

Paper #9 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the “dynasty of E” were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty.

Arguments 6 & 7: The Shandabakku of Nippur & 3 Miscellaneous Sources

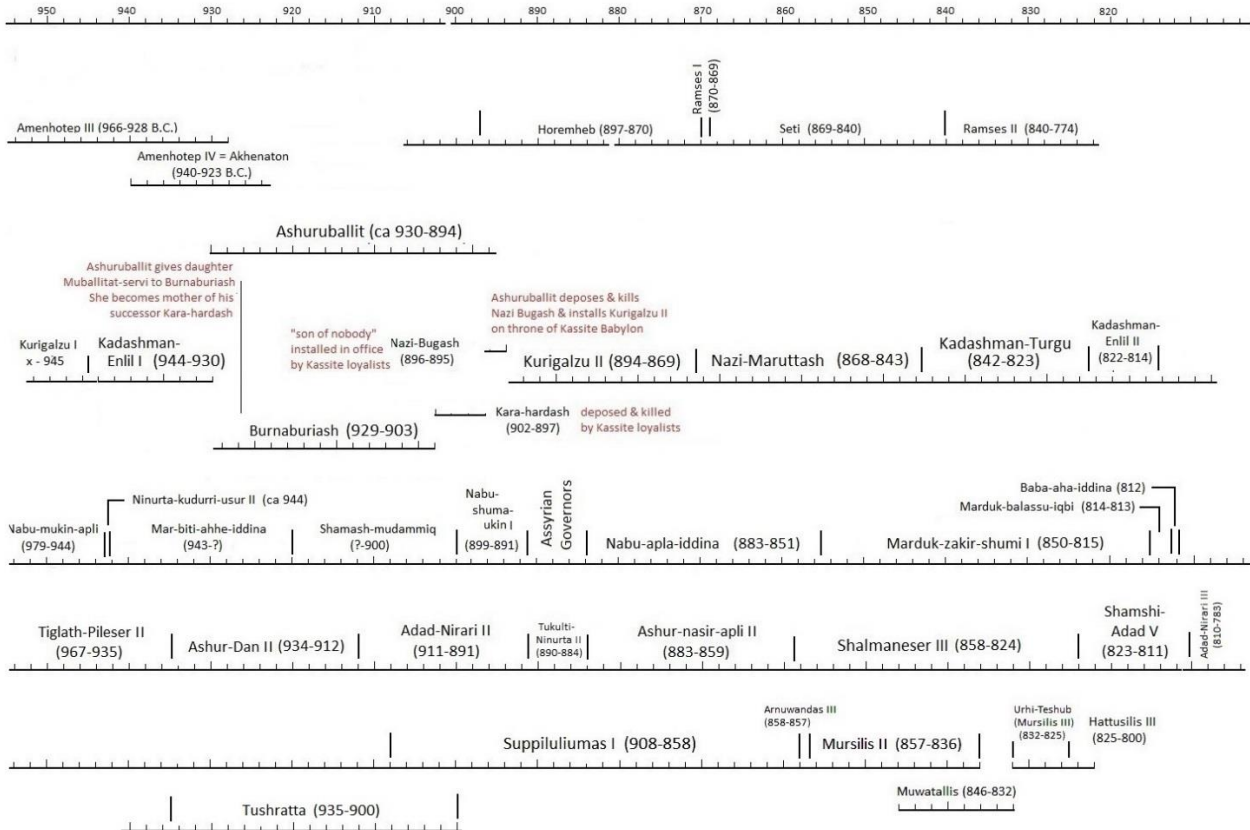
A. Argument #6: The Shandabakku of Nippur: Enlil-kidinni, Nazi-Enlil, & sons

We have, several times already, noted the fact that the Kassites did not reside in Karduniash, even after the construction of the defensive fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu. We have also mentioned the fact that neither Babylon nor Dur-Kurigalzu was the administrative capital of Karduniash, in spite of some misguided claims to that effect. The day-to-day affairs of the country were administered in Nippur, evidenced by the fact that the University of Pennsylvania excavations of that city in the late 19th and early 20th centuries yielded upwards of 12,000 cuneiform tablets and assorted inscribed artifacts, mostly economic or administrative in nature. This fact made the governor of that city, given the unique name *shandabakku* by the Kassites, an extremely important individual in the governance of the country, much less the city. In the traditional history this title endured from the latter half of the Kassite period through the post-Kassite period (1154-732), and beyond into the 7th century.

When we reduced the dates of all Kassite kings by approximately 440 years, thereby moving approximately one-half of the Kassite dynasty from the 2nd millennium into the 1st, completely overlapping the accepted dates for the “post Kassite” dynasty 4-9 “kings of Babylon”, we also altered the accepted dates for the shandabakku who ruled during the Kassite period. The tenure in office of all shandabakku who served under a specific Kassite king must suffer the same fate as the king himself. Their dates must be reduced by roughly 440 years. As a result all of the 14th - mid-12th dynasty shandabakku must move forward into the mid-10th – 8th centuries, overlapping the shandabakku already functioning in those latter centuries, thus drastically increasing the number of shandabakku operative in the time frame under consideration in our present series of papers. This temporal displacement of the shandabakku was undertaken “for better or for worse,” since multiple conflicts might have resulted from it, i.e. situations where a “Kassite” shandabakku and a “post-Kassite” shandabakku overlapped, to say the least an embarrassing situation for the “revised history”, unless of course the two individuals have the same name and can be identified as the same person. Fortunately, the situation where two differently named shandabakku appear in the identical time frame never happens, yet another remarkable “coincidence”? or “further proof that our thesis of a mandatory 440 year reduction of dates” is accurate?

Since much of the discussion which follows focusses on the time frame 950-810 BC, we reproduce below as our Figure 1 the revised history timeline chart for this time span, borrowed from the beginning of our previous paper, and modified only slightly.

Figure 1: Revised History Timeline Chart showing the kings of Egypt, the Kassite kings of Karduniash, the vassal “dynasty of E” kings of Babylon, and the kings of Assyria and the Empire Hittites in the time frame 950-810 BC.



Our intent in this section of our paper is to examine several of the shandabakku who supposedly held office in the 2nd millennium, to see what information is forthcoming once they are thrust into a context 440 years removed. We expect to find synchronisms which confirm the accuracy of our revised history. In Table 1 following, using data provided by the online Wikipedia article on the [Šandabakku](#), we list the known shandabakku from the Kassite and “post-Kassite” periods as viewed from the perspective of the traditional history. In Table 2 we reduce Kassite dates by 440 years and list the results. Discussion will follow.

Table 1: List of the known shandabakku officials governing Nippur during the Kassite and Post-Kassite periods as understood by the traditional history.

| During the Kassite period (ca 1600-1154 BC) | | During the post-Kassite period (1154-732 BC) | |
|---|---|--|---|
| | | | |
| Amilatum | father of Enlil-bani (uncertain date) | Nusku-zera-iddina | (Nabu-shumu-libur year 1 or 1033 BC) |
| Uššur-ana-Marduk | son of Usi-ana-nuri (uncertain position in sequence, but early) | Nazi-Enlil | (during Marduk-zakir-shumi's reign, 855-819 BC) |
| Ninurta-nadin-ahhe | son of Enlil-bani (from Kadashman-Enlil I until Burna-Buriash, 1359-1333 BC) | Enlil-apla-usur | Son of Nazi-Enlil (during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, 814-813 BC) |
| Enlil-kidinni | son of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe (from Burna-Buriash, through Kurigalzu II, 1332-1308 BC, until early Nazi-Maruttash, 1307-1282) | Kudurru | (during the reigns of Nabu-nasir, 747-732 BC, and Nabu-mukin-zeri, 731-729 BC) |
| Enlil-alsa | son of Enlil-kidinna (attested in Nazi-Maruttash year 8, 1300 BC) | Eteru and Ereshu | (around the time of Kudurru) |
| Uzi-Shul[gab] | (during Nazi-Maruttash' reign) | ?Shuma-iddina | (executed by Esarhaddon in his sixth year, 675 BC) |
| Nazi-Enlil | (during Nazi-Maruttash' reign) | Enlil-bani | Shamash-shum-ukin's seventh year, c. 660 BC |
| Ninurta-apla-iddina | son of Nazi-Enlil (Nazi-Maruttash or later, Kadashman-Turgu, 1281-1264 BC, Kadashman-Enlil, 1263-1255 BC) | Enlil-shapik-zeri | (apparently of surru near Uruk and not actually Nippur, during the reign of Nabu-kudurri-usur II, 634-562 BC) |
| Kadashman-Enlil II | (1263-1255 BC) | Nabu-shumu-eresh | (during the reign of Nabu-na'id, 556-539 BC) |
| Amil-Marduk | (from Kudur-Enlil, 1254-1246 BC, until Shagarakti-Shuriash' reign, 1245-1233 BC) | Shiriktu-Ninurta | (from last year of Nabu-na'id [539 BC] until the accession year of Darius I [522 BC]) |
| Enlil-zakir-shumi | (during the reign of Adad-shuma-iddina, 1222-1217 BC) | | |
| Enlil-shuma-imbi | Son of Daian-Marduk (during the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, 1216-1187 BC) | | |

Table 2: List of the known shandabakku officials governing Nippur during the overlapping Kassite/dynasty 4-9 period, as understood by the revised history.

| During the combined Kassite/dynasty 4-9 period. | | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------------|---|
| | | | Nusku-zera-iddina | (Nabu-shumu-libur year 1 or 1033 BC) |
| Amilatum | father of Enlil-bani (uncertain date) | | | |
| Uššur-ana-Marduk | son of Usi-ana-nuri) (uncertain position in sequence, but early) | X | | |
| Ninurta-nadin-ahhe | son of Enlil-bani (from Kadeshman-Enlil I until Burna-Buriash, 919-893 BC) | | | |
| Enlil-kidinni | son of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe (from Burna-Buriash, through Kurigalzu II, 892-868 BC, until early Nazi-Maruttash, 867-842) | X | | |
| Enlil-alsa | son of Enlil-kidinna (attested in Nazi-Maruttash year 8, 860 BC) | | | |
| Uzi-Shul[gab] | (during Nazi-Maruttash' reign) | | | |
| Nazi-Enlil | during the reign of Nazi-Maruttash (867-842) | X | Nazi-Enlil | During the reign of Marduk-zakir-shumi (855-819 BC) |
| Ninurta-apla-iddina | son of Nazi-Enlil (Nazi-Maruttash or later, Kadeshman-Turgu, 841-824 BC, Kadeshman-Enlil, 823-815 BC) | X | | |
| Kadeshman-Enlil II | (823-814 BC) | | | |
| | | X | Enlil-apla-usur | son of Nazi-Enlil (during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi, 814-813 BC) |
| Amil-Marduk | (from Kudur-Enlil, 814-806 BC, until Shagarakti-Shuriash' reign, 805-793 BC) | | | |
| Enlil-zakir-shumi | (during the reign of Adad-shuma-iddina, 782-777 BC) | | | |
| Enlil-shuma-imbi | son of Daian-Marduk (during the reign of Adad-shuma-usur, 776-747 BC) | X | | |
| | | | Kudurru | (during the reigns of Nabu-nasir, 747-732 BC, and Nabu-mukin-zeri, 731-729 BC) |
| | | | Eteru and Ereshu | (around the time of Kudurru) |
| | | | ?Shuma-iddina | (executed by Esarhaddon in his sixth year, 675 BC) |
| | | | Enlil-bani | Shamash-shum-ukin's seventh year, c. 660 BC |
| | | | Enlil-shapik-zeri | (apparently of surru near Uruk and not actually Nippur, during the reign of Nabu-kudurri-usur II, 634-562 BC) |
| | | | Nabu-shumu-eresh | (during the reign of Nabu-na'id, 556-539 BC) |
| | | | Shiriktu-Ninurta | (from last year of Nabu-na'id [539 BC] until the accession year of Darius I [522 BC]) |

Our Table 2 provides an extremely convincing demonstration of the accuracy of our revised dating of the shandabakku. What are the odds of transporting twelve individuals 440 years into the future and having them mesh so perfectly with the occupants of their revised time frame? So convincing is this aspect of our analysis of the shandabakku that we are tempted to leave the issue as is. Not only is the listing of the holders of this office now complete for the entire mid-3rd through 9th Babylonian dynasties, beginning with Amilatum, the first holder of this office early in the reign of Kurigalzu I, but we also encounter a rare instance wherein one holder of the title in the “Kassite” period is synchronized with himself, now functioning as a shandabakku in the post-Kassite period. We will discuss the situation of Nazi-Enlil in due course.

Apart from the case of Nazi-Enlil we find only a few other instances where Kassite shandabakku can be *definitively* synchronized with their new 1st millennium contemporaries, but these few instances, added to the mention of Nazi-Enlil, should be sufficient to convince our most ardent critics that our revised dating of the Kassite shandabakku is accurate. Our intent in the next few pages is to itemize most of the 10th/9th century Kassite officials in our Table 2, and provide comment that secures their 1st millennium provenance. But before we begin that process we need to briefly discuss the case of the one shandabakku whose appearance is somewhat of an anomaly in our Table 2. In a moment we will argue that the office of shandabakku was initiated by Kurigalzu I, following his rebuilding of that city beginning around the year 970 B.C. It follows that the “post-Kassite” shandabakku named Nusku-zera-iddina, who supposedly held office in the year 1033 BC, over sixty years prior to the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I (revised dating), during the brief reign of the vassal king Nabu-shuma-libur, is “out of place.” The naming of a shandabakku functioning at the very end of the 11th century is not just an anomaly, it is a serious mistake. Momentarily we will argue that this individual lived at the very end of the 9th century BC, and that he was a son of the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil. But he himself never held that office and consequently should be removed from our Tables 1 and 2. A brief analysis of the evidence in support of these facts needs to be included here.

The misplaced “Shandabakku” Nusku-shuma-libur

The Wikipedia article related to the king named [Nabu-shum-libur](#) informs us that very little evidence attests this king’s existence, much less provides details of his reign. According to that article the one inscription detailing an action undertaken by him took place in his first regnal year. We quote the relevant passage:

Tablet BM 139424 “details the reimbursement of Nusku-zêra-iddina, the šandabakku, or governor of Nippur, with land, after he ransomed a man named Mudammiqu from the “enemy”. The price was paid in kind, with the text listing various items provided by the purchaser with their cash equivalent, for a total of 420 shekels.

A photo of this tablet is shown below in Figure 2. The only readily accessible source providing details of the text is the 1983 article by Sylvie Lackenbacher entitled “Ventes Des Terres A Un “

‘Šandabakku’ Sous La II^e Dynastie d’Isin” in *Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* Vol. 77, No. 2 (1983), pp. 143-154. The best online source of this article is [JSTOR 23282184](https://www.jstor.org/stable/23282184).

Figure 2: Photo of the Tablet BM 139424



We are concerned in this paper with only a single line of text in this inscription, one repeated several times on the tablet. The line in question identifies the “shandabakku?” named Nusku-zera-iddina as the individual who is being reimbursed by the king for monies expended in rescuing/ransoming Mudammiqu from the “enemy”. The transliteration and translation provided by Sylvie Lackenbacher reads:

^{md}NIN.NUMEN.sì-na DUMU ^mna-zi-^den-lil GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI
 Beltu-zera-iddina fils de Nazi-Enlil gouverneur de Nippur
 = Beltu-zera-iddina son (of) Nazi-Enlil šandabakku (of) Nippur

The fact that Lackenbacher translates ^{md}NIN.NUMEN.sì-na as Beltu-zera-iddina and not as Nusku-zera-iddina, as do other scholars, is immaterial. And it is also irrelevant that she translates GÚ.EN.NA as “gouverneur” rather than “šandabakku”, its more usual translation. After all, the term šandabakku is a specialty term referring to a governor of a specific city, in this case Nippur. Thus we have absolutely no quarrel with the translation. What we do object to is the fact that in the discussion which follows she attributes the title GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI to Beltu-zera-iddina, rather than to Nazi-Enlil. To be fair, Lackenbacher does acknowledge in note 26 on page 147 that grammatically the title could be applied to either person, but in the traditional history, of which she is an adherent, Beltu-zera-iddina, who lived ca. 1033 BC, could not possibly be the son of the Kassite shandabakku Nazi-Enlil, who lived in the days of Nazi-Maruttash (1307-1282). And while DUMU can mean “descendant” it is unlikely that a descendancy that remote would be cited in this context. But the problem of descendancy does not exist in the revised history, as we point out in the following paragraph. And the other reasons cited in the footnote on page 147 do not carry much weight. We reproduce the footnote below in Figure 3. Let the reader decide its value.

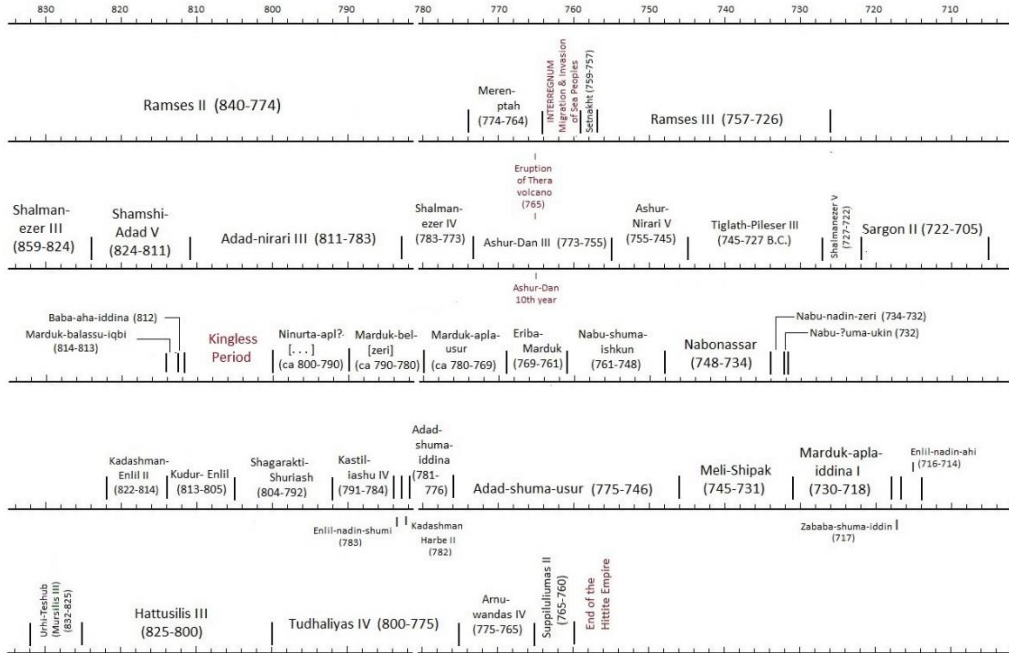
Figure 3: Footnote explaining the rationale for attributing the title “shandabakku” to Beltu-zera-iddina, rather than to Nazi-Enlil.

26. C'est la première attestation du *šandabakku* sous la II^e dynastie d'Isin, cf. Brinkman, *PHPKB* 297, n. 1949. Le problème est de savoir qui est *šandabakku* car, devant une formulation de ce type, il est parfois difficile de déterminer si le titre se rapporte au père ou au fils ; bien que la clause finale (Rs. ll. 28-30) puisse faire penser que Nazi-Enlil était le personnage important, l'acheteur n'étant plus (l. 30) que « le fils de Nazi-Enlil », je pense que GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI se rapporte à Beltu-zera-iddina, comme c'est le cas pour les témoins, tous appelés NP₁ *mār* NP₂ + titre (ce n'est pas toujours le cas dans les textes parallèles, cf. *BBSI*, p. 21) et pour Enlil-nadin-šumi *mār* Na[zi-Enlil?? D'après King, il manque 3 signes mais la planche VI ne permet pas de lire quoi que ce soit] GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI, dont le rôle paraît bien le même que celui d'Enlil-šuma-imbi, fils de Daian-Marduk *nešakku* d'Enlil, GÚ.EN.NA NIBRU.KI (cf. *BBSI* 10 s., ll. 18-19 et 45-47). Voir aussi *BBSI*, p. 43, l. 8 s., et 49, A4 s. et B3 s., où le titre de *sukallu* s'applique évidemment au fils.

Granted the fact that the title “shandabakku” more reasonably belongs to Nazi-Enlil, one problem yet remains, this time for the revised history, where the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil is identified as a contemporary of both the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttash (867-842) *and* the “dynasty of E” vassal king of Babylon Marduk-zakir-shumi (855-819) (see Figure 4 below). Assuming that our individual Beltu/Nusku-zera-iddina was a son, and not a more distant descendant of this Nazi-Enlil, then the incident described in BM 139424 must have taken place late in the 9th century. The critic will then surely protest that no king by the name Nabu-shumu-libur is known to have existed in the late 9th century. In fact, the late 11th century king is the only king known to have borne that name in the entire Near Eastern world. How then do we explain the presence of this royal name in our tablet inscription? The problem actually has a simple solution though admittedly that solution does involve a number of hypotheticals. And it will require a brief summary of late 9th century Babylonian history.

To facilitate our discussion of the history in question we reproduce on the next page our Figure 4 timeline chart, duplicated from an earlier paper, and modified slightly to bring it up to date. We are particularly interested in the dozen years lying between the end of the brief reign of the “dynasty of E” king Baba-aha-iddina (812 BC) and the beginning of the reign his successor Ninurta-apl?-[...] around the year 800 BC, a time frame known to scholars as the “kingless period”, as indicated on the chart. The brief reigns of both Marduk-balassu-iqbi (814-813) and his successor Baba-aha-iddina (812) had been cut short by campaigns launched by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V, whose reign witnessed a resurgence of Assyrian aggression against its southern neighbor. Both Babylonian kings were deported (and probably killed) by Shamshi-Adad, introducing a prolonged period during which no “king of Babylon” ruled the country.

Figure 4: Timeline showing the overlapping Kassite kings of Karduniash and “Dynasty of E” kings of Babylon in the approximate time frame 820-732 BC .



According to J.A. Brinkman, in a section of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* entitled “Years of Chaos”:

After the capture of Baba-aha-iddina, the campaigns of Shamshi-Adad V continued yet another year against Babylonia. For the year 811, the eponym chronicle records that the Assyrian army went “to Babylon”; but we have no other account of this campaign. Babylonia, exhausted by four successive Assyrian campaigns (two of which had culminated in the deportation of the reigning sovereign to Assyria), seems to have lapsed into a state of anarchy.

We have little information bearing on the political history of either Babylonia or Assyria during the years which elapsed between the deportation of Baba-aha-iddina and the accession of Eriba-Marduk. The New Babylonian Chronicle states that “for x years there was no king in the land”, and there is a text dated in “the fourth year in which there was no king in the land.” The synchronistic kinglist KAV 13 and the Dynastic Chronicle reveal the names of three kings who followed this alleged kingless interval: Ninurta-apl?-[x], Marduk-bel-[zeri], and Marduk-apla-usur. Very little is known about any of these rulers; and only one known text is dated during their reigns, a small economic text from the reign of Marduk-bel-zeri. (Brinkman, PKB, p. 213.)

The reader is possibly curious why the Assyrians, following the capture and deportation of [Baba-aha-iddina](#), thus throughout the “kingless period” and beyond through a succession of three kings so weak they have left practically no record of their existence, did not simply take over Karduniash and incorporate it as a province of the expansive Assyrian Empire. The traditional history has no reasonable answer to this problem, but we know the reason. The term “kingless period” refers only to the absence of any “dynasty of E” king governing the whole of Karduniash on behalf of the still powerful Kassite kings. The Kassites, as indicated by our Figure 4, remained the overlords of the country throughout this approximately forty year time frame (811-770), despite the several setbacks. The fact that the Kassite king Kudur-Enlil (813-805) and his immediate successors decided to forgo the practice of ruling the country via a single “king of Babylon” is immaterial. The fact is that they did. It appears that in the central part of the country the “shandabakku” and existing “governors” of the other provinces replaced the “king”, and on the fringes of the country, and especially in the Chaldean regions of the south, tribal leaders assumed control, all likely subservient to the Kassites. The sparse information forthcoming from this period does seem to support this conjecture. The case for the shandabakku and other governors as replacements for the “kings of Babylon” will be visited again near the conclusion of this paper.

This historical interlude provides the likely answer to the one remaining issue which confronts us in this section of our paper. We conjectured earlier that Nusku-zera-iddina, son of the shandabakku Nazi-Enlil, must be dated to the late 9th century and that therefore the king Nabu-shumu-libur, who compensated him for expenditures incurred in ransoming the captive Mudammiqu (according to tablet BM 139424), must also be dated in that same time frame. We are therefore most fortunate that our timeline provides ample space wherein this king may well be positioned. The fact that the tablet inscription is dated in this king’s 1st year, and that no other information attests his existence, supports our conjecture that his “reign” was brief and probably limited in scope.

It is interesting that Brinkman does briefly discuss several of the Chaldean kings who may have exercised limited authority in this “kingless period” and/or beyond, two of whom were from the Chaldean region in extreme south.

But about this time, probably between 820 and 770, may be dated the inscriptions of Nabu-shumu-lishir, a member of the Dakkuru tribe, and Marduk-shakin-shumu, a member of the Jakin tribe, both of whom might have been among the “kings of Chaldea” spoken of in the Assyrian sources pertaining to the time of Shamshi-Adad V and Adad-nirari III; whether these chieftains ever ruled over northern Babylonia is uncertain. (Brinkman, PKB, 262).

The name Nabu-shumu-lishir transcribed by Brinkman is of particular interest. The transliteration of the cuneiform actually reads ^{md}PA-MU-SI.SÁ where Brinkman assumes that Sumerian SI.SÁ here represents the Assyrian verb ešēru and transcribes accordingly. He is probably correct, but the possibility remains that SI.SÁ also represents one of the verbs bâru, abāru, or ebēru which various scholars have assumed to be the basis of the phonetic spelling of the verbal element “li-bur” typically employed in the orthography of the name Nabu-shumu-

libur. At minimum the name tells us that Nabu-shumu-libur could well have originated from the Chaldean region of Karduniash.

We leave the matter there and proceed to briefly examine a dozen of the shandabakku in our Figure 2, all of whom lie within our designated late-10th/9th century time frame.

1) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Amilatum

We know almost nothing about this individual save for his approximate date. The only reference to him is contained in the inscription on the back of a dog figurine inscribed at the direction of a priest named Ninurta-rešúšu, šatammu (high priest?) of the E-u-gal under king Nazi-Maruttaš. The inscription reads in part:

Ninurta-rešúšu, šatammu of the E-u-gal, royal šatammu of Enlil, son of UD-Delebat, nešakku of Enlil, descendant of Enlil-bani, mayor (rabanum) of KUR.TI, scion of Amilatum, šandabakku of Nippur.

The dog figure (shown below) is being offered to the female deity “[Gula](#), the sublime lady, the mother of the gods” as a gift, seeking the favor of the goddess on behalf of “the life of Nazi-Maruttaš, king of the world”.

Figure 5: the dog figure (BM 81-7-1,3395) which provides the genealogy of Ninurta-rešúšu, son of UD-Delebat, descendant of Enlil-bani, son? of Amilatum, šandabakku of Nippur



The sections quoted are reproduced from the only transliteration and translation of the dog inscription readily accessible to this author, that of Edmond Sollberger in an article entitled “Two Kassite Votive Inscriptions” in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (Jan-Mar), (1968): 191–197 (see [JSTOR 597914](#)), referenced at the bottom of the Wikipedia article on the shandabakku. The article is best obtained from the JSTOR online site (free if you sign up and read online).

Our interest in the dog inscription is primarily with the dating of the earliest two of the four named individuals. There are multiple indications in the text that confirm that both held office at the very beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I. And since we have already consumed six papers proving that the reign of Kurigalzu I must have begun around the year 970 B.C., it follows that this shandabakku named Amilatum must be dated in that general time frame.

The mere fact that Amilatum holds the office of shandabakku informs this author that he dates no earlier than the initial years of Kurigalzu I, who is noted for his extensive building activities throughout Karduniash, and particularly for his work at the site of Nippur. In the opinion of multiple scholars, when Kurigalzu I came to office the city of Nippur lay in ruins and had been virtually deserted for decades, if not much longer, the result of raids by the Arameans, particularly the Sutean branch of that ethnic group. Kurigalzu's repairs not only refurbished the damaged structures, they literally brought the city back to life. This king transformed it into the administrative capital of Karduniash, which explains why almost none of the 12,000 inscribed tablets excavated at the site by the University of Pennsylvania are known to have originated prior to his reign. Early in his reign, while building work on his fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu was in its initial stages, Kurigalzu I set-up the administrative structure of the city, headed by the *shandabakku*, who not only governed the secular province of Nippur, but also at times functioned as the "chief priest", the "*nešakku* of Enlil". In the following decades those two titles were at times held by two different officials, and often the shandabakku and the "*nešakku* of Enlil" were father and son respectively. Apparently, at the death of the father the son took his father's office. It is not clear if the *shandabakku* named Amilatum was also the *nešakku* of Enlil, since typically references to these dignitaries only cite one of the titles held by the individual, and not necessarily the one that we might consider the most prestigious.

The reference to Enlil-bani, mayor (*rabanum*) of KUR.TI, also dates to the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu I, lending credence to the opinion of many that this official was the son of Amilatum. The conclusive factor in this dating is the mention of KUR.TI, the logographic orthography sometimes employed to reference the ancient village/city of Parsa, the site on which Kurigalzu I constructed his namesake fortress city Dur-Kurigalzu. We have encountered this name multiple times in previous papers, and will not belabor the point here, except to say that the name Parsa was never employed as an alternative name for the fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu, once the construction of the city was completed. It follows that Enlil-bani's tenure as mayor of Parsa must have begun prior to the completed construction of the Kassite fortress. There does exist a ["land grant" terra-cotta cone inscription](#), which exists in two copies (BM 91036 and BM 135743), inscribed several decades later by Kadashman-Enlil I, that informs us that this same Enlil-bani, presumably after the construction of Dur-Kurigalzu (which would have made the title "rabanum of KUR.TI" obsolete), had been elevated to the position of *nešakku* of Enlil.

2) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Uššur-ana-Marduk

We include this name only to provide confirmation of the dating of the shandabakku listed in our Figure 2. The habitual reader of these papers will recognize the name from the chart in Figure 8 on page 30 in our previous paper, where we diagrammed a few ancestors and descendants of a certain Arad-Ea, who lived in the last quarter of the 10th century and was the “founder” of an extremely influential kin-group. Ussur-ana-Marduk, the *shandabakku* of Nippur, was the father of this Arad-Ea. That earlier discussion of the Arad-Ea kin group provided convincing evidence that we were dealing with individuals who lived and functioned in the upper echelon of Babylonian society in the late 10th through to the end of the 8th centuries BC., and the shandabakku Ussur-ana-Marduk was convincingly shown to have held office late in the reign of Kurigalzu I and/or early in the reign of Kadashman-Enlil I. It follows from that kin-group chart, and the dating of Uššur-ana-Marduk contained within it, that we are completely justified in assigning 9th/8th century dates to the dozen or so shandabakku that follow Uššur-ana-Marduk in our Table 2 above.

3) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Ninurta-nadin-ahhe

This shandabakku was the son of Enlil-bani, almost certainly the same individual named above in our discussion of Amilatum. The clay cones which mentioned the land-grant to Enlil-bani made during the reign of Kurigalzu I were actually set up by Kadashman-Enlil I confirming or memorializing the fact that the land under consideration now belonged to a descendant of Enlil-bani, presumably his son Ninurta-nadin-ahhe, who had by this time inherited not only the land owned by his father, but also the title of shandabakku inherited from his grandfather. Unfortunately the name of Ninurta-nadin-ahhe is not preserved on the cone inscriptions. For that information we must turn to another inscription.

Brinkman, in his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* (1976) p. 110 briefly discusses a white marble vessel (CBS 12), an object possibly intended for use in a water ritual, bearing “a damaged twenty-seven-line Sumerian inscription. According to Brinkman (note 38) the object was a gift “for the life of Burnaburiash, and the donor, named in line 10, should probably read [mdNIN.I]B(!)-na-di-in-ŠEŠ.ŠEŠ (= Ninurta-nadin-ahhe) whose titles are given in lines 11-12:

[NU.ÈŠ] ^dEN.LÌL [GA.DU]B.BA.A EN.LÌL^{KI}
 (= nêšakku (of) Enlil, shandabakku of Nippur).

This inscription not only informs us that the office of shandabakku has become an inherited title, but also that Ninurta-nadin-ahhe’s tenure as shandabakku overlapped a large portion of the reigns of both Kadashman-Enlil I and Burnaburiash II.

4) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Enlil-kidinni

From the Wikipedia article related to [Burnaburiash II](#) we learn that

Kassite influence reached to Bahrain, ancient [Dilmun](#), where two letters found in Nippur were sent by a Kassite official [Ili-ippašra](#) in Dilmun to Ililiya, a hypocoristic form of Enlil-kidinni, who was the governor, or [šandabakku](#), of Nippur during Burna Buriāš's reign and that of his immediate successors. In the first letter, the hapless Ili-ippašra complains that the anarchic local Aḫlamû tribesmen have stolen his dates and "there is nothing I can do" while in the second letter they "certainly speak words of hostility and plunder to me".

We are not surprised to learn that the Kassites were in control of the region of Dilmun in the days of Burnaburiash II, since that region, bordering the sea now known as the Persian Gulf, was not far removed from the southernmost regions of Karduniash. That officials belonging to the two Kassite dependencies corresponded with a shandabakku in Karduniash is to be expected. It is the timing of this correspondence that is at issue in this paper. The traditional history dates this correspondence sometime during the reign of Burnaburiash II (1359-1333). In the revised history the dates for this Kassite king, and thus the two letters under consideration, lies in the time frame 929-903 B.C. Which is correct?

It is known from multiple other sources that the Assyrians, at least at times during the 1st millenium, were sovereign over the lands of Meluhha and Dilmun, both regions lying on the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Apart from the two letters referenced above, and one named official discussed briefly in our previous paper, absolutely nothing is known about Kassite domination of this same area over four hundred years prior. The one official we refer to appears at the top of our "Kin-Group of Arad-Ea" chart in our paper #8 (Figure 8 on page 30). His name was Usi-ana-nuri-? and all we know about him is that he functioned as the Kassite regent in Dilmun approximately mid-way through the 10th century BC, this assuming that we have correctly dated the dignitaries who appeared in that "family-tree". It is certainly relevant that both Usi-ana-nuri-? and [Ili-ippašra](#) were functioning either during or shortly prior to the reign of Burnaburiash II. If one is firmly dated to the mid-to-late 10th century BC, then so is the other. Fortunately there does exist at least one other letter that synchronizes the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni with another king, this time fortuitously with an Assyrian. His name – Adad-Nirari II.

From the Wikipedia article referencing the [šandabakku](#) we read:

The **most prominent** of the *šandabakku* officials were Enlil-kidinni, who corresponded^[i 3] and exchanged gifts with the [Assyrian](#) crown prince [Enlil-nirari](#),^[4] if his name has been correctly restored^[5], and Amil-Marduk around a hundred years later.

Clearly we take exception to this statement which, taken at face value, appears to synchronize the term in office of the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni with the Assyrian "crown prince" Enlil-nirari. Since Enlil-Nirari ruled Assyria ca. 1327-1318, the document in question is thus being dated (by the traditional history) to a time shortly prior to 1327 BC. And we know why. Assuming that

the letter was authored by the shandabakku Enlil-kidinni, whose term in office overlapped the reign of Burnaburiash II (1359-1333), and that the letter in question was authored by a prince whose name ended with “nirari”, scholars had no other choice but to assume that the Assyrian correspondent was Enlil-nirari, writing probably a decade or so prior his becoming king. But we also notice the cautionary addendum “if his name has been correctly restored” and the footnote reference which follows the mention of the name Enlil-nirari. That footnote is informative, referring as it does to a contrary opinion expressed by J.A. Brinkman in the [Apr-Jun 2004 issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124 \(2\): 283–304](#) who argues against the identification of recipient and to a lesser extent even the author of the correspondence

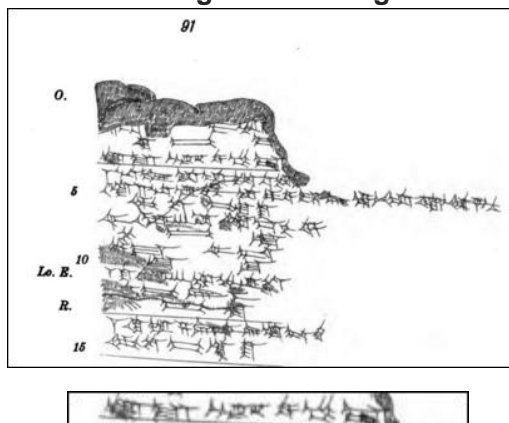
Brinkman totally disagrees with the translation of the name “Enlil-nirari” as the Assyrian author of the correspondence in question, and even has issues, though less so, with the identification of the Kassite recipient. According to him the Assyrian name ?-nirari on tablet fragment CBS 19796 = BE XVII no. 91. *cannot* be identified as Enlil-nirari.

Collation of CBS 19796 (BE 17 91), line 1' shows the suggested reading [??][.sup.l]i[??]-li-[li-ia] to be highly unlikely (the i- and -li- would have to be extraordinarily elongated and the remaining signs then pushed over the edge of the tablet). Line 3': the name of the writer is unclear; neither von Soden's [.sup.d]EN.TI! nor Sassmannshausen's [.sup.d]En-lil! fit the traces of the theophoric element.

For the sake of readers with some familiarity with Assyrian cuneiform we reproduce below in Figure 6 a copy of the line drawing #91 on plate 64 of Hugo Radau's 1908 volume entitled [Letters to Kassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur](#). Our interest lies primarily in the 3rd line of cuneiform text which we have duplicated and reproduced in isolation below the tablet inscription. It is unfortunate that we are unable to find a photograph of the tablet to determine the accuracy of this line drawing. But as it stands we appear to be justified in reading the cuneiform text as ^dAdad-nirari, though the dinger sign preceding the logogram for “Adad” has merged with that sign creating one unintelligible sign, particularly so since only traces of the original stylus impressions remain on the weathered surface of the clay tablet. Assuming that the reading *is* Adad-nirari, as we believe, then in keeping with our revised timeline, the king with whom Enlil-kidinni corresponded must, in all likelihood, be identified as Adad-nirari II (911-891), thus corroborating our revised dating of the shandabakku Enlil-Kidinni in Table 2 above. The only possible alternative identification of the Adad-nirari on line 3 of CBS 19796 is Adad-nirari I (1305-1274), but this king is too far removed from the time of Burnaburiash (1359-1333) to qualify as an acceptable alternative identification, even if Adad-nirari was a prince. Thus our claim that CBS 19796 establishes a synchronism between Burnaburiash II and Adad-nirari II.

Let the reader evaluate the strength of the argument.

Figure 6: Line drawing of tablet fragment CBS 19796



^dAdad-Nirari

7) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Nazi-Enlil

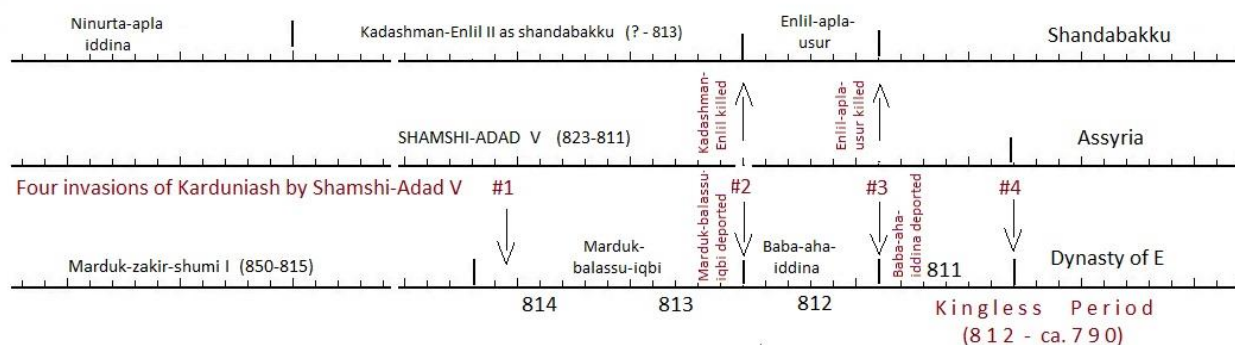
In the introductory section of this paper we mentioned the fact that when the revised history reduced the dates of all shandabakku by 440 years it faced the possibility that the tenures of some of the shandabakku belonging to the Kassite dynasty might conceivably occupy the same space assigned to a shandabakku from the time of the dynasty 4-9 “kings of Babylon”. That, of course, would have provided a major interpretive problem for the “revised history”, unless of course the two overlapping shandabakku had the same name and were arguably the same person. A glance at Figure 2 should convince the reader that we have been most fortunate. Not only do the two columns “mesh” perfectly, but the only instance of overlap does in fact involve two Nippur governors with precisely the same name, the same lengthy term in office, and the same inclination to pass the title “shandabakku” on to offspring. The fact that the two columns blend so perfectly is in fact a “stand-alone” argument supporting our “revised history.” In the real world this perfect correspondence simply would not and could not happen. It is only when historical events are restored to their rightful chronological position that events like this “miraculously” slide into place.

The strength of the argument based on the overlapping occurrences of shandabakku named Nazi-Enlil increases exponentially when we add to the discussion the names of their sons, Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur. That discussion follows.

8) The two Shandabakku, both sons of Nazi-Enlil, named Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur.

According to our Table 2 a shandabakku named Ninurta-apla-iddina, son of Nazi-Enlil, served during the reigns of Kadashman-Turgu (842-823) and Kadashman-Enlil II (822-814 BC) and a shandabakku named Enlil-apla-usur succeeded him and governed Nippur for a single year during the extremely brief reign of Baba-aha-iddina (812). Between these two shandabakku the king Kadashman-Enlil himself reigned briefly, taking over the office following the death by natural causes of Ninurta-apla-iddina (date of death unknown). In our next section we will examine the governorship of Kadashman-Enlil, extend his reign by a single year, and argue that he died in 813 when the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V invaded Karduniah and deposed the king Marduk-balassu-iqbi, the predecessor of Baba-ahu-iddina. Enlil-apla-iddina then replaced Kadashman-Enlil as shandabakku, and died the next year (812 BC) when Shamshi-Adad V invaded Karduniash again, this time deposing Baba-ahu-iddina, an event we discussed earlier in this paper. In Figure 7 below we add a timeline to assist the reader is following this somewhat complex sequence of events.

Figure 7: Timeline of the four campaigns of Shamshi-Adad V against Karduniash



The scenario described above is, of course, in part hypothetical, but in our revised chronology it explains every anomaly, and will perhaps be more palatable to the reader after he/she examines the following section describing the role played by the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil II. In this section we are concerned only with the two shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina and Enlil-apla-usur, both sons of a shandabakku named Nazi-Enlil, one supposedly living in the first half of the 13th century BC, and the other in the second half of the 9th century, separated by approximately 440 years. The first of the shandabakku sons took office immediately following the death of his father Nazi-Enlil 1 in the first half of the 13th century BC and held the office for approximately 30 years. The second took office approximately 30 years after the death of his father Nazi-Enlil 2 in the second half of the 9th century BC. When we applied our reduction of 440 years to the dates of Nazi-Enlil 1 and his son Ninurta-apla-iddina, not only did Nazi-Enlil 1 roughly overlap the reign of Nazi-Enlil 2, but the reign of his son fit perfectly in the gap between

Nazi-Enlil 2 and his son Enlil-apla-usur. Add to that correspondence the fact that our reduction of dates by 440 years was predetermined, not contrived to create this meshing of chronologies. And in the real world this absolutely unprecedented synchronism of father/son genealogies could not possibly happen by chance. The presence of the two Nazi-Enlils and the spacing of their respective sons, all functioning as governors of Nippur is absolutely compelling evidence that our thesis of a 400 year reduction of Kassite dates is correct.

Let the reader decide.

9) The king Kadashman-Enlil II (as shandabakku).

It is curious, to say the least, that a Kassite king would briefly function as a governmental official in a vassal state, even if the “shandabakku of Nippur” was the second most powerful resident individual in the country, next only to the reigning “king of Babylon.” Equally curious is his early demise, his reign lasting only eight years, from 822-814. We believe that both of these events can be explained with a single stroke, by examining the historical context of his reign. And by doing so we will at the same time by synchronizing his reign with that of the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad, opposite whom he appears on our Figure 1. In the case of Kadashman-Enlil II, his extreme youth at the time of death of his father Kadashman-Turgu necessitated the appointment of a surrogate named Itti-Marduk-balatu to assist in oversight of the Kassite realm. According to the [Wikipedia article related to this time frame](#):

He [Kadashman-Enlil II] succeeded Kadashman-Turgu as a child and political power was exercised at first by an influential vizier, Itti-Marduk-balatu, “whom the gods have caused to live far too long and in whose mouth unfavourable words never cease”, according to Hattusili III. The vizier seems to have adopted a sharply antagonistic position towards the Hittites, favoring the appeasement of their belligerent Assyrian northerly neighbor.

We have previously noted this synchronism between the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II and the Hittite king Hattusilis III (see paper #4), though it deserves a second mention here. What we did not mention in that earlier discussion was the likelihood that the youth of the Kassite king, in conjunction with his early demise, was a likely contributing factor to the turmoil in Karduniash, and the onset of the “leadership troubles” in the “kingless period” which followed.

We are probably correct when we associate the youth of the king and his installation as shandabakku, second in command of the vassal state of Karduniash, a perfect training ground for a neophyte king. And of course we cannot discount the probability that Itti-Marduk-balatu had aspirations of his own, and probably found it convenient to send the boy-king “off to school, so to speak”. We believe that Kadashman-Enlil’s sojourn in Nippur did not last for long, and that he likely died in 813 BC, leading the army resident in Karduniash in defense the vassal state. His opponent, assuming the correctness of our revised timelines, could have been none other than the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V.

We have placed the death of Kadashman-Enlil II in the year 814 BC, but there is some wiggle-room in that dating, and 813 BC is certainly a viable alternative. And near the beginning of this paper we discussed the fact that Shamshi-Adad V (823-811), early in his reign, turned from “friend to foe” vis-à-vis Karduniash. Though reasons for this reversal of position are unknown, and seldom discussed in the traditional history, we believe they probably had something to do with the temperament of Itti-Marduk-balatu, whose behavior not only irked the Hittite king Hattusilis III, but apparently antagonized Shamshi-Adad V as well. And in a series of four campaigns, two during the reign of Marduk-balassu-iqbi (814-813), one during the reign of Baba-aha-iddina (812) and one at the beginning of the “kingless period” in 811 BC., he devastated his southern neighbor, defeating, deporting, and likely killing the two named Babylonian kings. It is very likely that Kadashman-Enlil II died in the 813 attack, perhaps by then at most twenty years old.

10) The Shandabakku of Nippur named Amil-Marduk

In our Table 1 we listed this shandabakku as having held this office through the reigns of Kudur-Enlil (814-806) and into the reign of Shagarakti-Shurish (805-793), this following the Wikipedia author of the [Šandabakku](#) entry. As such he is the last of the named shandabakku who governed Nippur from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 9th centuries BC, the period under consideration in this paper, and is therefore last entry in our section A. But we need to qualify the Table 1 entry somewhat, since in fact this individual actually functioned first as a sheriff GÜ-EN-NA during the reign of Kudur-Enlil, and appears to have been elevated to the rank of GU-EN-NA (shandabakku) only during the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash. Hugo Radau, in his volume of *Letters to Cassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur* (1908), produces several documents referencing Amil-Marduk as sheriff, and in his comments on one of these, on page 134, he remarks:

From B.E., XIV, we furthermore learn that Amel-Marduk lived during the 5th and 8th year of Kudur-Enlil, “the beginning of the reign,” and the 8th, 9th, and 10th year of Shagarakti-Shuriash. As sheriff (GÜ-EN-NA) he had, of course, a prison (ki-li, B.E. XIV, 135:3)... he was “the Lord’s (EN-NA) strength (GÜ),” as such acting “for (or in place of) the King,” in a muh LUGAL, p. 84, note 9.

A few sentences later Radu goes on to say ...

Amel-Marduk seems to have advanced to the office of a GU.EN.NA [= shandabakku] from that of ^{amelu}SAG.LUGAL [=alternative designation of the sheriff]. In the latter position he is mentioned during the 6th and 7th year of Shagarakti-Shuriash. ...

This correction has been mentioned for only one reason. It does raise the question: Who was functioning as shandabakku during the reign of Kudur-Enlil? We have earlier suggested that during the “kingless” period which began in this king’s reign, Kudur-Enlil decided not to install the traditional “king of Babylon”, instead leaving the governance of the country to a combination of governors (of which the shandabakku would be one, even if not accorded the

distinction of a unique title) and tribal princes/kings. If so, then this new governmental structure explains the absence of a named shandabakku. We are clearly speculating, but it is curious that the reign of Kudur-Enlil is the only one for which the name of a shandabakku has yet to be discovered. We leave this matter here.

One last item of interest concerns the shandabakku Amil-Marduk. Brinkman, in his *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, pp 391-393 produces a transliteration and translation of clay tablet UM 29-16-340 in his text #24, reproduced below.

Decree which Amil-Marduk, governor of Nippur, in the presence of Ninurta-rešúšu, mayor of Nippur, PN, province prefect, and PN₂, son of Kilamdi-Ubrias, issued to Esagil-līdiš, the herald of Nippur. If Nādinu, son of Batija, should go out by the Gate of X (or) the Gate of Ninlil or any of the gates of Nippur and they should see him among the J(outside) troops, Esagil-līdiš shall not be held blameless, (but) shall be interrogated. His sealed tablet was deposited in the custody of Kiribti-Marduk, son of Ulagin [] . . .

Month of Dumuzu, third day, tenth year of Šhagarakti-Šhu[riáš]. Seal of Esagil-līdiš. (Brinkman, MSKH, 392)

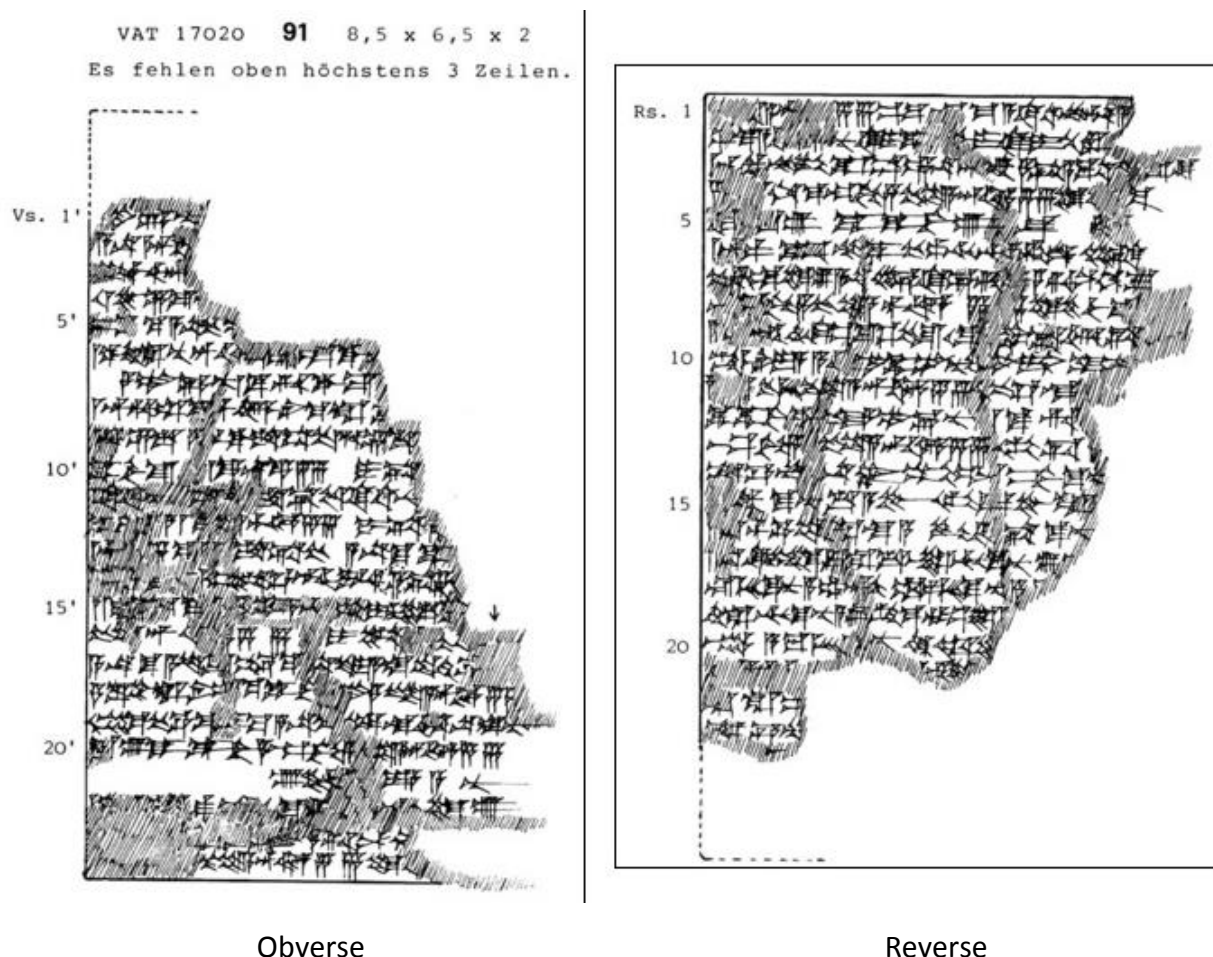
Although multiple other inscriptions name the shandabakku Amil-Marduk, most are mundane description of dealings with lower strata Babylonian workers and none furnish any datable events save this one clay tablet inscription, which is for the most part non-descript. Only one feature of this tablet is even remotely noteworthy – the fact that it makes mention of a dignitary named Ninurta-rešúšu, mayor of Nippur, whose name is identical to the šatammu (high priest?) of the E-u-gal (temple) under king Nazi-Maruttaš, discussed briefly in our initial section dealing with the shandabakku Amilatum. Since all of the relatives of the earlier Ninurta-rešúšu also held high office in Nippur it is highly likely that this mayor is a descendant member of this influential clan. This in turn reminds us of the hereditary nature of these positions of influence, and this mention of Ninurta-rešúšu reminds us also that many of this clan named their children after notable ancestors. One heretofore undiscussed instance of this phenomenon is worth mentioning in passing. In our discussion of the shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina in point #8 above we omitted mention of the fact that this shandabakku may well be the source of the name of the first of the three kings who are credited with ruling Karduniash following the kingless period that ran from 812-800 (see Figure 3). We recorded the later king's name, known only partially from a single inscription, as Ninurta-apl?-[...]. In the traditional history the Kassite shandabakku Ninurta-apla-iddina belonged to the early 12th century and could not possibly be related to the 8th century Ninurta-apl?-[...]. But in the revised history they clearly are related, functioning in their respective roles only a few decades apart. This is not a strong argument in favor of our reduction of dates, but it is well worth mentioning.

B . Three arguments from miscellaneous sources: Shutruk-nahhunte (VAT 17020), Rabâ-ša-Marduk (BM 90936), and Baba-aha-iddina (VAT 15420).

1) The Shutruk-nahhunte (Elamite) letter ([VAT 17020](#))

The Kassite kingdom ended with a whimper when the last two Kassite kings, [Zababa-shuma-iddin](#) (717) and [Enlil-Nadin-ahi](#) (716-714) succumbed to raids on Karduniash by the Elamite ruler [Shutruk-nahhunte](#) and his son Kutir-nahhunte (see Figure 3 above). We discussed the incident briefly in our 4th paper, including mention of a lengthy letter (VAT 17020 = VS 24, 91 = BE 13384), authored by Shutruk Nahhunte, addressed to the Kassite court, presumably shortly after the death of Marduk-apla-iddina (730-718), and the installation of Zababa-shuma-iddin (717) as his replacement. We reproduce below as our Figure 8 photos of the obverse and reverse of the letter. Unfortunately as yet we have failed to locate any transliteration and translation of the text, and must discuss the contents via secondary sources.

Figure 8: Obverse and Reverse of tablet VAT 170



The letter notes the fact that Shutruk-nahhunte had previously written the Kassite court, offering his services as a replacement, presumably for Marduk-apla-iddina, expressing his grievance at the lack of response to his offer, detailing his long-standing connections with Kassite royalty, and threatening retribution for the disdain with which his offer was received.

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

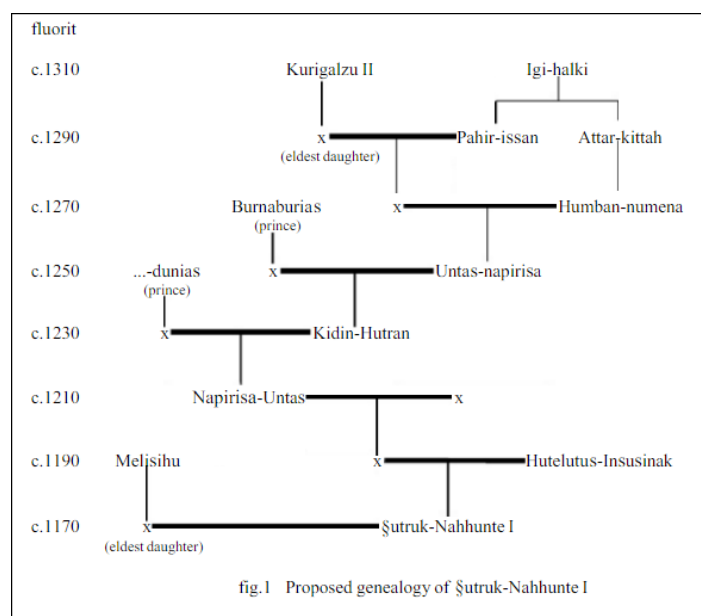
Shutruk-Nahhunte's offer was in fact legitimate. At the time of writing, approximately 717 BC, he and his immediate ancestors had been allied with the Kassites, largely through marital ties, for at least a century and a half.

We summarized these facts on page 24 in our 4th paper by quoting the comments in the [Wikipedia article on Kurigalzu I](#) regarding the Shutruk-Nahhunte letter:

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

In a recent article by Jeremy Goldberg entitled "The Berlin Letter, Middle Elamite Chronology and Sutruk-Nahhunte I's Genealogy", published in *Iranica Antiqua* 39 (2004): 33-42 and recently uploaded to the [Academia website](#), the genealogy of Shutruk-Nahhunte, as presented in the Elamite letter, is diagrammed. The flow chart is reproduced below as our Figure 9. We are in total agreement with this outline, save for the dates included, all of which need to be lowered by approximately 440 years.

**Figure 9: Genealogy of Shutruk-nahhunte
as outlined in his letter to the Kassite court (VAT 17020)**



Our interest in the Shutruk-nahhunte letter is emphasized in the italicized portion of the previous quote, which notes that the letter contains a reference to a king *Nabu-apla-iddina* (888 – 855 BC), who in the text is referenced as “*an abomination, son of a Hittite*”. In our fourth paper we did remark on the fact that this supposed “anachronism” is a strong argument in favor of our revised history, since the 9th century “dynasty of E” king by this name could not possibly be referenced in a letter authored by an Elamite king around the year 1159 BC. We did not belabor the point at the time because as yet we had not introduced the “dynasty of E” kings into our timeline. We remedy that omission here.

As the reader will note in our Figures 1 and 3, in the revised history timeline the “anachronism” disappears. The Shutruk-nahhunte letter, written around the year 718 B.C., which traces the Elamite-Kassite diplomatic marriages back in time over 150 years to the days of Kurigalzu II (894-869), easily encompasses the time of the “dynasty of E” king Nabu-apla-iddina (883-851). The slight difference in dates assigned to the latter king in this paragraph and the previous one were explained earlier in our paper #7.

Without exception every scholar who has examined the tablet VAT 17020 argues that it was written in neo-Babylonian cuneiform, though without exception it is described as a late copy of the original 12th century letter. If we are correct the tablet is not a late copy. We are dealing instead with the original letter. And of considerable interest in this regard is the fact that the Kassite court apparently did receive Shutruk-nahhunte’s original request and did issue a response to it. The response is described briefly in an article entitled “KBo 28: 61-64 and the

Struggle over the Throne of Babylon” authored by Itamar Singer. Several of the relevant pages can be viewed online [here](#). We quote below a brief section from pages 230-31 of that article:

The text VAT 17020 (= VS 24, 91) from the Berlin Museum, which was published by J. van Dijk (1986: cf. Freydank 1991a: 29, n. 9), is a late copy of a royal letter sent from Elam to the great ones of Babylon. The name of the sender is lost, but it should be either Kutir-Nahhunte (van Dijk 1986: 166) or his son (sic ?) Shutruk-Nahhunte (van de Mieroop 2004: 176 f.). The Elamite ruler claims the right of succession to the throne of Babylon as the offspring of the daughter of the Great King Kurigalzu and as the husband of the daughter of Melishihu [= Meli-Shipak]. *He cites several precedents for dynastic marriages between Elamite kings and Babylonian princesses in order to convince his correspondents that the legitimate succession to the Babylonian throne should pass through the Elamite-Babylonian union.* The Babylonian answer to this letter is preserved in one of the so-called “Kedor-laomer Texts” in the British Museum. In it the elders of Babylon reject the Elamite claim quoting a series of metaphors underlining the absurdity of such a Babylonian-Elamite coexistence, e.g.: “Can cattle and a rapacious wolf come to terms with one another?” (italics added)

Three “precedents for dynastic marriages” are cited in Shutruk-nahhunte’s letter in support of the legitimacy of his claim to the Kassite throne. These include the mention of Nabu-apla-iddina referred to above. But not only is this name an argument for the accuracy of our revised history, so also are the other two. Again we use the Itamar Singer analysis to introduce the topic.

Scholars have raised justifiable doubts about the historicity of these literary compositions (e.g. Brinkman 2004: 292), but one has to admit that the author of the “Elamite letter” had a good knowledge of the Babylonian line of succession, going back as early as Kurigalzu (I). In some details he is even more reliable than the author of Chronicle P (van Dijk 1986: 165; Lambert 2004: 201). He must have had access to historical sources and the information provided by him on three negative precedents in which the Babylonian throne was imprudently given to Non-Elamite descendants may contain a kernel of truth.

The name of the first “villain” is very damaged (I. 25), and though his description as “the one who took Babylon, but whose reign until the present day has not been acknowledged” (II 26-29) would best fit Tukulti-Ninurta, the remaining traces would seem to better fit Kash[tiliash] or some other name (van Dijk 1986: 168). The second “villain” is Adad-shuma-usur (II.30-32), who will be discussed in detail below, and the third is “Nabu-apal-iddina”, the son of a Hittite woman (DUMU KUR Hat-ti-ti), an abomination for Babylon, a Hittite (KUR Ha-at-tu-ú) whom you have chosen for the neglect (?) of Babylon and have placed on the throne of Babylon; his sin, his misdoing, his contempt and his ... you have experienced ... “ (II. 33-36; van Dijk 1986: 161 f., 168). (Singer, p. 231)

We understand the reluctance of Babylonian scholars to accept the legitimacy of both the “Elamite letter” and the “Kedor-laomer response text”. The historical allusions contained in these documents calls into question the legitimacy of the traditional history. Attempts are made to minimize the damage, but to little avail. For the most part the documents are simply ignored, or alluded to but abruptly dismissed. This is especially so in the case of the mention of the king Nabu-apla-iddina. The explanation made in the second quoted paragraph of this section of our paper, to the effect that “*the substitution of ^dAMAR.UTU by ^dAG being an unlikely slip of the stylus, making a chronological conundrum and this may be the purpose of the “letter”, to denigrate the later king through the tongue of the earlier one*” is a case in point. This suggestion amounts to a claim that an early 7th century neo-Babylonian “scribal copyist”

has emended a 12th century document in order to denigrate a 9th century king. For what possible reason, we cannot fathom. The idea is ludicrous. Let the reader decide. And Itamar Singer's reasoning is equally confusing. He simply assumes, with no justification whatever, that the name, though legitimate, does not refer to the 9th century king bearing that name, in spite of the fact that no other king by that name is known to exist, whether of Kassite or Babylonian ethnicity. Thus we read, again on page 231 of his article:

We know absolutely nothing about this alleged king of Babylon whose mother was a Hittite (princess?). But we know of course that the political alliance between Hatti and Babylon was cemented by several dynastic marriages in the 14th-13th centuries BCE. In Dur-Kurigalzu a fragment of a letter was found in which a Hittite king addresses a queen of Babylon, who could well be a relative of his. Therefore, one should not dismiss this reference out of the hand and one should at least take into consideration of the possibility of a claimant to the Babylonian throne of mixed Babylonian-Hittite blood.

In fairness to the Wikipedia author, to Itamar Singer, and to J.A. Brinkman, we note that they have no alternative but to react negatively to the Elamite letter. It absolutely calls into question the reliability of the chronology of the traditional history. Singer is at least correct in his assumption that the Dur-Kurigalzu letter fragment may refer to the Hittite princess who gave birth to Nabu-apla-iddina, son of Nabu-shuma-ukin, whose wife is now known to have been a Hittite princess, thanks to the document VAT 17020. Singer's problem is the confused chronology of the traditional history. He presumes, incorrectly, that Dur-Kurigalzu existed in the 2nd millennium BC where traditional scholars are compelled to date the Elamite letter, and are thus compelled to locate a king named Nabu-apla-iddina.

No further comment is necessary with respect to the king Nabu-apla-iddina, but we do need to comment briefly on the other two named "kings". Two of the three "villains" named and/or described by Shutruk-nahhunte are not only easily located on our Figure 1 chart, all three appear in the identical chronological order in which they are named in the Elamite letter, beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II (lines 25-29) and ending with Nabu-apla-iddina (lines 33-36). The central character, Adad-shuma-usur (lines 30-32) is not visible, but he lurks in the background, and this character warrants an entire page in Singer's article. We conclude this section with a paragraph or two of our own concerning him.

Itamar Singer, and virtually all other scholars who have examined the Elamite letter, assume that the name Adad-shuma-usur refers to the Kassite king by this name, whose reign is dated (1216-1187) in the traditional history, partially overlapping the reign of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207). The errant synchronism was caused by the mention of a prince bearing this name being proclaimed king "in the stead of his father" in the 4th column of the Chronicle P, at the end of a seven year occupation of Karduniash by an Assyrian King Tukulti-Ninurta, assumed to be Tukulti-Ninurta I by traditional scholars. Beginning with our 4th paper, and continuing in almost every paper since, we have had cause to protest this indefensible interpretation of the Chronicle P, arguing instead that the Tukulti-Ninurta mentioned there should be identified as Tukulti-Ninurta II, and the Adad-shuma-usur who took office at the end of his seven year occupation of Karduniash was an otherwise unknown Babylonian prince, not the Kassite king bearing that same name. We absolutely refuse to revisit that issue again in this

paper, save to mention the fact that we spent a good deal of time in our last paper distinguishing Adad-shuma-usur the Babylonian prince, and Adad-shuma-usur the Kassite king, whose reign we have transported 440 years into the future. That king can be found in our Figure 3 chart with dates 775-746.

The Babylonian prince Adad-shuma-usur should theoretically have appeared in our Figure 1, since he did rule briefly in the 7th and final year of the 7 year period in which ASSYRIAN GOVERNORS ruled Karduniash on behalf of Tukulti-Ninurta II. He is not named in our Figure 1 because his brief reign was apparently only a regional event and not recognized in the king-lists and synchronous histories. He was apparently superseded immediately as the “occupation” ended and Nabu-apla-iddina, the 3rd “villain” named in the Elamite letter was installed by the Kassite overlords. Shutruk-nahhunte appears to have had a good grasp of history, unerringly choosing a period when three consecutively ruling “villains” named Tukulti-Ninurta I (890-884), Adad-shuma-usur (884) and Nabu-apla-iddina (883-824) claimed sovereignty over Karduniash, each illegitimate in some respect.

The single page consumed by Itamar Singer in examining the “villain” Adad-shuma-usur is preoccupied with discussion of the king’s ancestry, this because the Elamite letter names this king’s father. We quote below the relevant lines of transliteration and translation from Singer’s paper:

(30) ^mdAdad-šuma-ušur mār ^mDu-un-na-^d[š]-ah šá aḫi (GÚ) ¹⁰Puratti^{KI} (31) šá [tal-q]a-nim-ma ina ^{GIŠ}kussī
māt Kar-an-dun-iá-àšš tu-š[e-ši]-ba (32) k[i-i² š]u²-ú mār mārī ú-qat-t[a-x]

Adad-šuma-ušur, son of Dunna-^d[š]ah, from the riverbank of the Euphrates, whom you have chosen and placed on the throne of Babylon, h[ow h]e destroy[ed] the son of the daughter!

The claim is made in the Elamite letter that Adad-shuma-usur is the son of a certain Dunna-šah, which Singer claims is a Kassite name, though the examples he cites have different orthography of the theophoric element, and that same element on the Elamite letter is clearly not totally legible. We believe the name is neither Babylonian nor Kassite and likely belongs to one of the tribal groups within Karduniash, perhaps Chaldean. In the previous paper, in the absence of any mention of the father of Adad-shuma-usur, we hypothesized that this prince, named in the 4th column of the Chronicle P, was the son of the “dynasty of E” king of Babylon Nabu-shuma-ukin I, who immediately preceded the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II and was likely deposed and killed by the Assyrian king. We are informed differently by the Elamite letter, and are now convinced that his father’s name was Dunna-[?]ah, the theophoric element yet to be determined, as is the nationality of this “usurper.” The name is equally problematic for Singer, and generally speaking, for all adherents of the traditional history, who continue to believe that this Adad-shuma-usur is the Kassite king by that name, in spite of the fact that this Kassite king is known to be the son of Kashtiliashu IV. Singer consumes most of page 232 of his article attempting to discredit the sources which identify the Kassite Adad-shuma-usur as the son of Kashtiliashu, this for obvious reasons. As it stands line 30 of the Elamite letter argues persuasively that the Adad-shuma-usur named in the 4th column of the Chronicle P is not the Kassite king bearing that name, which was the point of our discussion in our previous paper.

And if that is true, then the entire edifice of the traditional history is destroyed in an instant. The Adad-shuma-usur, son of Dunna-[?]ah, in the Elamite letter is as devastating for the traditional history as is the presence of the 9th century king Nabu-apla-iddina.

2) Rabâ-ša-Marduk (BM 90936)

This prominent public servant was a contemporary of three Kassite kings Nazi-Maruttash, Kadashman-Turgu, and Kadashman-Enlil II, the dynasty of E vassal king of Babylon Nabu-apla-iddina, and the Hittite king Hatussilis III. The connection with Nabu-apla-iddina derives from the land-grant kudurrus BM 90936 and BM 90922; the connection with the Hittites is based on assorted Hittite documents. Assuming that all of these documents relate to the same man, he is thus synchronized with four of the five timelines on our Figure 1 chart. Clearly there is need to examine his life, albeit briefly.

According to the traditional history, from around the beginning of the reign of Nazi-Maruttash (1307 BC) through to the beginning of the reign of Kadashman-Enlil II (1263 BC), thus for over forty years, one of the most prominent, influential (and controversial) public servants in Karduniash was a physician named [Rabâ-ša-Marduk](#) (written henceforth without the diacritical accents as Raba-sha-Marduk). His name is so unique that the Wikipedia article related to this individual draws attention to that fact by commenting that

Another Rabâ-ša-Marduk was governor of Isin but this was not until the reign of Nabu-apla-iddina, around four hundred years later.

The reference to the second individual named Raba-sha-Marduk is derived solely from the land grant kudurrus noted in our first paragraph, where one of the witnesses to these legal documents is named “Enlil-shuma-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin” (see col ii, lines 8, 9 on the first kudurru; lines 19 and 20 on the reverse of the second), leaving the reader a grammatical conundrum – does the title “governor of Isin” apply to the first named individual, Enlil-shuma-ibni, or the second, Raba-sha-Marduk? The Wikipedia author has clearly decided the issue for himself, and he applies the title to Raba-sha-Marduk. The majority of scholars choose the second alternative, decidedly the more typical way of interpreting such witness descriptions, though the reader may recall that in our opening pages, when we encountered a similar situation involving a witness named “Nusku/Beltu-zera-iddina, son of Nazi-Enlil, governor of Nippur” that we argued precisely the opposite, applying the title of shandabakku to the father, not the son. In this instance we surmised, based on a variety of factors, that the Raba-sha-Marduk on these two tablets was the same person as the well-known Raba-sha-Marduk, a contemporary of the 13th century kings Nazi-Maruttash through to Kadashman-Enlil II and a number of Hittite kings including Hatussilis III.

One of those “factors” is the fact that, with the mandatory 440 year reduction of dates for all Kassite kings, the beginning of the reigns of Nazi-Maruttash and Kadashman-Enlil, 1307 and 1263 BC respectively in the traditional history, reduce to 868 and 822 in the revised history, thus positioning the “medical practice” of this Raba-sha-Marduk in the time frame 868-822 B.C, overlapping the reigns of the “dynasty of E” kings Nabu-apla-iddina 883-851) and his successor Marduk-zakir-shumi (850-815). This fact alone, in combination with the uncontested fact that the two kudurru named earlier, BM 90936 and BM 90922, both originate from the reign of Nabu-aplu-iddina, is sufficient to identify the 13th and 9th century dignitaries bearing this unusual name as one and the same person. It is true that the name of this king is obscured on the first tablet – only the ending “iddina” is clearly visible – but the context is clear enough that scholars are convinced of the dating of the document. The second tablet confirms that dating, since it is also witnessed by “Enlil-shum-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin” (rev. lines 19,20), but in this instance the document is specifically dated to the twentieth year of Nabu-apla-iddina, ie. the year 864 B.C., which would be the 5th year of Nazi-Maruttash according to our revised dating of this Kassite king. The curator of the British Museum further confirms the dating of both tablets, noting that both are witnessed by “Enlil-shum-ibni, son of Raba-sha-Marduk, governor of Isin”, and although on the tablet BM 90936 the king wears a different form of headdress to that in which he is represented on BM 90922, “on both tablets he carries a staff and the arrangement of the text upon the tablets, and the close resemblance of the characters may be cited in favour of the identification.

We include below photographs of the tablets in question.

Figure 10: Land grant kudurru BM 90936 from the time of Nabu-apla-iddina witnessed by Enlil-shuma-ibni, governor of Isin, son of Raba-sha-Marduk.

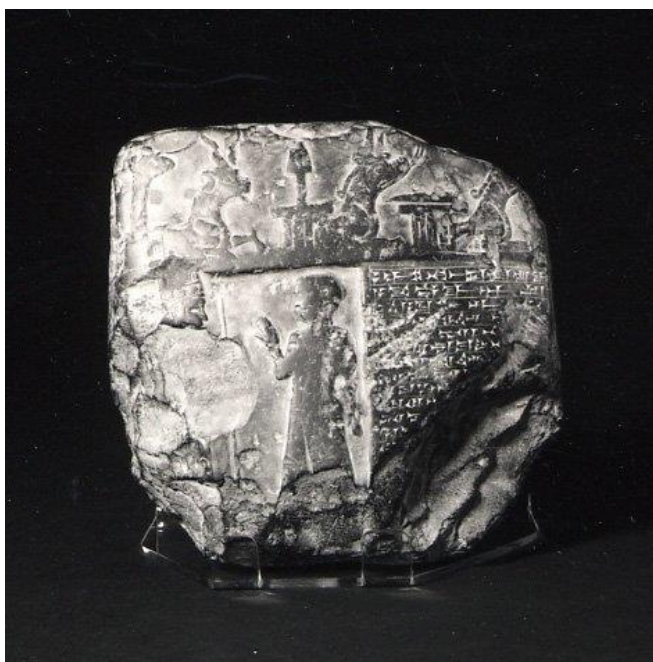


Figure 11: Land grant kudurru BM 90922 dated to the twentieth year of Nabu-apla-iddina witnessed by Enlil-shuma-ibni, governor of Isin, son of Raba-sha-Marduk.



The Hittite connection in the life of [Rabâ-ša-Marduk](#) is summarized briefly in the Wikipedia article related to him. Sometime between 857 and 836 B.C. he was sent on a mission to Hatti from which he never returned. The dates mentioned bracket the reign of the Hittite king Muwatalli (see Figure 1).

His mission to the Hittite court must have taken place during the first half of Kadašman-Turgu's reign as this was when there was an overlap with that of Muwatalli's rule. He was accompanied by an incantation priest. His host, Muwatalli, was the only Hittite king known to have not fathered a son of the first rank (i.e. his primary wife, the Tawananna) and this may have been the reason behind the importation of foreign experts.^[9] If so, the effort was in vain as Muwatalli would be succeeded by Urḫi-Teššup, the son of a concubine, who reigned briefly under the name of [Mursili III](#) before his overthrow. Nevertheless, Rabâ-ša-Marduk was enticed to stay with the provision of a fine house and a marriage to a member of the king's family. The Kassite king [Kadašman-Enlil II](#) (1263-1255 BC short chronology) would complain bitterly to [Hattušili III](#) about the failure to return loaned artisans, but Hattušili countered that the, now probably elderly, physician was free to go as he pleased.^[10]

This information is derived solely from Hittite documents. We leave it to the reader to read the Wikipedia and other online articles related to this physician, particularly the controversy surrounding his recruitment by Hittite king Mursilis during that king's prolonged illness.

3. [Baba-aha-iddina](#) (dynasty of E king) mentioned in conjunction with the Kassite king Kadashman-Turgu and the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari III in VAT 15420.

According to Albert Kirk Grayson in his [Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: From the beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I \(1972\)](#) the badly damaged tablet VAT 15420 is believed to be the remains of a treaty forged between Kadashman-Turgu, king of Karduniash (1281-1264), and Adad-nirari (I), king of Assyria (1305-1274).

This fragmentary clay tablet may represent the remains of a treaty between Adad-nirari I and the Babylonian king Kadashman-Turgu. Both royal names appear in the text, which is too fragmentary to translate. The phrase “he pardoned his son of the crime”, which seems to appear twice, is interesting. The cities Inner City, Kileshhi, and Siria, are mentioned. Someone called [...] -aha-iddina appears and one is reminded of Baba-aha-iddina, chancellor of Assyria during the latter years of Adad-nirari I. (Grayson, ARI sect 50, p. 78)

According to our revised timeline, the tablet should instead be identified as an historiographic text relating the details of some unspecified “crime” perpetrated by a son of Kadashman-Turgu against the Assyrian king Adad-nirari (IŠKUR-ERIM.TÁH). The crime was apparently pardoned/forgiven by the Assyrians (not by Kadashman-Turgu as argued by traditional scholars). It is unfortunate that only approximately one-quarter to one-third of each of the 21 lines on the obverse of the tablet is legible, making interpretation of the visible text extremely hypothetical. In our revised history Kadashman-Turgu is dated in the third quarter of the 9th century BC. and the Assyrian king named in the text must be Adad-nirari III (811-783). The incident referred to likely took place in the first year or two of Adad-nirari’s reign, thus around the year 810 BC. It should be noted that in the traditional history it is next to impossible for a son of Kadashman-Turgu to have offended the Assyrian king Adad-nirari I, who died ten years prior to the end of Kadashman-Turgu’s reign. Not so in the revised history, where an adult son of Kadashman-Turgu (842-823) would more than likely have held some official position throughout the reign Adad-nirari III (811-783).

What is most interesting in this document is the fact that, for reasons unknown, another royal figure enters the picture. His name is [ḏBa-b]u?-ŠEŠ-SUM-na, and in our revised timeline he must be identified as Baba-aha-iddina, the vassal king of Babylon, the 9th king of the “dynasty of E”, whose reign lasted less than a year (812 BC). Needless to say, if this attribution of the name is correct, this tablet, notwithstanding the damage, is one of the few documents discovered thus far that clearly synchronizes the timelines of the Kassites, the Assyrians, *and* the “vassal kings of Babylon”. In that respect it is extremely important. To enable readers of this paper to interact with the tablet inscription we reproduce below, in our Figure 12, the transliteration and translation (in German) of the tablet VAT 15420, produced by Eckart Frahm on page 128 in his [Historische und historisch-literarische Texte \(2009\)](#).

We do not know the name of the “son of Kadashman-Turgu” referenced in the inscription, though the possibility exists that the son in question was Baba-aha-iddina himself, whose ancestry is not known. If so, the dynasty of E king of Babylon was a brother of Kadashman-Enlil II, and would have been installed in office by Kudur-Enlil (813-805), his nephew.

Figure 12: Transliteration and translation of tablet VAT 15420.

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Historische und historisch-literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur

VAT 15420

| | | | |
|---------|-----|---|---|
| Seite a | 1' | [|] x 'na ⁷ x [x] |
| | 2' | [| ¹ Ka-ta-āš]-ma ⁷ -du-ur-gu |
| | 3' | [|] x qar-ru-bu |
| | 4' | [| LUGA]L ⁷ KUR Kar-du-ni-aš |
| | 5' | [| x ² -na ² -i]e ³ -e DUMU-šū i+na ⁷ hi-ti ú-zak-ki |
| | 6' | [|] x ša ^{ur} Ki-le-eš-hi |
| | 7' | [|] x-na-le-e id-dī-nu-ni |
| | 8' | [| iš ⁷]-bu-tu-šu-ni |
| | 9' | [|] 'šā ⁷ a-na ^{ur} Lib-bi-URU |
| | 10' | [| ¹ d[ŠKUR-ERI]M.TÁH LUGAL KUR ^d A-šur |
| | 11' | [|] x a-na hi-ti |
| | 12' | [| ¹ Ka-ta-āš-ma-du-ur-g]u LUGAL KUR Kar-du-ni-aš |
| | 13' | [|] x ú-še-bi-lu-šu-ni |
| | 14' | [| ¹ Ka-t]a-āš-ma-du-ur-gu |
| | 15' | [|] ¹ 'Ka-ta-āš-ma-du-ur-gu |
| | 16' | [|] x DUMU i-ze-e-er |
| | 17' | [|] ú-zak-ki |
| | 18' | [|] ša ^{ur} Si-ri-a [0?] |
| | 19' | [| ¹ dBa ² -b]u ⁷ -ŠEŠ-SUM-na [0?] |
| | 20' | [|] x lu ⁷ -ia ⁷ x [x (x)] |
| | 21' | [|] x x (x) [x x (x)] |

Rest weggebrochen

| | | | |
|---------|----|---|---|
| Seite b | 1' | [|] x x-ib |
| | 2' | [| -n]i |
| | 3' | [|] x |
| | 4' | [|] ú |
| | 5' | [|] x |
| | 6' | [| id ² -dī ⁷]-nu-šu-ni |
| | 7' | [|] x-ni |
| | 8' | [|] x-ši |
| | 9' | [|] x |

Rest weggebrochen

Übersetzung:

a 1' [.....] ... 2' [.....] Kadašman-Turgu 3' [.....] ... waren näher herangerückt / gebracht 4' [.....] König von Karduniaš (Babylonien) 5' [.....] na]iē(?), sein(en) Sohn, reinigte er von der Sünde.

6' [.....] ... der Stadt Kilešhu 7' [.....] ...naje gaben sie 8' [.....] ergriffen ihn/es 9' [.....] ... nach Libbi-āli (Assur) 10' [.....] Adad]-nārārī, der König von Assyrien, 11' [.....] ... betreffs der Sünde 12' [.....] Kadašman]-Turgu, der König von Karduniaš, 13' [.....] ... sie ihn/es bringen ließen 14' [.....] Kadašman-Turgu 15' [.....] Kadašman-Turgu 16' [.....] ... hatte den Sohn 17' [.....] reinigte.

18' [.....] der Stadt Siria[(...)] 19' [.....] Babu-aḫa-iddina [(...)] 20' [.....] ... [21' [.....] ... []

Lücke

And on that note we conclude this paper.