Paper #7 Arguments that the 10th/9th century kings of the "dynasty of E" were vassals of the Kassite kings of the 3rd Dynasty (Argument 3: Redating the Broken Obelisk)

In our previous paper we made reference to an Assyrian inscription popularly known as the "Broken Obelisk", and with nary an ounce of proof we attributed the annals contained in this document to the mid-10th century king Tiglath-pileser II (966-935). At the time we asked the reader to simply accept this attribution, albeit tentatively, largely because the extremely lengthy proof of our claim would have unnecessarily interrupted the existing train of thought. We promised at the time to furnish proof of our claim in the following paper. We are here fulfilling our promise. We begin with a few introductory remarks.

This obelisk inscription, properly interpreted, and viewed in combination with information provided in our earlier discussion of the annals of the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari II, provides compelling evidence that our interpretation of those annals is correct. And since that interpretation involved the 18th dynasty Egyptian**,** the Empire Hittite, and the Empire Mitanni timelines - thus proving that the Kassites, who are firmly linked to those timelines, are ruling Karduniash/Babylonia during the reign of Adad-nirari II - we are eager to establish a mid-10th century date for the Obelisk inscription. Besides, there are several tantalizing details within that inscription that demand a mid-10th century date and one in particular that dates the Obelisk precisely in early years of Kurigalzu I. For these reasons, and others not mentioned, we devote the whole of this monograph to re-dating the Broken Obelisk.

The inscription is not long, and can be read online in minutes. We suggest that the reader peruse this document, whether before or after reading our interpretation. Several excellent translations are available online, but since we will be referencing the book entitled *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria* [AKA] edited by E.A. Wallis Budge and L.W. King, we suggest this as one possible source (see pages 128-149 of that book). Alternatively, since we will be referencing Luckenbill's opinion of the Obelisk's authorship from page 118 of his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, Volume I [ARAB] we suggest reading the text itself on pages 119-125 of that volume. Finally, we mention the most recent translation, that provided by A. Kirk Grayson on pages 99-105 of his Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC) [Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2].

Since the Obelisk was unearthed in the British excavations in Assyria in the mid to late 19th century it has engendered intense scholarly scrutiny. The monument, of which only the upper portion remains, is inscribed on three of its four sides with five columns of text, two on the front on either side of a portrait of an unidentified Assyrian king, one on its right side, spanning the width, and two side by side on the back. The left side has been left blank. The first four columns contain the military annals of the initial years of an anonymous Assyrian king, written in the "3rd person", while the fifth and final column records miscellaneous building repairs of

what appears to be a different king, and written in the "1st person". From the time of its discovery it has been assumed by scholars that the author of the 5th column has discovered the obelisk with its nearly four columns of text, clearly unfinished, and has added a record of his own building activities, thus preserving for posterity the annals of a predecessor, probably an ancestor, and more than likely his father or grandfather. Daniel David Luckenbill, one of the most competent and influential of the early 20th century Assyrian scholars, concurred with this opinion on page 118-19 of his *Ancient Records*, save in one point. He believed that the author of the 5th column was Adad-Nirari II while the unknown ancestor was likely the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser I, an extremely remote ancestor. Luckenbill's influence caused that latter opinion to prevail in scholarly circles for at least the several decades following his 1926 publication. His identification of Adad-Nirari II as the author of the 5th column text did not received the same endorsement by fellow scholars of the early 20th century, though Luckenbill himself considered the identification as "almost certain".

Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st speculation has continued among Assyriologists and Babylonian scholars alike as to the identity of the 5th column author and his mysterious ancestor. Brinkman, in his 1968 publication *The Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* [PKB] has devoted his appendix B on pages 383-86, to a discussion of this document. The Appendix, entitled "*The Internal Chronology of the Broken Obelisk*", begins with the following paragraph:

> To historians concerned with the later years of the Second Dynasty of Isin (1155-1025), the Broken Obelisk has been and will remain a problematic and tantalizing document. Over the years much ink has been spilled in efforts to date this important text, which does not preserve the name of its royal author. The various monarchs proposed have ranged from Shalmaneser I (1274-1245) to Adad-nirari II (911-891). In recent years, the most generally accepted view has been that the inscription was the work of Ashur-bel-kala (1075-1057). (Brinkman PKB 383) *(the dates cited have been added to the quoted text by the author of this paper to assist readers with little background in Assyrian or Babylonian history)*

The Second Dynasty of Isin cited by Brinkman is simply an alternative name for what we have been referencing as the 4th dynasty of the "kings of Babylon", i.e. those kings who, according to the traditional history, initially replaced the Kassites as rulers of Babylonia, this in the approximate year 1155 B.C.. Brinkman assumes that knowledge of the Broken Obelisk *could possibly* inform historians regarding the "Second Dynasty of Isin" (1155-1025) because Ashur-bel-kala (1075-1057) was a contemporary of several kings of that dynasty, and more so because, as scholarship evolved in the first half of the 20th century, scholars came to the near unanimous opinion that the first four columns contained a *summary* of "the annals and hunting exploits of Tiglath-Pileser I", a slight variation of the opinion popularized by Luckenbill as noted above. And the lengthy reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) overlapped a significant portion of the Isin dynasty.

Having thus explained several details of the quote by Brinkman, we follow him as he continues in his Appendix to provide five reasons why the assumed authorship by Ashur-bel-kala *may be correct*, though we should point out that the language used by Brinkman suggests that this extremely careful scholar is not entirely convinced. We also need to mention that Brinkman is referring to the view espoused by scholars in the second half of the 20th century, one which is currently supported by the majority of scholars worldwide, wherein all five columns of the annals attest to the activity of one king, in this case Ashur-bel-kala. If we are to argue our thesis that the first four columns were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, then clearly we must begin by discrediting the attribution of any part of the document to Ashur-bel-kala. We proceed accordingly.

The initial argument by Brinkman, undoubtedly the strongest, is based on an assumed identity between an eponym which dates one of the invasions in the lengthy "ancestral" portion of the Obelisk (column 3, line 3), and an eponym supposedly found in a text belonging to Ashur-bel-kala, a text which actually names him as the author. The other four reasons will be dealt with when we begin to produce argument in favor of our identification. All four of those reasons will be duplicated, word for word, and used as the basis for four arguments in favor of *our* thesis.

Thus we begin our analysis of the Broken Obelisk with a criticism of the single extremely fragile reason cited in support of the Ashur-bel-kala authorship. Assuming we are successful, and nothing remains to justify Brinkman's (qualified) support of that viewpoint, we are free to supply more corroborative proof in defense of our claim for authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II.

Arguments that Ashur-bel-kala DID NOT author the Broken Obelisk

Argument 1.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number one reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below.

> The limmu of Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs both in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala and in the Broken Obelisk; (note 2150 added)

In the footnote 2150 affixed to the stated reason Brinkman adds the references:

> AfO VI (1930-31) 86, Teil IV; AKA 133 iii 3. See also Jaritz, JSS IV (1959) 213. Stamm (Namengebung, p. 228 and Borger (EAK I 5 n.2) present arguments for reading the limmu name as Ashur-rim-nisheshu

And at the bottom of the same page he makes the statement:

> Weidner, Jaritz, and Borger have been the chief spokesmen for dating the Broken Obelisk to the time of Ashur-bel-kala.

Before we even begin our counterargument directed specifically at the dual Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu eponym references we need to note that even *if* absolutely correct, Brinkman's stated reason merely allows for the *possibility*, not the probability, that the presence of two identical limmu names in two different inscriptions implies that both documents were authored by the same king. Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu (or Ashur-rim-nisheshu) is not an uncommon name. It was borne by one of the last kings of the Old Assyrian Period, Ashur-rim-nisheshu (1397-1391), the third predecessor of the famous Ashuruballit I and possibly his great-grandfather. It is perfectly conceivable that an individual bearing this name, but serving in the reign of some king other than Ashur-bel-kala, would be selected as a limmu official. And the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II would appear at the top of the list of possible candidates. But in this monograph we do not need to rely on this "insurance clause", this for a very simple reason. **It is simply not true that "the limmu of Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs both in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala and on the Broken Obelisk".** Brinkman ought to have stated that "The name Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu occurs as a limmu name in the Broken Obelisk and *possibly* as a limmu name on another document, which document *may or may not* have been authored by Ashur-bel-kala". If that weakens (or absolutely negates) the argument, so be it.

We begin to defend our claim, emphasized in the previous paragraph, by actually looking at the document in question, i.e. by following up Brinkman's initial footnote reference in support of his stated reason.

Ernst F. Weidner, probably following Schroeder (OLZ XX [1917], 305), in an article entitled "*Die Annalen des Konigs Assurbelkala von Assyrien*", published in the journal *Archiv fur Orientforschung* [AfO VI (1930-31) Teil IV] has collated two tablet inscriptions into one text, thus creating a composite document which begins by naming the king Ashur-bel-kala and ends with an (assumed) eponym name, Ashur-rim-nisheshu. On the basis of this amalgam/composite text it is claimed that the identical cuneiform name, clearly identified as a limmu name and found in column III line 3 on the Broken Obelisk, identifies the annals found on the Obelisk as belonging to Ashur-bel-kala. This opinion, largely based on the stature of the three mid-20th century German scholars who espoused it (Borger, Jarita and WeidnerJ) has been almost universally accepted by the academic community. But the opinion is not supported by the facts. Reasons follow. But first a description of the two tablets used to fabricate the composite text.

One tablet, Assur 18265 = VAT 11240, is very small and has multiple lacunae (*grossere Lucke*). Only seven severely damaged lines remain and these were translated five years prior by Luckenbill in section 341 of his *Ancient Records*.

> Assur-bel-kala ….. the king without rival ….. viceroy, lord of lands …… whom Assur, Enlil ….. the ruler of the land of Assyria ….. the lands …… [who shatters] …..

Lacunae both precede and follow the remains of every line on this tablet, leaving only stock phrases which occur on dozens of cuneiform documents, since the text that is visible suggests

that this inscription is from the lauditory introductory section of some larger inscription, probably, but not certainly, annals.

The reverse of this first tablet is not inscribed, either that or the damaged surface precludes reading any text. Since no photographs are provided in the article we are left to guess. Not so on the second tablet, Assur 16308k, which has 14 lines on the obverse (see the line drawing of tablet Assur 16308k, Vs provided on page 89 in the article and duplicated in Figure 1 below) and a single line on the reverse (see Assur 16308k, Rs in Figure 1). The name of Ashur-bel-kala appears nowhere on this tablet, and the single line on the reverse actually consists of a single name – translated by Weidner as Ashur-rim-nisheshu. Thus we have the name of the king Ashur-bel-kala on one tablet and the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu on the other. And this of course raises the question whether or not the two tablets record parts of a single text. It is important to emphasize here that the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu on the reverse of the larger tablet is not preceded by the usual signs indicating that it is an eponym. The name stands alone. According to Weidner the balance of the reverse of the tablet is uninscribed (rest unbeschrieben). Thus in his transliteration and translation of the tablet, on pages 86-87 of the article, Weidner has recorded the following:

> [arah … umu …KAM li-m]u Id a-shu[r]-rim-nishe-MESH-shu
> [Monat …, Tag … Epony]m Assu[r]-rim-nishe-shu

And A. Kirk Grayson, in his treatment of the same composite text, on pages 95-96 of his *Assyrian Records*, provides his own reading of the name:

> [ITI … UD x.KAM limu] md a-shur-ADA-UN.MESH-su
> [Month of … … th day, eponymy of] Assur-rem-nisheshu

Clearly both of these extremely competent scholars believe the name must be a limmu and both supply the requisite introductory cuneiform signs, not actually visible on the tablet. It is not clear whether Weidner and Grayson are suggesting that the signs were originally present and have been elided or whether they were never inscribed, though Weidner's own statement (*rest unbeschrieben*) might imply the latter, save for the fact that his transliteration and translation suggest that he *thinks* he sees the partial remains of the end of the limmu sign, which Grayson apparently cannot see.

We mentioned above that there did exist an Assyrian king by this name, who reigned 1397-1391, thus about three hundred years before Ashur-bel-kala (ca 1074-1056). This king's name on at least one tablet has already resulted in it being tentatively assigned to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala, in spite of the absence of the signs which identify the name as an eponym. In this instance the mistake was corrected by Grayson:

> Rollig further suggested that another fragmentary inscription on a clay cone (A 3562, Assur 13243) published by Donbaz and Grayson (RICCA no. 251) might belong to Ashur-bel-kala's reign because Ashur-rem-nisheshu, whose name appears in the fragment, was an eponym of his reign. However, I doubt this

> since the name is not immediately preceded by a *limu* but by *sha*, indicating that the king Ashur-rem-nisheshu is being cited as a previous builder. (Assyrian Rulers = RIMA 2, p. 110)

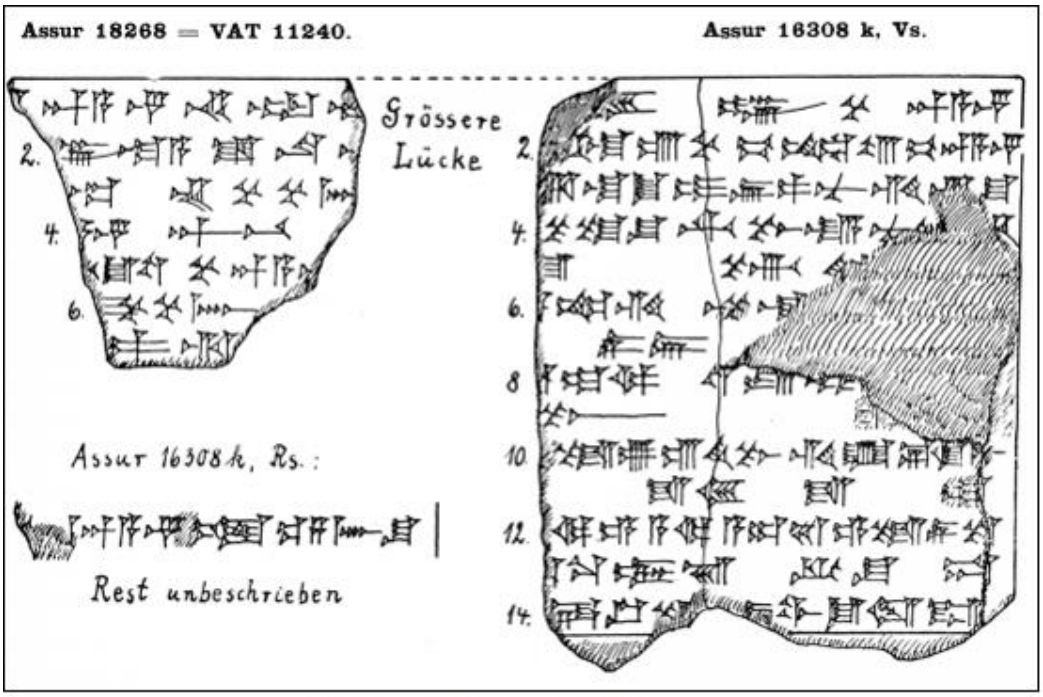
We cannot be blamed for assuming that once again a tablet containing this king's name is being wrongly assigned to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala, this time by Grayson himself. The Wikipedia article referencing the name Ashur-rim-nisheshu will reveal a line drawing of a memorial cone authored by this earlier king. The tablet is written in Old Assyrian cuneiform and on the first line we read the king's name, spelled out phonetically using nine cuneiform signs m d ash-shur-ri-im-ni-she-shu. Apparently this is the orthography used by that king in recording his original documents. Here we are dealing with a Neo-Assyrian copy of an inscription where a scribe or wanna-be scribe (i.e. schoolboy) has used more current orthography to record the name, this assuming, of course, that our document, Assur 16308k, was copied from a tablet or monument otherwise known to be authored by this earlier king. Assuming that the king's name was revealed elsewhere on that monument (or tablet), but not in the inscription, the scribe has simply added it to the reverse of Assur 16308k to identify the author. We can think of no other reason for the inclusion of this name in this position.

As stated, we suspect that the tablet 16308k belongs to that earlier king, but regardless, even if the single name on the reverse is an eponym, we do not have in this situation a clearly defined limmu name on a document with a clearly articulated king's name. The two names occur on two separate tablets which may, or may not, contain distinct parts of a single text. There is no visible physical evidence that suggests that the two tablet fragments were once joined together, nor anything distinctive in the language employed on the two tablets that strongly suggests they should be merged into one document. At minimum we argue that there is nothing in the fabricated composite text that could possibly justify the conclusions that have been drawn from it. And if we understand Brinkman's language correctly, he is not totally convinced either. There is not a single line of text in the composite document that does not supply lengthy connecting phrases in order to make a coherent intelligible inscription. Let the reader decide. To assist the analysis we reproduce below the composite document as translated by A. Kirk Grayson on pages 95-96 of his *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium* BC I (1114-859 BC. For Grayson the composite text is his number A.0.89.4.

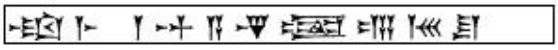
> 1-14 Assur-bel-kal[a, great king, king of the] universe, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, [king of all the four quarters], provider for Ekur, select of the god Assur, appointee of the Lord of the Lands, [who] acts [*with the support of the god Assur*] in laying low his enemies, [whose] deeds the gods Assur (and) Enlil […], the unconquerable attacker, [*the one to whom was entrusted*] dominion of Assyria, the one who disintegrates [all *enemy*] lands [with the fire of] Girru (fire god), controller [of the insubmissive], the one who breaks up [the forces of the rebellious], the one who defeats [his enemies, …] throws down, is changed [the one who … *in battle*] has overwhelmed all princes, [… the one who …] has conquered the [lands] of all [*people* from Babylon of the land Adda]d to the Upper Sea [of the land Amurru and the sea of the lands Nair]I [the one who …] … has become lord of all; Lacuna
> Reverse
> Lacuna
> Rev. 1') [Month of …, …th day, eponymy of] Assur-rem-nisheshu.

To further assist the reader we reproduce below in Figure 1 Weidner's line drawings of the obverse of tablet Assur 18268 and the obverse and reverse of tablet Assur 16308k. We have added at the bottom of the diagram the cuneiform text of the limmu name from the Broken Obelisk (with the added two cuneiform signs identifying it as such) and the assumed limmu name from the reverse of Assur 16308k. Several explanatory comments follow the Figure.

Figure 1: Line Drawing of the Cuneiform text of Tablets Assur 18268 and Assur 16308k (Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89) and of the eponym Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu in Column III, line 3 of the Broken Obelisk courtesy of E.A. Wallis Budge, AKA, p.133



Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89



Budge, AKA, p. 133

Broken Obelisk, col. III, line 3

Assur 16308 k, Rs.:

Rest unbeschrieben

Weidner, AfO VI (1930-31) p. 89

We draw the reader's attention to several features of these two tablets:

1) The name in question is translated "Ashur-ra'im-nisheshu" by Budge/King in their Obelisk translation, and "Ashur-rim-nisheshu by Weidner (and Grayson elsewhere) when interpreting the tablet Assur 16308k, but orthographically the names are identical (see Figure 1), save for the cuneiform sign next to last in the writing of the name. Both of these latter signs are simply variant writings of the cuneiform sign MESH - a post-positive determinant indicating that a plural translation is to be assigned to the prior sign. All three scholars transliterate the sign in question as MESH.

It follows that it really doesn't matter how the names are translated. The cuneiform writing of the names are the same regardless.

2) Unfortunately we have no idea where on the reverse of the larger tablet the single name occurs, and we are compelled to accept Weidner's appraisal of both documents. No readily accessible photographs exist.

3) What we have before us in these two tablets, once they are combined into a single document, is clearly the salutary introduction to what appear to be annals of unknown length. Unfortunately the annals which would have followed the composite text are missing, possibly beginning in the lacunae which follow the existing text on the obverse of both tablets, and more than likely continued on accompanying tablets. Assuming that to be the case we are intrigued by the absence of any inscription on the back of both documents, undoubtedly the feature that prompted the German scholar to associate the two documents initially. Inscriptions that begin with this type of introduction will normally continue on through the reverse of the tablet and require multiple additional tablets to complete. Why are the backs of these tablets blank? And even more unusual is the presence of the single name on the reverse of tablet Assur 16308k. What is the purpose of this name in this location? The name Ashur-rim-nisheshu is arguably not a limmu name, unless one assumes that *totally by chance only the necessary identifying cuneiform signs preceding it have been elided*. And even if it were a limmu name, what on earth is its purpose here?

We leave it to the reader to ponder the issue. Tablets written on one side only are not common. We are of the opinion, mentioned above, that both tablets are probably the work of schoolboys, honing their skills. While we don't know what is being copied, it is clear that both tablets are late copies of a portion of some inscription. It is definitely not clear that the inscriptions being copied are one and the same. More than that we cannot say. And documents copied on clay tablets are notorious for substituting or even inserting names not present in the original inscription, even when the copying is the work of qualified scribes. Witness our paper #3 analysis of the Synchronistic History tablets, well deserving of their reputation for errantly copying and even deliberately substituting names in the duplicating process.

Argument 2.

We need to add one comment to our previous analysis of the composite document created by Ernst Weidner. In particular we want to question once again the supposed limmu name on the reverse of the larger tablet, whose purpose we failed to identify in the previous discussion. Because this argument is a stand-alone item, we treat it separately, and we begin by returning to Brinkman's Appendix chapter entitled "Internal Chronology of the Broken Obelisk" (PKB 385). In that chapter Brinkman points out that the Broken Obelisk contains only three limmu names, "li-me Assur-[…]", "li-me Assur-ra'im-nisheshu" and "li-me Ilu-iddina", which serve to divide the content of the annals into four sections, each spanning a single year, or at least a portion thereof. And Brinkman is firmly convinced that the campaigns named in the second and third columns are listed in chronological order. The limmu name Assur-ra'im-nisheshu, in line 3 of column 3, serves to introduce the multiple campaigns of the third year of the king. We contrast this situation with the name of the assumed identical limmu official named on the reverse of the larger tablet examined by Ernst Weidner. In this situation the name stands in isolation on the otherwise uninscribed reverse of a tablet whose obverse is not describing an event that needs to be dated to some specific year. Limmu names are intended to date some specific action, usually military campaigns, frequently legal texts, and rarely the time of creation of a document, usually a letter from one official to another, in which case it is placed at the end of the document. And the name is always identified with the two signs designating it as a "li-me". In the case of Assur 16308k none of these characteristics apply. Even if we accept as legitimate the composite document created by Weidner by dovetailing the two tablet inscriptions, the supposed limmu name is entirely out of place, dating absolutely nothing. Not only is it not related to the 3rd year of Ashur-bel-kala, it is located at the back of a tablet whose text would precede the first year campaigns of the king.

Argument 3.

The reign of Ashur-bel-kala began only three years after the death of his father Tiglath-Pileser I, arguably the greatest military leader in the whole of Assyrian history, whose reign ended without a single Aramean remaining on Assyrian soil, much less an entire Aramean state referred to as the "land of Arime", situated on his norther border. This, of course, assuming that we have correctly interpreted the "Chronicle of Tiglath-Pileser" in our previous paper. We know that 28 times in his final years Tiglath-Pileser had led his army southward, crossing the Euphrates in order to encounter Arameans, whom he promptly dispatched. This leads us to ask the obvious question. How is it that three years after the death of his father, Ashur-bel-kala, who inherited his father's vast army, is forced to launch upwards of a dozen campaigns against various cities in this "land of Arime", each time with limited success. That fact alone argues strongly against attributing the annals of the Broken Obelisk to this king.

Argument 4.

There are only two scenario's possible if scholars insist that Ashur-bel-kala wrote the annals of the Broken Obelisk. On the one hand, as is the case today, scholars might argue that he wrote the 5th column as well. To this suggestion we respond with two questions: 1) How likely is it that 3rd person annals and 1st person building inscriptions would be contained on a single monument, supposedly authored in its entirety by one king? and 2) If the annals were for a time left incomplete and Ashur-bel-kala had his scribes return to the document to add his building inscriptions, why did they not first complete the annals before adding the building inscriptions? Generations of extremely competent scholars have for centuries insisted that the annals were left incomplete, including Luckenbill. How is it that suddenly a new generation of scholars assumes otherwise?

On the other hand if scholars insist on stating that Ashur-bel-kala wrote the annals but left them incomplete, only to have them completed by a descendant, then we have a succession problem. The annals end after the 4th year of their author, thus around the year 1070 BC on the assumption that they are the work of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). What happened to cause the annals to cease so abruptly, and remain incompleted throughout his lengthy reign is one problem. Why were they left incomplete for 160 years is a second problem, assuming that Luckenbill is correct in arguing that the building inscriptions were added by Adad-Nirari II (911-891). All of these objections were answered in our last paper based on the premise that the Broken Obelisk annals are the work of Tiglath-Pileser II. If the reader follows our reasoning in the previous two paragraphs, he/she must consider this item as two distinct arguments against the authorship by Ashur-bel-kala, regardless of which assumption is made regarding the authorship of column 5.

Multiple other arguments against the assumed authorship by Ashur-bel-kala could be included in this section, but because they are focused more directly on proving the case for authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II than on disproving the case for authorship by Ashur-bel-kala, we include them in a separate section of this paper. But since these two kings are really the only viable candidates for the "authorship" position, because no other king following Ashur-bel-kala even remotely qualifies as the author of the Broken Obelisk, it matters little whether we disprove the authorship by Ashur-bel-kala or prove the authorship by Tiglath-Pileser II. They are two sides of a single coin.

Arguments that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II

We promised earlier that in this paper we would utilize the four remaining arguments introduced by Brinkman on page 383 of his PKB. We will do that momentarily, but we need to begin with a different argument, since it provides a foundation for future discussion.

Argument 1.

We have already alluded to the fact that Daniel Luckenbill was the first scholar to propose and defend the notion that Adad-Nirari II should be credited with authoring the 5th column of the Broken Obelisk, a proposal that he considered to be "almost certain". We would be remiss if we did not return to that proposal to demonstrate how it relates to our proposed identification of Tiglath-Pileser II as the author of the first four columns, a possibility not even considered by Luckenbill. The two proposals (i.e. columns 1-4 authored by Tiglath-Pileser II and column 5 authored by Adad-Nirari II) fit together like hand and glove, and together constitute one of the most powerful arguments in favor of both.

We begin by quoting Luckbill's stated opinion:

> The "Broken Obelisk" in the British Museum, said to have been found at Kuyunjik, has furnished material for speculation ever since its inscription became known to scholars. The long introduction records the conquests and hunting exploits of some Assyrian king, in the third person, while in the building inscription at the end, the narrative is in the first person. For the most part scholars have thought of the introduction as an account of the military and hunting exploits of Tiglath-pileser I, while the first-person narrative was assigned to some successor of this king. But with the recovery of parts of early kings' and eponym lists, as well as the annals of Adad-nirari II, it seems almost certain that the obelisk, in its final form, comes from this king's reign. At the beginning of the building section we are told of a canal dug by Assur-dan which was restored after thirty years, by the author of the inscription. Assur-dan II and his son Adad-nirari II would fit this chronological situation better than any other two Assyrian kings. Further on in the section we hear of the rebuilding of the city of Apku. Adad-nirari II in his annals (sect. 362) gives a detailed account of his restoration of the city. (Luckenbill, Ancient Records 118-19 sect. 385)

Turning to the annals of Adad-Nirari II, in the section #362 referred to by Luckenbill, we read:

> The old city of Apku, which the kings who went before me had built, had fallen to decay and was turned to a mound of ruins. That city I rebuilt. From its foundation to its top I repaired and finished it. I made it beautiful, I made it splendid, I made it greater than it had been before. My royal palace, a surpassing (structure), I built therein. (Luckenbill, Ancient Records 111, sect. 362)

If Luckenbill is correct in attributing authorship of the 5th column to Adad-nirari II, our case for crediting Tiglath-Pileser II (766-935) with the authorship of columns 1-4 is considerably strengthened, this for a variety of reasons. We mention only two at this juncture. On the one hand a father/son or grandfather/grandson relationship is more likely the reason why one king would be in possession of, much less take the time to complete, the annals of a predecessor. On the other hand a king is more likely to come into possession of a monument that was discarded fifty years earlier (963-911), as would be the case if columns 1-4 were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, than a monument abandoned almost 160 years earlier (1070-911), assuming that Ashur-bel-kala authored the annals but not the 5th column.

The fact that the reigns of the two kings Tiglath-Pileser II and Adad-nirari II were so very close together also allows us to add to Luckenbill's argument identifying Adad-nirari II as the author

of the 5th column of the Obelisk. When Luckenbill made reference to the final verses of the 5th column, and the unfinished construction found in the city of Apki, he omitted mentioning the fact that the "unfinished construction" included a reference to the palace in that city, "which Ashur-resh-ishi had built but had not finished." [see lines 34,35] Two kings by that name are well known to scholars. Ashur-resh-ishi I (1132-1115) was the father of Tiglath-Pileser I and Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967) was the father of Tiglath-Pileser II. If the king by that name at the end of the 5th column was Ashur-resh-ishi II, as we believe, then clearly the 5th column annals must have been authored by a king whose reign post-dated the year 967 B.C. Adad-nirari II fits that description admirably. Needless to say, the current generation of scholars argues that the Obelisk is referring to Ashur-resh-ishi I. Which leads us to ask: Who would be more likely to begin a palace construction and leave it unfinished - Ashur-resh-ishi I (1132-1115), whose reign lasted for 17 years, or Ashur-resh-ishi II (971-967) whose untimely death after four years would leave a good deal of construction unfinished. And which king was succeeded by descendants who, because of pressures from without, would not be in a position to complete their father's work - Ashur-resh-ishi I, who was succeeded by Tiglath-Pileser I, one of the most energetic and successful kings ever witnessed in Assyria, and whose rule lasted for close to 40 years, or Ashur-resh-ishi II, who was succeeded by Tiglath-Pileser II, whose kingdom was overrun by Arameans late in his 4th year, reducing Assyria to the status of a vassal state, which condition possibly lasted well into the reign Ashur-dan II, the father of Adad-Nirari II.

We do acknowledge that at least one palace construction *may have been* left incomplete by Ashur-resh-ishi I, but this was in Nineveh, and Tiglath-Pileser I was quick to finish the construction and boast about his accomplishment.

> [The palace] which Ashur-resh-ishi, my father, vice-regent of the god Assur, had built (but) not completed – this palace I constructed (and) completed. I raised its walls and towers and made (them) fast, with a façade of bricks glazed (the color of) obsidian, lapis lazuli, Pappardilu-stone, (and) parutu-alabaster. I installed on its towers replicas in obsidian of date palms (and) surrounded (them) with knobbed nails of bronze. I made high doors of fir, made (them fast with bronze bands, (and) hung (them) in its gateways. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers = RIMA II, pp 55-56)

When we stated above that "one palace construction *may have been* left incomplete by Ashur-resh-ishi I" we were merely addressing the fact that the first mention of a "palace" in that quote was supplied by Grayson, (using *ekallum*, the common Assyrian name for palace) whereas the cuneiform text translated as "palace" at the end of the sentence, clearly visible in the document being copied, uses the Sumerian logograms É.GAL (lit. "great house"), which is employed by scribes frequently to reference a temple as well as a palace.

We have quoted Tiglath-Pileser I in this one instance to further demonstrate the unlikelihood that this king would leave incomplete any construction begun by his father, much less a palace in the city of Apki.

Case closed. The mention of Ashur-resh-ishi II in column 5 of the Broken Obelisk argues for Adad-Nirari II as the likely source of the annals in columns 1-4, and conversely, the identification of Adad-Nirari II as the author of column 5 (following Luckenbill) argues for Adad-Nirari II as the likely author of the annals of the Broken Obelisk.

Argument 2.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number two reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below.

"the broken Obelisk was found in conjunction with another inscription of Ashur-bel-kala;"

This is actually an argument which favors Tiglath-pileser II. If we are going to form an opinion about the authorship of two documents found side by side in some remote location, based only on their proximity to one another, then we should at least add a comment or two to clarify their condition, the location where they were found, their original provenance, and the circumstances which must have prevailed at the time they were discarded. Brinkman's brief comment provides none of that. Let us first remedy this "lack of detail" problem, and then proceed to comment on this "find". We turn this time to A. Kirk Grayson who comments:

> This text is inscribed on a stone stele, commonly called the 'Broken Obelisk', which was found at Nineveh but originally must have been erected in Assur. On the front of the stele, between the first two columns of the inscription, a relief has been engraved showing the king, leading prisoners by nose rings, and various divine symbols. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 99)

And on the following page Grayson adds:

> Rassam says he found this stele (BM 118898, 56-9-9,59), which measures 65.4+ cm high and 40.6 cm square, at Nineveh in a ditch about halfway between the palaces of Senn [Sennacherib] and Asb [Ashurbanipal]. A Stone female torso, with an inscription of Assur-bel-kala (A.0.89.10), was found in the same ditch. (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 100) [The two names in square brackets have been added by the author of this paper to clarify the abbreviations]

Based on the information provided by Grayson we can argue our case that the Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, not in spite of the fact that the two objects shown in our Figure 2 were found together, but partly because of that fact. We develop our argument in point form.

1) In our last paper we argued the fact that during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II the Aramean tribe named Arime, already occupying the area between Mount Kashiari and Nisaybin, were joined by other Aramean tribes, most notably the Temanites, in expanding Aramean territory to include the land mass north of the Tur 'Abdin range as far as the Tigris basin, and southward to include Assyria, which was overrun, sacked, and pillaged. This attack took place near the end of

the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, thus 963 or 962 BC. In one of our following arguments we will fine tune that date.

2) We have previously quoted Grayson on the fact that the Obelisk, though found in a ditch in Nineveh, was likely originally set up somewhere in Assur. And the female torso may originate from Assur as well, though other scholars suggest Nineveh as its provenance. In truth it could have come from anywhere in Assyria, since on the back of the statue, after first listing his genealogy, Ashur-bel-kala adds a concluding line of text which states:

> I made these sculptures in the provinces, cities and garrisons for titillation [Grayson uses the word "enjoyment".] (quote from the Wikipedia article on the "Assyrian statue (BM 124963)"

For reference purposes we include below (Figure 2) photos of the Obelisk and the "torso".

Figure 2: Photos of the Broken Obelisk and the Ashur-bel-kala female torso .

3) Combining items 1) and 2) we argue that these two items are discarded trophies of war. We assume they were considered desirable by one of the invading Aramean commanders, and

were in the process of being removed from Assur to Nineveh to somewhere much further north, presumably on one of the chariots used by the Arameans. If we had to guess the reason why they were abandoned, we would suggest that their weight might have been a factor. Each of these monuments must have weighed hundreds of pounds. Transporting them hundreds of miles from Assur to their home city may well have posed problems that caused the looters to change their minds. Alternatively we might speculate that both objects were damaged by some accident, perhaps a wheel breaking off from the axel and tipping the chariot. The damage to the stone objects caused by the fall lessened their appeal and they were abandoned in the ditch. We are guessing, but at least we are attempting to account for their being recovered in a ditch, miles from their place of origin. If traditional historians can do a better job of hypothesizing, so be it.

The desirability factor needs no further explanation. Both objects are large and have attractive images. The Obelisk features an Assyrian king holding foreign soldiers captive on a leash. Why would a "foreign soldier" not want to possess this monument to boast of his victory over the Assyrian king. And why would a male Aramean soldier not want to own a statue of a naked female torso, particularly if this female represents the Assyrian goddess Astarte/Ishtar, as some scholars conjecture. Without doubt the Arameans could not read the inscriptions. Their focus would be on the sculptured figures.

4) Contrast this argument with the currently accepted opinion that both objects were created by Ashur-bel-kala. No scholar has ever argued that Assyria was "overrun, sacked and pillaged" during this king's reign. Thus the critic needs to explain how these items were found in a ditch miles from either Assyrian palace and almost a hundred miles from Assur, whence came the Obelisk at least. The proximity of the Obelisk to the torso says absolutely nothing about its authorship. We move on to the next argument.

Argument 3.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number three reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the Arameans in the Broken Obelisk are referred to as living in (KUR) A-re-me; in the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, they were called Kur Ahlame KUR Armaja;"

The above is clearly an argument favoring Ashur-bel-kala over Tiglath-Pileser I as the source of the column 1-4 annals on the Obelisk. The argument is moot if we are pitting Ashur-bel-kala against Tiglath-Pileser II. We have already argued in our previous paper that the multiple campaigns against "the land of Arime" on the Obelisk is an argument favoring Tiglath-Pileser II, since the only other Assyrian document which names this Arime tribe as a resident of this same land mass occurs in the annals of Adad-nirari II, written forty years later. If instead the Obelisk

is dated to the reign of Ashur-bel-kala we would be compelled to assume that this tribe occupied the identical northern Assyrian/Mitanni area for over 170 years i.e. from 1073 to 900 BC. This scenario is not just improbable, it is arguably impossible. We have already commented on the fact that Ashur-bel-kala was in possession of the powerful army of Tiglath-pileser I, as were many of his descendants. We acknowledge that their strength diminished over time, but they were certainly capable of driving the Arameans from that area of the country, assuming they were ever there. While we spend little time on this argument, it is nevertheless compelling.

Argument 4.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number four reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the many phrases borrowed from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I may reflect a desire of Ashur-bel-kala to imitate the exploits of his renowned father and also show that the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I – and perhaps even his scribes – were still ready to hand;"

This statement is clearly posed as an argument favoring authorship of the annals by Ashur-bel-kala over authorship by his father Tiglath-Pileser I, but clearly the comparison should be reversed. What better conclusion should follow from the observation that two documents use the same phraseology, and recount some of the same events, than that the two documents are the work of the same king. For decades in the 20th century, Assyrian scholars argued that very fact from this "duplication" of language and "exploits". Their conclusion was that the annals were the work of the father, not the son. How is it that the logic now goes the other way? We don't know why Brinkman would have included this observation as an argument in favor of authorship by Ashur-bel-kala. It is clearly a non-sequitur.

Having said that we can at least claim the fact that this duplication of language from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I did continue through the ages, this because those annals, being the first of a kind, acted as a template for future kings and their scribes. We could, if time permitted, produce many phrases, and cite many actions, in the annals of the Neo-Assyrian kings Adad-Nirari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, Ashurbanipal II, and Shalmanezer III, that duplicate phrases and actions in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. And there is one king who would surely be aware of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, and emulate his ancestor in any way possible, because he was named after him. We refer, of course, to Tiglath-Pileser II. When Brinkman pointed out the fact that the annals of the Broken Obelisk "may reflect a desire by […] to imitate" Tiglath-Pileser I, he was actually correct. Unfortunately he had the wrong name in the middle of that sentence.

Argument 5.

According to Brinkman (PKB, 383) the number five reason for supporting the Ashur-bel-kala authorship of the Broken Obelisk is as stated below:

"the month names employed in the text are Babylonian, in contrast to the texts of Tiglath-Pileser I, in which the changeover from Assyrian to Babylonian month names was still going on."

We begin our analysis of this statement by suggesting that it m*isrepresents the contrast between the naming of months by Tiglath-Pileser I and the naming of months by his son Ashur-bel-kala.* There is no great difficulty in describing the system employed by Tiglath-Pileser I. In the few instances where he identifies the year, the year is simply numbered. As for month name he has an even simpler system, i.e. no system at all. Not a single Babylonian month name is employed, and even more remarkably, the word "month" is never even used. All of the campaigns of this king are simply recited back-to-back, presumably, but not certainly, in chronological order. By contrast, in the Obelisk absolutely every campaign of the author is introduced, whether directly or indirectly, by the Babylonian month name in which that campaign took place. More specifically, in the Obelisk there are fourteen occurrences of a Babylonian month name and two instances where the month is introduced (ina ITI = "in the month") but the month name is illegible. Almost every one of the twelve Babylonian month names occurs somewhere. We are clearly dealing here with a fully developed system, where every year is referenced by an Assyrian eponym, and every month is named using the Babylonian system. This practice cannot possibly have evolved in the three years between the death of Tiglath-Pileser I (1076) and the beginning of the reign of Ashur-bel-kala (1073). Brinkman states that in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I "the changeover from Assyrian to Babylonian month names was still going on", but we say that the changeover has yet to begin, not only for Babylonian month names, but also for the application of the eponym system. We invite the reader to peruse the lengthy annals from Tiglath-Pileser I's first five years, looking to see what system was employed therein and contrast that with the fully developed system in the Broken Obelisk.

This argument may be brief, but it is extremely persuasive. And it becomes even more so if the reader should read the other inscriptions purported to belong to Assur-bel-kala. A. Kirk Grayson, in his *Assyrian Rulers* [pp. 86-112], has compiled a list of over a dozen texts, some mere fragments, others collated from multiple fragments, and in one instance a clay cone. Included of course is the collated text from our argument 1 (A.0.89.4), the inscription from the back of the female torso discussed earlier (A.0.89.10) and of course, the Broken Obelisk (A.0.89.7) What is unique in this list of documents is the fact that, with the exception of the Broken Obelisk and one other document (A.0.89.8), none of these inscriptions employs Babylonian month names, and with the exception of our argument 1 inscription and one other document (again A.0.89.8) no other inscription ever employs an eponym name. And since we

have already argued that the supposed eponym in A.0.89.4 does not belong to Ashur-bel-kala and the eponyms and Babylonian names on the document A.0.89.7 (= the Broken Obelisk) do not belong to Ashur-bel=kala, we are left with only one document (A.0.89.8) which distinguishes itself from the documents authored by Tiglath-Pileser 1.

And would the reader be surprised to learn that according to Grayson this inscription has been collated, though the only source referenced is BM 122628, inaccessible to this author at this time. As with our argument 1 the name of Ashur-bel-kala is present at the beginning of the collated text, and the critical section, in this case containing the month name and the introduction of the limmu name, is located at the end. We include Grayson's transliteration and translation of the latter:

> […] ITI.KIN UD 5.KÁM l[imu …]
> […] Month of Elul, fifth day, eponymy [of …]

Needless to say we believe that the date line at the end and the king's genealogy at the beginning were not originally included in the same inscription, and that fact should be demonstrable if and when we can access BM 122629. In the meanwhile we simply mention this one incongruity. The mention of the "eponymy of …" in the document A.0.89.8 is not only unique in these published annals, it stands in sharp contrast with the rest of the documents clearly attributable to Ashur-bel-kala. These consistently employ the numbering system for years used by Tiglath-Pileser 1. Several of the documents mention the accession year and first year of Ashur-bel-kala, and document A.0.89.2 actually mentions that king's accession year as well as his first, second and fourth years. With the exception of A.0.89.8, the authenticity of which we question, it appears that the dating methodology employed by the scribes of Ashur-bel-kala is precisely the same as that used by his father. Not only has little progress been made toward a Babylonian system of dating months, we believe that absolutely *no progress* has been made. And that, in and of itself, is sufficient argument to prove that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were not authored by Ashur-bel-kala.

Assuming that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), whose reign began 110 years after the death of Tiglath-Pileser I (1076), all problems disappear. We can argue, *a fortiori*, that Tiglath-Pileser II is a much better candidate for authorship of the annals than was Ashur-bal-kala, *because* the further we are removed from the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, the more likely it would be for the Babylonian system to be introduced to Assyrian scribes and become commonplace.

We leave the argument there.

Argument 6.

On pages 36-37 of our previous paper we discussed the fact that Adad-Nirari II, on his 1st campaign against Hanigalbat, fought against the Temanite Aramean king Nur-Adad near his home city Pa'zi at the foot of Mount Kashiari [Grayson records the name as Pauza (Assyrian Rulers 149, lines 40,41]. We commented at the time that this city is almost certainly the same city mentioned in the Broken Obelisk, 3rd column, line 8 where we read that

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

Clearly in both instances the city of Pausa/Pauza was an Aramean stronghold, and very likely, as in the annals of Adad-nirari II, the capital of a swath of Aramean land running from Mount Kashiari south and east toward the eastern tributaries of the Khabur River.

At the time this correspondence of names raised the issue of the authorship of the annals of the Broken Obelisk. We promised to raise the issue again in our next paper as but one reason favoring Tiglath-Pileser II over Ashur-bel-kala as the king whose annals fill columns 1-4 of the Obelisk. We are here keeping our promise.

This reference to Pausa at the foot of Mount Kashiari is dated to the year 901 BC in Adad-Nirari's annals, leading us to inquire - Is it more reasonable to assume that the Obelisk inscription naming the same Aramean held city was authored roughly 60 years earlier, during the initial years of Tiglath-pileser II (966-935) or over 170 years earlier, during the initial years of Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056). In the case of Tiglath-pileser II, we can at least argue that the Arameans arrived en masse and occupied that city during the initial years of the reign of Ashur-rabi II, approximately 40 years earlier, time for it to develop into a major Aramean stronghold. In the case of Ashur-bel-kala the Arameans occupying the Mount Kashiari region would have arrived a mere six or seven years earlier, during the hypothetical Aramean raid on Assyria attested by a badly damaged chronicle. Let the reader decide.

We do not wish to change a single word in that earlier argument. It stands as is, and its force cannot be denied.

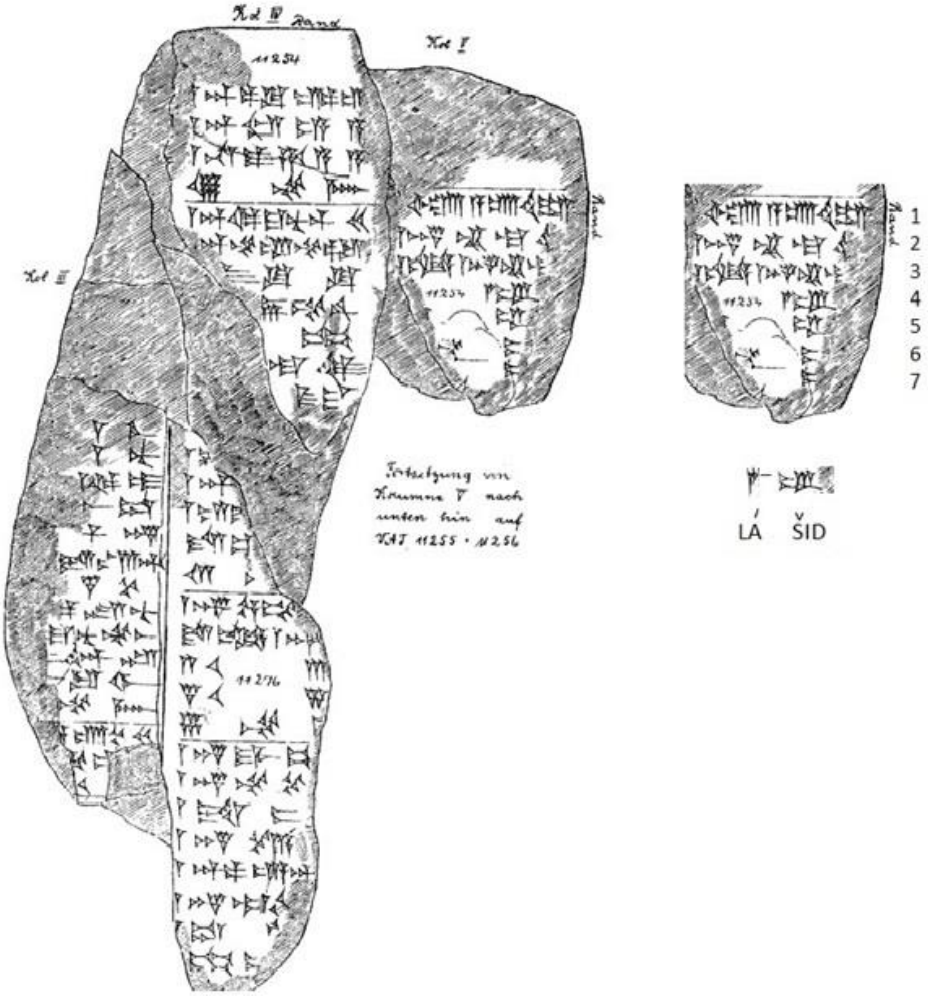
Argument 7.

While we have stated previously that inscriptions of any kind are almost completely lacking in the lengthy reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, there is one significant exception. There does exist a large tablet, highly fragmented, which itemizes the eponyms of many Assyrian kings prior to Adad-Nirari II. By no means are all eponym years represented in the various fragments, though places where the eponyms were intended to be recorded are present, enabling scholars to

determine the reign lengths of the kings represented. Fortunately, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II is represented, and entries for over half of his 32 official years are present. His first seven years appear on one tablet fragment (see the line drawing of tablet KAV 21 in Figure 3 below), the others are located on another fragment. Unfortunately only the first two of the first seven years have an actual eponym inserted, but some information is preserved for the other five years. These entries, somewhat vague in meaning, are nevertheless extremely informative.

While many of the entries on the tablet fragments elsewhere are damaged, we are fortunate that on the eponym tablet KAV 21 (= VAT 11254) the entries for years 1-7 of Tiglath-Pileser II are clearly visible, a fact which allows us to compare (and contrast) with the eponyms from years 1-4 on the Broken Obelisk. We summarize this comparison in Table 1 on the following page. Needless to say, we are encouraged by the results.

Figure 3: Eponym entries on tablet KAV 21 (= VAT 11254)
for the first seven years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.



In our Figure 3 we have duplicated the relevant portion of the tablet, a section already broken off a larger piece and rejoined. In the duplicated portion we have numbered the lines representing years 1-7 of Tiglath-Pileser II (=Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II)). The entry on line 4 actually resembles a single sign, because either the scribe in the original tablet or the author of the line drawing, has merged two signs into one. We have separated them in the space below the duplicated section.

Table 1: Comparison of the eponyms on tablet fragment KAV 21 and the eponyms on the Broken Obelisk.

Eponym Year	Eponym Name on Broken Obelisk	Eponym Name on KAV 21
1st	[Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II)]	Tukulti-apil-Esh[arra] (II)
2nd	Ashur – [. . .]	Ashur-bali-lamu
3rd	Ashur-rim-nisheshu	*ša arki* Ashur-bali-lamu
4th	Ilu-iddinu	LÁ ŠID
5th		ŠID
6th		ŠID
7th		ŠID

We spend little time here discussing the first two eponyms. They are precisely what we would expect assuming that the Broken Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II. Assyrian kings typically assumed the role of limmu in either their first or second years, and here Tiglath-Pileser has chosen the first year. Unfortunately the name on the Obelisk would have been positioned in the heavily damaged first column and is no longer visible. The second limmu on the Obelisk is also damaged, but at least the beginning of the name is present in column two. Lest the reader make light of the presence of this partial name, we point out that on average only 10% of limmu names begin with the name of the Assyrian god. We actually reviewed the names on one exhaustive list of eponym names from the Neo-Assyrian period and found that precisely 26 of the 260 eponyms listed began with that name. There is clearly evidentiary value in the fact that the second limu on KAV 21 begins with the name Assur. From the point of view of the revised history it would have been disconcerting, to say the least, had the eponym in the second year not begun with that name.

Regrettably the third year eponym must have been in a damaged section of the tablet copied by the present scribe, since he includes only the phrase " *ša arki* Ashur-bali-lamu". For an explanation of that phrase, written in lieu of the actual eponym for the 3rd year, we turn to a section of Alan Millard's book *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire (1994),* duplicated in an online article here.

> Selecting the eponym long in advance of the start of his year avoided the problem the year name system created in Babylonia where the new year might have begun before its name was announced. In such a

> situation the scribes were forced to write 'year after' the name of the previous year. If an Assyrian scribe did not know the name of the current eponym, he would use a similar formula, 'in the eponymate following' (*ša arki*) the previous one. … Something similar is listed for Tiglath-pileser II (c. 966-935 BC), where one eponym followed him, then a *sha arki*, and others occur later in his reign. (Millard, Eponyms 67)

We turn elsewhere for an explanation as to why the scribe might not know the name of the limmu official for a specific year. The Wikipedia article for Shalmaneser II provides that explanation. According to that article the term ša arki "indicates that the limmu 'which is after' (the previous name)" suggests either that the original from which this list was copied was defective in this place or the gap in the office coincides with a period of turbulence. Since we know from the Obelisk inscription that the limmu official for the third year was named Ashur-rim-nisheshu, we must assume that the original document was damaged in this location. Regrettably.

As for the 4th year eponym LÁ ŠID we follow the sign list in Rene Labat's *Manuel D'Epigraphie Akkadienne* 5th edition (1976) where on p. 213 (sign #481) and p. 143 (sign #314) we find possible meanings of the logograms LÁ and ŠID respectively. According to Labat the logogram LÁ is best represented by the Assyrian word "kamû", which functions either as a verb meaning "faire prisonnier" or "enchaîner" or as a noun "captif". Labat associates the logogram ŠID with either the Assyrian verb "manû" = "compter" or "reciter", or with the noun "minûtu" meaning "compte" or "recitation". These suggestions need to be explained.

One thing is clear from the inclusion of the logogram LÁ. Ilu-iddinu, the eponym official for this 4th year, has been taken captive and is unable to perform the duties required of a *limmu*. His name has thus been deleted from the list. The document KAV 21 was clearly copied late in that 4th year since earlier in the year the Obelisk recorded several campaigns dated to the eponym year Ilu-iddinu. We don't know precisely how to normalize and translate "kamû", since the logogram LÁ is not clearly part of a sentence and thus the context is weakly described. But we hazard a guess that it means "he is taken captive", a reference to Ilu-iddinu, since the third line is intended to contain a limmu name. Another guess would be "captivity", though multiple other possibities exist.

ŠID is even more difficult to interpret, and especially so since it is the sole occupant of the 5th, 6th, and 7th year positions, and on another tablet the 8th, 9th and 10th years as well. We continue to support the basic meanings of the logogram advocated by Labat. The question is how to normalize into Assyrian and translate into English a verb whose basic meaning is "to count" and "to recite". Thus we need to know precisely what needs to be counted and what needs to be recited?

As one scholar has remarked in reference to Sumerian logograms:

> "*The correct Akkadian reading of logograms cannot always be ascertained, even if the basic meaning of the logogram is well known.*" (see footnote 41 on page 25 here)

For help we turn to an online article written by John Alan Halloran entitled "Tally Sticks, Counting Boards, and Sumerian Proto-Writing. This Sumerian scholar, commenting on the basic meaning of the logogram ŠID, has related it to a sheepherder "counting" his sheep at the end of day, perhaps actually laying down "tally sticks" to aid the numbering process, or "reciting" (ie. counting out loud) the number of animals as they pass. He quotes an ancient Sumerian text entitled "The Debate between Sheep and Grain" which has the following inclusion:

> "Every night your ***count*** is made and your tally-stick put into the ground, so your herdsman can tell people how many ewes there are and how many young lambs, and how many goats and how many young kids." (ETCSL 5.3.2, lines 130-133) (emphasis added)

He concludes with the statement that "taking this passage into account, together with other lexiclal evidence" his Sumerian Lexicon defines ŠID variously as "to count; to consider; to calculate, figure out; to memorize; to recite; to read aloud."

Taking the above statements into account we suggest that the 4th year eponym space has been taken over to announce the captivity of Ilu-iddinu, and thus his removal from office. Limmus are known to have had official duties, which Ilu-iddinu is no longer in a position to complete. He is not only removed from Assyria; he is removed from office. In effect the captivity of Assyria has placed the office of "limmu" in limbo until such time as the "captivity" has ended. If this opinion is correct, we can determine from tablet fragment KAV 21, and the other fragment not analyzed in this paper, that the captivity of Assyria lasted for approximately six or seven years.

As for the logogram ŠID we suggest normalizing it as an imperative, and translate accordingly as "count!". And what is being counted? In context that can only be the years of the Assyrian captivity = the years during which Assyria had no limmu official. LÁ.ŠID according to this theory should read "He is taken captive. Count!", the latter a directive for Assyrians to begin, and in the following years to continue, to tally the years of the captivity, like a sheepherder counts his sheep? Highly speculative, we admit. But also informative.

And why this lengthy discourse regarding the 4th year entry? We have already argued multiple times that early in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, Assyria was overrun by Arameans, and turned into a vassal state. Assuming that the Broken Obelisk is a record of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser II, and was left incomplete sometime during the late stages of the eponymy of Ilu-Iddinu, the inclusion of the logograms LÁ and ŠID in KAV 21 constitute yet another strong argument in favor of our identification of Tiglath-Pileser II as the author of the Obelisk annals.

Argument 8

Our argument here relates to a Assyrian city north of the Tur 'Abdin, on the north bank of the Tigris, named Giricano, excavated by archaeologists between the years 1999 and 2003 with the excavation reports of the epigraphic finds published in 2004 in a book authored by Karen

Radner entitled Das mittelassyrishe Tontafelarchiv von Girican/Dunnu-sa-Uzibi. We let a review of that book fill us in on the details.

This volume is devoted to the epigraphic finds from Giricano, a tell in the Upper Tigris region of south-eastern Turkey. It is the first of the final reports recording the excavations carried out at this site between 1999 and 2003 by a team from Munich University directed by Andreas Schachner. In this book Karen Radner [the Assyriologist on the excavation team] publishes an archive of fifteen cuneiform tablets that were found in a sealed pottery vessel. The texts constitute a coherent group of legal texts written within one year and can be dated to the reign of Assur-bel-kala of Assyria (1073-1056 B.C.). They deal with affairs in a specific type of Middle Assyrian agricultural establishment, which was named Dunnu-Sa-Uzibi and may be identified with the site of Giricano. These texts deal with a time and place in history that hitherto was almost completely unknown, the late second millennium in the Upper Tigris region. In her publication Karen Radner integrates the new data into the wider context of the ancient geography and the history of the region and discusses the significance of this archive for our knowledge of Assyrian legal practice and economy. These texts also provide us with welcome new information on the terminology for the production of bulghur (cracked wheat) and shed some light on a largely undocumented stage in the development of the Assyrian language. In addition to Radner's philological treatment, Andreas Schachner presents a detailed study of the archaeological context of the find and Michael Roaf describes the recovery and preservation of the fragile texts, the first unfired clay tablets to be unearthed in Turkey; his richly illustrated report will serve as a valuable field manual to other archaeologists faced with a similar task. In a concluding chapter, Radner and Schachner combine archaeological and philological data in order to trace the development of the settlement pattern in the Upper Tigris region from the Mittani period to the Neo-Assyrian period and to investigate the agricultural organisation of the area. (Antiqbook's book review)

We are particularly interested in the dates assigned to the group of fifteen unfired tablets, found in a lidded jar near the surface of the site. All but two of these tablet inscriptions describe transactions dated to the eponymy of Ilu-iddunu, which scholars everywhere have endorsed as being the same eponym mention in the Broken Obelisk. Thus the tablets are dated to the time of Ashur-bel-kala. And since the tablets were recovered just below the surface, and had yet to be fired, scholars are agreed that this site must have been invaded and destroyed around the year 1070 BC, the 4th year of that king, and almost certainly by the Arameans.

In the few trenches dug in the vicinity of the tablets, the archaeologist discerned either three or four quite shallow occupation layers, all identified as Assyrian, followed by a distinct strata sequence belonging to the Hurrians/Mitanni. Radner estimated that each Assyrian layer represents about 40 years of occupation, thus assigning a total of about 160 years for the duration of the Assyrian period. Other archaeologists on the team saw only three layers and assigned a lesser number of years to the Assyrian occupation at the site. Assuming that Radner was correct the site was initially occupied by Hurrian/Mitanni peoples, then overrun by Assyrians who dwelt at the site for ca 160 years, only to be driven from the area around 1070 BC. Apparently the merchant who authored the tablets, named Idinni son of Ilu-kidinni had advance warning of the impending disaster, and hastily buried the records of his most recent business endeavours. The Aramean invaders did not remain to occupy the site, though apparently they did occupy adjacent sites for an extensive period of time. Putting all of this

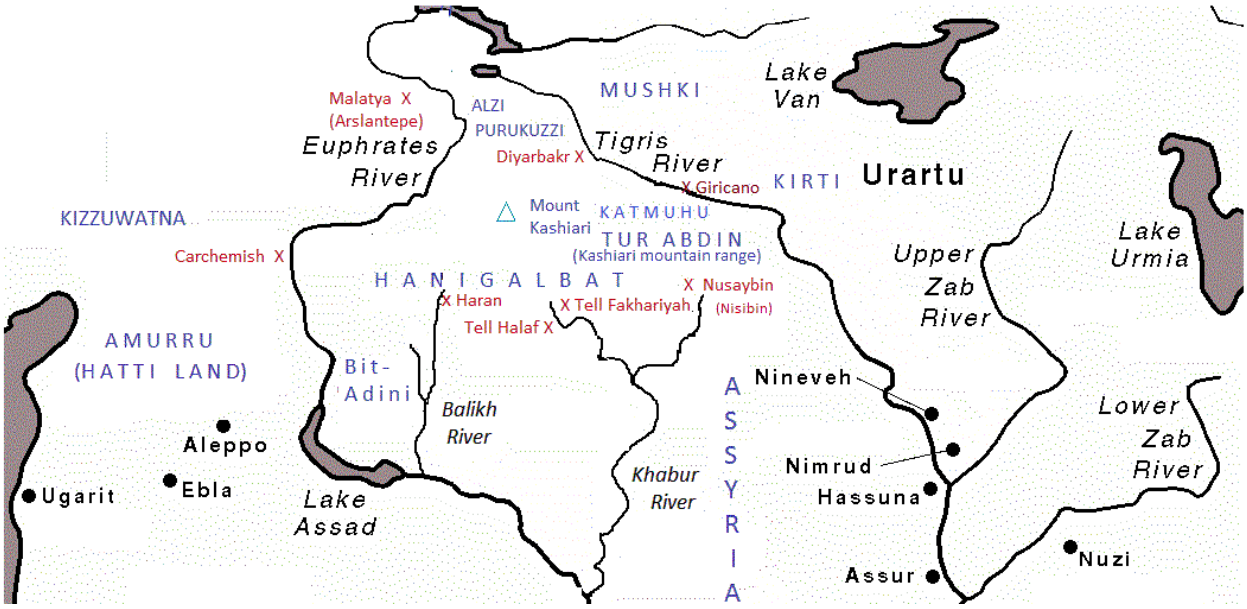
data together the archaeological team at Giricano believe the area was first occupied by Mitanni, who were displaced around the year 1230 BC (= 1070 + 160) by Assyrians, whose tenure lasted until the approximate year 1070, whence came the Arameans.

Assuming that the revised history is correct, the history of the Giricano area needs to have dates lowered significantly, since we assign the Obelisk to the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935) whose 4th year, the eponymy of Ilu-iddinu, fell in 963 BC. In turn the Assyrian invasion which ousted the Hurrians and Mitanni from the region of Giricano must be dated to the approximate year 1123 BC (963 +160), this assuming the accuracy of Karen Radner's estimate of the length of the Assyrian occupation at the site. Confirmation that we are correct comes from the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076), those which describe his campaigns during his initial five years as king. We reviewed these years briefly in our previous paper, where on page 15 we made the following comment:

> The five years documented in the annals [of Tiglath-Pileser I] witnessed the Assyrian army marching through largely mountainous territory north as far as the Black Sea, eastward to the vicinity of Lake Van and the headwaters of the Upper Zab River, north and east as far as Ashura and across the Euphrates to the region of Milidia (modern Malatya, Mildish in ARAB), and eastward along the Euphrates to its western bend. There Tiglath-Pileser crossed the Euphrates and conquered the land of Amurru, ending up on the shore of the Mediterranean, where he washed his weapons in the Sea and then went on a Mediterranean hunting expedition/cruise. *One of the regions emphasized in the annals was the area of Katmuhu, mentioned above, bordering the north side of the Tigris as that River takes a westerly turn north of the Tur 'Abdin range. Twice he visited this area, the second time after the neighboring territory of Kirti had come to the aid of the defeated cities of Katmuhu. In the end, Tiglath-pileser won the day, bringing this territory back into the Assyrian fold.* In our next paper we will have cause to revisit this region and comment on these campaigns, this in order to correct a faulty interpretation of the recent archaeological excavation of the ruins at Giricano). (Paper #6, p. 15) (emphasis and bracketed item added)

At the end of that quote we referenced a map of the regions conquered by Tiglath-Pileser I, an abbreviated version of which we reproduce below as our Figure 4.

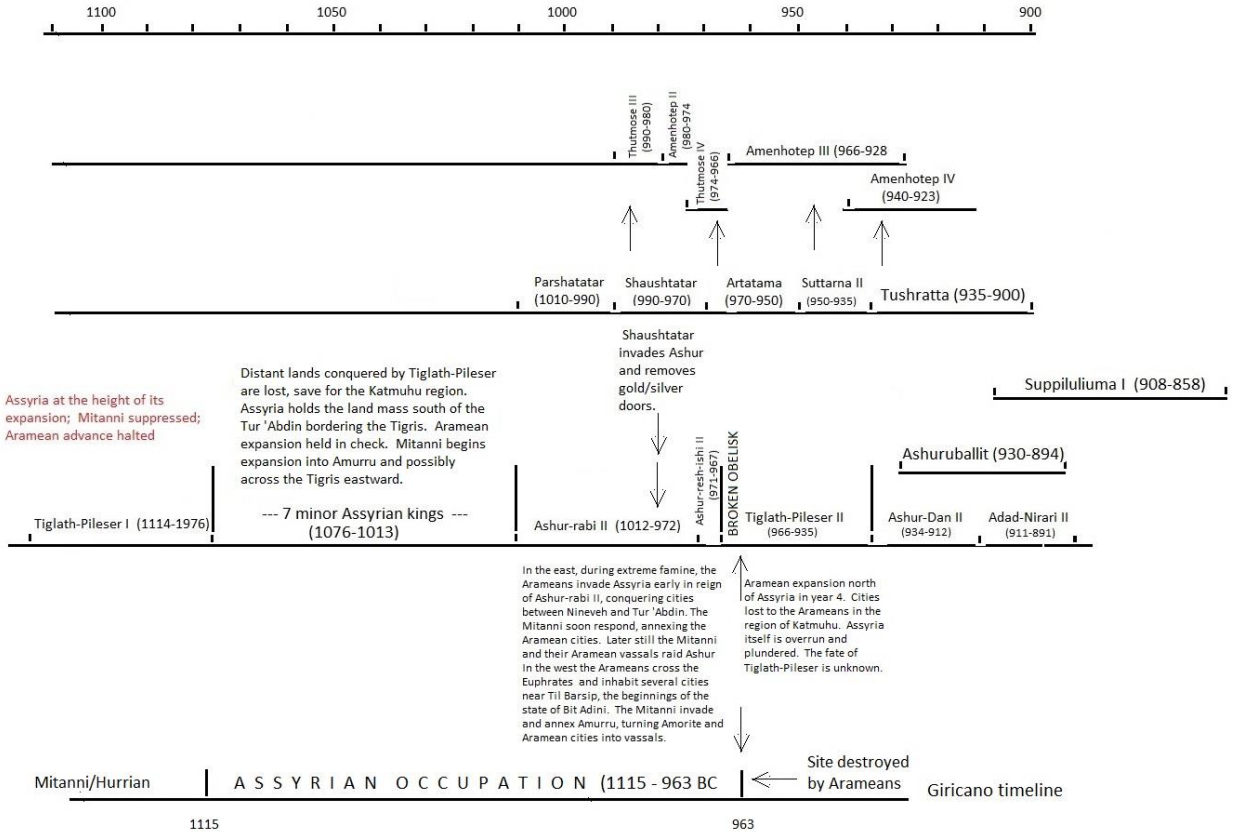
Figure 4: Map showing the region of Hanigalbat, homeland of the Mitanni (adapted from our Figure 4 on p. 14 of paper #6)



The two attacks on the Katmuhu region, which includes Giricano, took place in the accession year of Tiglath-Pileser I, thus in 1115 BC. This implies that the Assyrian occupation of the site of Giricano lasted from 1115 – 1070 BC, assuming that the annals of the Broken Obelisk were written by Ashur-bel-kala, and 1115 – 963 assuming they were authored by Tiglath-Pileser II. Thus the occupation lasted a mere 45 years in the first instance, well over a hundred years less than the archaeologists at the site of Giricano estimated. If we assume that the destruction took place in 963 BC, the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II, the occupation lasted 152 years (1115-963), and Radner's estimate of 40 years for each of the 4 Assyrian strata need be reduced by only 2 years. Which scenario is correct? Let the reader decide.

Even our most critical reader will have to admit that our revised dates for the Broken Obelisk are remarkably accurate. In Figure 5 below, we duplicate from our previous paper the chart summarizing the timelines of the Mitanni, the Assyrians, and the Arameans in the 1st millennium, this time adding the timeline for the occupation of Giricano.

Figure 5: Giricano occupation timeline



Needless to say, the revised history dates for the Assyrian occupation of Giricano fit perfectly with the known dates for the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser I against Katmuhu (ca 1115 BC) and the Aramean expansion into the region of Katmuhu in the 4th year of Tiglath-Pileser II (ca 963 BC), thus confirming our hypothesis that the annals of the Broken Obelisk belong to the latter king.

Argument 9.

Multiple times in the preceding three or four papers we have had cause to mention the fortress city of Dur-Kurigalzu constructed by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, whose reign is dated ca 1410-1385 BC in the traditional history. In that history, around the year 1155 BC, the Iranian king Shutruk Nakhunte invaded and conquered Karduniash, ending Kassite (3rd dynasty) rule. Among other destructive acts, Shutruk Nakhunte overran, demolished and set fire to the walled city of Dur-Kurigalzu. The revised history agrees entirely with the previous summary statement, save for the dates. We have argued throughout the recent monographs that the dates for all Kassite kings must be reduced by 440 years, thus dating the reign of Kurigalzu I to ca 970-945 BC and the invasion of Shutruk Nakhunte to ca 715 BC. It follows that in the traditional history the 255

year existence of the Kassite fortress spanned the dates ca 1410-1155, while in the revised history the city existed from ca 970 to 715 BC.

It follows from this enumeration of dates that the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists! So critical is this underlined exclamatory remark to our present argument that we take a few moments to comment on it, and we add a few other details to clarify our reasoning. Three facts need to be underscored.

Fact #1 We have previously made note of the fact that the walled city of Dur-Kurigalzu was built on the site of an existing village named Parsa. This fact turned out to be of some importance in the writing of our paper #5 when we encountered a reference to an Aramean raid on Karduniash during the reign of the mid-11th century Assyrian king Adad-apla-iddina (ca 1068-1046), an attack which supposedly included the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. This mention of Dur-Kurigalzu was problematic, and not just for the revised history. In the case of the revised history the existence of the name in the middle of the 11th century was an absolute impossibility, since both king Kurigalzu I and his namesake city did not even exist until the middle of the 10th century, thus a century later. In the case of the traditional history the mention of the name was also problematic, if not also an impossibility, since the city by that name was destroyed and abandoned a century earlier, in the middle of the 12th century. To find the source of the problem we located and read with interest the source document, and immediately discovered that the 11th century attack was actually directed at the city of Parsa, as is evident on lines 8-11 on the obverse of the Eclectic Chronicle, duplicated below. This Chronicle is the document in question.

Table 2: Eclectic Chronicle reference to the attack on Parsa in reign of Adad-apla-iddina

	8' Adad-apla-iddina descendant of Itti-Marduk-balatu, the Arameans and an usurper king rebelled against him
	9' and desecrated all the sanctuaries centers of the land. Der, Dur-Anki (Nippur).
	10' Sippar, Parsa (Dur-Kurigalzu) they demolished. The Suteans attacked and the booty of Sumer and Akkad
	11' they took home. He made frequent visits to the shrines of Marduk and appeased his heart. He totally restored his cult

It should be stressed here that the Eclectic Chronicle is not the source of the problem. It merely stated the facts as it understood them, and those facts are perfectly correct. The problem lies squarely on the shoulders of 20th century scholars such as the editor of this online edition of the

Eclectic Chronicle, who equate the names Parsa and the much later city of Dur-Kurigalzu, built on the same site, and replace one name by the other, as if the two city names are synonymous. And the problem becomes acute when 20th century scholars referencing the Eclectic chronicle inscription mention only the latter name, giving the impression that a text exists which describes the demolition of Dur-Kurigalzu in the middle of the 11th century, when nothing could be further from the truth. The city was already demolished and abandoned (traditional history), or had yet to be constructed (revised history). The substitution of names creates an anachronism which temporarily confuses the reader, in this case the present author.

But modern scholars are not the only parties guilty of this substitution of names. In an appendix to this paper we will argue that the substitution of the name Dur-Kurigalzu in documents and contexts where it does not legitimately belong, took place several times in antiquity, particularly in inscriptions copied by late 8th and early 7th century Assyrian scribes. This should not be surprising to the reader, since the revised history argues that Dur-Kurigalzu existed from ca 970 to 715 BC. It was a functioning city until very late in the 8th century BC. If a document should appear late in that time frame which references a powerful Babylonian city with name beginning with "Dur", where the balance of the name was missing, and if that document names the twin cities of Sippar in the same context, we cannot imagine a scribe *not completing the name* Dur-Kurigalzu when copying the document.

Fact #2 Before we move on to the critical final section of this 9th argument, we need to repeat and expand on the comment we made at the top of our previous page, where we insisted that "the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames, either 1410-1155 BC on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC assuming the accuracy of our revised history. This claim assumes that the city of Dur-Kurigalzu had a definite beginning and a definite end. The beginning, coinciding with the beginning of the reign of Kurigalzu, is firmly established for both the traditional and the revised histories. But the "definite end" may be in question in the minds of some readers of this paper. We need to underscore the fact that the invasion of Shutruck Nakhunte not only ended the 3rd dynasty Kassite kingdom, it also ended the functioning existence of the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. Many cities in antiquity were severely damaged, even demolished, and their occupants scattered, only to be revived months or even years later. No so with Dur-Kurigalzu. If one were to walk around the ruins of that city today, at a site known currently as 'Aqar Quf, located approximately 30 kilometers west of the center of Bhagdad, you would be looking at the ruins left behind by the Iranian invader, either in the approximate year 1155 BC (traditional history) or 715 BC (revised history). Scholars are adamant that the city was never reoccupied. In a moment we will quote a few sources to underscore that point. Why the site was never reoccupied when the Iranians left is never discussed in the literature familiar to this author. But we know the answer.

Though this section of our paper is primarily concerned with proving that the document known as the Broken Obelisk was authored by Tiglath-Pileser II, we would be amiss if we did not interject here a brief comment on the rather unprecedented failure of an ancient city to be revived from the destructive results of an invasion. Severe climate change - possibly, a natural disaster - maybe, a prolonged plague decimating the population - infrequently, but not an invasion, which at most will send a surviving remnant fleeing to safety, only to return when the danger has past. And why, assuming that the destruction of Dur-Kurigalzu took place in 1155 BC, ending the 3rd dynasty, would the succeeding 4th to 9th dynasties in Karduniash not reoccupy and proceed to rebuild the ancient fortress city, the most northerly walled city in Babylonia, aptly situated to defend the country against invasion from the north? There is only one reasonable explanation. The presumption that the Iranian invasion took place in 1155 BC. Is incorrect. But the permanent abandonment of the city makes perfect sense on the assumption it occurred in 715/14 BC, at a time when Babylonian civilization was rapidly disintegrating. As early as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727) and Shalmaneser V (726-722) and into the reign of Sargon II (721-707), Babylonia was progressively falling into Assyrian hands. The Iranian assault by Shutruk Nakhunte accelerated the process, and the powerful Assyrian kings Sennacherib (704-681), Esarhaddon (680-669) and Ashurbanipal (668-ca 627) completed the takeover. Through much of the 7th century Babylonia had no independent rulers. The country was ruled by the Assyrians. The last thing these Neo-Assyrian kings wanted would be a revived defensive fortress at the site of Dur-Kurigalzu, which might be used by the local population to assert and defend Babyonian sovereignty.

Our claim that Dur-Kurigalzu was abandoned, and never reconstructed nor repopulated, is not in need of defending, though there are a few scholars who claim that for a few years at least, during the Neo-Babylonian revival late in the 7th century and during the first half of the 6th, the Babylonians did inhabit the city. If true, this brief interlude would have no effect on our argument in this paper, but if true we wonder why they left no record of their brief sojourn. In general scholars of the traditional history accept the opinion of archaeologists that the ruins of the city visible today are the identical ruins left by the Iranian king Shutruk Nakhunte, though these same scholars are perplexed, as are we, at periodic statements in the annals of subsequent kings claiming to have attacked and destroyed Dur-Kurigalzu. There are not many of these, but those that do exist need to be examined and explained. We set the stage for a brief analysis of these claims by quoting only two sourcebooks referencing the city of Dur-Kurigalzu, namely, the article by Gwendolyn Leick in the “Historical Dictionary of Mesopotamia” and yet another quote from the book entitled *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia* by Trevor Bryce, the third time we have visited this Handbook. At minimum we will glean some information about the century of effort spent excavating at ‘Aqar Quf that has resulted in the opinion that the site was never reoccupied after its initial destruction. And we will be informed that statements exist in the annals of kings who ruled after the year 1155 BC, claiming to have conquered the city of Dur-Kurigalzu.

According to Gwendolyn Leick:

> DUR-KURIGALZU (MODERN "AQAR QUF), Babylonian city. The name means "Fortress of Kurigalzu" since it was this Kurigalzu, a Kassite king, who built his residence there in about 1400 B.C. It served as the capital of the Kassite dynasty until its demise in the mid-14th [sic.] century. Kurigalzu surrounded the city, which covered some 225 hectares, with a fortified wall. Some of the colorful murals that decorated the walls of the royal palace, as well as a number of statuary and small ornaments, have been discovered in its ruins. Kurigalzu also built a temple and a large ziggurat (69 by 67.6 meters) that still stands to a height of 57 meters today. In 1170, the city was put to the torch by the Elamites and thereafter abandoned [for approximately 450 years] until it became inhabited once more during the Neo-Babylonian period. The site was the first of the Mesopotamian mounds to be systematically excavated, first by Emile Botta (1843-184), then by Victor Place (1852-1855); Austen Layard also spent a season there in 1849. An American mission by the University of Chicago was active from 1927 to 1953. (Gwendolyn Leick, *Historical Dictionary*, 21, sv. Dur-Kurigalzu) [comments in square brackets added by this author].

And according to Trevor Bryce:

> Dur-Kurigalzu (Parsa, 'Aqar Quf) (maps 11, 13) M2 and M1 city in central Mesopotamia, 30 km west of Baghdad. The site, which consists of several mounds covering an area of c. 225 ha, was identified as Dur-Kurigalzu by H.C. Rawlinson in 1861. It was excavated between 1942 and 1945 by an Iraqi-British team under the direction of S. Lloyd and T. Baqir, for the British school of Archaeology in Iraq and the Iraqi Directorate-General of Antiquities.
>
> Though there are traces of an older settlement of C15 date, the city as such was built in early C14 or late C15 by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I to serve as the new administrative capital of the Kassite-ruled Middle Babylonian kingdom. The former capital Babylon continued to be the kingdom's most important cultural and religious centre. Material features of the site include a temple quarter dedicated to the god Enlil and containing a ziggurat, and a palace with large central hall, a throne-room, a room with wall-paintings depicting a procession of officials, and a treasury. The small finds from the palace include cuneiform tablets, gold jewellery and ornaments, glass inlays, and terracotta sculptures of a bearded man.
>
> On the basis of archaeological evidence, the site is said not to have been reoccupied after its abandonment in C12. There are, however, a number of references to Dur-Kurigalzu in Iron Age texts. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) lists it among the places he conquered during a campaign in Babylonia (*RIMB 2: 43). It was one of the Babylonian cities which fell victim to the Aramaean and Sutaean invasions of southern Mesopotamia during the reign of the Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1048) (*ABC 180-1), where it is called Parsa; cf *RIMB 2: 73 for the later account given by King Simbar-Shipak, 1026-1009). And it appears on the itinerary of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II's last recorded campaign in 885; Tukulti-Ninurta is reported to have camped there for the night during his progress around the western and southern limits of his kingdom (*RIMA 2: 173-4). The city was known in M1 Babylonian sources as Dur-Galzu (RGTC 8: 121). (Trevor Bryce, Routledge Handbook, 206, sv. Dur-Kurigalzu)

We need to respond to two comments by Trevor Bryce. We note, with disapproval, his inference that at the time of Adad-apla-iddina (1069-1046) Dur-Kurigalzu was being referred to by the name "Parsa". In his defense, of course, no other option is available to the traditional historian, though it assumes that the renewed application of the name Parsa to this mound of ruins was perfectly reasonable, in spite of the fact that the name had not been applied to the site since ca 1400 BC, and would probably not be familiar to anyone but the scribe who

authored the Eclectic Chronicle, and perhaps a few other of his associates. Our second objection, if we can call it that, is to the list of "references to Dur-Kurigalzu in Iron Age texts. Tukulti-Ninurta II can be ruled off that list. On the one hand, Dur-Kurigalzu was a functioning city during his reign, and thus a reference to it, or to camping beside it, is not surprising. On the other hand and for other reasons we will be examining the brief reign of Tiglath-Pileser II in one of our following papers, and will at that time comment briefly on his mention of Dur-Kurigalzu. That leaves the supposed reference(s) to Tiglath-Pileser I campaigning against and conquering Dur-Kurigalzu. We are tempted to simple disregard these references, since on their face they are patently false, this for two reasons: 1) We don't understand why this powerful king would boast about conquering a heap of ruins, and 2) If the ruins are called Parsa in the reign of Adad-apla =iddina (1069-1046), how is it that they are called Dur-Kurigalzu late in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser (1114-1076), only a decade or so earlier.

In an appendix to this paper we are going to spend some time analyzing the document(s) supposedly authored by Tiglath-Pileser I, but only to defend our revised history, which argues that the city by that name was constructed much later by the Kassite king Kurigalzu I (970-945), with construction beginning early in his reign. It follows that there can hardly have existed original documents featuring the name Dur-Kurigalzu and dated to the approximate year ca 1083 BC. Late, edited copies of original documents are a possibility, since scribal errors abound in Assyrian inscriptions, but original documents from the 11th century naming Dur-Kurigalzu as an active city are an absolutely impossibility, as noted several times already. We acknowledge that there do exist inscriptions, attributed to Tiglath-Pileser I, which attest to a campaign launched against the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-ahhe around the year ca 1083, which claim to have wrought havoc in the cities Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Anunitum, Babylon and Opis. Their existence needs to be explained. But because we do not want to stray too far off topic, our remarks on this subject are confined to an appendix to this paper.

Fact #3 We introduced the city of Dur-Kurigalzu into our "argument 9" for a reason perhaps not yet clear to a few of our readers, who know only that somehow it must argue our case for dating the Broken Obelisk. The argument is not hard to follow.

Hopefully we have convinced our readers of the accuracy of our statement made at the top of page 28 and again on page 29, to the effect that

> the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists!"

And as is already known to anyone who has read the Obelisk inscription, in the third year of the king whose annals fill the first four columns of text on the Obelisk, Karduniash was invaded and cities in the district of Dur-Kurigalzu were conquered.

> In the month Iyyar, eponymy of Assur-rim-nisheshu, he conquered the city Tur[…]tu of the land Musri. In that year, in the month Shebat, the chariots and […] went from Inner City (Assur) [and] conquered the cities […]indishulu and […]sandu, cities which are in the district of the city Dur-Kurigalzu. They captured Kadashman-Buriash, son of Itti-Marduk-balatu, governor of their land. (col. III, lines 4b-8a) (Grayson, Assyrian Rulers 101-02 = RIMA 2. 101-02)

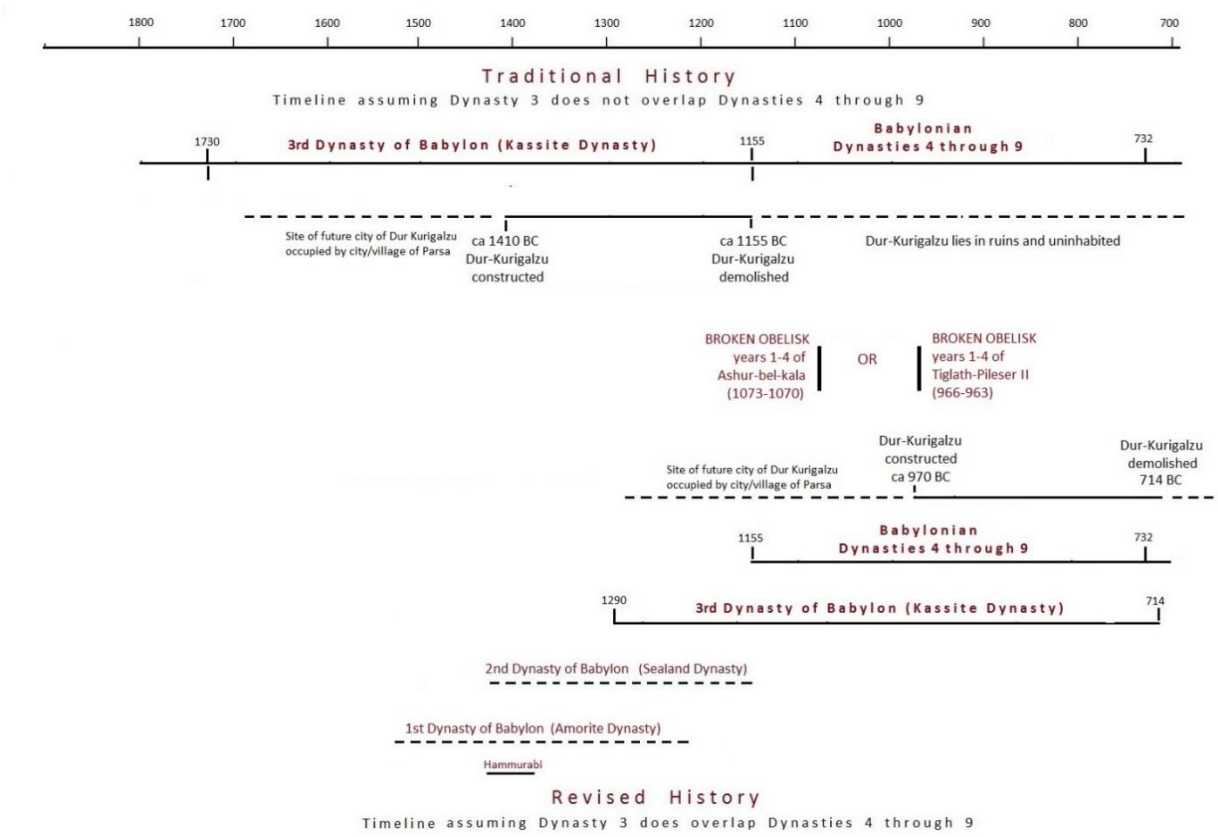
Early in the 20th century at least one prominent scholar, Frederich Delizsch, solely on the basis of these few verses, was convinced that this campaign took place early in the second half of the 2nd millennium, the time of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil II. In hindsight he was very close to the truth, since we are here arguing that it took place in the 3rd year of Tiglath-Pileser II (966-935), who was a contemporary of the Kassite king Kurigalzu I, father of Kadashman-Enlil I. Needless to say, Delizsch was and continues to be overruled by a community of scholars who believed the Obelisk must be dated very late in the 2nd millennium, either in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I or his son Ashur-bel-kala. No explanation is forthcoming today from the current generation of scholars, how it is possible that the city Dur-Kurigalzu could have been reduced to a pile of rubble, and burnt for good measure, in 1155 BC, yet be functioning as the capital of a district, complete with governor, when invaded by Tiglath-Pileser I or his son in the first half of the 11th century. And how is it that the city has a governor with a distinctive Kassite name, a century after the Kassite Empire has ceased to exist?

We rest our case as far as our "argument 9" is concerned. And we summarize the points we have just made by positioning the two possible dates for the Broken Obelisk in a timeline chart in Figure 6 below, and we include here several explanatory comments.

a) This chart is adapted from our Figure 7 on page 38 of our 4th paper, with some incidental modifications. We have removed the dates from the timelines of the 1st and 2nd dynasties while moving them back in time a modest amount. Since we have not yet found time to study this early period, this new positioning may well be moved in the future. What we wanted to preserve in the arrangement of dynasties is fact that each dynasty is numbered in the king lists according to the date when the dynasty began, no matter when it ended.

We have added timelines for the occupation of the site of Dur-Kurigalzu as described in both the traditional and the revised histories, and we have positioned the location of the annals of the Broken Obelisk precisely where 21st century scholars believe it should be positioned, ca 1073-1070, and for advocates of the revised history, in the time frame 966-963.

Figure 6: Chart showing the possible dates for the Broken Obelisk assuming the accuracy of both the traditional and the revised histories.



b) We mention for the fourth time in this 9th argument that

> the mention of Dur-Kurigalzu as an active thriving city in any dateable context of an Assyrian or Babylonian inscription, must necessarily date that context within one of the two time frames. The specific incident being described must either be dated in the range ca 1410-1155 BC, on the assumption that the traditional history is correct, or 970-715 BC, assuming the accuracy of our revised history. Logically, no other possibility exists!" (quote from the top of page 28, middle of page 29 and bottom of page 32)

If the reader agreed with that earlier remark then he/she will clearly agree that we can rule out the 1073-1070 date for the Broken Obelisk and any other dates in the time frame 1155-970 BC. The Obelisk cannot be dated within those two extremes. And we can at least argue, based on the 966-963 date for the Broken Obelisk, that this date is possibly correct, since it lies in the time frame 970-715. And when we consider that its authorship by any of the other Assyrian kings can be ruled out on other grounds, our diagram should convince the reader that the Obelisk must be dated ca 966-963.

c) We mention for the last time that the city of Parsa was overrun by the Arameans during the reign of the Assyrian king Adad-apla-iddina (ca 1069-1046), as detailed in the text of the Eclectic Chronicle. We leave it to the reader to locate those dates roughly on our timelines, and observe that only by following the revised history can we make sense of that text.

And with that we conclude this paper, save for the issue discussed in the appendix following.

Appendix:

Several times already we have encountered references to Dur-Kurigalzu in both Assyrian and Babylonian documents which do not lie within either of the two date ranges specified above in our 9th argument. In several of these instances we have paused to make an explanatory comment, as in the case of the supposed attack on Dur-Kurigalzu during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina, where the actual text names the city of Parsa, not Dur-Kurigalzu. Other times, because we chose not to interrupt the existing train of thought, we have simply ignored the reference, just as we ignore erroneous comments by traditional historians when quoting them for other legitimate reasons. A case in point was Brinkman's comment in our previous paper, where on the bottom of page 21 he is quoted as saying

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

Needless to say we were not prepared to make an issue of that comment at that time. We address the subject here only because the assumed raid on "the principal cult centers of northern Babylonia: Dur-Kurigalzu, the Sippars of Shamash and Annunitum, Babylon, and Opis" is referenced frequently in scholarly literature, as in our earlier quotation of remarks made by Trevor Bryce (see page 24). It has also found its way into fabricated copies of the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser (see Grayson, Assyrian Rulers, text A.0.87.4, pp 38-45), based largely on three ancient documents which we discuss separately in the following pages.

The first and probably the most prominent source detailing this notorious "raid" is the Synchronistic History, sometimes called the Synchronistic Chronicle, where the attack is referenced in lines 14-24 of column two in that document (see Table 3 following).

Table 3: Synchronistic History reference to Tiglath-Pileser I's campaign against Marduk-nadin-ahhe

A14' Tiglath-pileser I, king of Assyria, and Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of Karduniaš.
A15' Twice Tiglath-pileser drew up a battle array of chariots, as many as were by the Lower Zab,
A16' opposite Ahizûhina, and
A17' in the second year he defeated Marduk-nadin-ahhe at Gurmarritu, which is upstream from Akkad.
A18' Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar-ša-Šamaš
A19' Sippar-ša-Anunitu,
A20' Babylon, and Upû, the great urban centers,
A21' he captured together with their forts.
A22' At that time, Ugarsallu
A23' he plundered as far as Lubda.
A24' He ruled every part of Suhu as far as Rapiqu.

This is clearly the source of Brinkman's remarks, quoted on the previous page. If this were the only source of our knowledge of the alleged raid on Dur-Kurigalzu by Tiglath-Pileser I, we would terminate this discussion here. The reader familiar with our 3rd paper will recall that multiple times we accused that document of introducing incorrect names of kings and details of battles to support his pro-Assyrian bias. At least three times, when comparing the Synchronistic History and the data on a Babylonian document called the "Chronicle P", we witnessed the two documents describing the same event and attributing the actions to completely different kings in completely different eras. And each time we preferred the testimony of the Chronicle P. Brinkman provides a scathing commentary on the Synchronistic History on pages 51-56 of his *Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, interesting reading but unfortunately no longer available online.

Were the issue not so critical for the revised history we might stop there. But two tablet fragments, one on stone (BM 115693 = Assur 18438), and one on clay (VAT 9636), retrieved from Assur in the 19th century, contain this same basic information and deserve mention. It is not clear whether these fragment inscriptions incorporated the data from the Synchronistic

History, or the Synchronistic history from them, or whether there exists a vorlage from which all three derived their information. We have our opinion, mentioned below.

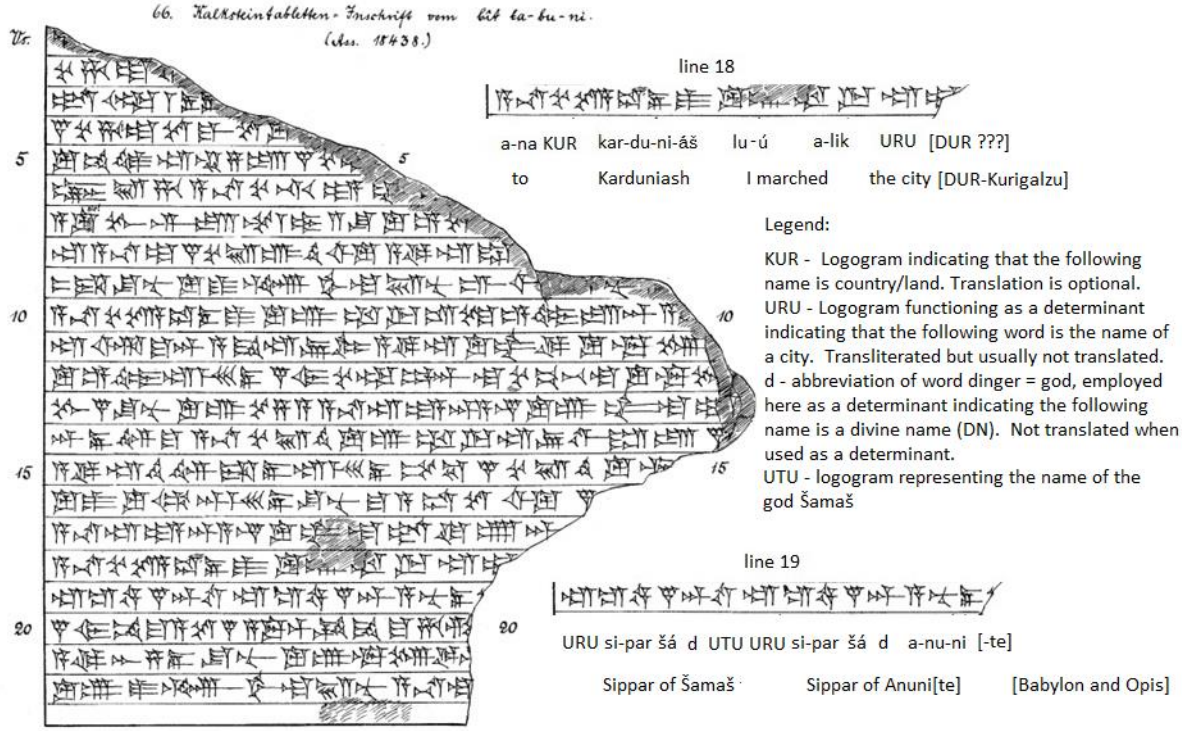
A line drawing of the stone tablet inscription (BM 115693 = Assur 18438) has been published as KAV 66 in the volume Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. It is also translated by Luckenbill in his Ancient Records on pages 95-97 (sections 292-298), with the Babylonian raid confined to section 295.

The clay tablet inscription (VAT 9636) has been combined (by 20th century scholars) with the inscriptions on eight other tablet fragments to create a single composite text, a process similar to that described in our argument #1, the difference being the much larger number of tablets collated in this instance, and the lack of transparency in the process which produced the composite text. Fortunately the cuneiform line drawing of the resultant text has been published online as KAH 71 in the same *Keilschrifttexte* referenced above, and horizontal lines have been added to isolate the contributions made by each of the contributing tablet fragments. That composite text has also been translated by Luckenbill in his 1926 volume, with the Babylonian raid contained in his section 309. (See Luckenbill, Ancient Records, 97-100, sect. 299-312). Unfortunately there is no line drawing of the tablet VAT 9636 itself to permit an analysis by this author. We are entirely dependent on the judgment of the unknown compilers. That information might be published somewhere, but to date we have not found the source.

We can deal very quickly with this clay tablet inscription, since we have no knowledge about the tablet itself, and are completely at the mercy of the compilers as to its contents. The cuneiform text of the lines describing the Babylonian raid, as produced in the line drawing of the composite text, show no irregularities, and are treated here precisely as we treated the text of the Synchronous History. Both of these documents are clearly dependent for their knowledge of the Babylonian raid on some earlier document which presumably includes mention of the campaign of Tiglath-Pileser against Marduk-nadin-ahhe. We believe that the tablet VAT 9636 was the earlier of the two documents, and that the Synchronistic History has derived it's information from that tablet. It follows that the Synchronistic history and the tablet VAT 9636 are not two independent witnesses to the facts, but in fact are the equivalent of a single source document, leaving open the question of where the tablet VAT 9636 obtained its information. As the reader might already have guessed, we believe that our third document, the stone tablet BM 115693 = Assur 18438 is the vorlage we are searching for. This reduces the scope of this inquiry significantly. We spend the balance of this appendix commenting on this one document.

We begin by viewing the line drawing of the upper two-thirds of the obverse of Assur 18438. To facilitate discussion we have included a transliteration and translation of lines 18 and 19 on the tablet, and have provided a brief legend to explain parts of the transliteration to viewers not familiar with cuneiform texts. A commentary follows Figure 7 in point form.

Figure 7: Line drawing of the first 22 lines
on the Obverse of the stone tablet Assur 18438



a) Of the three tablets examined in this paper, this stone tablet is certainly the oldest. It may in fact be part of the original text of these annals. Rarely if ever did Assyrian scribes copy an existing document using stone. Clay was the medium of choice.

b) The tablet is clearly broken, and the right ends of most lines are missing, including the ends of lines 18 and 19, the critical section containing the names of the cities attacked and destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser I.

c) We have omitted the translation of any other lines since we have absolutely no quarrel with them. But because we are interested in Luckenbill's treatment of this document we include part of his translation on page 96 of his *Ancient Records*, specifically the whole of his section 295.

> At the command of [Assur and Urta] <u>against Karduniash (Babylonia) I marched. The city of [Dur-Kurigalzu], Sippar of Shamash, Sippar of Annunitum, [Babylon and Opis,]</u> which is on the other (far) side of the Tigris, cities . . . . . together with their fortresses I captured; multitudes of [them I slew,] countless booty of theirs [I carried off. The palaces] of Babylon, belonging to Marduk-nadin-ahi [king of Karduniash], I captured. With fire I burned them.

d) We have underlined the portion of Luckenbill's translation that is based on lines 18 and 19. Note that he has supplied the name [Dur-Kurigalzu] at the end of line 18 and the names [Babylon and Opis] at the end of line 19. Where he does conjecture what the ending of a line might be he simply supplies that

reading in square brackets. Where he has no idea what the reading might be he leaves a trail of dots. Only once do the dots appear in the quoted section. We know the reason. Luckenbill, along with every other Assyriologist, living or dead, was well aware of the contents of the Synchronistic History, and probably also of the clay tablet VAT 9636. Assuming that those texts are reliable, the lacunae at the ends of the lines 18 and 19 of Assur 18438 are easily supplied.

e) In the case of the name Dur-Kurigalzu he uses half-brackets, indicating greater certainty that the supplied text is correct, probably because he can actually read the beginning of the name. (We have replaced his half-brackets with full ones only because our word processor font does not include the former.) Clearly Luckenbill believes that the partial sign at the end of line 18 is the beginning of the cuneiform sign BÀD, which among other possible values, represents the Assyrian word "Dur", meaning fortress. It is the sign typically used at the beginning of city names that could be translated "fortress of", of which Dur-Kurigalzu is but one example.

f) It is not only scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries who would know how to "fill in the blanks" in Assur 18438. As we have previously explained, scribes of the 8th and 7th centuries BC who were in possession of the stone tablet would know which Babylonian towns possessed "fortresses" and which did not. And the paramount fortress town in the 8th and 7th centuries was Dur-Kurigalzu, still very much active, assuming of course the accuracy of our revised history. Many of these 8th century scribes may well have been unaware that this prominent fortified city was not constructed until the middle of the 10th century and that substituting the name of Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18, in a document describing a campaign conducted by the late 12th/early 11th century king Tiglath-Pileser I, would be anachronistic. They would thus be inclined to include the name Dur-Kurigalzu in their clay tablet copy of the stone tablet. Their conviction would be intensified knowing that the final cuneiform sign on line 18 of the document should probably be transliterated as BÀD. Not wanting to leave the "blanks" in their copy of the stone tablet, they would instinctively insert the name Dur-Kurigalzu, as Luckenbill has done ca 2700 years later. *This stone tablet was literally "an accident waiting to happen".* We do not doubt for a minute that multiple other tablets exist with the name Kurigalzu inserted in lieu of the missing name on line 18.

g) The reader should by now know two things.

On the one hand an unknown scribe, probably living in the latter part of the 8th century, appears to have come into possession of the stone tablet Assur 18438 and copied it, inserting the names "Dur-Kurigalzu" and "Babylon and Opis" in the process. This copied document, possibly but not certainly the clay tablet VAT 9636, was subsequently copied by other scribes describing the same invasion. This would include the author of the Synchronous History. While it is possible that the authors of the Synchronous History and other documents gleaned their information by reading Assur 18438 directly, and independently determining the same three city names, we believe otherwise, based on one fact. While we can understand the insertion of the name Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18, and the inclusion of the name of Babylon at the end of line 19, we cannot comprehend how two different scribes would independently come up with the name Opis to accompany the name of Babylon. Assuming that Opis was at the time a more prominent city than in later times, it was certainly never as prominent a city as Der, a city we

encountered near the beginning of our last paper when we were describing Adad-Nirari II's campaign against Shamash-mudammiq. Today the location of the ancient city of Opis is unknown, the subject of considerable speculation among scholars, some of whom locate it west of the Tigris. It was almost certainly not the name present at the end of line 19 on the original stone tablet. One ancient scribe might speculatively add that name along with Babylon, but not two scribes working independently. We assume, therefore, that the author of the Synchronistic Chronicle has gleaned his information from the clay tablet VAT 9636 or whatever document was copied by the creator of VAT 9636.

On the other hand it should be clear that the insertion of the name Dur-Kurigalzu would likely have resulted regardless of which scribe was copying the stone tablet. But that does not imply that they were correct, and that the name was actually in that position when the tablet was intact. After all, Dur-Kurigalzu is not the only prominent Babylonian town with a name beginning with the cuneiform sign BÀD. In fact, there existed several in the days of Tiglath-Pileser I and one in particular that is a much better choice than Dur-Kurigalzu, whether from the point of view of the traditional or the revised histories.

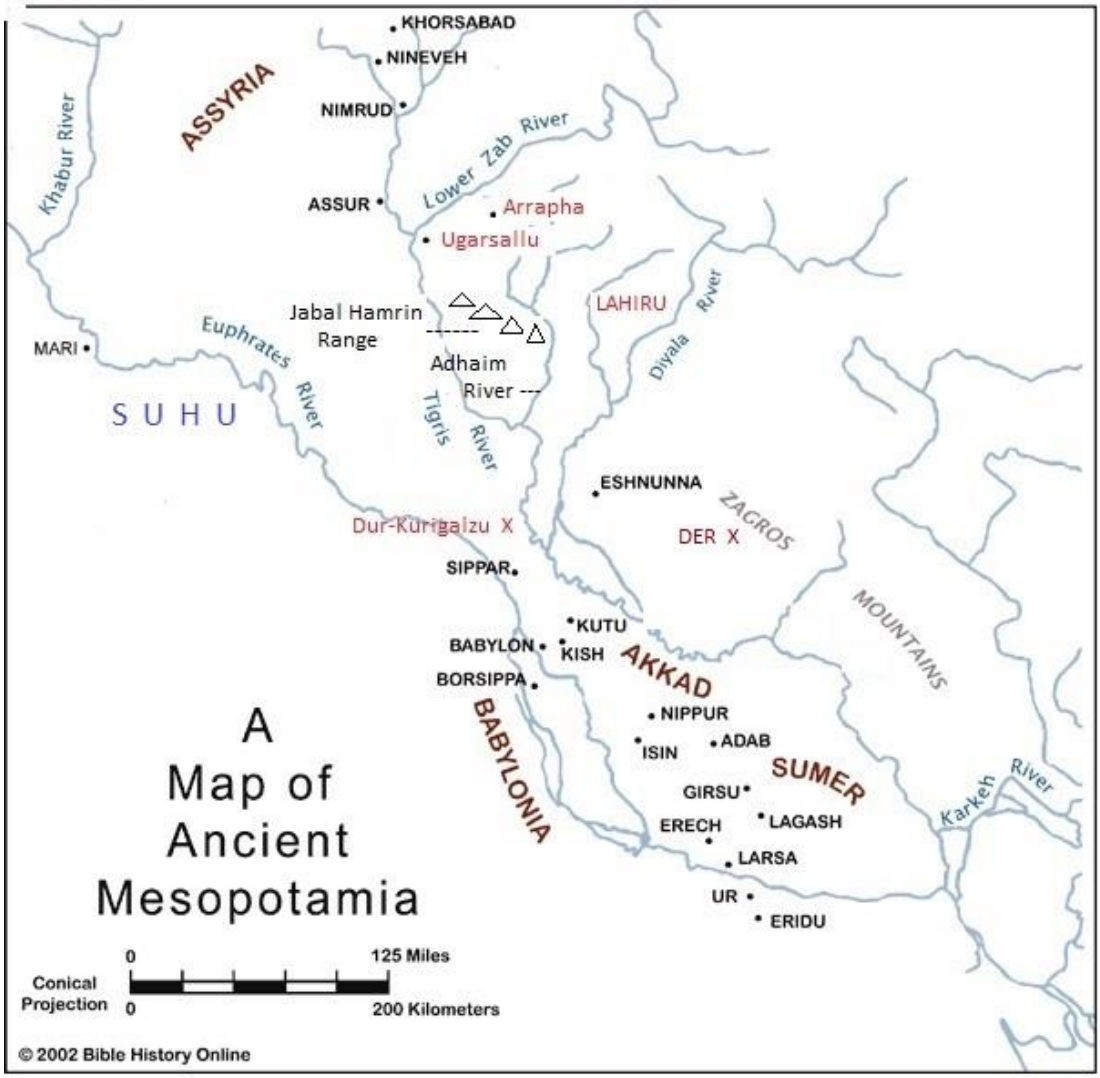
h) Before we inform the reader what name should actually be inserted at the end of line 18 we should stress the fact that we do not actually care whether or not the insertions made elsewhere on the document are correct. Our interest lies solely in the name Dur-Kurigalzu at the end of line 18. We have not the slightest doubt that Tiglath-Pileser I launched a campaign against Marduk-nadin-ahhe and destroyed multiple towns including the two Sippars, Babylon and some city east of the Tigris. We object to one thing only, namely, the assumed fact that he attacked and burnt the non-existent fortress town of Dur-Kurigalzu. Tiglath-Pileser I was a powerful king; but he was not a magician.

i) We have already argued the fact that a scribe working in the late 8th century, and possibly even in the early 7th century, would almost certainly supply the name Dur-Kurigalzu to their copy of the stone tablet Assur 18438. But what about the creator of the stone tablet itself, which document we assume was created shortly after the death of Tiglath-Pileser in 1076 BC. According to our revised timeline there did not then exist a fortress city named Dur-Kurigalzu, but there were two others whose names are strong candidates for inclusion at the end of line 18. One was the aforemention city of Der, a prominent city east of the Tigris, which we believe was actually present at the end of line 19. The other, the favorite of this author, was the city of Borsippa.

In the ancient world the two cities Borsippa and Babylon were closely assossiated. Not only were they located only ca 18 km apart, and near the Euphrates where both would have been weakened by decades of Aramean attacks from the western desert region. But they were also bonded together by religious ties, since Babylon was the center of worship of the god Marduk, while Borsippa was the home of the temple of Nabu, son of Marduk. Processions of the two gods took place yearly between the two cities, save for times of crisis. Sippar of Shamash and Sippar of Anunitum, the twin sister cities mentioned on the document Assur 18438, were located approximately 50 km north of Babylon, also on

the east bank of the Euphrates. The two Sippars, Babylon, and Borsippa had very much in common. In particular they faced the same threat of invasion from without. And thus all three cities became fortress cities, with large populations, multitudes seeking shelter inside a walled city. It is not at all surprising that when Tiglath-Pileser I launched an attack on Karduniash, late in his reign, these three cities were the only ones attacked, save for the single city lying east of the Tigris. Because of their location the army must have originated in Assur, travelled down the east side of the Tigris, as described by Brinkman earlier, where they attacked the city of Der (or less likely Opis), whence the army journied west, across the Tigris to the vicinity of the Sippars, then along the Euphrates to Babylon and Borsippa. Following the sack and burning of Babylon, Tiglath-Pileser I would travel northward along the Euphrates to the region of Suhu, then cross country in Assyrian territory to Ashur. We include below in Figure 8 a map, copied from our last paper, and modified slightly to help the reader visualize what is happening.

Figure 8: Map of Karduniash showing locations of Sippar, Babylon, and Borsippa.



When we argued above that Borsippa should be included at the end of line 18, it follows that we are aware that the name of that city must begin with the cuneiform sign BÀD. The typical orthography for the name Borsippa in Assyrian texts is composed of five logograms BÀD-SI-AB-BA-KI. The BÀD sign may not be reflected in the final translation of the name, but it is present in the cuneiform writing. Interestingly, the city of Der remains a remote possibility for inclusion at the end of line 18, since its cuneiform spelling is BÀD-DINGER-KI, but the name is ruled out both because of its length (or rather its lack of length) and because line 19 required any city east of the Tigris to be included there. And speaking of the length of the name we should note that scholars are concerned that the name supplied at the end of line 18 contain a sufficient number of cuneiform signs to fill the available space. Dur-ku-ri-gal-zu fits the bill, but so also does BÀD-SI-AB-BA-KI. Unfortunately there did not exist a city named Dur-Kurigalzu in the early 11th century.

In a sense we could close this appendix here, since we have finished arguing our case, hopefully successfully. But there does exist one piece of unfinished business related to the city of Dur-Kurigalzu. In 1957-58 the German scholar Ernst Weidner, the same individual who collated the two tablets mentioned in our argument 1 at the beginning of this paper, published yet another paper detailing the procedure by which he had just finished fabricating yet another document, this time a comprehensive version of the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser I. In this instance he merged into a single document the inscriptions on over twenty clay tablets, three stone tablets and one clay cylinder. A summary of the documents used, and a full translation of the resultant document, in German, was published in an article entitled "*Die Feldzuge und Bauten Tiglatpilesers I*" in the journal *Archiv fur Orientforschung* 18 Bd (1957-58), pp. 342-360. Each of the contributing inscriptions was assigned a letter name, save for a few sources which were themselves composite texts pieced together from yet more contributing inscriptions. We are not concerned here with much of the content of that article, only with the fact that two of Weidner's source documents were the clay tablet VAT 9636 (his source "H") and the stone tablet Assur 18438 (his source "O"). Needless to say, if anyone were to read line 45 in the resultant document, he/she would discover yet another reference to Tiglath-Pileser I attacking the city of Dur-Kurigalzu, but this time the document being read is not a tablet fragment inscription, but supposedly a full-blown text, purporting to be the late annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, as if those annals do exist on a single set of tablets. In this instance there are no line drawings of the source documents as there were in our argument 1, providing opportunity for a critic to at least partially check the procedure being followed. We are totally at the mercy of the compiler, unable to discern what material on the source documents was used and what was not, nor what phrases were supplied to give coherence to the final document. The results could conceivably be as damaging as was the result of the collation process applied to the two tablets in our argument 1. Let the reader beware.