

**Paper #8 – Dating the Kassite kings #1 - 16, the Sealand dynasty,
& the Amorite dynasty (including Hammurabi).**

A. Dating the Kassite kings #1 - 16

In papers #1-7 presented in the “Mesopotamia” section of the *Displaced Dynasties* webpage we demonstrated conclusively that the Kassite kings #17 (Kurigalzu I) through to #36 (Enlil-nadin-ahhe) must be dated in the time frame ca 970 – 714 BC, almost completely overlapping the 8th/9th “dynasty of E” kings Nabu-mukin-apli through to Nabu-shuma-ukin (979-732 BC). And we argued repeatedly that the “dynasty of E” kings functioned as “caretaker kings”, vassals of the Kassites. There is no perceived need to produce further evidence of the reliability of these claims, although without doubt evidence abounds in the multiple hundreds of already translated cuneiform documents related to this time frame, and more-so among the multiple thousands of untranslated inscribed tablets and artifacts languishing in museum storerooms and private collections throughout the world. In the opinion of this author there remains absolutely no doubt concerning the stated dates of these twenty Kassite kings, which are accurate to within a few years. Therefore at this stage in our analysis we merely summarize our current results (see Table I below) and proceed to briefly examine the reigns of the sixteen Kassite kings who preceded them.

Table I: Traditional and Revised Dates for the Kassite kings #17 through #35.

No.	Ruler	Traditional Dates	Revised Dates	Comment
17	Kurigalzu I	1410-1375	970-945	
18	Kadashman-Enlil I	1374-1360	944-930	
19	Burnaburiash II	1359-1333	929-903	
20	Kadashman-Harbe (or Kara-hardash)	1333	902-897	
21	Shuzigash (or Nazi-Bugash)	1333	896-895	
22	Kurigalzu II	1332-1308	894-869	
23	Nazi-Maruttash	1307-1283	868-843	
24	Kadashman-Turgu	1281-1264	842-823	
25	Kadashman-Enlil II	1263-1255	822-814	
26	Kudur-Enlil	1254-1246	813-805	
27	Shagarakti-Shuriash	1245-1233	804-792	
28	Kashtiliashu IV	1232-1225	791-784	
29	Enlil-nadin-shumi	1224	783	
30	Kadashman-Harbe II	1223	782	
31	Adad-shuma-iddina	1222-1217	781-776	
32	Adad-shuma-usur	1216-1187	775-746	
33	Meli-Shipak II	1186-1172	745-731	
34	Marduk-apla-iddina II	1171-1159	730-718	
35	Zababa-shuma-iddin	1158	727	
36	Enlil-nadin-ahhe	1157-1155	716-714	

Our task at the moment is to provide the names of the first sixteen Kassite rulers and their approximate dates. In supplying the names we immediately run into problems. The Wikipedia article on the Kassite kings names only 15 kings, and Brinkman, in the section entitled “A Chronology of the Kassite Dynasty”, on pages 6-34 of his [Materials and Studies for Kassite History](#) (1976), presents a listing of the early Kassite kings, half of whom he cites as problematic. Brinkman appears to be convinced that sixteen kings must precede Kurigalzu I, if only to maintain the total of 36 Kassite kings itemized at the end of the dynasty 3 listing of kings in the heavily damaged *Babylonian King List A* (see p. 272 in Pritchard’s [Ancient Near Eastern Texts](#) (ANET) and discussion on page 4 below). Many of the names are very poorly attested in the available sources. In the end he leaves the question open whether an otherwise unnamed king ruled immediately after the 10th king Burnaburiash I, with kings Kashtiliashu III, Ulamburiash, and Agum III cited as kings #12, 13, and 14 (as in our table 2 below), or whether they should be numbered #11, 12, and 13, with the unknown king positioned as king #14. Kashtiliashu III and Ulamburiash are known to be sons of Burnaburiash I, while Agum III is a grandson, son of Kashtiliashu III. The unnamed king, assuming we have correctly positioned him, must be either a brother or another son of Burnaburiash I. We believe that we have chosen correctly, and that the ordering of kings presented below is correct.

Table 2: Traditional and Revised Dates for the Kassite kings #1 through #16.

No.	Ruler	Traditional Dates	Revised Dates	Comment
1	Gandash	1730-1704	1290-1264	
2	Agum I	1704-1682	1264-1242	
3	Kashtiliashu I	1682-1660	1242-1220	Battle against the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (see Tukulti-Ninurta epic).
4	Abi-Rattash	1660-1641	1220-1201	
5	Kashtiliashu II	1641-1622	1201-1182	
6	Ur-zigurumash	1622-1603	1182-1163	
7	Hurbazum	1603-1583	1163-1143	Hittite raid on Babylon (ca 1155). End of the Amorite dynasty.
8	Shipta-ulzi	1583-1564	1143-1124	
9	Agum II (Kakrime)	1564-1545	1124-1105	Restores the Marduk statue stolen by Hittites (24 years after the Mursilis I raid?)
10	Burnaburiash I	1545-1526	1105-1086	
11	Unnamed king	1526-1506	1086-1066	
12	Kashtiliashu III	1506-1487	1066-1047	
13	Ulamburiash	1487-1468	1047-1028	Conquers the Sealand Dynasty.
14	Agum III	1468-1449	1028-1009	
15	Karaindash	1449-1430	1009-990	Contemporary of Amenhotep II?
16	Kadashman-Harbe I	1430-1410	990-970	
17	Kurigalzu I	1410-1375	970-945	

Momentarily we will provide added information confirming that the dates of Ulumburiash assigned him in our Table 2 are approximately correct, though they do suggest that his reign should probably be lengthened by six or seven years.

If the reader should choose to read Brinkman's discussion of the sixteen kings he/she will quickly grasp the fact that, except for the first three kings, no specific reign lengths can be assigned to any of these kings based on the available literature. Their names and dates are entirely elided in a damaged section of the *Babylonian King List A*. In our paper #7 we did briefly discuss the fact that the *King List A* does assign reign lengths of 26, 22, and 22 years to the kings Gandash, Agum I, and Kashtiliashu I (earlier incorrectly read as 16, 12, and 22 years in ANET), enabling us to provide absolute dates for these three kings, assuming of course that we have correctly identified the year 1290 BC as the year the Kassites invaded and conquered Babylonia (see discussion regarding that date on the following page). Thus we can state with some confidence that the combined reign lengths of the other 13 kings must total 250 years, spanning the time from the end of the reign of Kashtiliashu I (1660 BC [traditional history] or 1220 BC [revised history]) to the conjectured beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I (1410 BC [traditional history] and 970 BC [revised history]).

Only one method can be readily employed to assign absolute regnal years to each of the 13 kings. The arithmetic involved can be handled readily by any early grade school student. Dividing the total number of regnal years (250) by the number of kings (13) provides an average reign length of 19.23 years, or ca 77 years for every four kings. Thus by assigning each of three consecutive kings a reign length of 19 years and the fourth king a reign length of 20 years, we can assign approximate dates to each of the 13 undated kings, filling the blank spaces in our Table 2 (where the 13 interpolated dates are printed in red). We are well aware that this procedure will result in some significant errors, but statistically the process will likely yield dates which are in error by less than a dozen years, sufficiently accurate for the conclusions which hinge upon them. And there is a method by which we can verify the reasonable accuracy of several of these dates.

We do not intend to employ this secondary method of determining dates save in one specific instance, namely, the revised history dates for the king Ulamburiash, who by the aforementioned methodology ruled Karduniash from 1487-1468 according to the traditional history or 1047-1028 BC as per the revised history. This alternative procedure depends entirely on the presence of the name of the Kassite king, in this case Ulamburiash, in one of the historiographical texts known as "synchronistic histories" or "chronicles", those which identify the king as a contemporary of an Assyrian king or multiple Assyrian kings, whose absolute dates are well established. In the present case we note that on page 273 in Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, in his translation of the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, that Ulamburiash was assumed to be a contemporary of the Assyrian king Puzur-Ashur and three of his successors, Enlil-Nasir, Nurili, and Ashur-shaduni. The Wikipedia article on [Puzur-Ashur III](#) informs us that this king ruled between the years 1503-1479 and the online [list of Assyrian kings](#) tells us that his three successors ruled for 13 years, 12 years, and 1 mo. respectively. Assuming that these numbers are accurate, Ulamburiash ruled for at minimum 26 years, likely beginning in the last year or two of the reign of Puzur-Ashur III. His dates are thus approximately 1479-1453 (or 1039-1013) BC based on the *Synchronistic Chronicle*.

At this juncture in our discussion we need to repeat an argument we made early in our research on Babylonian History, to the effect that historiographical texts such as the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, and most other Chronicles that mention Kassite rulers, are completely unreliable. The reason cited in our

paper #3 discussion was the fact that, without exception, these documents all date to the late 7th century at the earliest, and were produced for several centuries following, long after the end of the Kassite dynasty in 714 BC and even longer after the Kassite presence in Karduniash had diminished sufficiently that Assyrians had assumed many, if not most of the governmental offices in the country. By this time scribes were confused by the existing documentation from the Kassite era, and mistakenly believed, as do present day scholars, that the dynasty 3 Kassites ruled prior to the arrival of the dynasty 4 “kings of Babylon”, who are presumed to have governed Karduniash independently. The *Synchronistic Chronicle*, referenced above, is a case in point. That document was authored no earlier than the late stages of the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668 - ca 627 BC) and his Babylonian contemporary Kandalanu, son of Shumashshumukin, in the last third of the 7th century. Conceivably it dates even later than these kings, though they are the last kings mentioned in the text. The point we make here is that the dates of all of the Kassite kings named in the document need to be lowered by 440 years. The synchronisms provided are therefore voided, but there does exist salvageable data in the listing of kings. Since the author of the *Chronicle* was convinced that the reign of Ulamburiash spanned the reigns of the four kings mentioned, it follows that he believed that Ulamburiash must be assigned a reign length of around 26 years or longer, and since, by his reckoning, Ulamburiash was a contemporary of Assyrian kings who reign during the years 1479-1453, we can determine that king’s revised dates by simply subtracting 440 years from those numbers. Accordingly, in the revised history we can assume with some confidence that this Kassite king actually ruled Karduniash in the time frame 1039-1013, or thereabouts. While those dates differs significantly from the 1047-1028 BC time frame determined by our “interpolation” methodology, the fact that the two estimates differ by only 8 years on the upper end of the spectrum is well within the “margin of error” for this methodology. And the lengthening of the reign to the year 1013 agrees more favorably with what we know about this Kassite king from other sources. In a moment we will have cause to look more closely at Ulamburiash. His reign is pivotal in our dating of the 1st Sealand dynasty, to which we now divert our attention.

B. Dating the Amorite and Sealand dynasty (a.k.a. dynasties 1 and 2).

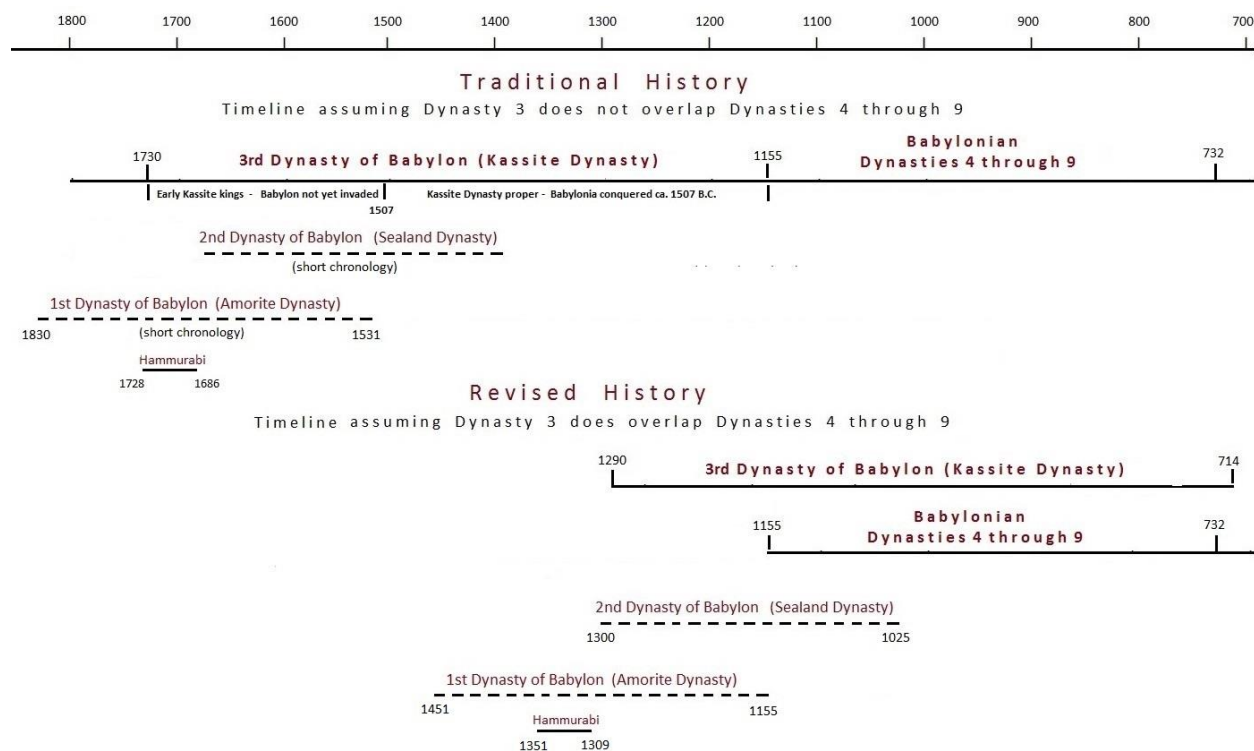
a) General Considerations. By the time we wrote our 2nd paper, less than a month after our original discovery (in paper #1) that the Kassite kings from Kurigalzu I through to Kadashman-Enlil II belonged to the late 10th through to the end of the 9th century BC, we were already in a position to provide a rough outline of the whole of Babylonian history encompassing dynasties 1 (Amorite), 2 (1st Sealand), 3 (Kassite) and 4-9 (vassal “kings of Babylon”). The presence of Kassite kings #17-36 in the late 10th-9th centuries informed us instantly that the Kassite dynasty must have overlapped not only the time frame of the vassal kings of dynasties 4-9, but also large portions of the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. The results of our paper #2 analysis resulted in the crude timeline chart reproduced below in our Figure 1.

The chart in Figure 1, insofar as it depicts the positioning of the Kassite dynasty (dynasty 3) and the dynasty 4-9 (kings of Babylon), as seen from the perspective of the traditional and revised histories, is accurate, reflecting as it does the 440 year reduction in Kassite dates we had only recently discovered. But since we had not so much as looked at the Amorite and Sealand Dynasties, we merely blindly copied the suggested traditional dates for those two dynasties

from the online Wikipedia article entitled "[List of kings of Babylon](#)", which follows the "short chronology" throughout. From this data we created the traditional history timelines for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties in our Figure 1 chart. Unfortunately, the absolute dates for the Sealand dynasty listed in that article suggest that this dynasty began during the reign of Hammurabi, which actually misrepresents the historical situation. The initial king of the dynasty, named Ulum-ma-ili, might well have begun his reign as a tenant king of the Amorite king Hammurabi, but his break from the Amorite dynasty, thus the true beginning of the Sealand dynasty, did not take place until the early years of Hammurabi's successor Samsu-iluna. Thus this brief "[mea culpa](#)".

We will describe the conflict between Ulum-ma-ili and Samsu-iluna in the concluding paragraphs of this paper, in a section entitled "Synchronisms". In any case, the diagramming error has absolutely no effect on any of the content in papers #1-7, so for the time being we leave that earlier chart "as is". Later we will go back and modify the Sealand timeline in the three places where our Figure 1 appears in earlier papers, as we do in this paper when we create our final timeline chart (Figure 2) on page 8.

Figure 1: Timeline showing the relative placement of the 1st (Amorite), 2nd (Sealand), 3rd (Kassite), and 4th-9th Dynasties as understood by the traditional and the revised histories (copied from our paper #2).



Since all we wanted at the time our Figure 1 was created was an approximate positioning of the Amorite and Sealand dynasty timelines in the revised chronology schema, we merely moved the traditional history timelines for the two dynasties 440 years into the future along with the Kassite timeline, on the assumption that the three dynasties were loosely connected temporally and should move in tandem. That satisfied the need at the time, so long as the reader was kept informed as to what we were doing, which was the case. In the final analysis it turns out that the positioning of the Amorite and Sealand timelines on the upper half of the timeline chart makes absolutely no difference to where those dynasties are ultimately positioned in the revised history, since, as the reader probably already knows, those traditional timelines could have been positioned in any one of five different locations, depending on whether we chose to diagram them using chronological data based on the ultra-low, low (short), middle, high (or even “ultra high”) schema followed by traditional scholars.

As promised earlier, we add here a brief explanation of the date 1290 BC cited as the beginning of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty according to the “revised history”, this for the sake of readers who have yet to examine paper’s #1 and #2. Those two papers determined conclusively that the Kassite dynasty ended in the year 714 BC. And the document known as the “*Babylonian King List A*”, referenced on page 2 above, furnished the added information that the dynasty consisted of 36 kings who ruled for a combined 576 years. It followed immediately from these two bits of information that the Kassite dynasty began around the year 1290 BC (=714 + 576 years). And since the traditional history reckons that the Kassite dynasty ended in the approximate year 1155 BC, we were able to conclude, again utilizing grade 3 arithmetic, that every Kassite king in the traditional history is dated 441 years (= 1155-714) too early, a figure we rounded off to 440 years for ease of calculation. It is extremely important that the reader understand our rationale for subtracting the number 440 from the dates of all Kassite kings, and from the dates of any dignitaries or officials who served under them, in order to position them in their proper historical.

Since momentarily we will argue our case for repositioning dynasties 1 & 2 we outline here two guidelines that must be adhered to in the process:

1) The author of the *Babylonian King List A*, which records the Babylonian dynasties sequentially, almost certainly based his listing on the order in which each dynasty first appeared in history, beginning with the earliest. It follows that we must be sure to structure our timelines to reflect the fact that dynasty 1 *began* before dynasty 2, which in turn *preceded* dynasty 3 in time (and so on). It is immaterial when each dynasty ended. For example, it matters little that the 2nd dynasty and the 4th dynasty ended at precisely the same time, as we will demonstrate later in this paper, or that the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty does not come to an end until well over two centuries after the conclusion of dynasties 4-7.

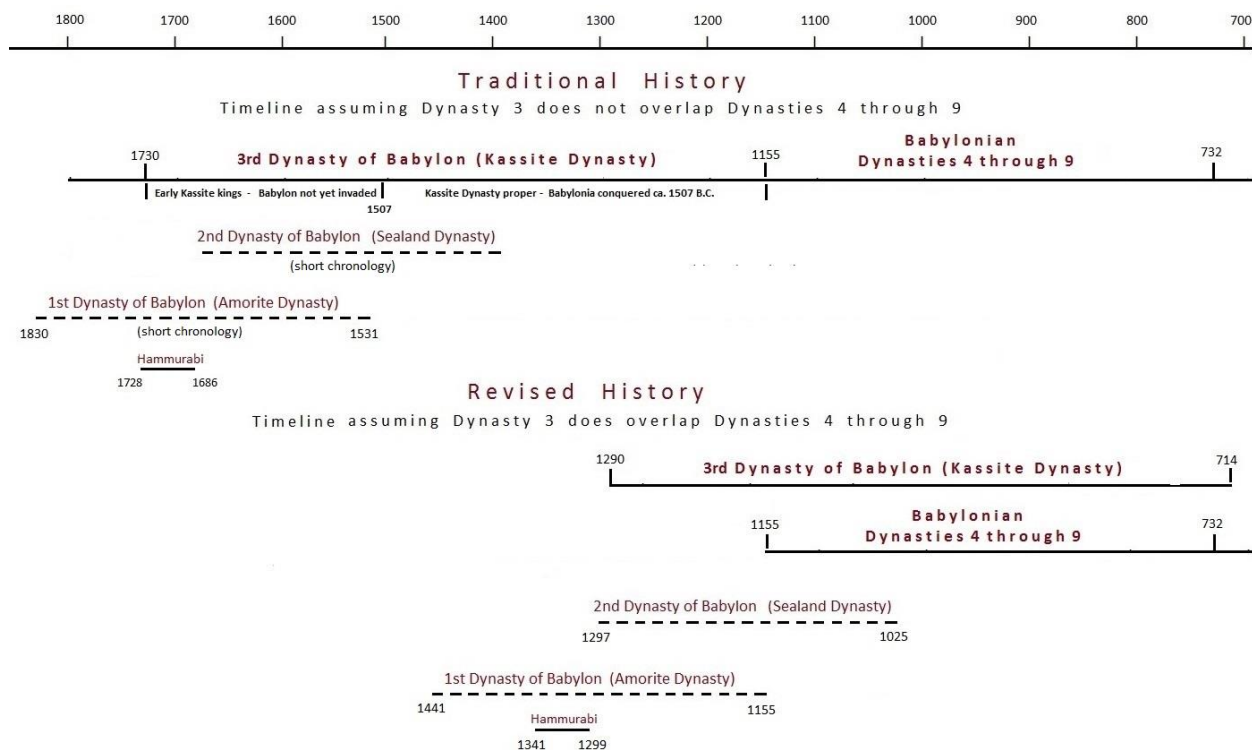
2) The fact that the Kassites did not rule Karduniash directly, but utilized vassal kings, at least in the time frame from the mid-10th through to the end of the 8th century, suggests that

throughout the Kassite period there were always kings of Babylon subservient to the Kassites, thus necessitating the presence of vassal kings filling the void between the Kassite conquest of Babylonia and the onset of the dynasty 4-9 vassal “kings of Babylon”, i.e. filling the interval between 1290 and 1155 BC. And since the Sealand dynasty ruled only the extreme south of Babylonia, and likely never governed the principal cities of Akkad and Sumer in the heart of the country, some portion of the Amorite dynasty must have served Kassite overlords in the stated time frame.

The application of these two principles will give us some direction initially as we position the 1st and 2nd dynasties. Our procedure is straightforward. When we revise our dates for the two dynasties we first determine precisely when each dynasty ended. That will occupy a large segment of the pages which follow. Then, in the case of the Amorite dynasty, we work backward using the known reign lengths of the eleven kings, to determine when the dynasty began. In the case of the Sealand dynasty a different procedure is forced on us, since the *Babylonian king list A*, the only document which clearly names the eleven constituent kings and also provides their reign lengths, is clearly not reliable. Other documents suggest that the dynasty may have consisted of at least one more king, and the reign lengths provided by the *King List A* total 368 years, a conflated figure that does not agree with other chronological sources. We cannot rely on this number. Thus we must use other means to determine when the Sealand dynasty began, and we have already outlined our methodology. We do know that the first Sealand king Iltum-ma-ili was a contemporary of Hammurabi’s son and successor Samsu-iluna, and that his defection from Amorite control took place early in that king’s reign. Thus we may use the dates determined for the Amorite kings, and in particular the dates for Samsu-iluna, to assign an approximate date to the beginning of the (independent) Sealand dynasty.

By choice, before even beginning our argument, we construct another timeline chart, similar to our Figure 1, but one where the Amorite and Sealand dynasties are correctly positioned, reflecting the results of our analyses in the pages which follow. There are two reasons for doing this. On the one hand we will have occasion to reference this corrected chart in the course of the arguments which follow. On the other hand it may prove useful to the reader to have the final picture in view as he/she follows the course of the argument. Thus in our Figure 2 on the following page, our last “kick at the can” so to speak, we move both timelines in the revised history section, this time positioning them so that the Amorite dynasty ends in the year 1155 BC and the Sealand dynasty over a century later, around the year 1025 BC., very close to where it was positioned in our Figure 1. This time we actually produce evidence supporting our conjectured dates.

Figure 2: Revised timeline showing the relative placement of the 1st (Amorite), 2nd (Sealand), 3rd (Kassite), and 4th-9th Dynasties as understood by the traditional and the revised histories.



The Figure 2 timeline produced above is completely reliable. Any previous errors have been corrected and the revised timelines in the chart reflect the entire content of this paper. The Sealand dynasty timeline has been adjusted to reflect the fact that this dynasty began after, not before the reign of Hammurabi, though in the final analysis it is immaterial which traditional history timelines are produced on the upper half of the chart. They have absolutely no bearing on where we have placed the revised timelines for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. In the revised history there are no ultra-short, short, middle, or long chronologies. The two timelines are the result of a two-step process which eliminates those artificial distinctions.

b) Revised dates for the Sealand dynasty. It is time to assign dates to the Sealand dynasty. As mentioned earlier this is a two step process which begins by determining dates for the end of the dynasty. We need not spend long doing just that. Only two facts are relevant and both can be read at a glance on the Wikipedia site documenting the [Sealand Dynasty](#), which informs us that

Ea-gamil, the ultimate king of the dynasty, fled to Elam ahead of an invading horde led by Kassite chief Ulam-Buriash, brother of the king of Babylon Kashtiliash III, who conquered the Sealand, incorporated it into Babylonia and “made himself master of the land”.

With few exceptions scholars are convinced that the Sealand dynasty ended during the reign of the Kassite king Ulamburiash. According to the traditional history this event transpired in the 15th century BC. We have dated this king's reign in the years 1047-1028 BC (see Table 2).

The Wikipedia article on [Ulamburiash](#) makes reference to the primary source(s) of this opinion:

The Chronicle of Early Kings, a neo-Babylonian historiographical text preserved on two tablets, describes how Ea-gamil, the last king of the [Sealand Dynasty](#), fled to [Elam](#) ahead of an invasion force led by Ulam-Buriaš, the “brother of Kaštiliašu”, who became “master of the land” (*bēlūt māti īpuš*), i.e. Sealand, a region of southern Mesopotamia synonymous with or at the southern end of [Sumer](#). A [serpentine](#) or [diorite](#) mace head or possibly door knob found in Babylon is engraved with the epithet of Ulaburariaš, “King of Sealand”.

The relevant inscription on the reverse of tablet B of the [Chronicle of Early Kings](#) (lines 12-18) is brief, but explicit. There should be no doubt about its authenticity, and less so about its content. While the Sealand dynasty came to an end during the reign of Ulamburiash, apparently pockets of resistance remained, requiring some further action on the part of Agum III, his successor, which fact suggests that the conquest of the Sealand by Ulamburiash took place very late, if not near the very end of that king's reign, thus around 1028 BC if the dates we assigned this king in our Table 2 are correct. If we accept the alternative dates for Ulamburiash calculated earlier, his reign may easily be extended by a half-dozen years or more.

Table 3: Inscription on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* documenting the end of the Sealand dynasty.

B.rev.12	Ea-gamil, the king of the Sealand, fled to Elam
B.rev.13	After he had gone, Ulam-Buriaš, brother of Kaštiliašu, the Kassite,
B.rev.14	mustered an army and conquered the Sealand. He was master of the land.
B.rev.15	Agum, the son of Kaštiliašu, mustered his army and
B.rev.16	marched to the Sealand.
B.rev.17	He seized Dur-Enlil and
B.rev.18	destroyed Egalgašešna, Enlil's temple in Dur-Enlil

The date 1028 for the end of the Sealand dynasty probably needs to be reduced modestly. In the traditional history the king Ulamburiash governed Babylon directly. There existed no additional sources by which to fine tune the dating of his victory over Ea-gamil. That is not true in the revised history where we have argued repeatedly that the dynasty 4-9 “kings of Babylon” governed Karduniash by proxy. Our assigned dates for Ulamburiash, 1047-1028 BC, tell us that his reign overlapped the final decades of the lengthy 4th dynasty of vassal “kings of Babylon”, a dynasty that governed Karduniash through the years 1155-ca 1025 BC. Both sets of dates mentioned are approximations, and can be readily adjusted if needed. And here there is a probable need, since in 1025 BC the 5th dynasty of “kings of Babylon” replaced the 4th dynasty. And coincidentally (?) this short lived but important dynasty not only ruled Babylonia proper, but also the Sealand, a fact emphasized by the *Babylonian King List A*, which refers to the 5th dynasty as the 2nd Sealand dynasty, implying, if it doesn't prove, that its first king, Simbar-

Shipak, was a replacement for the deposed Sealand sovereign Ea-gamil (see Table 5 below for a list of the 5th dynasty kings).

Table 4: List of kings of Dynasty V of Babylon
(copied from the Wikipedia article entitled "[List of kings of Babylon](#)")

Ruler	Reigned	Comments
Simbar-shipak	c. 1025–1008 BC	Deposed native dynasty, assassinated by his successor
Ea-mukin-zeri	c. 1008 BC	Usurper
Kashshu-nadin-ahi	c. 1008–1004 BC	Distressed times and famine

We need not explain to the reader that it is no coincidence that a Babylonian dynasty governing the Sealand emerges within a few years of Ulamburiash conquering the former Sealand dynasty. And since the replacement of Ea-gamil by Simbar-Shipak would likely take place shortly after Ea-gamil fled to Elam, either we should extend the dates of Ulamburiash by at least three more years, or adjust the date for the onset of the 5th dynasty back in time by an equal number of years, from 1025 to 1028 BC. *Regardless, the dates for the flight of Ea-gamil and the beginning of the 2nd Sealand dynasty should probably be synchronized.* Accordingly we extend the reign of Ulamburiash by three years, dating its conclusion, or at least his raid on the Sealand, in 1025 BC, rather than in 1028.

When we argue that the 5th (Sealand) dynasty king Simbar-Shipak was installed in office very soon following the abdication of the terminal 2nd dynasty king Ea-gamil, we do leave open the possibility that for a short period of time the final 4th dynasty king Nabu-shum-libur, who may well have assisted Ulamburiash in the assault on the Sealand, continued to govern the enlarged vassal state of Karduniash, and died shortly after through natural causes. Either that or Nabu-shum-libur died during the assault. Regardless, the appointment of Simbar-Shipak, who was not related to Nabu-shum-libur, probably took place at the initiative of Ulamburiash himself, who was without doubt influenced by the enlarged responsibilities incumbent on the next vassal king. Thus a new dynasty emerged. It is certainly of some interest that this newly installed king was a Kassite, or probably so, as were his two successors, Ea-mukin-zeri and Kashshu-nadin-ahi. At least the [theophoric](#) names of the first and last of these kings included mention of prominent Kassite gods, and the kings themselves are generally regarded by scholars as ethnically Kassite. And not only was the 5th dynasty made up of ethnic Kassites, but the 6th dynasty as well, a problem for scholars of the traditional history, but hardly surprising in the context of the revised history.

It follows from the previous discussion that the Sealand dynasty ended in the year 1025, or thereabouts. And as per our earlier remarks, the dynasty began when the initial king of the dynasty Ilum-ma-ili rebelled against his Babylonian overlord Samsu-iluna, son and successor of Hammurabi. We leave the details of that rebellion for discussion in our following section, when we discuss dates for the Amorite dynasty. At this time we borrow one other detail from that

section – the revised dates for the king Samsu-iluna. As the reader will note from our table 2 revised Amorite timeline, we date king Hammurabi in the years 1351-1309 and his son Samsuiluna in the years 1309-1271. Assuming that the defection of Ilim-ma-ili took place very early in the reign of Samsuiluna, we should date the beginning of the Sealand dynasty around the year 1300, if not earlier. Combining the two bits of information we tentatively date the Sealand dynasty to the years 1300-1025. Those dates are reflected in our Table 2 timeline.

c) Revised dates for the Amorite dynasty.

We remarked earlier on our methodology for determining revised dates for the Amorite dynasty. First we determine when the dynasty ended. Then we produce approximate reign lengths for each of its eleven kings and work backwards from the end date, producing absolute dates for each king until we reach the beginning of the dynasty. In this instance we determined the individual reign lengths from the listing of Amorite kings in the Wikipedia article entitled "[List of kings of Babylon](#)", the same source we used to list the dynasty 5 kings on the previous page. Here we use the article only to derive the names and reign lengths of the eleven kings. The absolute dates provided in that article are irrelevant. They represent the traditional history dating of those kings following the "short chronology", and needless to say they are grossly in error. Instead we incorporate the names and reign lengths into the following table, along with the reign lengths of the eleven kings as found on the Babylonian king list B (for comparative purposes) to determine revised absolute dates for the Amorite kings. For this procedure to work we necessarily put the cart before the horse. We must inform the reader of the conclusion reached after a dozen odd pages of discussion which follow, which prove that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 BC, a fact previously revealed in our table 2. The fact remains to be proved. But be assured – proof will follow.

By listing the absolute dates of the Amorite kings using this methodology we avoid using the terms "short, middle and long chronology". In the revised history these terms have no relevance. All we want to determine is when the dynasty ended, when it began, and the approximate dates of several of its constituent kings, in this instance Hammurabi and Samsuiluna. If our chart is correct, we have accomplished that objective. The Amorite dynasty dates have been determined (1451-1155), the dates for Samsu-iluna (1309-1271) utilized in our dating of the Sealand dynasty have been produced, and the dates for Hammurabi (1351-1309) established. These dates are reflected already in our Table 2 revised history timelines. All that remains is for us to prove is that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 B.C. As stated in the previous paragraph, that proof will entail over a dozen pages of argument.

Table 5: List of kings of Dynasty 1 of Babylon (aka the Amorite dynasty)
 (copied from the Babylonian king list B in Prichard's ANET, p. 271 and adjusted by scholars as per the Wikipedia article entitled "[List of kings of Babylon](#)" s.v. Amorite dynasty.)

Amorite dynasty king	Reign length on King List B	Reign length as adjusted by contemporary scholars	Absolute dates according to the revised history
Sumuabi	15	13	1451-1438
Sumulail	35	36	1438-1402
Sab(i)u(m)	14	14	1402-1388
Apil-Sin	18	18	1388-1370
Sinmuballit	30	19	1370-1351
Hammurabi	55	42	1351-1309
Samsuiluna	35	38	1309-1271
Ebishum	25	28	1271-1243
Ammiditana	25	37	1243-1206
Ammisaduga	22	20	1206-1186
Samsuditana	31	31	1186-1155

Our proof that the Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 consists of five points, itemized below.

1. On page 6 above we listed two guidelines that must be adhered to in positioning the Amorite and Sealand dynasties. The second of these reminded us that "the Kassites did not rule Karduniash directly, but utilized vassal kings, at least in the time frame from the mid-10th through to the end of the 8th century" which fact "suggests that throughout the Kassite period there were always kings of Babylon subservient to the Kassites, thus necessitating the presence of vassal kings filling the void between the Kassite conquest of Babylonia and the onset of the dynasty 4-9 vassal "kings of Babylon", i.e. filling the interval between 1290 and 1155 BC. And since the Sealand dynasty ruled only the extreme south of Babylonia, and likely never governed the principal cities of Akkad and Sumer in the heart of the country, some portion of the Amorite dynasty must have served Kassite overlords in the stated time frame."

Two things follow from that conclusion. On the one hand it must be the case that an Amorite king was ruling Babylonia when the Kassites invaded Babylonia in 1290 BC. From that point onward the Amorite kings no longer ruled Babylonia independently, but as vassals of the 3rd dynasty kings. On the other hand this Amorite vassal state must have lasted *at minimum* to the year 1155 BC.

2) The timeline for the Amorite dynasty in our Figure 2 cannot be moved further back in time without leaving a gap preceding the onset of the 4th dynasty in 1155 B.C., which would violate our principle #2. It cannot be moved forward in time even as little as ten years, without causing the reign of Hammurabi to overlap the year 1290 B.C., forcing us to argue that the Kassites conquered Karduniash during the reign of this extremely powerful king, an event not just improbable, but arguably impossible. It follows that our timeline, positioned such that the dynasty ends precisely in the year 1155 B.C., is approximately correct. That it is absolutely correct follows from the unlikely event that the Amorite dynasty extended beyond the year 1155 BC, creating a situation where both Amorite and 4th dynasty kings co-existed as joint vassals of the Kassites, a scenario not just unlikely, but supported by absolutely no evidence.

3) According to the traditional history the Kassite dynasty ended in the approximate year 1155 BC, when the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte invaded Karduniash and deposed the Kassite king Enlil-nadin-ahi. This invasion is said to have paved the way for the onset of the 4th dynasty. But in our papers #1-7 we have demonstrated that the Kassite Empire came to an end late in the 8th century, over a decade after the close of the combined 8th/9th dynasties, the so-called “dynasty of E”. The question then arises – if, according to the revised history, the latter kings of the Amorite dynasty ruled as vassals of the Kassites from 1290 to 1155 AD, what event brought that situation to an end. More specifically, since it is a well-established fact that the terminal Amorite king was named Samsu-ditana, what did happen in Karduniash in 1155 BC that unseated Samsu-ditana, giving rise to the 4th dynasty? Fortunately, there is absolutely no problem identifying the incident. All of the pertinent data is provided us by traditional historians, who unfortunately date the event approximately 400 years prior.

The event in question was an invasion and conquest of Babylon by a foreign power other than the Elamites. In 1155 BC the Hittite king Mursilis I, distant ancestor of Suppiluliuma I, led a Hittite army into Karduniash and attacked Babylon, at the time governed by Samsu-ditana, the last king of the Amorite dynasty. Mursilis not only sacked and looted Babylon, he is renowned for his sacrilegious theft of the statue of the Babylonian god Bel-Marduk, after which he removed his entire army from Babylonia and returned to Hatti, treasure in hand, including the Marduk statue. Momentarily we will return to the topic of the “stolen statue of Bel-Marduk”. Meanwhile we continue to argue our case for the “1155 invasion of Karduniash by Mursilis I”.

4) The traditional history is of the opinion, supported by inscriptional evidence, that the Hittite dynasty ruled by king Mursilis I invaded Babylonia and conquered Babylon sometime in the 16th century BC, and in the process removed the statue of the god Marduk from his temple in Babylon. Considerable argument surrounds the dating of this event, and the various conclusions reached have given rise to at least four possible dates, which in turn provide the bases for four dating schema, mentioned already in this paper, each of which provides variant absolute dates for a multitude of Near Eastern events, including the 8th year of the penultimate Amorite dynasty king Ammisaduqa and the dates for the reign of Hammurabi. The date of the

invasion by Mursilis, and the four dating schema are best summarized by a table included in the Wikipedia article on the [“Chronology of the ancient Near East](#), in a section entitled “*Variant Bronze Age Chronologies*”, reproduced below in our Table 6.

**Table 6: Variant Near Eastern Bronze Age Chronologies
and the date of the invasion of Babylon by Mursilis I**

Chronology	Ammisaduqa Year 8	Reign of Hammurabi	Invasion of Mursilis I
Ultra-Low	1542 BC	1696-1654 BC	1499 BC
Short or Low	1574 BC	1728-1686 BC	1531 BC
Middle	1638 BC	1792-1750 BC	1595 BC
Long or High	1694 BC	1848-1806 BC	1651 BC

All of these four major chronologies of the Babylonian Amorite dynasty are determined on the basis of two major criteria. The first of these is a rough determination of the absolute date of the Hittite king Mursilis I based on an estimate of the number of years separating him from his more famous descendant Suppiluliumas I, whose dates in turn are based on Egyptian chronology. The estimated time gap between Suppiluliumas I and Mursilis I provides an estimate of when the Amorite dynasty ended, thus providing approximate dates for the invasion of Mursilis. This estimate is then further refined based on an observation of the planet Venus recorded in the 8th year of Ammisaduqa, the penultimate king of the Amorite dynasty. That observation, compared with data recorded on the famous [Venus tablet of Ammisaduqa](#) has led to the four estimates for the absolute date of this king's 8th year and the various assigned dates for the invasion of Mursilis (= the end of the Amorite dynasty). The mechanics of this determination are beyond the scope of this paper, and are hardly necessary regardless, since we are absolutely certain, based on points 1), 2) and 3) above, in combination with our papers #1 through #7, that the Mursilis I invasion took place ca 1155 BC. Having said that, we need to point out that our Table 5 is not “much ado about nothing”.

While the absolute dates contained in the chart are simply another casualty of the errant traditional history, one date does support our present determination of the end date of the Amorite dynasty. We mentioned above that the date of Mursilis I was based on an estimate of the date of this king based on the overall Hittite chronology. And we have argued consistently, through the first three books of our Displaced Dynasties series and the first seven papers revising Babylonian history, that all Hittite dates must be reduced by approximately 440 years, since the Hittite and Kassite timelines are synchronized in many places. It is therefore significant that scholars of the Middle chronology, at one time consisting of the majority of Babylonian historians (though that chronology is now largely discredited), assign the date 1595 BC to the invasion by Mursilis, and thus to the end of the Amorite dynasty. Those early

scholars are therefore in perfect agreement with our present thesis, since subtracting 440 years from the date 1595 BC places the end of the Amorite dynasty precisely in the year 1155 BC.

5) There is yet a fifth, and very important reason for dating the invasion by Mursilis I and the end of the Amorite dynasty in the year 1155 BC, and that has to do with the removal of the statue of the god Bel-Marduk at that time and the return of the statue over three decades later. As we have argued above the traditional history believes that in 1155 BC the 4th dynasty emerged from the ashes of the Kassite dynasty, while the revised history sees its formation as a consequence of the end of the Amorite dynasty. Thus far in our revised Babylonian history we have neglected detailing this 4th dynasty, save for naming a few of its kings when they appeared in sync with Assyrian kings featured in the existing discussion. This omission of 4th dynasty history was consistent with the fact that all of our papers to date have concentrated on Babylonian history in the time period running from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 8th centuries BC. This paper, for the 1st (and possibly the last) time, looks much further back in time. Already we have had cause to look briefly at the 5th dynasty. We now include the 4th dynasty in our deliberations (see Table 7 below).

Table 7: List of kings of Dynasty IV of Babylon also known as the 2nd Dynasty of Isin or Isin II (copied from the Wikipedia article entitled "[List of kings of Babylon](#)")

Ruler	Reigned	Comments
Marduk-kabit-ahheshu	c. 1155–1140 BC	Founded first native Mesopotamian Dynasty in Babylon
Itti-Marduk-balatu	c. 1140–1132 BC	
Ninurta-nadin-shumi	c. 1132–1126 BC	
Nabu-kudurri-usur (Nebuchadnezzar I)	c. 1126–1103 BC	Contemporary and rival of Ashur-resh-ishi I of Assyria
Enlil-nadin-apli	c. 1103–1100 BC	Fought with Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria
Marduk-nadin-ahhe	c. 1100–1082 BC	Fought with Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria
Marduk-shapik-zeri	c. 1082–1069 BC	Entente cordial with Aššur-bêl-kala of Assyria
Adad-apla-iddina	c. 1069–1046 BC	Married daughter to Aššur-bêl-kala of Assyria
Marduk-ahhe-eriba	c. 1046 BC	
Marduk-zer-X	c. 1046–1033 BC	
Nabu-shum-libur	c. 1033–1025 BC	Dynasty ends with incursions of the Arameans

Though we include the names of all the known kings of the 4th dynasty of Babylon, our interest is restricted to the 4th king of this 4th dynasty. His name – Nabu-kudurru-usur I (or in its anglicized form - Nebuchadnezzar I). And our reason for examining his reign is two-fold. On the one hand the traditional history makes frequent reference to this king as the sovereign who

retrieved from Elam the Bel-Marduk statue stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte, which fact, if true, would completely discredit our revised history. On the other hand, this king is often cited as the antecedent of oblique references in later documents alluding to earlier times when a stolen Marduk statue, absent from Babylon, *was* returned to that city. In the paragraphs which follow we answer both of these supposed objections to our revised chronology, thus paving the way for a detailed summary of what actually happened vis-à-vis the return of the Marduk statue over three decades after its removal in 1155 BC. Thus our 5th point will occupy considerably more space than points 1-4 combined.

In the next dozen pages we have but one objective, namely, to defend the integrity of our revised chronology by demonstrating that Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103) *did not* retrieve any statue of the god Bel-Marduk from Elam, much less one stolen in 1155 BC by the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte. That assumed fact is a total fabrication of the traditional history. We then follow with several pages outlining what did in fact happen in this same time frame, at which point this 8th paper ends with a brief discussion of the synchronisms provided by this revision of Amorite and Sealand dynasty dates. This may be time-consuming, but in the opinion of this author it is an absolute necessity.

I. Supposed recovery and return of the statue of Bel-Marduk by the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103) ca 30 plus years after its alleged removal by the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte in 1155 B.C.

In this section we look at the several documents on which the traditional history relies in their deviant attempt to demonstrate that Nebuchadnezzar I, the 4th king of the 4th dynasty of Babylon, invaded Elam and retrieved from thence a statue of the god Marduk, supposedly stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte over three decades earlier (1155 BC). The documents are presented under three headings, entitled respectively 1) Two Kudurrus, 2) The Marduk Prophecy, and 3) The Tablet K3426. The first section discusses the only two inscriptions authored by Nebuchadnezzar I that are typically cited as proof positive of the Elamite campaign and the recovery of the statue of Bel-Marduk. The second and third sections deal with two documents, neither of which is contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar I, which nevertheless give the appearance of indirectly supporting one or several aspects of that same scenario, though absent any explicit reference to the recovery of any statue from Elam.

Two Kudurrus. Read any account of the retrieval of the Bel-Marduk statue from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I and the commentary will be footnoted with a reference to either one or two source documents, both land grant kudurrus authored by Nebuchadnezzar I and published by L.W. King in his 1912 volume entitled [*Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*](#). The one document, translated from the tablet BM 90858 and referenced as BBSt vi by commentators, records a land grant to an army officer, a chariot commander named Ritti-Marduk, for services rendered during Nebuchadnezzar's Elamite campaign. Why it

is cited in support of the contention that a Marduk statue was recovered during that operation is beyond the ken of this author, and to be fair, reference to this document is mentioned by only a few authors. Let the reader access King's volume following the link provided above, and read the translation beginning on page 29. He/she will search in vain for any mention of statue. We will say no more about this kudurru inscription.

More commonplace is the citation of BBSt xxiv, a translation of the tablet BM 92987, usually the only source alleged for the recovery of the Marduk statue. More specifically, the references typically allude to lines 7-14 on the obverse of the tablet, translated on page 96 of King's volume. BBSt xxiv is described by King as a "stone tablet engraved with a charter of Nebuchadnezzar I". It is yet another land grant kudurru of the type we have quoted from many times in previous papers. As with all of the kudurrus and memorial tablets translated by King in this important volume, the noted scholar begins with a brief summary of the contents. Bearing in mind that this kudurru is often cited as the only contemporary evidence of Nebuchadnezzar's razzia into Elam, and of his supposed retrieval of the Bel-Marduk statue, we should at minimum expect to find some reference to the Marduk statue in King's summary statement. If so, we would be disappointed. We quote the entirety of King's remarks below:

Copy of a deed recording a grant of land and privileges to Shamua and his son Shamaa, priests of the Elamite god Ria, who, when fugitives from Elam, secured Nebuchadnezzar's protection. The king undertook an expedition against Elam on their behalf, and brought back with him the image of the god Ria, whose cult he inaugurated in the Babylonian city of Khussi, after he had brought the god into Babylon at the Feast of the New Year. The deed records the grant of five estates, with a total area of one hundred and thirty *gur*, to the two Elamite priests and their god, and it exempts this land in future from all liability to taxation or forced labour. BBSt xxiv p. 96

Lest we accuse King of an important oversight/omission we need to examine the relevant lines of text and determine for ourselves if a mistake has been made, since it is apparent from the language of the previous quote that the only item of interest retrieved from the Elam raid was a statue of the Elamite god Ria. To this end we quote the entirety of lines 1-14 contained on the obverse of BM 92987.

- (1) Shamua and his son Shamaa,
- (2) the sons of Nur-lishir, the priest of Ria,
- (3) of the city of Kin-sharri, from before the king of Elam
- (4) to Nebuchadnezzar, the king,
- (5) to the land of Kar-Duniash
- (6) had fled, and
- (7) Nebuchadnezzar, the king,
- (8) undertook an expedition on their behalf,
- (9) and they went with him to Elam
- (10) and he overthrew Elam.

- (11) The hand of Bel he took, and Ria
 (12) together with Bel he carried into Babylon
 (13) and from Babylon he brought Ria
 (14) into the city of Khussi.

Admittedly the abrupt transition from verse 10 to verse 11 in BBSt xxiv is awkward, but that hardly justifies the attempt by traditional scholars to find warrant in verses 11-14 for their mistaken opinion that Nebuchadnezzar I recovered a stolen Marduk statue on his Elamite campaign. A careful reading of the text convinces us, as it apparently convinced L.W. King, that there is no reference to the confiscation of the Marduk statue in the quoted text. Indeed, it is absolutely clear that the account of the Elamite raid terminates in verse 10, at which point even the recovery of a statue of Ria is not mentioned, and in the opinion of this author there is no justification for King's remark referring to its confiscation. The two named priests from the cult of the god Ria, fleeing Elam for whatever reason, would unquestionably have brought with them the statue of their god.

Beginning in verse 11 the text shifts its attention abruptly to Babylon and to a ceremony, perhaps, but not certainly, the yearly celebration of the New Year in Babylon, where a procession is underway involving the presence of the statues of the god's Bel-Marduk and Ria. Insufficient detail is provided as to when this procession took place, whether soon after the return of Nebuchadnezzar's army, or months or even years later. And absolutely no statement in the text even hints at the fact that the statues of the two gods were recovered from the Elamite campaign, save for the fact that the celebration in Babylon is described immediately following the account of the Elamite campaign. Scholars are undoubtedly correct in assuming some connection between the two incidents, but reading into the text the fact that the procession is celebrating the triumphal return of the two statues is an extreme case of [eisegesis](#), and a classic case of the logical fallacy known as [post hoc ergo propter hoc](#).

Under no circumstance should the reader interpret the "taking of the hand of Bel" in verse 11 as an allusion to the "retrieving of the statue of Bel". That would be an otherwise unprecedented use of that phraseology, and one which assumes that verse 11 is continuing to describe the actions of Nebuchadnezzar while on his Elamite campaign. Verses 11-14 clearly describes a related but entirely separate vignette, as suggested by L.W. King in his introductory summary statement. Following the overthrow of Elam in verse 10 Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon, and in order to show favor to the Elamite god Ria, and thus appease a segment of the population of Elam, now his subjects, who had been warring with Babylon on multiple occasions in recent years, he assigned to the god Ria the honor of accompanying Bel-Marduk in his yearly New Year procession to neighboring cult centers, ending with the usual triumphal entrance into Babylon. "Taking the hand of Bel" is a well-known and well documented stock phrase employed in a multitude of ancient texts to describe a variety of festive and ceremonial occasions which took place in the city of Babylon. Let the reader enter the phrase "taking the

hand of Bel” into a google search and peruse the multiple pages of material documenting its use, the New Year’s Feast being only one among many celebrations which employ this phraseology, none of which suggest that the celebration has anything to do with the recovery and return of the statue of the god. To claim verses 11-14 of BM 92987 as support for the supposition that these two statues are here being paraded into Babylon after being recovered on the Elamite campaign is unconscionable, an opportunistic and entirely unwarranted attempt to bolster a bogus theory about the return of the long lost statue stolen by Kudur-Nahhunte. May sound judgment soon return to the academic community, and may this errant theory soon be laid to rest.

The Marduk Prophecy. The text of this interesting document, recovered from the library of the 7th century Assyrian king Ashurbanipal and therefore of extremely late date, records three separate captivities of the statue of Marduk, including one where the god resides in Elam, which the traditional history interprets as the result of the 1155 BC raid by Kudur-Nahhunte. As such it is necessary for us to examine and reinterpret the inscription. Throughout the document the god Marduk presents himself as a willing participant in these abductions, twice viewing his presence in a foreign lands as beneficial for the commercial relations between his foreign residence and his Babylonian homeland. Should the reader choose to read the document in its entirety, we provide a link to the translation provided by Matthew Neujahr, beginning on page 28 of his volume entitled [Predicting the Past in the Ancient Near East](#).

In the Wikipedia article discussing the god [Marduk](#), in a section entitled “The Marduk Prophecy”, the contributor points out the fact that there is a chronological progression in the narrative of the text. According to that author the inscription begins by documenting the sojourn of the Marduk statue in Hatti, then in Assyria, and finally in Elam, thus naming in chronological order the three well documented captivities of the Marduk statue known to the traditional history, namely 1) that by Mursilis in the year 1531 (short) or 1595 (long), 2); that by Tukulti-Ninurta in his battle with Kashtiliash IV in 1224; and 3) that by Kudur-Nahhunte in 1155. Accordingly the statement is made that

The first two sojourns are described in glowing terms as good for both Babylon and the other places Marduk has graciously agreed to visit. The episode in Elam, however, is a disaster, where the gods have followed Marduk and abandoned Babylon to famine and pestilence. Marduk prophesies that he will return once more to Babylon to a messianic new king, who will bring salvation to the city and who will wreak a terrible revenge on the Elamites. This king is understood to be [Nabu-kudurru-uşur I](#), 1125-1103 BC.

Lest the reader view this aspect of the Marduk Prophecy as confirmation of the accuracy of the traditional history we point out, in passing, that the inscription actually favors the revised history narrative. While there is no convention that demands that narrated events be presented in chronological order, there is a strong presumption that this will be the case. And

the revised history, like the traditional history, also recognizes three thefts of the Marduk statue, and its removal to Hatti, to Assyria, and to Elam, in that order. But in the revised history those captivities are much more recent than those named in the traditional history, and therefore much more likely to be remembered by scribes composing the Marduk Prophecy sometime around the year 650 BC. We refer, of course, to the confiscations of the Marduk statue by Mursilis in 1155 BC, by Tukulti-Ninurta II in 891 BC, and by Kudur-Nahhunte in 715 BC.

There is yet another reason why we mention the ordering of the invasions and the capture of the Marduk statue in the previous paragraph. Assuming that the reader is already convinced that the Mursilis invasion took place in 1155 BC and that the revised history interpretation of events is correct, the Marduk prophecy serves to argue a point we made in our paper #6. In the revised history there were actually four documented conquests of Babylon and associated removals of the Marduk statue. Clearly one is missing from the Marduk Prophecy inscription. We refer to the invasion which should theoretically have been mentioned first, since it took place in 1224 BC, 170 years prior to the invasion by Mursilis. The failure of the Marduk Prophecy to mention the theft of the Marduk statue by Tukulti-Ninurta I in 1224 BC appears to support our suggestion on page 24 of paper #6 that the first Tukulti-Ninurta did not, in fact, remove a statue of the god Marduk when he defeated a king Kashtiliashu I in 1224. The removal of the Marduk statue at that time is supported by a single inscription, the lengthy (and badly preserved) copy of the Tukulti-Ninurta epic. Thus we wrote in our paper #6, in the course of defending the possibility that two namesake kings (Tukulti-Ninurta I and Tukulti-Ninurta III) conceivably did both attack and plunder the city of Babylon and remove the identical statue of Bel:

Tukulti-Ninurta II was almost certainly familiar with the Tukulti-Ninurta epic, and the central role played by the removal of the statue of Bel in that drama, and would be inclined to replicate that feat. *There is also the remote possibility that the first Tukulti-Ninurta did not actually remove the god's image, in spite of the mention of that fact in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic. Lengthy epics are notorious for being the work of story-tellers, and for being transmitted orally, with the addition of fictional elements added in the telling. There is a possibility that in the final century of the growth of the Epic, that document began to telescope the first and second invasions of Babylon, incorporating into the story the actions of Tukulti-Ninurta II.* When we read the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic we are reading a late 8th or early 7th century scribal copy, undoubtedly edited many times over the intervening six centuries. (italics added here to the quoted passage)

The Tablet K 3426. Yet one more document is constantly cited in any discussion related to the retrieval of the Marduk statue from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I. The document in question, tablet K 3426, does in fact mention the absence from Babylon of the Marduk statue, and it does date this captivity of the god within the reign of the king Nebuchadnezzar I. As such we can hardly blame traditional scholars for viewing this document as supportive evidence for their theory of events. The only possible recourse for the revised history is to somehow

demonstrate that the contents of this inscription are consistent with the revised history interpretation of events, precisely the strategy we employed when discussing our interpretation of the Marduk Prophecy earlier. Fortunately, this is not a problem.

In the next section of this paper we will flesh out the story of the 1155 conquest of Babylon by Mursilis I and his removal of the Marduk statue to Hatti. Our primary objective will be to demonstrate when and by whom that statue was returned to Babylon. But one detail from that discussion needs to be highlighted here. We need underscore a fact agreed to by all scholars of the traditional history, irrespective of when they date the incident. Without exception they all agree that the statue stolen by Mursilis I was returned to Babylon by the Kassite king named Agum II (Kakrime). We mention the involvement of Agum II at this time for two reasons. In the first place we are probably only stating something the reader already knows. As early as our table 2, opposite the name of the Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime), we included a comment to the effect that this king restored the Marduk statue stolen by the Hittites. And in that same table we provided approximate absolute dates for this king as determined by the revised history. And it is extremely important that the reader observe that the 1124-1105 estimated dates for the Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime) are almost identical to those of the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103). It follows that Nebuchadnezzar I was the 4th dynasty vassal king governing Karduniash during much of Agum's reign.

This remarkable coincidence of dates for the Kassite king Agum II and the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I provides the rationale for our interpretation of the inscription on tablet K 3426. Even if that tablet did suggest that Nebuchadnezzar I returned the Marduk statue to Babylon, we would have no quarrel with it. It is entirely possible that the statue recovered from Hatti by Agum II was assigned to the care of his vassal Nebuchadnezzar I, whence it was returned to the Esagila temple in Babylon. And *a fortiori* we have even less of a problem when the inscription merely documents the existence of a missing Marduk statue.

The damaged tablet K 3426, inscribed with 20 lines of text, is cited by Brinkman on page 328 of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, (s.v. sect. 4.3.8), an inscription that Brinkman describes as a "poetic document dealing with Nebuchadnezzar's recovery of the statue of Marduk from the Elamites". We are surprised to read those words penned by this usually careful scholar, since, as stated above, the document in question says absolutely nothing about the retrieval of the statue of the god, nor about the location where it is presently residing and from whence it was retrieved. K 3426 does however present clear evidence that at some time during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I the god Marduk was missing from Babylon, apparently held captive by some unnamed "enemy", a fact entirely supportive of our revised history. It is therefore advisable that we at least read the text.

The tablet K 3426 is partially transcribed and translated by Alfred Boissier on pages 76-78 of volume 2 of the journal [Revue Semitique d'epigraphie et d'histoire ancienne \(1897\)](#), and by Hugo Winckler that same year on pages 542-543 of the journal [Altorientalische Forschungen](#)

[Reihe I, Bd 6](#). The Winckler transliteration and translation is complete, but the reader is cautioned that the *AOF* entry references the tablet incorrectly as K. 2326, an understandable typo. We leave it to the reader to peruse the two translations, Boissier's in French and Winckler's in German. We are unaware of any accessible English translation. We do note however that the existing portion of this inscription, besides the typical laudatory section of self-praise, consists almost entirely of a lengthy prayer addressed to the absent Marduk by Nebuchadnezzar I, requesting assistance in his existing battles with multiple enemies of Babylonia, including Elam. Our interest centers on verse 8 which Boissier translates as "O Dieu, maître de Babylone, dans un pays ennemi, pourquoi séjournes-tu si longtemps?", and Winkler as "wie Lange, O herr Babylons, willst du im lande des feindes sitzen?, which we paraphrase as "How long, lord of Babylon, will you remain in the land of the enemy". This one verse in combination with the mention of Nebuchadnezzar I in line 11 is the only contribution this fragmentary text makes to the argument under consideration. Elam is mentioned, but only as one among several adversaries. The location of and return of the statue of the god Marduk is not referenced. And the only thing credited to Nebuchadnezzar is his expressed wonderment at the prolonged absence of the god Marduk. And we readily acknowledge the fact of the god's absence from his Babylonian temple during the early years of the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar I and his Kassite overlord Agum II (Kakrime). But as we have already explained, according to the revised history the missing god resides in Hatti.

II. Actual recovery and return of the statue of Bel-Marduk by the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty king Agum II (Kakrime) (1124-1105) three or more decades after its alleged removal by the Hittite king Mursilis I in 1155 B.C.

It is time to look briefly at the document which does refer to the return of the Marduk statue confiscated by Mursilis in 1155 BC, the so-called Agum-Kakrime Inscription. An online translation of the document can be found in the appendix of the book entitled [Fictional Akkadian Autobiography](#) by Tremper Longman, though the reader is cautioned that some pages may be blocked out. A more complete treatment entitled "Inscription des Agum-kakrime" exists in P. Jensen, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek III*, 1 (1892), 13ff, though at the moment this journal article is inaccessible online. Regardless, we are here interested in only a few lines of text at the end of the 1st column and the beginning of the 2nd column on the obverse of the tablet, which we quote below following Longman. But first we briefly describe the document by quoting a brief summary of this tablet inscription from the Wikipedia article related to [Agum II](#).

Everything that is known about him [Agum II] is through the Agum-Kakrime Inscription, an Akkadian text written in the neo-Assyrian cuneiform script but in very short lines in imitation of an antiquarian style. It is extant in two copies, which describe the King's recovery of the cultic Statue of Marduk from the land of Hana, pilfered by the Hittites during their sack of Babylon, and its restoration in the newly refurbished temple of Esagila. In it, Agum portrays himself as the legitimate ruler and caring "shepherd" of both the Kassites and the Akkadians. He asserts his suzerainty of Padan and Alman and also the Guteans, "a foolish people, groups variously located in regions of the Zagros mountains.

The inscription begins with an introduction, giving the King's name, genealogy, epithets and so on. He is a descendent of Abi[rattash], "the fierce hero." It continues with a long narrative of the return of Marduk and his consort Zarpanitum and then lists Agum-Kakrime's many generous donations to the temple and includes descriptions of the purification of the house itself by a snake charmer and the construction of protective demons for the doorway.

Of uncertain provenance, it is on two tablets, one of which covers 8 columns and more than 350 lines, and including much esoteric detail concerning the temple and its rituals. One was found in the library of Ashurbanipal, purporting to be a copy of an inscription made in antiquity, while the other was found elsewhere in Kouyunjik, ancient Nineveh.

Since the lines of text in this document are extremely short Longman merges multiple lines into paragraphs and simply indicates the line number where the paragraph begins. Thus we read from column 1 where Agum II declares:

Colum I:

24. I am the shepherd of far-flung peoples, the hero, the shepherd who makes secure the foundation of his father's throne.

31. I am the king of the Kassites and the Akkadians, the king of the far-flung country of Babylon, (I am) he who made Eshnunna of far-flung peoples live under my command, (I am) the king of Padan and Alman, the king of the Gutians, a stupid people, (I am) a king who caused the four corners of the world to dwell peacefully, (I am) endowed with the favor of the great gods.

44. When Marduk, the lord of the Esagil [and] of Babylon (and) the great gods, ordered his return to Babylon with their holy mouths and that Marduk set face towards Babylon [] Marduk [].

Colum II:

1. I carefully planned to take Marduk away and I set his face toward Babylon. I aided Marduk who loves my reign.

8. I inquired of Šamaš by means of the diviner's oil. I sent to the distant land, to the land of the Haneans and they conducted Marduk and Šarpanitum back to me. I returned Marduk and Šarpanitum, the ones who love my reign, to the Esagil and Babylon. I returned them to the temple that Šamaš had confirmed to me in my investigation. As for the craftsmen, I made them reside ... a metal worker, a goldsmith, and a seal cutter [].

28. I donated four talents of reddish gold for the attire of Marduk and Sarpanitum. I dressed Marduk and Sarpanitum in a magnificent wardrobe (in) festival garments of reddish gold...

The fact that the quoted text refers to the "land of Hana", rather than Hatti, as the present domicile of the god Marduk is variously explained by historians. We have our own opinion. It is generally agreed that "the land of Hana" is a reference to a region of northern Syria, located west of the Euphrates and probably in the general vicinity of the modern day Syrian province of Hama, a province whose name derives from the name of its capital (see the Wikipedia article referencing the [city of Hama](#)). The city Hama (= biblical Hamath) is today the fourth largest in Syria, behind Aleppo, Damascus, and nearby Homs. Residents date its many monuments back

to early Islamic times, and scholars generally acknowledge that the city's history can be traced back at least as far as the early 1st millennium (and others further back to the time of the Amorite dynasty). Students of the Hebrew Bible will argue that references to its existence date back to Canaanite times, certainly to the time of the Exodus in the mid-15th century. One quote from the Wikipedia article cited earlier in this paragraph provides sufficient testimony to the prominence and antiquity of Hama(th) and the province which it governed.

The few [Biblical](#) reports state that Hamath was the capital of a [Canaanite](#) kingdom (Genesis 10:18; 2 Kings 23:33; 25:21), whose king [much later] congratulated [King David](#) on his victory over [Hadadezer](#), king of [Zobah](#) (2 Samuel 8:9-11; 1 Chronicles 18:9-11). In God's instructions to Moses, Hamath is specified as part of the northern border of the land that will fall to the children of Israel as an inheritance when they enter the land of Canaan.^[11] [Solomon](#), it would seem, took possession of Hamath and its territory and built store cities.^[12] Assyria's defeat of Hamath made a profound impression on [Isaiah](#).^[13] The prophet [Amos](#) called the town "Hamath the Great."^[14]

Hittite inscriptions have been excavated in the region of Hama, and according to the revised history, this northern region of Syria was at various times in history identified as a Hittite vassal state. It is not surprising therefore, that the statue of a god in the possession of the Hittites would be found in the possession of a vassal king named Šamaš whence it was delivered to Ulamburiash. Every student of ancient history knows the fact that city and state gods were conceived as sources of healing and imbued with powers as remote as assisting a barren women to conceive. They were often lent to friendly contemporary kings for a variety of beneficial purposes. It is conceivable that the statue of Marduk was early on lent to the king of Hamath by the Hittites, who had multiple gods of their own.

But there is at least one additional proposal discussed seriously by scholars. From the language of the Agum-Kakrime inscription it is apparent that the return of the Marduk statue was negotiated rather than coerced, and that a ransom was probably paid for its release. Assuming that the statue resided in the Hittite capital, its transfer to a vassal province or city closer to lands possessed by the Kassites might be expected, allowing for easier transmittal when negotiations were finally completed. In that respect it is perhaps significant that Agum II, shortly before ordering the release of the statue, boasts that he was the king of Padan and Alman. [Padan](#) is probably a reference to Padan-Aram, a land mass at the eastern bend of the Euphrates, not more than 100 miles from the city of Hama(th). The location of the city or province of Alman is unknown, but since the two cities/states are named together in several contexts, they are likely located in the same region, easily accessed by officials in the city of Hama(th). If we had access to the cuneiform text of the Agum-Kakrime inscription, or its transliteration, we would be able to discern whether the two names refer to cities or states. Lacking that we include both possibilities in the prior discussion. The argument remains the same in either case.

The discussion in the previous paragraph is relevant to yet another matter related to the return of the Marduk statue from Hatti. When we discussed the Marduk Prophecy on pages 19-20 of this paper we failed to mention one detail of the inscription that may have relevance here.

In the first column, verses 13-20, Marduk declares:

<p>13. I decreed that I should go to the land of Hatti. 14. I called Hatti to account. 15. The throne of my supreme divinity 16. I set up in its midst; 17. for twenty-four years I dwelt in its midst. 18. The (commercial) caravans of the Babylonians 19. I established in its midst. 20. Its [...], its goods and property</p>
--

The figure 24 years for the domicile of the Marduk statue in Hatti is at odds with our 1124-1105 dating of Agum II (Kakrime) in Table 2 and with the traditional history dates for the 4th dynasty king Nebuchadnezzar I (1126-1103). If those dates are correct, and we have no reason to doubt that they are, then the return of the Marduk statue absconded in 1155 by Mursilis I cannot be dated much earlier than 1120, thirty five years later. We could, of course, simply discount the data in the Marduk Prophecy, since it was written over four hundred years after the fact. But there does exist a plausible explanation. Assuming that the statue resided in Hatti for 24 years before being transferred to the land of Hama(th), where it resided until returned to Babylon another dozen years later, we can reconcile the disparate numbers. It is not an important matter, but it does need to be mentioned in passing.

At this point we rest our case. Our five arguments are now complete and should suffice to defend the integrity of the revised history. The Amorite dynasty ended in the year 1155 and it began 296 years prior, in 1451 BC according to our Table 6. The dates for Hammurabi in the revised chronology are 1351-1309 BC. All of these dates were previously incorporated into our Figure 2 timeline.

It is time to conclude our paper by rehearsing the many synchronisms discussed in the course of this revision of the dates for the Amorite and Sealand dynasties, and to introduce several more which serve to confirm the accuracy of the revised timelines.

C. Synchronisms

At this point in time we have dated the first 16 Kassite kings and separately and independently determined absolute dates for the beginning and end of the 1st (Amorite) and 2nd (Sealand) dynasties.

At no time did we confirm that the beginning dates of the two dynasties, each obtained by a different methodology, were accurate. We correct that omission in this our concluding section, where we are primarily concerned with synchronisms.

Thus far in this paper

1) we have utilized the fact that Mursilis I of Hatti and Samsu-ditana (1186-1155), the last king of the 1st Amorite dynasty, were contemporaries. That fact was borrowed from the traditional history, and with a change of dates was used to prove that the 1st dynasty of Babylon ended, and was succeeded immediately by the 4th dynasty of Babylon, in 1155 BC. We argued also that several of the latter kings of the Amorite dynasty, including Samsu-ditana its ultimate king, were vassals of the Kassites, as were the 4th dynasty kings who succeeded them. We never did discuss the name of the Kassite king who was ruling at the time of the Mursilis I invasion, nor who was governing Assyria at that time, though on the basis of dates alone we can tentatively suggest that they would be Hurbazum (1163-1143), the 7th Kassite king, and Ashur-dan I (1179-1133) of Assyria. Our omission of their names was not an oversight. We simply had no inscriptional evidence supporting our conjecture.

2) we have demonstrated that the 9th Kassite king Agum II (Kakrime) and Nebuchadnezzar I, his vassal in the 4th dynasty of Babylon, were contemporaries. Both kings were governing Karduniash at the time the statue of Bel-Marduk, stolen by Mursilis I in 1155 BC, was returned to the Esagila temple in Babylon ca 1120 BC. Once again we did not discuss other synchronisms, though it is a well-established fact that Nebuchadnezzar I was also a contemporary of the Assyrian king [Ashur-resh-ishi I \(1133-1115\)](#).

3) we have detailed the invasion of Ulamburiash which caused Ea-gamil, the terminal king of the Sealand dynasty to flee the country, effectively bringing that dynasty to an end in 1025 BC. The end of the Sealand dynasty was also synchronized with the demise of last king of the 4th dynasty of Babylonia, named Nabu-shum-libur and the installation of the first king of the 5th (= 2nd Sealand) dynasty named Simbar-Shipak). While as yet we have found no inscriptional evidence to associate these kings with Shalmaneser II (1031-1019), his dates suggest he was a contemporary (and we have done little beyond a brief google search to investigate the matter).

All of the synchronisms mentioned above have been incorporated into a table for easy reference (see Table 8 on the following page). We have also included a line of contemporary kings all dated to the first decade of the 13th century BC. The synchronisms in this important row (top row in our table, dated 1290 BC) was immediately apparent when, in our revision of the Sealand dynasty, we observed that that dynasty and the Kassite dynasty both began within a decade of one another, and that both of these dynasties emerged within the reign of Samsuiluna (1309-1271). That is simply too much of a coincidence. There must be an explanation.

Historians have long known that the Amorite dynasty fragmented badly during the initial years of the lengthy reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's successor. It is imperative that we examine the reign of this king to find an explanation for the synchronisms, hopefully thereby confirmation that our revised chronology is correct. As it turns out, we have been remarkably successful in re-dating all three dynasties, the Amorites, the Sealand kings, and the Kassites. The link with the Assyrian king Adad-nirari

in the top row of Table 8 is a bonus, enabling us for the first and only time to synchronize Amorite, Sealand, Kassite and Assyrian kings.

Table 8: Synchronisms existing at the time of the key raids mentioned in this paper.

Revised history dates	Event	Babylonian vassal kings	Sealand dynasty kings	Kassite dynasty kings	Assyrian kings
1290 BC	Kassite invasion of Babylonia	Samsu-iluna (1309-1271) 1 st dynasty	Ilum-ma-ili (1300-?)	Gandash (1 st king) (1290-1264)	Adad-nirari I (1305-1274)
1155 BC	Mursilis I invasion of Babylonia	Samsu-ditana (1186-1155) 1 st dynasty		Hurbazum (7 th king) 1163-1143	Ashur-dan I 1179-1133
ca 1120 BC	Return of statue of Bel-Marduk	Nebuchadnezzar I 4 th dynasty		Agum-Kakrime (9 th king)	Ashur-resh-ishi I (1133-1115)
ca 1028 BC	Kassite invasion of Sealand	Nabu-shum-libur 1033-1925 4 th dynasty Simbar-shipak 1025-1008) 5 th dynasty	Ea-gamil (?-1025)	Ulamburiash (13 th king) (1047-1025)	Shalmaneser II (1031-1019)

Synchronisms with the 1290 Invasion of Babylonia by Gandash. In our earlier paper #3 we argued that in 1290 BC Gandash, the 1st king of the 3rd (Kassite) dynasty of Babylon, invaded Mesopotamia, attacked Babylonia, and threatened Assyria. While we did not discuss the kingship situation prevailing in Babylonia at that time, because we had yet to introduce the Amorite and Sealand dynasties into our revision of history, we did discuss the conflict that existed between the Kassites and the Assyrians, concluding that the invasion of Babylonia by Gandash took place during the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I (1305-1274), son of Arik-den-ili (see paper #3, bottom of p.7 through to the middle of p.9). We will not repeat that discussion here save to quote our introduction to those two pages of commentary.

A glance at the [Wikipedia article on the reign of Adad-nirari I](#) informs us that this monarch “is the earliest Assyrian king whose annals survive in any detail”. That is most fortunate, because those annals, combined with the few extant records related to the rule of his father Arik-den-ili (1317-1306 B.C.), inform us quite clearly that not only did the Kassites *not inhabit* Babylonia during the reign of Arik-den-ili, but that *they were present in Babylonia* during Adad-nirari’s time in office, threatening to extend their dominance into Assyria.

In the previous section of this paper we independently determined the date when the Amorite dynasty ended (1155 BC) and when it began (1451 BC). We were also able to provide dates for Hammurabi (1351-1309) and his son Samsu-Iluna (1309-1271). Based solely on these dates for

Samsu-iluna we are able to state conclusively that this king must be identified as the recipient of the Kassite attack on Babylonia in 1290 BC., following which he served the balance of his 38 year reign as a vassal to the Kassites. His successors followed suit. From 1290 BC to the end of the dynasty in 1155 BC the Amorites remained a vassal state. And we are most fortunate to have independent confirmation that the Kassites did make their first appearance in Karduniash during the reign of Samsu-iluna. The relevant inscription is unfortunately damaged, but sufficient text survives to lend support to our claim. And the troubled circumstances of his reign also lend credence to our claim that not only did this king suffer a devastating defeat at the hands of the Kassites, but that his reign also witnessed the loss of the Sealand area of Babylonia (ca 1300 BC). We let a single credible source fill in the details.

The *Cambridge Ancient History* (3rd ed.) Vol II Part I, follows up a lengthy discussion of the illustrious reign of Hammurabi with a section entitled "The Successors of Hammurabi" (pp. 220-224). C.J. Gadd, the distinguished author of this section, begins by noting how the Amorite kingdom disintegrated almost immediately following the death of Hammurabi:

Nevertheless, it is clear that after the first few years of Samsuiluna's reign the kingdom of Babylon was in ever-worsening straits, with enemies springing up both at home and on the frontiers. As might be expected in these circumstances the evidence becomes scantier, while the connexions of events are hidden and the chronology is undefined. No more than occasional glimpses are revealed by the date-formulae, themselves not always completely reliable, reinforced by the few royal building-inscriptions and by inferences of various kinds based upon the dates of private contracts and the names of person figuring in them. King-lists and chronicles, written at a later period, afford valuable secondary information. (CAH 3rd II, 1, p. 220)

Considering the dearth of inscriptional evidence, the one surviving reference to the Kassites is welcomed with some relief. Gadd continues:

Much is heard of battles in the reign of Samsuiluna, both on his frontiers and even in the homeland, but very little of the event most important in historical perspective, that commemorated in the ninth year-date, when 'Samsuiluna the king . . . the Kassite host', i.e. no doubt 'defeated' them, but this barest of mentions is all that marks the first appearance of the power destined to supplant the First Dynasty of Babylon. CAH 3rd II, 1, p. 220

It is clear from our revised timeline that Gadd has failed to comprehend the significance of the damaged inscription, and he supplies the word "defeated" rather than the phrase "succumbed to", or some equivalent, to the missing section. But even if Gadd correctly interprets the reference, we would necessarily read between the lines and view the statement as an admission of a Kassite victory. Samsuiluna had great difficulty combating local tribal groups. He was in no position to successfully defend Babylonia against the emerging Kassite Empire. And defeated kings rarely, if ever, admit their failure.

The ninth year of Samsuiluna (1301 BC) thus appears to mark the end of Amorite independent rule, the beginning of its vassalage to the Kassites. The fact that this date does not agree precisely with the date 1290 BC date we determined in our previous papers for the Kassite invasion of Babylonia can probably be explained as a result of the subjectivity involved in the dating of the Amorite kings who followed Samsuiluna. We observe in our table 5 on page 12 above that the following four Amorite kings have been assigned reign lengths of 28, 37, 20, and 31 years respectively by modern scholars, all large numbers and arguably open to question. We note especially that Ammiditana the anti-penultimate king in the dynasty is assigned 37 years instead of the 25 years allotted him by the Babylonian king list B. If that single reign length were to be reduced by a decade, bringing the number into line with the king list, then the BC dates for Samsuiluna, Hammurabi, and all earlier kings of the dynasty would reduce by ten years, and the Kassite invasion which defeated Samsuiluna would then be dated 1291, precisely in line with our 1290 BC date.

Only one other king on the top line of our table of synchronisms needs to be mentioned (again) before closing this paper. Early on we discussed Ilum-ma-ili, the initial king of the Sealand dynasty (see pages 8ff) whose defection from Babylonian control we have dated to the approximate year 1300 BC, a decade into the reign of Samsu-iluna. We mentioned at that time that Ilum-ma-ili was a contemporary of Hammurabi's son and successor Samsu-iluna, and that the beginning of his independent rule likely took place early in that king's reign. We also noted then that we would return to describe his rebellion in the final section of this paper. We fulfill that promise here, once again using Gadd and the *Cambridge Ancient History* as our source. Speaking about the Sealand dynasty Gadd comments:

The founder, who is credited with a suspiciously long reign of sixty years, has left no record of his own, and all that is known about him comes from a later chronicle, which records that he sustained with success three attacks from successive kings of Babylon. Samsuiluna twice marched against him, the first time fighting a costly but indecisive battle, the second time suffering a defeat. CAH (3rd ed.) Vol II Part 1 p. 222.

The "chronicle" referenced by C.J. Gadd in the above quote is the [Chronicle of Early Kings](#), and the text in question is found on the reverse of tablet B, lines 1-10. We leave it to the reader to peruse the badly damaged inscription, if only to see what little we know about the king Ilum-ma-ili, save for the fact that his rebellion began during the early years of Samsu-iluna, and that the year 1300 BC that we have designated as the beginning of his independent rule, and thus the beginning of the Sealand dynasty, must be considered "flexible".

And with that we conclude this paper.