength of the Mitanni army which was able to contain him throughout the years. No wonder Suppiluliuma took such a circuitous route to defeat the Mitanni.

The defeat of Nur-Adad was not the end of the campaigning in the year 896 B.C. The annals continue, making it clear that it is discussing actions taken in the same eponymy.

In the same eponymy, in my campaign in which I brought before me Nur-Adad, the Temanite, together with his widespreading armies as booty and carried him to my land, and caused him to dwell(?) in Nineveh, chariots (and) troops I mobilized; (over difficult roads, steep mountains, which were not suited for the going of my chariots and armies, to which no one among the kings my fathers, had drawn near, into which no bird that flies under heaven ever penetrates, against the cities Simat, Sapanu, which since the reign of Tukulti-Urta [1233-1197], king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser [1263-1234], king of Assyria, a prince who went before me, had withheld tribute and tax (due) to Assur my lord, I marched. Simat and Sapanu I besieged; with them I battled; multitudes of them I slew. Their spoil, -their property and their

goods, their cattle, their sheep, I brought out and carried away to my city Assur. The cities of the prefecture of Simat and Sapanu I captured in their entirety. The rest of them who had fled before my mighty weapons, came down and seized my feet. I received gifts from them. Tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them. (Luckenbill, ARAB 114 sect. 370)

Grayson (Assyrian Rulers 152, lines 84 & 86) translates the names of these two cities as “Sikkur (and) Sappanu” and Bryce provides a brief description.

Sikkur Late Bronze Age and Iron Age city in northern Mesopotamia, attested along with the city Sappanu in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II (911-891). During the Late Bronze Age, both cities had been subject to Assyria, but had withheld tribute and taxes since the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208), according to Adad-nirari. Owing to their location in rugged mountain terrain, their defiance of Assyrian authority had remained unpunished until Adad-nirari led a campaign against them in 896, following one of his expeditions earlier in the year into the land of Hanigalbat. The cities were placed under siege, conquered, and plundered, along with all other cities in the region (*RIMA 2: 152). Adad-nirari thus restored Assyrian sovereignty over the recalcitrant cities and imposed heavy new taxes and dues upon them. (Bryce, RHPP 653, s.v. Sikkur)

It seems clear from Bryce’s lack of specificity that he does not know precisely where these cities are located. Nor do we, though we suspect that the two cities have something to do with Adad-nirari’s recently completed battles with the area governed by Nur-Adad. The heights of Mount Kashiari would be our first guess. Though not excessively high, the mountain was sufficiently steep to preclude the operation of Assyrian chariots and hinder ready access by Assyrian troops. We can disregard much of the hyperbolic language of the Assyrian king. The two cities could hardly be so elevated that “no bird that flies under heaven ever penetrates”, yet have grasslands on which cattle and sheep graze successfully.

The next two campaigns are not described in the annals as directed against Hanigalbat, though we suspect that the Mitanni are somehow involved. Instead they are specifically targeted at a region whose name is transliterated and translated as Kirhi by Luckenbill and Habhu by Grayson (Assyrian Rulers 152). We quote the two sections of Luckenbill’s translation separately, but restrict our brief commentary to the second campaign.

Campaign in aid of Kumme (895 BC)

In the month Simanu, the fifteenth day, in the eponymy of Ina-ilia-alak, I advanced to the aid of the city of Kumme. I offered sacrifices before Adad of Kumme, my lord. The cities of Kirhi, the enemies of Kumme, I burned with fire. The crops of its land I gathered; tribute and tax I made heavy and imposed upon them. (Luckenbill ARAB 114, sect. 371)

Second campaign in aid of Kumme (894 BC)

In the month of Nisanu, in the eponymy of Adad(?) –ia, for the second time, I went to the aid of Kumme. Sadkuri, Iasabdu, Kunnu, Tapsia, cities of Kirhi which lie about Kumme, had withheld the horses (which were) to be hitched to my yoke; - those cities I captured, I burned with fire, I devastated, I destroyed. (Luckenbill ARAB 114 sect. 372)

There is some confusion over the location of Kummu (Grayson’s rendering of the cuneiform text name) and Habhu (Grayson’s rendering of Luckenbill’s Kirhi), but we are convinced that they lie in the region of

Melid and Alzi, north-east of Mount Kashiari, the one region deserving of the name Hanigalbat in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I quoted earlier. We assume that the city Kummum was conquered by this earlier Assyrian king and was one of the few cities in that region to have remained loyal to Assyria over the several centuries following his death until the time of Adad-nirari II. And if animosity between Kummum and its near neighbors is resurfacing during the reign of Adad-nirari II, we can only guess that there is some connection between the renewal of hostilities and the flight of Tushratta and his troops into that region following the sack of Washukkanni in 902 BC. More than that we cannot say.

These two campaigns are the last two strictly military actions undertaken by Adad-nirari, whose death will follow in three years. Following the second campaign in aid of Kummum, but still within the same eponymy, the annals record yet another “march” of the Assyrian army against Hanigalbat, errantly identified as a fifth such campaign, though actually a seventh. Appropriately this movement of the army is not identified as a “campaign”, since in fact it functioned merely as an opportunity to collect tribute and taxes from the Aramean regions of Hanigalbat already conquered, and from towns in the Khabur River valley which may or may not have been visited in his tribute collecting “campaign” three years earlier.

Rather than quoting the entirety of this last “campaign” we merely duplicate here our brief description of the year 894 BC from earlier in this paper (see page 12 above).

Finally, in the month Nisanu (March/April), the beginning of the Assyrian year, in the eponymy of Adad(?)ia, (894 B.C.), for the second time Adad-nirari “went to the aid of Kummum” and captured and burned four more cities of Kirhi, those that had withheld tribute imposed the year prior (sect. 372). Then in the month Simanu (May/June) of that same year, for the “fifth (sic.) time” – a scribal error which should read “seventh time” - he marched against Hanigalbat, north and south” receiving tribute (sect.373), during which time Adad-nirari finally acknowledged his victory over Hanigalbat.

“The tribute of Hanigalbat, north and south I received. The whole of the wide land of Hanigalbat I brought under my sway. To the territory of my land I turned it. I made them all subject to one rule.”

During the last leg of this round trip journey collecting tax and tribute, Adad-nirari travelled down the length of the Khabur River valley, from Guzanu (present day Tel Halaf, which some would argue is the site of the Mitanni capital Washukkanni) to “Siuki, situated at the base of the Khabur, on the south bank of the Euphrates”, then east along the Euphrates to the towns of Lake and Hindani in the district of Suhu, then back across the Euphrates and overland to Assur. The entire tribute collecting journey probably took less than a month, since the Assyrian army stopped only a day or two at each location. The whole of the year 894 thus far is confined to two sections of Luckenbill’s translation (sections 372-373). No further campaigns by Adad-nirari are mentioned in the annals. In the final sections of the annals (374-76) the Assyrian king boasts of his actions rebuilding the infrastructure of the country and describes at some length his prowess at hunting. Were it not for the reference in the Synchronistic History, we would know nothing of his second major campaign against Karduniash. What we can say to conclude this lengthy excursus is that the campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin could easily have taken place in the fall of 894 B.C.

One item from this earlier discussion of the last “campaign” deserves mention. We have noted the fact that the tribute collecting journey down the Khabur began in the uppermost western tributary of the Khabur, the area favored by traditional historians as the site of Washukkanni.

And we have commented on the fact that Guzana, present day Tel Halaf was the first city visited. We failed to mention that the city was “held” at the time by Abisalamu, son of Bahiani, which seems to rule that city out as the location of Washukkanni. Luckenbill continues immediately to state that he then entered “the caverns (?) which are situated at the source of the Habur (= Khabur River)” a curious intrusion into a list of cities. Grayson and others have cleared up that incorrect normalization of the cuneiform text. The reading should have been “I entered the city Sikanu which lies at the source of the River Habur”. And Assyrian scholars speculate that this name “Sikanu” is simply a shortened form of Washukkanni. They may or may not be correct, but the occurrence of this name in conjunction with the mention of Guzana is intriguing, especially since these were the first sites visited by Adad-nirari II after his initial declaration of sovereignty over “the wide land of Hanigalbat”. We leave the reader to ponder Grayson’s rendering of the relevant section of the annals.

... in this same eponymy, I marched for a fifth [read “seventh”] time to the land Hanigalbat. I received the tribute of the land Hanigalbat above and below. (Thus) I became lord of the extensive land Hanigalbat to its entire extent (and) brought (it) into the boundaries of my land. I brought them under one authority. I crossed the River Habur (and) marched to the city Guzanu which Abi-salamu, a man of Bit-Bahiani, held. I entered the city Sikanu which lies at the source of the River Habur. By the exalted strength of the god Shamash, lord of my turban, lover of my priesthood, I received from him his numerous chariots, teams of horses, silver, gold, the property of his palace. I imposed upon him tribute.

It goes without saying that if either one of these cities is the site of Washukkanni, recently defeated by Suppiluliuma, and opportunistically “taken over” by Abi-salamu, perhaps an official of some rank in the administration of Tushratta’s kingdom, then our thesis is absolutely confirmed. But as it stands we can only speculate on the identity of these cities.

Postscript:

The history of Mitanni continues on for several centuries, but now the nation is considerably reduced in size and no longer in control of the region running east-west through the headwaters of the Khabur. Tushratta himself was assassinated by a nephew not long after losing his Hanigalbat homeland, though his line of descendants continued in regions further north. We may well discuss the future of this nation at a later time, since there is evidentiary value in the details. Meanwhile we rest our case insofar as the annals of Adad-nirari II are concerned. Those annals make no sense without placing them in their proper historical context, and that context involves the Mitanni kings from Parshatatar through to Tushratta, who are now synchronized with the Assyrian timeline. The multiple references to a “wide land of Hanigalbat”, a geographical term referring to a Mitanni national homeland running east/west from the Euphrates to the Tigris, yet used in the annals to refer only to the eastern extremity of that region, dominated exclusively by Temanite and Arime Aramean tribes, makes no sense whatever. And the fact that the defeat of the Temanites, or rather, victory over one dominant Temanite king, could justify Adad-nirari’s boast to having brought all of Hanigalbat into the boundaries of his land, is equally incomprehensible, in spite of the fact that traditional historians have managed to rationalize the situation so as to make it conform with their distorted chronology. Rather, we have discovered that by accepting the traditional history of the interaction between the Mitanni, Egypt, and the Hittites, and simply moving that history forward in time approximately 450 years to overlap the reigns of the Assyrian

kings Tiglath-Pileser I through Adad-nirari II, every conceivable problem in the annals disappears. Only two changes in the later history needed to be made. We were forced to argue that the realm of Tiglath-Pileser I was not occupied by Arameans at the time his reign ended, and we were compelled to move the annals of the Broken Obelisk to the time of Tiglath-pileser II, restoring to that king his long-lost annals. And that final change will become the subject of our “third argument” in the next paper.

At the start of this paper we set out to prove that the early “dynasty of E” kings of Babylon were contemporaries of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Babylonian dynasty. And we suggested that what we really wanted to find was a link between the 3rd dynasty Kassites and the Assyrian or the “dynasty of E” timelines. Our first argument accomplished that fact directly. In the case of Shamash-mudammiq we referred to the fact that he is called “king of Karduniash” which implies, as we argued in our introductory section, that we are in the Kassite era. We also argued that Adad-nirari avoiding central Karduniash, where he might easily have conquered the country (since he had already defeated the Babylonian king), implied that the Kassites were *de facto* rulers of the country and periodic occupants of the fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu. Our second argument was actually much stronger. The treaty that was established between Adad-nirari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin confirmed an argument presented in our fifth paper that we are not far removed from the time of the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttash, thus closely synchronizing the Figure 2 timelines of the Assyrians, the Kassites and the dynasty of E. We also argued that the approximate date 894 BC for the Assyrian campaign against Nabu-shuma-ukin was strong confirmation that Adad-nirari II was a contemporary of the Kassite king Kurigalzu II, who was installed as king by Ashuruballit in 894 BC, without doubt backed by the Assyrian army. The reader will probably find some of these four arguments stronger than others, but since we lump them together as a single item, collectively they serve as an adequate start to this listing.

The annals of Adad-Nirari serve equally to argue our premise. While the Kassites do not enter the picture, we have managed to establish the fact that our revised Egyptian, Hittite, and newly introduced Mitanni timelines, can be firmly linked with the Assyrian timeline of the 10th century BC. And since in our 4th paper we have already synchronized the Kassites with the revised Egyptian and Hittite timelines, we have indirectly proven our case. We leave it to the reader to determine the strength of the argument.

And with that we close this paper.