

Albright, W. F. "The Seal of Eliakim"

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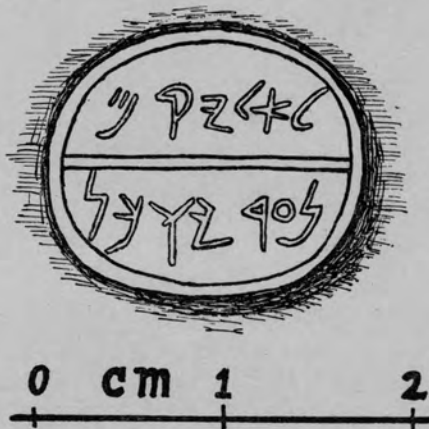
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THE SEAL OF ELIAKIM AND THE LATEST  
PRE-EXILIC HISTORY OF JUDAH, WITH SOME  
OBSERVATIONS ON EZEKIEL

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TOWARD the end of the second campaign of excavation at Tell Beit Mirsim, in 1928, we discovered a jar-handle bearing the stamped impression of a seal (see the illustration) with the



Seal of Eliakim  
(traced from enlarged photograph,  
with comparison of original)

words לאליקסנער יוכן. The jar-handle was found in the top stratum, together with stamped jar-handles of the latest type to be inscribed למלך חברן, as well as with sherds of the latest Early Iron II phase, dating from about the seventh century B. C. In his 1930 campaign



at Beth-shemesh, Elihu Grant discovered an identical stamped jar-handle, also in a late Early Iron II context. Shortly afterwards, early in our third campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim, in the summer of 1930, we found a third stamped jar-handle of this type. All three are perfectly clear, and there has never been any doubt with regard to the reading. Careful measurements with the aid of a lense and calipers have shown that all three impressions are absolutely identical, and come from the same seal. This fact is in striking contrast to the situation with respect to the royal stamped jar-handles of the preëxilic period, as well as with regard to the stamped jar-handles belonging to the Temple treasury after the Exile, in both of which groups there are almost as many different originals as there are impressions.

The circumstances in which the third example was found help to assign a more definite date to the object. It was found in the south-east quadrant, in a room belonging to the uppermost of three phases of construction, all belonging to stratum A (cir. 920 B. C. —). The first phase belongs to the ninth century, and exhibits characteristic pottery of the transition from Early Iron I to II. The second phase represents the most flourishing period of the history of A, during which were built most of the houses which were occupied at the time of the final destruction by the Chaldaeans. At a few points we find that houses belonging to this principal phase of construction, which probably began during the century between 850 and 750 B. C., were demolished before the final abandonment of the town, but were generally replaced by markedly inferior constructions. The difference is rendered all the more striking because of the remarkable uniformity of the house-construction belonging to the second phase, a regularity appearing both in plan and in masonry. The most remarkable case of the replacement of superior masonry by inferior is precisely in the area where our jar-handle was discovered. All around this area we find continued occupation of houses belonging—at least in their substructure—to the second phase, so that the area in question resembles a patch of coarse stuff on a robe of fine cloth. There is, of course, no difference in the broken pottery found above the latest floor-levels, whether they are in constructions of the second or constructions of the third phase; all such pottery belongs to

the very latest period of the history of A. The importance to us of the fact that our jar-handle was found in the uppermost of the three phases in question is that the latter was very brief, and must be placed in the last few years before the final destruction of the town. Our jar-handle, therefore, belongs to the latest preëxilic period, when the prosperity of the land had been very seriously reduced by recurrent foreign invasions, involving heavy drains on its capital, both in direct levy of tribute and in injury to commerce and industry. This period of reduced prosperity must have begun with the death of Josiah, B. C. 609/8, and have lasted until the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6. It is, accordingly, to this historic age that the seal of Eliakim almost certainly belongs.

Our seal evidently belongs in some way with the well-known category of seals bearing the inscription "X servant (עבד) of Y," since the words עבד (*'ebed*), "slave, servant, officer," and נער (*na'ar*), "youth, attendant, steward," are roughly synonymous, and the formulae are thus parallel. Since this is the first occurrence of the latter, we must first turn to the examples known of the former, in order to elucidate the latter. The formula "X '*'ebed* Y" appears in a number of seals from different parts of Palestine which have been discussed by Clermont-Ganneau,<sup>1</sup> Kautzsch,<sup>2</sup> Lidzbarski,<sup>3</sup> and Torrey,<sup>4</sup> all of whom agree entirely in maintaining that X represents the name of a royal officer, while Y is the name of the king. In several cases Y is replaced by the words "of the king" (המלך). Thus we have the seals of Abiyau (= Abiyáhū), servant of 'Uzziyau (Uzziah), of Šubnayau (or Šebanyau), servant of 'Uzziyau, of Šema', servant of Yarob'am (Jeroboam II), and of Šema', servant of the king (a different and later personage, as is shown by the epigraphy of the seal), of 'Abdiyau (Obadiah), servant of the king. Non-Israelites are represented by Adônî-pillet, servant of 'Ammînadab (king of Ammon),<sup>5</sup> and by Hilles, servant of Malkîrâm (possibly

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, I (1895), p. 33ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1904, pp. 1—14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ephemeris*, II, p. 142ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual of the American School in Jerusalem*, II—III, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> See especially Torrey, *ibid.*, pp. 103—5.

king of Edom),<sup>6</sup> among others. In no case does a name which is certainly not that of a king occur in the position Y. As has been seen by the distinguished scholars mentioned above, the word 'ebed cannot possibly mean "slave", since slaves were not legally entitled to execute documents in their own names, and consequently had no right to carry seals. Since the word 'ebed means "slave" in the Bible, except where it is used of a servant of the king, i. e., a royal officer, it accordingly follows necessarily that it means "royal officer" in the seals.<sup>7</sup> As Kautzsch has shown in detail, there are a number of biblical passages where 'ebed ham-melek has the sense of a high royal official.<sup>8</sup> Some of these seals are, moreover, remarkably fine; the seal of Šema', servant of Jeroboam, is a masterpiece of the glyptic art.<sup>9</sup>

There is an entirely adequate explanation of the use of 'ebed in the sense of "royal officer," especially on the seals, but it has curiously been overlooked by the four scholars to whom we have referred. This is the fact that on Accadian documents and seals of the third and second millennia the expression *arad šarri*, which corresponds exactly in primary meaning to 'ebed ham-melek, is invariably used in the sense of "royal officer". Examples are exceedingly common. In the same way as in Hebrew, moreover, the personal name of the king may replace the word *šarri*, "of the king." It goes without saying that the Canaanite (Hebrew) expression is simply the translation of the Accadian, though it is, of course, not impossible that it arose independently. In the Amarna Tablets, for instance, *arad (šarri)* is used in this sense.

We are now ready to take up our seal. Let us consider the names first, and afterwards the formula. The name *Elyaqîm* offers no

<sup>6</sup> It is by no means certain that this Malkîrâm is to be identified with *A-A-ram-mu*, king of Edom, mentioned by Sennacherib in the account of his campaign in 701, though Winckler and others maintained the reading *Malikrammu* as late as 1909. A reading *Airammu* is, however, very difficult indeed to explain. It may be that we must take *A-A=abu*, "father," and read *Abîrammu* (= *Abîrâm, Abram*).

<sup>7</sup> The man who entered the royal service ceased to be attached to the clan organization, and became a "slave" of the king in a legal sense; see Alt, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina*, p. 48.

<sup>8</sup> See Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 9ff.

<sup>9</sup> Kautzsch estimated its commercial value (in 1904!) as 50000 francs.



difficulty; it was particularly common in the latest preëxilic period, and was, e. g., the original name of king Yôyaqîm (Joiakim), father of Yôyakîn (Yekonyah). The other name, יִכִן, is at first sight strange; it is the merit of Père Vincent to have pointed out the correct explanation to the writer. It is undoubtedly a hypocoristicon (abbreviated or caritative form) of the name יִיכִין, i. e., *Yôyakîn*, name of the next to the last king of Judah. We have an excellent parallel in a seal from the seventh or sixth century B. C., which reads לְעֵשׂוֹ בֶן יִקָם, i. e., "Belonging to 'Asayau son of Yauqîm (Yôqîm)" where *Yauqîm* is the hypocoristicon of *Yôyaqîm* (pronounced *Yauyaqîm*—see below).<sup>10</sup> The same abbreviated form *Yôqîm* appears also in I Chron. 4 22. The forms *Yauqîm* and *Yaukîn* are absolutely identical in formation. It should be added for the benefit of those who are not familiar with early Hebrew orthography that we must always read medial *waw* and *yod* as consonants (or as the second, semi-consonantal element in diphthongs) in preëxilic orthography; the use of the *matres lectionis* was not introduced into Biblical Hebrew until about the fifth century B. C., under Aramaic influence. It may also be added that as is well-known to comparative linguists, the spiration of stops (i. e., the *beghadh-kefath* consonants) did not come into Hebrew until after the Exile, also under Aramaic influence.<sup>11</sup> There are two possible explanations of the abbreviations *Yauqîm* and *Yaukîn*. The first is that they are haplological reductions of *Yauyaqîm* and *Yauyakîn*, the second syllable being eliminated by dissimilation. The phenomenon is common; for an excellent illustration from biblical Hebrew cf. the name \**Yahûyâkâl*, "It is Yahweh who is able," which becomes *Yehûkâl* and *Yâkâl* (Jer. 37 3 and 38 1), while the inverted form *Yekolyâhû* (2 Kings 15 2 = 2 Chron. 26 3),<sup>12</sup> like *Yekonyâhu*,<sup>13</sup> remains unchanged. The parallel between the

<sup>10</sup> For this seal see Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, plate XI, 8.

<sup>11</sup> See Gesenius-Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 40f., 165.

<sup>12</sup> The verbal element is perfect (properly stative) according to the Massoretic vocalization, but it is not impossible that we should vocalize *Yâkalyâhû*.

<sup>13</sup> If this vocalization is correct, we must derive the imperfect *yakon* from the stem *knn*, "to protect," with Lewy, (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens* (MVAG 29, 2), p. 49, n. 1, and Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 202, n. 1. However, it is not impossible that we should vocalize



abbreviations becomes greater when we remember that *Yehûkâl* and *Yûkâl* were almost certainly pronounced *Yahûkâl* and *Yaukâl*. The second possibility is that the imperative was substituted for the imperfect or jussive in these names, but this alternative, which the writer was formerly inclined to prefer (*ZAW* 1929, p. 16) is improbable, since there is no evidence in the dialect of Jerusalem (Biblical Hebrew) for any imperative form but *hâqêm, hâkên*.

The next problem to consider is the substitution of *na'ar* for the usual *'ebed* on our seal. The solution is very simple; we have only to examine the development of meaning found in the Hebrew use of *na'ar*. The word means originally "child, youth," a sense in which it occurs repeatedly in the Bible. It then comes to mean "young attendant, armour-bearer, confidential man," and "picked warrior," a sense which occurs in Canaanite, as well as in the Bible.<sup>14</sup> Finally, we find the word employed in the meaning "steward," i. e., "confidential attendant."<sup>15</sup> In the sense of "personal servant, attendant," we find the word applied to the servant of Abraham, Gen. 18 7, of Elijah, 1 Kings 18 43, etc. It means "personal servant, armor-bearer" in the case of Gideon (Jud. 7 11), of Abimelech (Jud. 9 54), of Jonathan (1 Sam. 14 1). The sense of "steward" is already evident in 1 Sam. 2 13, 15, where it is related that the *na'ar* of the priest came into the sacrificial court in order to get the flesh which was the portion of the latter. Similarly, Gehazi, Elisha's man, is called his *na'ar* (2 Kings 4 12, 5 20). At this point it may be observed that *na'ar* always appears to connote the freedom of the person to whom the designation is applied. In the sense of "confidential man, private agent," *na'ar* appears in the

*Yekenydhû*, taking the verb as *hif'il* jussive (properly a hypocoristic formation from the imperfect; see *JBL* XLIII, 373f., and XLVI, 173ff.) of יָיָן, "Yahweh establishes," or "let Yahweh establish." In this case, the name would be merely a transposition of the name Joiachin. Which is the throne-name is obscure: probably the latter, to judge from the analogy with the undoubted throne-name Joiakim.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 6, p. 221.

<sup>15</sup> In a curious note in the *Monatsschrift zur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1929, 315 ff., Steif maintains that the word *na'ar* often means "heir, prince-apparent," like the Spanish *infante*. The argument is very forced, however, and his conclusion is quite baseless.

account of Sanballat's attempt to decoy Nehemiah into a trap, Neh. 6 5.

The sense of "steward" is already fully developed in the story of Ruth, where Boaz is represented as giving instructions to his *na'ar*, "who was placed in charge of the reapers" (Ruth 2 15). But we have a much more striking illustration in the case of Ziba, which provides a complete and satisfactory explanation of the usage of our seal. As will be recalled, David made enquiries (2 Sam. 9 1 ff.) with regard to the family of Saul, and was referred to Ziba, who is called "steward of Saul" (נָעַר שְׂאוּל, 9 9), "steward of the house of Saul" (נָעַר בֵּית שְׂאוּל, 19 18), and who is twice (9 10, 19 18) credited with having fifteen sons and twenty slaves (עֲבָדִים). Ziba was evidently a most important personage, the custodian of the personal property of Saul and his family. According to the usual custom, this property might have been confiscated by David, since it belonged to his conquered foes, but he wisely chose to be generous, and bestowed the property on Meribba'al (Meribaal, Mephibosheth), son of Jonathan. There can be no doubt that such a magnanimous act was very favorably received by all Israel, especially by the northern tribes. Ziba now became the *na'ar* of Meribba'al (16 1), and was thus instructed by David: "All that belonged to Saul and to his whole house (family) I have given to thy master's son (Meribba'al); and thou shalt till the ground for him, thou and thy slaves, and thou shalt bring (the produce) and it shall belong to thy master's son as his sustenance." Later Ziba took advantage of Absalom's rebellion to slander Meribba'al to David, who gave him the property in question, title to which remained, of course, in David's hands.<sup>16</sup> When Meribba'al later appeared, declaring that he had been betrayed by Ziba, David, who was presumably disgusted with both, divided the property of Saul between them. It may safely be supposed that Ziba made most of his fortune during the seven years which elapsed between Saul's death and the union of the kingdoms under David, when the weak Ishbaal was king,

<sup>16</sup> See Noth, *ZDPV* 1927, 215f. Noth has, however, gone too far in maintaining that David actually confiscated the property of Saul, and that Ziba, though the servant of Saul, was first appointed administrator of the property by David; cf. the writer's observations, *JPOS* 11, 125, n. 4.

and it may also be supposed that little attention was paid to the details of Ziba's administration.

We are now able to render our seal as "Eliakim steward (or intendant) of Joiachin," i. e. the administrator of the personal or crown property of the latter. The subject of crown property in Israel has been fully discussed by Noth, *ZDPV* 1927, pp. 211—44, with most of whose pertinent observations on pp. 211—8 I am in hearty accord.<sup>17</sup> The official who was in charge of the royal property was named apparently '*al hab-bayit*, "(the one placed) over the (royal) household," though it is not impossible that this designation belongs properly to the palace chamberlain rather than to the intendant of the crown property. It is curious to note that the official in question was named Eliakim in the time of Hezekiah (2 Kings 18 18), about a century before our time.

It is, however, most improbable that the three seal impressions of Eliakim so far found were struck during the reign of Joiachin, who occupied the throne only three months, either all of the time or most of it during the Chaldaean siege of Jerusalem. The history of this period is unfortunately obscure in a number of important points. Our sources are too concise to permit any certainty in reconstructing their historical background when they differ. However, thanks to Assyriological data, which enable us to settle most chronological details, we are relatively well off, and can attack the problems which demand solution with some hope of success. The discovery of the Nabopolassar Chronicle by C. J. Gadd<sup>18</sup> and a number of minor additions to our material now make it possible to start with a fixed date for the death of Josiah. It has also become possible to check the apparently confused and contradictory biblical data, most of which are correct, but require interpretation. The new data have in part been utilized already by Julius Lewy<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Noth's discussion of the ostraca of Samaria (pp. 219ff.), while exceedingly valuable in detail, reaches an erroneous conclusion with reference to the purpose of the ostraca, which he regards as documents belonging to the administration of the crown property. The writer has insisted, since his initial paper, *JPOS* 5, 38ff., that the ostraca are connected with the state fiscal system; for a brief reply to Noth's position see *JPOS* 11, 248f.

<sup>18</sup> *The Fall of Nineveh*, London, 1923.

<sup>19</sup> *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens* (*MVAG* 29, 2), Leipzig, 1925, especially pp. 20—67.



and Joachim Begrich,<sup>20</sup> while the work of F. X. Kugler remains fundamental in various respects.<sup>21</sup>

There can be no doubt that the fall of Jerusalem took place in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, reckoned in postdating Babylonian fashion. This yields the date 587/6 (spring commencement of the year).<sup>22</sup> Begrich has shown conclusively that the Jewish computation of regnal years in the seventh century B. C. and later followed as a rule the Assyro-Babylonian system, both in calendar and in postdating.<sup>23</sup> Adding the regnal years of the last four kings of Judah, we then have the year 609/8 (spring) as the date of the battle of Megiddo and the death of Josiah. 609 was the accession year of Necho II of Egypt, and is established by the Nabopolassar Chronicle as the date of an important Egyptian expedition against Nabopolassar. Lewy has shown that this Egyptian expedition must be the one in which the battle of Megiddo was fought.<sup>24</sup> The subjoined table gives all the important dates for our purpose between the death of Josiah and the release of Joiachin. A discussion and defense, where necessary, of the details will be found below.

Accession of Necho	609
Battle of Megiddo; death of Josiah	609/8
Accession of Shelemiah-Joahaz <sup>25</sup> (reigned three months)	—

<sup>20</sup> *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda*, Tübingen, 1929, especially pp. 60ff., 141ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Von Moses bis Paulus*, Münster, 1922, especially p. 182ff.

<sup>22</sup> Kugler, *op. cit.*, p. 187; Begrich, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*. It is difficult, however, to accept Begrich's ingenious theory of the origin of such divergences from the correct postdating chronology as those in Jer. 32 1, 2 Kings 24 12, and Jer. 52 12 = 2 Kings 25 8. The writer assumes, with Kugler and other recent writers, that the excess of one year in each of these passages is due to the use of the antedating system, which did not disappear entirely until the end of the preëxilic state.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 20ff.; Begrich, *op. cit.*, p. 142ff.

<sup>25</sup> The throne-name was probably Joahaz, not Shallum, as thought by Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 58, n. 3, to judge by the analogy of the throne-names Joiakim and Joiachin. In any case *Šallûm* is a hypocoristic form of *Šelemyâhû*; see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, 21. It may be observed that both *Šelemyâhû* and *Yô'ahaz* are names already borne by kings of Judah; *Šelemyâhû* is the full form of the name *Šelômô* (Solomon). The custom of giving throne-names, which originated in Egypt, began in Judah as early as the time of Solomon,



Accession of Eliakim-Joiakim <sup>26</sup>	—
First year of Joiakim	608/7
Fourth year of Joiakim; accession year of Nebuchadnezzar	605/4
Battle of Carchemish	—
First year of Nebuchadnezzar	604/3
First conquest of Judah by Chaldeans	603/2
Rebellion of Joiakim	600/599
Second Chaldean invasion; death of Joiakim	598/7
Accession of Jeconiah-Joiachin (reigned three months)	—
First captivity in seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar	—
Regency of Mattaniah-Zedekiah	—
First year of Joiachin's captivity and of Zedekiah's regency	597/6
Accession of Psammetichus II	593
Beginning of Ezekiel's prophetic mission, fifth year of Joiachin's captivity	593/2
Rebellion of Zedekiah	589/8
Accession of Apries (Hophra)	—
Siege of Jerusalem begins (January)	587 (588)
Fall of Jerusalem (second captivity) (July)	—
Third captivity (23rd year of Nebuchadnezzar) (?)	582/1
End of Ezekiel's mission (30th of Joiachin) (?)	568/7
Accession of Awil-Marduk (August-September)	562
First year of Awil-Marduk; release of Joiachin (37th year of his captivity—March-April, 560)	561/0

The first problem requiring discussion is that of the events connected with Necho's defeat by the Babylonians, and his expulsion from Palestine. In Tammuz (July-August), 609, after the battle of Megiddo, the allied Egypto-Assyrian army laid siege to Harrân, which had been captured by the Babylonians and Medes (608)

whose personal name was *Yedidyâhû*. From the intervening period we have only one such case preserved, *'Ozi yâhû* (*'Uzzi yâhû*) and *'Izri yâhû* (*'Azaryâhû*), both of which forms are attested inscriptionally.

<sup>26</sup> Joiakim was presumably regarded by an influential party as regent for Joahaz until the latter's death; see below.

in the preceding year, as we learn from the Nabopolassar Chronicle.<sup>27</sup> That Harrân was captured by a coalition of Babylonians and Medes, not of Babylonians and Scythians, as maintained by Gadd and Lewy,<sup>28</sup> is now certain from a letter of Nebuchadnezzar, written while still crown-prince.<sup>29</sup> Here the Umman Manda of the Chronicle appear as "a large army (*emûqu mâdu*) of the land of Madai (*Madaya*)." This letter also proves that Berossus was correct in stating that Nebuchadnezzar acted on his father's behalf during the latter's life-time.<sup>30</sup> There is some doubt as to the exact result of the Egypto-Assyrian siege of Harrân in 609, owing to the broken condition of the Chronicle at this point. Gadd maintains that the siege was unsuccessful,<sup>31</sup> while Lewy holds that Harrân was recaptured by the Egyptians and Assyrians.<sup>32</sup> If our interpretation of the end of line 69 is right,<sup>33</sup> it would appear that Harrân was not recaptured, but that Nabopolassar did not feel strong enough to risk a pitched battle with the allies, in the absence of his Median confederates. Whether Harrân was ultimately recaptured remains uncertain, though hardly probable. In 608 Nabopolassar returned to the conflict, as we learn from the last line of the tablet, but we know nothing of events during this year and those immediately following.

Jer. 46 2 gives some very interesting information in the introduction to the prophet's vivid description of an Egyptian defeat

<sup>27</sup> The fall of Harrân is absolutely dated to 610 not only by the Nabopolassar Chronicle, but also by an explicit statement of Nabonidus; see Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 22f., with the correction of Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 22, 29.

<sup>28</sup> Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 21ff.; Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 22f.

<sup>29</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

<sup>30</sup> See Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 135ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23f., with transcription on p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23, with transcription on p. 76ff., and commentary on p. 85f.

<sup>33</sup> The original reads *nu LAL-su*, which Gadd rendered *ul iṣbat (?) -su*, "he did not capture (?) it," while Lewy proposes [*ana arki-šu-ḡnu ippalsûsu*], "[Sie (?) hatten sich ver]spätet." Lewy is unquestionably right (in spite of Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 121) in comparing two other passages which also contain the verb *LAL*<sup>sa</sup>: *Bab. Chron.*, I, 37, and *Nabonidus Chron.*, III, 16. His rendering of *LAL* as *naplusu* (Delitzsch, HWB 528a) is however wrong, and we should probably read [*arkânû*]<sup>nu</sup> *iḥḥisûsu*, "afterwards they retired" (sc. from the siege); cf. Ebeling, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7, 120.

on the river Euphrates: "With reference to Egypt, concerning the army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was on the river Euphrates at Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, smote in the fourth year of Joiakim..." It is true that Lewy has tried to show that this introduction is apocryphal, and that there is, accordingly, no evidence for a battle of Carchemish.<sup>34</sup> All he has succeeded in proving, however, is that the introduction cannot have been written by Jeremiah himself, but is a later addition, a conclusion which no one would probably oppose. But it may be very early and be absolutely correct. Lewy goes decidedly too far when he assumes that "Nebuchadnezzar probably never touched Carchemish at all."<sup>35</sup> The British excavations at Carchemish have proved that the town was destroyed about 600 B. C.,<sup>36</sup> and that it had been occupied just prior to its fall by an Egyptian garrison, in whose quarters were found large numbers of Egyptian objects, including seals and sealings of Psammetichus I and of Necho. These quarters had, moreover, been stormed by an attacking army, and set on fire, as is shown by the finding of human bones and of vast quantities of arrow-heads, javelin-heads, a sword, a bronze shield, and human bones on the floor, amid the ashes of a great conflagration.<sup>37</sup> A battle did take place at Carchemish, therefore, a battle in which the Egyptians were defeated. There is no reason to suppose that it did not take place in 605/4, the year of Nebuchadnezzar's accession. Lewy maintains that Nebuchadnezzar cannot have fought a victorious battle at Carchemish and have overrun Syria and Palestine between March-April and July, 605, the date of the first contract tablet belonging to his reign. This is naturally true, but we are not forced to suppose that he overran Syria and Palestine immediately after the victory at Carchemish. This is a common assumption, based on the passage of Berossus already cited, as well as on 2 Kings 24 7.<sup>38</sup> The latter, however,

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 28ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> See *Carchemish*, Part II, London, 1921 (by C. L. Woolley), pp. 79, 95, 125.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 123—9.

<sup>38</sup> It may be observed in this connection that the captivity in the third year of Joiakim, i. e., 606/5 B. C., is absolutely unhistorical, as long since recognized by virtually all scholars; for the possible origin of the story and date see Montgomery, *Daniel*, *ad loc.*



merely states that Nebuchadnezzar conquered all Syria and Palestine, from the Wâdi el-'Arîsh to the Euphrates, but does not say when this region was conquered. Berossus states that Nebuchadnezzar defeated the satrap of Egypt, Coelesyria, and Phoenicia (i. e., Necho, whose father had been a vassal of Assyria), and conquered these regions before he learned of his father's death. When this news reached him, he organized the administration of the conquered territory, arranged for the transport of his army, as well as of the numerous captives, to Babylon, and returned himself by a forced march through the desert, with only a small body of troops.<sup>39</sup> This account is exaggerated in any case, since Nebuchadnezzar most certainly did not invade and conquer Egypt before his father's death. We are not warranted in drawing any conclusions from Berossus' account except that Nebuchadnezzar defeated Necho somewhere, and conquered certain territories as a result of this victory. When Berossus read in the cuneiform chronicle on which he undoubtedly based his narrative that Nebuchadnezzar defeated an Egyptian army and conquered various places (which may all have been in northwestern Mesopotamia and northern Syria), he can hardly be blamed for drawing erroneous inferences as to the extent of the conquest. What presumably happened was that Nebuchadnezzar intended to follow up his great victory at Carchemish, but was recalled to Babylon by news of his father's death before he had time to carry out his plans.<sup>40</sup>

When did Nebuchadnezzar actually conquer Palestine? We have a statement in 2 Kings 24 1, to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar came up in the days of Joiakim, who became his vassal for three years, after which he rebelled. Apparently the Chaldaean monarch was not able to take the field at once, owing to other demands upon his military establishment, but he ordered his loyal prefects to send punitive expeditions against Judah, as we must naturally infer from 24 2. It follows that Nebuchadnezzar himself did not invade Judah until at least a year after the revolt. Since his invasion came in the year of Joiakim's death, the first conquest of Judah

<sup>39</sup> Josephus, *loc. cit.* <sup>agree</sup> Berossus has been followed by a number of historians, e. g., by Thompson in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 211f., as well as by Rogers, King, etc.

<sup>40</sup> So also Kittel, *Geschichte*, II, p. 537, n. 2.



by the Chaldaeans must be dated at least five years earlier, i. e. not later than 603/2. From Jer. 36 9, 29, on the other hand, it follows that Nebuchadnezzar had not yet invaded Judah in Dec.-Jan., 604/3, the fifth year of Joiakim. We are, therefore, obliged to date the first Chaldaean invasion of Judah in 603/2, if these biblical data are correct. The fragmentary text mentioning a campaign in the Antilibanus in the third year of a Late Babylonian king's reign, and assigned by Winckler to Nebuchadnezzar, really refers to Nabonidus, and has nothing to do with the year 602/1.<sup>41</sup>

There are conflicting statements with regard to the end of Joiakim's reign. 2 Kings 24 6 says nothing except simply that he died (expressed euphemistically as "he slept with his fathers"). 2 Chron. 36 6 (11) says that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against him and bound him with bronze fetters, in order to bring him to Babylon," but says nothing about his death.  $\mathfrak{G}^B$  gives this passage, but adds after sa: "And Joiakim slept with his fathers, and was buried in  $\Gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\zeta\alpha\epsilon$  with his fathers." The transcribed Hebrew phrase  $\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron\zeta\alpha\epsilon$ , which has naturally been recognized as  $\text{גן עוז}$ , "garden of Uzza," proves that this is not an addition of the Greek translators, but was found in their copy of the Hebrew Chronicle. Both Manasseh and Amon were buried in the "garden of Uzza," according to 2 Kings 21 18, 26. The contradiction in the two statements of the Chronicle can, of course, be reconciled by supposing that he died in his fetters, before he was removed from Jerusalem, but this kind of harmonization is too artificial to be taken seriously. Jeremiah's predictions in 22 18f. and 36 30 must have been approximately fulfilled, or they would naturally not have been included in the anthology of his poems which was later published. Since they agree with the statement of the compiler of Kings, who was comparatively close to the time

<sup>41</sup> Kittel, *loc. cit.*, was disturbed by this fragment, published last by Winckler, *Textbuch*, 3rd. ed., p. 56f. Smith, in his latest publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 98ff., has pointed out that the campaign against Ammananu in Syria took place in the third year of Nabonidus, but has overlooked the fact that the fragment in question also describes a Babylonian campaign against Ammananu in the third year. The rebellion began in the month of Iyyar, and the march from Babylonia began in the month of Ab, which allows two months for news to reach Babylon and a punitive expedition to be organized. See Weidner, *JSOR* 6, 117ff.

of Joiakim, we may accept them as roughly correct, and disregard the Chronicler's much later compilation, which in this case, derived its data from the history of Zedekiah, who was fettered before being taken to Babylon, and of Manasseh and Amon, who were buried in the garden of Uzza. Joiakim, accordingly, received no funeral, and his body was thrown outside of the gates of Jerusalem, and left there, like the body of an ass. This fate suggests that there was a palace revolt, in which he was slain and his son Joiachin placed on the throne. The compiler of Kings places Nebuchadnezzar's invasion after the death of Joiakim, who was responsible for the revolt, but did not live to see its suppression.

The narrative in Kings says that the Chaldaean army laid siege to Jerusalem, and that Nebuchadnezzar arrived during the progress of the siege. Since Joiachin reigned only three months, his submission to the king of Babylon, which followed the latter's arrival, must have taken place within a few weeks of the beginning of the investment. It may well be that Joiachin and the queen-mother Nehushta were disposed to submission from the beginning of his reign, and that Joiakim had been removed by a party of nobles who were disaffected because of heavy property losses sustained during the Chaldaean punitive incursions (2 Kings 24 2). The influence of Nehushta was, at all events, very great, since the young king was only eighteen<sup>42</sup> when he was elevated to the throne. She belonged to a noble family of Jerusalem, a fact which perhaps helps to explain her influence, since most queen-mothers of the preëxilic age came from provincial towns. The queen-mother Nehushta's name generally occurs with that of Joiachin (2 Kings 24 12, 15, Jer. 13 18).

Joiachin's submission was followed by the elevation of his uncle, Zedekiah, a son of Josiah by Hamutal, and accordingly the uterine brother of Joahaz and half-brother of Joiakim. It is true that the Chronicler makes Zedekiah son of Joiakim and brother of Joiachin, but the clear statements of the older source cannot be discarded so lightly as has been done by Lewy.<sup>43</sup> Zedekiah was undoubtedly designated by Nebuchadnezzar as king *de jure*, but the majority of the people must certainly have regarded him as regent for his

<sup>42</sup> The text of Chronicles makes him only eight.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 43f.



nephew. This has not been understood hitherto, and since it is important for our comprehension of the latest preëxilic history of Judah, it requires a detailed discussion.

The custom of placing the eldest son of the dead king on the throne of Judah had become thoroughly established as the result of an uninterrupted practice of more than three centuries, since the death of Solomon. That the successor was regularly the eldest son is proved quite conclusively by the absence of any record of dynastic revolutions and civil wars during the long period from cir. 926 to 609 B. C. It is true that there was one short interruption of the normal succession, under Athaliah, but the heir apparent was saved and was duly placed on the throne by a *coup d'état*. The present text of 2 Kings 23 36 makes Joiakim twenty-five years old at his accession, or about two years older than his brother Joahaz, whom he succeeded. This is generally explained as due to the Egyptian sympathies of the former, which caused the people to prefer his younger brother.<sup>44</sup> However, if the number 25 were right, Josiah would have been a father at fourteen, which would be a most abnormal age even in Palestine. If the Hebrew numbers are correct, Joahaz was born when his father was sixteen, which is reasonable enough in the case of a firstborn son. We may safely consider Joiakim as the younger brother. The people would certainly regard him as regent for Joahaz, until the latter's death in Egypt. We must not forget that regencies were not uncommon in Judah; the best-known case is that of Jotham.<sup>45</sup> It is, therefore, *a priori* practically certain that a large party in Judah would consider Joiachin as the real king, after his deportation, and would regard Zedekiah as only regent, or as king *de facto* but not *de jure*.

Fortunately, we have clear evidence that Joiachin was actually regarded in this light. Jer. 28 1-4 describes an episode of the fourth year of Zedekiah (594/3),<sup>46</sup> which shows clearly what the temper

<sup>44</sup> 1 Chron. 3 15 lists four sons of Josiah: Johanan, Joiakim, Zedekiah, Shallum;  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  substitutes Joahaz for Johanan. Such a list cannot be made the basis for any chronological conclusions, since there is no proof that the order is correct.

<sup>45</sup> 2 Kings 15 5.

<sup>46</sup> The date is doubtful, since 27 1 and 28 1 are both furnished with the divergent date, "in the accession-year of Joiakim." However, the references to certain months in 28 1, 17 make the date in the fourth year the more likely one.

of the majority was at that time. The prophet Hananiah of Gibeon predicted to the priests and the people gathered in the Temple that the exiled Joiachin and the remaining captives, as well as the vessels of the Temple, would be brought back in two years. While Jeremiah opposed this prophecy, his own attitude is illustrated by the parable of the figs (42 1ff.): Joiachin and the exiles are good figs, whereas Zedekiah and his nobles are bad figs.

Among the Jews in the captivity, whose ardent desire to return to their native land is repeatedly mentioned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Joiachin was naturally regarded as the only legitimate king. Since, as well known, the relations between the exiles and their relatives in Palestine remained very close, this attitude unquestionably influenced the latter. The most important evidence is derived from the dates of Ezekiel and 2 Kings 25 27. In Ezek. 1 2, as well as in the passage in Kings just cited, events are dated by the "captivity of king Joiachin." This dating is naturally substituted for the dating by his reign, since documents dated in such a way would have been invalid in any part of the Babylonian Empire. The only change required to make the dating safe was the insertion of the single word גלות. The dates naturally follow the postdating practice in vogue at that time both in Babylonia and in Judah (see above). Since this fact has been misunderstood by Kugler, as well as by all older historians and commentators, while Lewy has correctly understood it, but has drawn erroneous conclusions from it, some discussion will be necessary. First, however, we must take up briefly the question of the chronology of Ezekiel.

Ezekiel furnishes fourteen dates, of which the first has generally been treated as enigmatic, while the rest have generally been referred to the era of Joiachin's captivity, specifically mentioned in three cases. Postponing the treatment of the first date, let us take up the other dates in sequence, where they present any difficulty or problem. In 26 1 we have the date, first day of the eleventh year, with no mention of the month. Since v. 2 refers to Tyre's exultation over the fall of Jerusalem, which took place in the eleventh year of Joiachin and Zedekiah, the commentators (Bertholet, Kraetzschmar, etc.) are clearly right in supplying "eleventh (or twelfth) month," in view of the fact that news of the fall was brought to the prophet in the tenth month (see below). The prophecy against

(sic!)

(sic!)

Agree

— why combine?

H. had said in  
from Ezekiel in  
of siege (24:1), he  
could also inform him  
of the restoration of  
Tyre, which, according  
and Dan (Is. 23:15)



Egypt (29 1) is dated in the tenth month of the tenth year (i. e., December-January, 588/7). Since this and the following oracles are certainly connected with the military activities of Apries (Hophra) in Palestine, the date is most satisfactory, since it gives ample time for news of Apries' campaign of 588 (spring) to have reached Babylonia.

Into the series of oracles against Egypt (chapters 29—32), which otherwise develop in strict chronological sequence (year 10—10—12, 11—1—7, 11—3—1, 11—12—1, 12—1—15), is inserted one which refers to the unsatisfactory return to the Babylonians from their campaign against Tyre, and promises to give Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his chastisement of Tyre (29 17ff.). The date is New Year of the 27th year, i. e., March-April, 571/0. Nebuchadnezzar began the blockade of Tyre, which apparently revolted against Babylon in the same year as Judah (i. e. in 589/8),<sup>47</sup> in the year following (588/7), according to the data drawn by Josephus from Phoenician sources.<sup>48</sup> Thirteen years afterwards the island city capitulated (575/4). The reason for the long defense is evidently that the Chaldaeans were unable to gain control of the sea, which remained with the Egyptian and Phoenician navies. Nebuchadnezzar did not actually invade Egypt until his 37th year (568/7), as we know from a fragment of a Nebuchadnezzar Chronicle, but his

<sup>47</sup> This was the year of the accession of Apries (Hophra), who came to the throne late in 589 or early in 588. Apries appears to have invaded Palestine and Phoenicia almost immediately after his accession.

<sup>48</sup> *Contra Apionem*, I, 155ff. If we accept the correctness of the figures given by Josephus, the accession of Baal and the end of the siege, which must have preceded it immediately, fall in the year 575/4. Pietschmann, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, p. 306, has computed this way, but made an error of a year in the date of Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia, which was then placed by historians erroneously in 538 instead of 539. Josephus says that the siege began under Ithobal in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, and lasted thirteen years. Correcting the "seventh" to the seventeenth, we arrive at the same year as that in which the siege of Jerusalem began, 588/7, which is most probable, since both rebellions were due to Egyptian intrigue at the outset of Apries' reign (see above). Exactly thirteen years are then left for the siege. The commonly given dates of 585 and 572, respectively, are due to employing the inadmissible antedating system, in order to bring the close of the siege into exact agreement with Ezekiel. Unger, ZAW 1926, 314, has fallen into the trap. Contrast Hölischer, *Hesekiel*, pp. 20, 24.

preparations must have begun with the capture of Tyre. That Tyre actually fell, as presupposed by Ezekiel's oracles, is now certain, thanks to contract tablets and an official list, which have been recently studied by Unger.<sup>49</sup> One document refers to provisions "for the king and the troops which have gone with him to the land of Tyre." The name of the official mentioned in this letter, the date of which has unfortunately been lost, is Ina-šilli-Nergal, who is also mentioned in a document of the year 576/5 (the year before the fall of Tyre, according to the data preserved by Josephus). The official document, the date of which is uncertain, includes the king of Tyre among the Babylonian officials,<sup>50</sup> while a business document mentions the Babylonian commissioner (*šandabakku*) of Tyre. Four contract tablets from Tyre or referring to it date from between 570 and 563.<sup>51</sup> Ezekiel's allusion to the unsatisfactory result of the long blockade of Tyre simply means that the Tyrians had removed all their wealth, so that the Chaldaeans obtained no spoil worth recording. At all events, it is quite impossible to alter the date "27th" materially, because of the fixed dates of the fall of Tyre and of the conquest of Egypt, which leave a scope of only seven years (really six).

The latest of the oracles delivered against Egypt (32 17 ff.), which is evidently inspired by news of a great defeat of the Egyptian army, is dated in April, 586, nearly a year after the fall of Jerusalem. Since it is preceded by several predictions of the downfall of Egypt, all dated in the eleventh year (587/6), there is every reason to accept the date as correct. It was only natural that Nebuchadnezzar should turn against the Egyptian army in the south after his conquest of Judah.

<sup>49</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 50 (1925), 486; ZAW 1926, 314—7.

<sup>50</sup> This king was almost certainly Baal (575—565 B. C.).

<sup>51</sup> Two of these tablets are in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection and have been edited by Dougherty. [Thanks to the courtesy of Professor Dougherty, I have become acquainted, since the completion of this paper, with another tablet in the Goucher Collection which refers to Tyre. This tablet, No. 135 in his forthcoming book entitled *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Period*, states that four garments and four suits of mail (*sir'am*) were given to four soldiers who accompanied Ina-esih-ētir to Tyre (*mât Šur-ri*), and is dated in Nisan of the 42nd year (B. C. 563/2). Unfortunately, this document sheds no light on the siege of Tyre.]

Unnecessary. { The date of the arrival of news concerning the fall of Jerusalem (Ez. 33 21), given as the twelfth year in **יב**, should be corrected to the eleventh, as seen by all the commentators; the only change required is the substitution of **עשתיעשרי** for **שתיעשרי**, just as in 26 1. In 40 1 there is a double dating, the 25th year of the captivity being equated with the fourteenth year after the fall of Jerusalem. Kugler, who insists upon treating the dates in Ezekiel as though they were antedating, and who maintains the originality of the impossible "twelfth," makes the fourteenth year after the fall of Jerusalem equivalent to 587—13=574.<sup>52</sup> Both dates are post-dating; the **אחר אשר** had to be used in dating by the fall of Jerusalem, since **ל** was restricted to dating by regnal years. The date is, therefore, 573/2.

Now let us take up the first date in Ezekiel, which we have left to the last, because of the difficulty of the context. This is the date in the thirtieth year, given in the first verse of the book. Some have considered it as referring to some otherwise unknown era, such as the finding of the Law in the eighteenth year of Josiah (!); some have explained it as giving the age of the prophet;<sup>53</sup> some have derived it from a reckoning of the editor, subtracting the number forty once given by Ezekiel as the length of the captivity from the seventy given by Jeremiah.<sup>54</sup> Merx has, however, seen that the date belongs presumably to the series which we have been discussing, and has transferred it to the end of the book.<sup>55</sup> The writer came independently to the same explanation of the date, which is remarkably suitable for the publication of the book, but he sees no need of shifting it to the end of our Ezekiel. As a matter of fact, we can obtain a satisfactory text by some judicious transposition. It must be emphasized that the following rearrangement is not considered as a correct reconstruction, but simply as an illustration of the sort of original text which we may expect:

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 191.

<sup>53</sup> So, among recent writers, Kugler, *op. cit.*, p. 192, and Budde, *JBL* L, (1931), 29f.

<sup>54</sup> So Duhm and Bertholet.

<sup>55</sup> *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, IX, 73, quoted from Kraetzschmar's commentary, *ad loc.* So now also Berry, *JBL* LI, 55.



ויהי בשלשים שנה ברביעי בחמשה לחדש ( ) היה דבר יהוה אל  
 יחזקאל בן בוזי הכהן בארץ כשדים על נהר כבר : ( ) בשנה החמשית  
 לגלות המלך יויכין . . . בחמשה לחדש ואני בתוך הגולה על נהר  
 כבר נפתחו השמים ואראה מראות אלהים : ותהי עלי שם יד יהוה :  
 . . . וארא

And it happened in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, that the word of the Lord came to Eze-kiel, son of Buzi, the priest, on the river Chebar in the land of the Chaldaeans: "In the fifth year of the captivity of king Joiachin, (in the . . . month), on the fifth day of the month, while I was a member of the captivity on the river Chebar, heaven was opened, and I saw a divine vision. The hand of the Lord was upon me there, and I saw . . ."

We have entirely rearranged the order of clauses, which becomes aedcb instead of abcde, but have made hardly any alterations in the text. In v. 3 the first **היה** has been omitted with the versions, but this change is by no means necessary, since the meaning is not affected. In v. 2 we have changed **היא השנה** into **בשנה**; the present text is awkward, and presumably arose after the copyist had transposed the yearly and monthly date. In v. 3 we have omitted the *waw* in **עלי**. In v. 2 the number of the month has been lost. One slight orthographic emendation has also been made.

Our rearrangement of clauses is based on the intrinsic probability that the occurrence twice of the phrase, **בחמשה לחדש**, would cause the eye of a copyist to skip the intervening words, and to continue from the second occurrence of the phrase in question. The other transpositions are natural results of some later attempt to insert the missing words, which had been written on the margin, in the right order.

If our rearrangement is approximately correct in principle, the current difficulties are quite eliminated. The thirtieth year is the date of original publication by the prophet, or with his knowledge. The following is a direct quotation, describing the beginning of the prophet's mission, which was not published until twenty-five years later, i. e., B. C. 568/7.

Of course, if Torrey's brilliant study of the book were correct, our results would be worthless.<sup>56</sup> He considers it as a pseudopi-

<sup>56</sup> See his *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*, New Haven, 1930.

graphon, written originally cir. 230 B.C., and connected by its author with the apostasy of Judah under Manasseh, in whose 30th—32nd years it purported to be dated. His extremely ingenious and artificial treatment of the chronology will be found on p. 60ff. Since the regular sequence of years and months in chapters 29—32 is perfectly in order (see above), while the apparent sequence of months in the five preceding dates as reconstructed by Torrey is mainly due to his alterations in the text, we cannot accept his scheme.

Since the correctness of Ezekiel's chronology stands or falls with the authenticity of the book, a few words with regard to it may well be added. Torrey's discussion is strikingly *ex parte*. He hardly refers to any of the remarkable cuneiform parallels and illustrations which have been brought to light in the last few decades. Haupt's notes in Toy's commentary on Ezekiel in the *Polychrome Bible* are not referred to at all. How the incising of a plan of a city on a clay tablet (4 1), in accord with universal Babylonian custom, can be squared with a date in Palestine at the end of the third century B. C. is not explained at all. Nor are the remarkable reminiscences of Babylonian literature, which have been stressed by Winckler, Peiser, and others, cited. It may be added that the present writer has a number of additional parallels of this sort, not yet published, and some of them very remarkable. Two recent discoveries, both published since 1930, will show how baseless two of Torrey's most forcible objections are. On p. 84 he asks how Ezekiel could casually refer to the Persians, "before that people had made its appearance on the stage of history." In 27 10, in an oracle against Tyre, dating from between 588 and 575, the prophet refers to the distant lands from which Tyre drew its mercenaries, and mentions Persia, in the far east, Lydia, in the far northwest, and Cyrene (Put), in the far southwest. In 38 4ff. he includes in the army of Gog: Persia, Ethiopia, Cyrene, the Cimmerians, Armenians etc.<sup>57</sup> In the second volume of his *Archäologische Mitteilun-*

<sup>57</sup> The Cimmerians were quite extinct as a people by the time of Alexander. Cush and Put (Ethiopia and Cyrene) are out of place in a Macedonian host, even if we admit that Persia and Armenia belong, which is most problematical. If the author of the Gog and Magog pericope were simply drawing

*gen aus Iran*, p. 113 ff., Herzfeld has just published an inscription of Ariaramnes, the great-uncle of Cyrus the Elder, in which he assumes the title, "king of kings." This publication has just been followed by Weidner's edition of a new fragment of Assurbanapal, in which the latter speaks of an embassy sent him by Cyrus (Kuraš) king of Persia, about 639 B. C.<sup>58</sup> This is undoubtedly, as pointed out by Weidner, the grandfather of Cyrus the Elder. Persia was then an important state, within the horizon of the world of Western Asia, at least two generations before the beginning of Ezechiel's career as prophet!

The other recent discovery is even more unexpected. In Ezek. 14 14, 20 and 28 3 Daniel is mentioned, in such a way that the allusions to him must obviously be long posterior to his life. In the first two passages Ezechiel speaks of *any* land, and expressly (cf. v. 21) indicates that he means non-Israelite land. The three righteous men, whose uprightness could not save such a land, when as faithless as Israel had been, are Noah, Daniel, and Job. The context requires non-Israelites, as is true of Noah and Job. The third passage addresses the king of Tyre with the rhetorical question, "Art thou wiser than Daniel?" Modern commentators have seen that the Daniel referred to in these passages cannot possibly be the biblical Daniel, but was presumably a non-Israelite hero and sage of the remote past, one who was known to the Phoenicians as well as to the Israelites (so Bertholet). That this view was correct is now certain, thanks to the discovery of the Alein epic at Râs esh-Shamrah in northern Phoenicia. While Virolleaud has not yet published the text of this early Canaanite epic, he has given several short accounts of its contents.<sup>59</sup> The god of wisdom is here called דנאל, who "decides the case of the widow, and judges the suit of the orphan" (ידן דן אלמנת ישפט שפט יתם). Dussaud has pointed out that this *Dn'el* is naturally identical with the Daniel of Ezechiel.<sup>60</sup> That the name originally belonged to a hero, not to a god,

on biblical sources for his names of peoples, we may reasonably ask where are Javan, the Kittim, Rodanim, or even Caphtor.

<sup>58</sup> See *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7, 1ff.

<sup>59</sup> See *Syria*, 12 (1931), 21f., *Journal des Savants*, April, 1931.

<sup>60</sup> *Syria*, 12, 77.



is made probable by its theophorous formation.<sup>61</sup> It may be added that the story of Susanna is perhaps originally derived from Phoenicia, where Daniel, as god of justice, brought the case against (the lotus-goddess)<sup>62</sup> Susanna to a happy termination. From these new facts it will be seen that Torrey's argument on p. 98 is entirely without foundation.

Before leaving the question of the intrinsic evidence for the authenticity of Ezekiel, it may be well to refer to the two place-names, *Kebar*, Chebar, long since identified with the canal Kabar near Nippur, and *Tel-abîb*, where Ezekiel lived. Torrey (p. 33) scoffs at Kraetzschmar's "durch ganz Babylonien zerstreute mächtige Sandhügel," and with reason, yet the trouble is not due to the identification of the name *Tel-abîb* with Babylonian *til abûb*, "primordial mound," but to the commentator's absurd rendering of the Babylonian expression. The Babylonian word refers, as is well known, to the low mounds of long destroyed towns in Mesopotamia, which were believed to antedate the Flood; *abûbu* means "Deluge," not "storm." Such a mound could easily be reclaimed to fertility, if water were accessible. That the name is reasonable is shown not only by the names of the parallel exilic settlements of *Tel-melaḥ*<sup>63</sup> and *Tel-ḥaršâ*,<sup>64</sup> mentioned in Ezra and Nehemiah, but

<sup>61</sup> The original meaning of the name is doubtful, since there are several possibilities, all illustrated by actual names. To judge from early Babylonian and Cappadocian (really Assyrian or North Mesopotamian) names from about 2000 B. C., our name was originally *Dan-ilu*, *Dan-el*, literally "god is mighty." Later the name received the popular etymology "god is judge (*dayyan, dān*)," or "god has judged."

<sup>62</sup> As is well known, Heb. *šûšan*, "lotus, lily," is derived from Eg. *sššn*, Coptic *šôšen*, "lotus." The commonest type of Canaanite Astarte figurine in the Late Bronze Age represents the naked goddess with spiral ringlets, carrying two lotus stems in her hands; cf. *JPOS* 11, 117 ff.

<sup>63</sup> With the name *Tel-melaḥ* cf. possibly the name *âl Malahānu*, "town of the sailors," which seems to have been located near Nippur, and is mentioned in contracts from the reigns of Darius I and Artaxerxes I (Clay, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, IX, 68, 6; 91, 4-6; X, 38, 17; 101, 13, etc.). The name is in any case not likely to be Hebrew as thought, e. g., by Klamroth, *Die jüdischen Exulanten in Babylonien*, p. 27, but means "mound of the sailor(s)" (Aram. *Tel-mallāḥā* or *mallāḥāyā*).

<sup>64</sup> *Tel-ḥaršâ* is most certainly Aramaic, not Hebrew. Without changing the vocalization, it may mean either "mound of the deaf man," or "mound

also by that of the town of Til-zibar near Nippur, mentioned in a document of the time of Cambyses.<sup>65</sup> From the Murašû documents we already knew that Nippur was a Jewish center. How such names could have been invented about 230 B. C., by a Palestinian Jew, is not clear.<sup>66</sup>

Having discussed the dates of Joiachin's reign *de jure*, which are found in Ezekiel, let us turn back to 2 Kings 25 27. This passage has been discussed recently by Kugler,<sup>67</sup> Lewy,<sup>68</sup> and Begrich.<sup>69</sup> Kugler and Begrich think that the expression *בשנת מלכו* means "in his accession year," i. e., in 562/1, while Lewy maintains that it refers to the first official year of Awil-Marduk, 561/0. Lewy has pointed out that it can hardly refer to the accession year, since

of the grove." Reading *Tel-harrâšâ*, it would mean "mound of the magician," like Babylonian *Maškan-šabrîm*, or numerous modern Arab sites. Contrast Klamroth, *loc. cit.* It may be added that of the three remaining names of Babylonian places mentioned Ezra 2 59, two, *Kerûb* and *Immer*, are clearly Babylonian. The former corresponds to a *bît kirubû*, "house of untilled ground," which appears, e. g., in a text from the time of Nabonidus published by Dougherty, *Yale Babylonian Texts*, VI, 110, 2. 8. The latter is naturally Bab. *bît immeri*, "sheep-house" (e. g., Dougherty, *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions*, I, 64, 3).

<sup>65</sup> Clay, *Babylonian Expedition*, VIII, 1, 94, 10f.: *âl Ti-li-zi-ba-ri*.

<sup>66</sup> It is not our place here to enter into a discussion of all the arguments brought by Torrey against the authenticity of the book. Almost every statement of his can be opposed by equally cogent facts. The argument from language (pp. 84—90) is very weak, since Ezekiel was written, we believe, by a man who lived the greater part of his life in Babylonia, in an Aramaic-speaking community, and was edited by followers of his who had certainly been brought up, if not born in Babylonia. Besides, it is extremely probable that the book was transmitted for generations in Babylonia before being brought to Palestine. The contention that "second sight" and telepathy are impossible (pp. 73—82) is not demonstrated; cf. Kittel, *Geschichte*, III, 144ff. It may be added that Dessoir, in his standard book, *Vom Jenseits der Seele* (6th ed., Stuttgart, 1931), says that the only parapsychological phenomenon which may safely be regarded as true is telepathy (cf. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1931, col. 2167). The writer has been convinced since his South American boyhood of the reality of telepathic phenomena in pathological subjects, because of an experiment of his father with such a subject.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 189f.

<sup>68</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25ff.

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 60f., 144.

there is another expression used at this period for the latter: **השנה הראשנה**, employed Jer. 25<sup>1</sup> for the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar (605/4), which was also the fourth year of Joiakim. Because the expression just quoted is a hapax legomenon there is no reason for replacing it by **השנה הראשנה**, which incidentally does not occur elsewhere either. Lewy is clearly correct in associating it with **ראשית מלכות**, which all render by "accession year," like Babylonian *rēš šarrūti*. Kugler did not consider this point, and Begrich's objections to Lewy's view only affect the logic of the latter's statement, and not the validity of his reasoning. Kugler and Begrich have both been misled by their failure to appreciate the significance of the dating by Joiachin's captivity, which is simply a substitute for illegal dating by his reign *de jure* (for the Jews). Lewy's suggestion that Joiachin ruled long enough to have his first year (following the New Year after his accession) counted is wholly unnecessary; we have already discussed the date Ezek. 33<sup>21</sup>.

After this long historical discussion we can return to the seal of Eliakim, steward of Joiachin. While only one handle bearing this stamp was known, it was naturally possible to refer it to the short reign of Joiachin, despite the fact that the country was for all, or nearly all of the time occupied by Chaldaean troops, so that normal business operations could hardly be carried on. But with three examples, coming from points so far separated as Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh, this view is no longer reasonable, as we have already seen. We may, therefore, confidently assign our stamps to the reign of Zedekiah, who was regarded by a large party in Judah as only the regent for the king *de jure*, Joiachin, whose return was awaited. Zedekiah, who had been appointed king by Nebuchadnezzar, naturally controlled the administrative system of the government, but he most certainly would not venture to interfere with the personal property of Joiachin, which the latter had inherited from his father Joiakim, and which was separate from the public domain and the public treasury, as we have seen above. Moreover, Joiachin, who pursued a more or less normal life in Babylonia,<sup>70</sup> as we may infer from his large family, all, or most

<sup>70</sup> The fact that he was in the **בית כלא**, "house of detention," when he was raised to favor by the Babylonian king, does not prove anything with regard to his previous mode of life.



of whom were born there,<sup>71</sup> naturally required an income, which doubtless came from his Palestinian estates—after all the profits of the intermediaries had been deducted. We may be absolutely certain, *a priori*, that the Babylonians followed the same practice as the Romans, requiring the vassal princes and nobles who were compelled to live in Babylonia to provide for their own maintenance.

Some important corollaries for the chronology of the Jewish settlement in Judah may be derived from the occurrence of these seal-impressions at Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-shemesh. Tell Beit Mirsim is situated on the southern edge of the Shephelah, less than four miles from the border of Simeon, where the true Negeb began.<sup>72</sup> It might, therefore, be placed either in the Negeb or in the Shephelah by people speaking from the standpoint of the resident of Jerusalem. There are frequent references to the devastation of the Negeb and the Shephelah by the Chaldaeans: e. g., Jer. 13 19, 32 44, 33 13 (the latter two cases also include the hill-country), Zech. 7 7. Jer. 34 4 states that the Chaldaeans had subdued the entire land, destroying all the fortified towns except Lachish and Azekah. Since both of these towns were in the Shephelah, and archaeological examination of their sites, Tell ed-Duweir<sup>73</sup> and Tell Zakariyā, has shown that they were also destroyed at the end of Early Iron II, and not reoccupied,<sup>74</sup> it follows that all, or

<sup>71</sup> One of his sons was named *Shinabušur* (Sheshbazzar), a common Babylonian name; cf. JBL 40, 108ff. He was too young at the time of his deportation to have had more than one or two sons.

<sup>72</sup> For the identification of the site see ZAW 1929, 2f.

<sup>73</sup> For Tell ed-Duweir as the site of Lachish see now Garstang, *Joshua Judges*, p. 391f.

<sup>74</sup> They are mentioned, it is true, in the list of towns inhabited by Jews, Neh. 11 30, but we must remember that occupation of the neighborhood was resumed, presumably before Hellenistic times, as we know from the adjacent sites of Khirbet ed-Duweir and Zakariyā. Both Eduard Meyer and Kittel regard this chapter as fictitious; the writer is inclined to regard it as genuine, but must confess its enigmatic character. Kugler, *op. cit.*, p. 289–300, considers it as belonging to the end of the preëxilic period, but it is impossible to accept this view without the assumption that there are numerous late glosses and additions; the name *Mešezib'el* (so) cannot, of course, be preëxilic. The chapter deserves an exhaustive study.

virtually all of the towns of Judah, including those of the Negeb and the Shephelah, were destroyed. The writer has elsewhere pointed out<sup>75</sup> that many of the sites representing pre-exilic towns of Judah exhibit a destruction, generally without later occupation, late in the Early Iron II, i. e., second half of the eighth, the seventh, and the beginning of the sixth century B. C. In most cases the pottery and other objects found prove that this destruction took place nearer 600 than 700 B. C. Mackenzie, it is true, supposed that Beth-shemesh had been destroyed by Sennacherib, but Grant's recent excavations have proved that the town was occupied in the seventh century, and the discovery of the Eliakim stamp furnishes the final proof that the destruction was due to the Chaldaeans. In the case of archaeological sites of this age where we cannot prove destruction by the Chaldaeans, the lack of proof is either due to the absence of clear stratification or to the inadequacy of the archaeological examination. The archaeological evidence is thus completely in accord with the frequent references to complete devastation of Judah (in addition to the passages cited above for the Negeb and the Shephelah), found in Jeremiah and elsewhere, and absolutely opposed to the views of Torrey,<sup>76</sup> shared to some extent by Stanley Cook, Hölscher, Mowinkel, and others, which minimize the devastation caused by the Chaldaean conquest.

Kittel, who fully accepts the biblical statements with regard to this devastation, has, however, maintained that the Negeb and Shephelah were taken from Judah in 597 (i. e., 598, according to the chronology here accepted), and that the Judah of Zedekiah was restricted to the area of the postexilic province of Judah.<sup>77</sup> The latter extended south along the watershed ridge to a point between Beth-zur, which was in Judah, and Hebron, which belonged to the Idumaeans. To the west it extended only as far as the eastern edge of the Shephelah, including Keilah, but excluding Mareshah,

<sup>75</sup> See ZAW 1929, 16. The list here given may be greatly extended.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. his books, *Ezra Studies*, *The Second Isaiah*, and *Pseudo-Ezekiel, passim*. There can be no question about the logical consistency of Torrey's argument, but if the historical premises are false the argument becomes more and more dangerous in direct proportion to its logical consistency. Cf. the writer's paper, *JBL* 40, 104ff.

<sup>77</sup> *Geschichte*, III, 45ff.

which was also Idumaeae, <sup>78</sup> as well as the towns to the north of Mareshah and west of Keilah. This conclusion Kittel reaches because of the fact that the list of returned exiles in Ezra 2-Neh. 7 mentions only the men of villages just around Jerusalem, and does not include any names of towns in the Negeb or Shephelah. He thinks, therefore, that in the second and most important deportation only the inhabitants of towns still within the limits of Judah were included, while the Jewish population of towns outside these limits was left undisturbed. Unfortunately for Kittel's argument, however, Lachish and Azekah, which were the last fortified towns of Judah outside of Jerusalem to fall during the Chaldaean invasion of 588/7, are both well outside the limits of postexilic Judah, as he has himself observed in a different connection (p. 47f.). <sup>79</sup> Lachish, if identified with Tell ed-Duweir, as appears certain to the writer, lay a considerable distance to the south of Mareshah, an Idumaeae town after the Exile, and if identified with Tell el-Hésî, as was formerly believed, would be located in the extreme southwest of the Shephelah, on the edge both of the Negeb and of the Philistine plain.

Our seal impressions make it certain that the Shephelah was not separated from Judah in 598, but that it remained part of the Jewish state down to the final *débâcle*. Owing to the southerly location of Tell Beit Mirsim, which lies much to the south of Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), they suggest that the Negeb also remained part of Judah, though it must have suffered more from incursions than any other part of Judah, because of its exposed situation. This is what Jeremiah meant when he said (13 19):

The cities of the Negeb are closed                    with none to open.

Owing to their vulnerability, the gates were kept closed, and a watch was placed on the walls. There was no force strong enough to relieve them.

In another article the writer hopes to show what important con-

<sup>78</sup> This we know from the painted tombs of Marisa (Tell Sandahannah), published by Peters and Thiersch, as well as from the express statement of Josephus that John Hyrcanus captured the Idumaeae town of Marisa (*Ant.* XIII, 257).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. note 72, above.



clusions for postexilic history may be drawn from other stamped jar-handles which have been found in recent excavations. The importance of Palestinian archaeology for biblical history, often depreciated because of the rarity of written documents, is already very great, and will unquestionably prove to be even greater. Thanks to the means which it provides for checking data relating to the history of occupation and the history of civilization, it enables us to control two of the most important phases of history as a whole. Even linguistic and literary history has become much more stable as a result of epigraphic finds in Palestine and Syria, though many scholars fail to realize this fact even yet. Political history has been least helped, but an occasional find like the Mesha Stone or the ostraca of Samaria may prove to be far-reaching in importance. Even an insignificant object like our seal-impression may yield extremely important results, comparable to those which historians have often drawn from a single coin.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Since this paper was completed, some new discussions of interest have appeared. Note particularly the papers in opposition to Torrey's interpretation of Ezekiel by Bittenwieser (*Heb. Union Col. Annual*, vol. VII) and Spiegel (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1931). On the chronology see the monograph by Mowinkel, *Acta Orientalia*, X, 161—277; his computation of the years of the last few kings is identical with ours.

C. J. Gadd, "The Fall of Nineveh," London, 1923.

Josephus (Begriff), Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel  
und Juda, Tübingen, 1929, pp. 60 ff. and  
Julius Devy, Forschungen zur alten Geschichte  
Vorderasiens MVAG. 29, 2 Leipzig, 1925, 111 ff.  
1925 pp 20-67

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## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL

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### I. THE PROBLEMS OF OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY is the backbone of history. Absolute chronology is the fixed central core around which the events of nations must be correctly grouped before they may assume their exact positions in history and before their mutual relationships may be properly understood. Without exact chronology there can be no exact history. Until a correct chronology of a nation has been established, the events of that nation cannot be correctly integrated into the events of neighboring states. If history is to be a true and exact science, then it is of fundamental importance to construct a sound chronological framework about which may be fitted the various events of antiquity.

The most imperative need in the study of Old Testament history today is the construction of a sound chronology. In spite of almost endless research and discussion, biblical chronology remains in a state of almost hopeless confusion. Nearly every student has his own particular chronological scheme. Upon only one point is there anything like unanimity of opinion, and that is a frank admission of the difficulties and intricacies of the problems involved and of the uncertainties and inadequacies of established chronological schemes.

Because of the many difficulties encountered in the endeavor to integrate Hebrew chronological materials into those of neighboring states, there has arisen a general impression that biblical chronology is something separate and apart from secular chronology and that these two are at hopeless variance one with the other—that if the one is sound the other is fallacious. Many scholars who have come to regard the chronological materials of secular annals as having proved their essential accuracy view biblical chronology as a thing of dubious worth, while certain students of the Old Testament who place the main emphasis upon the historical veracity of the Hebrew scriptures have come to look askance upon “secular” chronology.

But just what is “biblical” chronology? Scores of mutually conflicting chronological schemes cannot all at one and the same time constitute the chronology of Old Testament times. The fact that there are in existence so many systems of ancient Hebrew chronology is evidence that we do not yet know very much about what biblical chronology actually is, and this fact constitutes a challenge to biblical scholarship to continue to put forth effort until some sort of order is brought out of the present chaos.

Basically there is, of course, only one chronology; that is correct chronology.



Between the absolute chronology of the Hebrews and that of their neighbors there can be no conflict. If biblical chronology seems to be at variance with Assyrian chronology, it may be because of errors in the source materials, but it may also be because those materials are not correctly understood. If the chronological materials recorded in the Hebrew scriptures are sound, they will agree with whatever is sound in the annals of neighboring states. If a pattern of Hebrew chronology can be established from biblical sources which will agree with the chronological pattern

enced in the totals of reigns. Figures from one fixed point in the history of Israel and Judah to another fixed point in their common history are not the same. For instance, the accession of Jeroboam of Israel and of Rehoboam of Judah at the time of the schism coincide. And Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah met their deaths simultaneously at the hands of Jehu. The totals of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah for these two periods should thus be the same, but actually, using the figures in the Book of Kings (MT), they are as follows:

ISRAEL	
Jeroboam I.....	22 years
Nadab.....	2 years
Baasha.....	24 years
Elah.....	2 years
Zimri.....	7 days
Omri.....	12 years
Ahab.....	22 years
Ahaziah.....	2 years
Jehoram.....	12 years
Total.....	98 years, 7 days

JUDAH	
Rehoboam.....	17 years
Abijam.....	3 years
Asa.....	41 years
Jehoshaphat.....	25 years
Jehoram.....	8 years
Ahaziah.....	1 year
Total.....	95 years

of neighboring states as built upon the historical materials of those nations, then we may be certain that we are on the track of that correct and absolute chronology that has long been the goal of students of ancient history and we may also be certain that we are dealing with sources which are basically sound.

The present discussion will confine itself to a study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. It is this period that offers some of the greatest problems of biblical chronology, but it is also this period that should offer the best opportunities for success, for it is here that the largest amount of chronological material, both biblical and secular, is found.

One of the greatest perplexities concerning "biblical" chronology is that many of its details seem to be self-contradictory. First of all, difficulties are experi-

The deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah were followed by the accession during the same year of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah. According to II Kings 18:10, the fall of Samaria took place in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the sixth year of Hezekiah. Thus the totals of reigns for these two periods should again agree, but actually they are as shown on the opposite page.

Thus in the first of these two periods which should be identical we have a total of 98 years and 7 days for Israel as against 95 years for Judah, while in the second there are 143 years and 7 months for Israel as against 166 years for Judah. But, compared with Assyrian figures, both of these last figures seem too high, for from 841 B.C., the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, when the latter reported having received tribute from Jehu—usually

conceded to be very early in Jehu's reign—to the accession of Sargon in 722/21, when the latter claimed to have captured Samaria, is only 120 years. Thus, compared with Assyrian figures, the total of the reigns of kings of Israel for this period seems to be about 23 years too high, while for Judah there seems to be an excess of about 46 years.

Furthermore, it is the endeavor to harmonize the synchronisms of the kings which presents the greatest single difficulty of Old Testament chronology. Almost every scholar who has seriously dealt with

vergency of from 40 to 50 years, later of from 20 to 30 years, and with the reign of Hoshea and the fall of Samaria the two reckonings are made to coincide. But, with the reign of Hezekiah and the invasion of Sennacherib, there is again the baffling discrepancy of a full 13 years. It is particularly difficult to endeavor to synchronize the period of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah into the events of contemporary Assyrian history.

The problems of biblical chronology indicated above are not new. In the early Christian centuries biblical scholars were

ISRAEL	
Jehu.....	28 years
Jehoahaz.....	17 years
Jehoash.....	16 years
Jeroboam II....	41 years
Zachariah.....	6 months
Shallum.....	1 month
Menahem.....	10 years
Pekahiah.....	2 years
Pekah.....	20 years
Hoshea.....	9 years
<hr/>	
Total.....	143 years, 7 months

JUDAH	
Athaliah.....	7 years
Joash.....	40 years
Amaziah.....	29 years
Azariah.....	52 years
Jotham.....	16 years
Ahaz.....	16 years
Hezekiah.....	6 years
<hr/>	
Total.....	166 years

the problem has found instances where, in spite of his utmost efforts, he has discovered himself utterly baffled and has been forced to give up the problem in despair, with the conclusion that no harmony is possible.

Another difficulty constantly met by the student of ancient history is the seeming lack of harmony between the details of Old Testament chronology and the chronologies of neighboring states. The dates of Assyrian kings, for the period in which the most frequent contacts between Assyrian and Hebrew history occur, are quite definitely established. But frequently there seems to be a wide divergence between biblical and Assyrian datings for the same events. The divergencies appear to vary at different periods. Early in the kingdoms, chronologists usually notice a di-

already perplexed over the chronological difficulties in the Book of Kings, and Jerome expressed himself as follows:

Relege omnes et veteris et novi Testamenti libros, et tantam annorum reperies dissonantiam, et numerorum inter Judam et Israel, id est, inter regnum utrumque confusum, ut hujusemodi haerere quaestionibus, non tam studiosi, quam otiosi hominis esse videatur.<sup>1</sup>

It is the opinion of some of the most careful modern students of Old Testament history that, in spite of certain accidental errors of transmission, and certain mistakes that may have occurred in working out the synchronisms, both the lengths of the reigns and the synchronisms are, in general, accurate and that

<sup>1</sup> Hieronymi, *Traditio catholica*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1864), Vol. I, Ep. 72, *Ad Vitalem; Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXII, col. 676.



the original data available to later scribes must have been sufficiently full and reliable to make possible the construction of a chronology which is neither fantastic nor artificial but basically sound.<sup>2</sup>

Another group of scholars, led by Ewald, Wellhausen, and Stade, holds the view that the chronology of the kings is essentially schematic and artificial, based on Hebrew predilection for the numbers 12 and 40, and multiples of the same, and that, consequently, the recorded data are worthless for the construction of any sound chronological scheme.<sup>3</sup>

Some there are who take the view that there has been "intentional mutilation of the text" and that certain "passages have been ruthlessly altered" in order to cover up various facts of history and to pass on to posterity not a true record of what actually took place but the type of picture that it was desired future generations should remember.<sup>4</sup>

If it is indeed true that the chronological data found in the Old Testament concerning the kings of Israel are fundamentally unsound, then it would be a hopeless task to endeavor to establish any exact chronology upon such a foundation. But are we as yet certain that these figures are basically unsound? The fact that up to the present this problem has not been solved is no evidence that it never will be solved

or that the obstacle that has thus far prevented a solution is the unsoundness of the data involved. The difficulties in the system which have induced the opinion that the figures are not dependable really establish no more than that we have up to now found no way of harmonizing such a system with otherwise known facts. And does this not constitute a challenge to further investigation on the assumption that the real difficulty may be in our ignorance and not in the insolubility of the problem itself? Might it not be that the annalists and scribes who have passed these figures on to us were at least normally honest and competent men who were in possession of certain sound historical data which they endeavored to preserve to the best of their ability and that, in so doing, they were performing a service of great value to the historian of the future? If an interpretation of the given facts of this chronological system and of its difficulties can be found—an interpretation at once sufficiently simple and in harmony with our knowledge of the times as to carry some intrinsic reasonableness—should it not deserve our serious consideration and, in the nature of the case, carry high probability of its truth? And until we possess final and positive proof that the Old Testament chronological data are definitely false and unreliable, is it not the course of wisdom for us to give them the benefit of the doubt and to proceed on the assumption that there may be in these figures something of value which is not now fully realized, to endeavor to ascertain, if we can, just what lies back of these seemingly discordant figures, and thus, perchance, to open up avenues of knowledge now closed to us? It is on such a basis that we will endeavor to proceed.

In working out the chronology of any nation, a primary requisite is that the chronological procedure of that nation be understood. The following items must be

<sup>2</sup> See Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), pp. 393-95; Adolf Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige* (Bonn, 1883), pp. 5 ff.; Franz Rühl, "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (1894-95), 44 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (London, 1876), I, 206 ff.; II, 20 ff., 297 ff.; Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, XX (1875), 607-40; Bernhard Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Berlin, 1889), I, 88 ff., 558 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, "Kings," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), Vol. XIV, and "The Chronology of the Books of Kings," *Journal of Philology*, X (1882), 209-13; Friedrich Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1878), pp. 263-64.

<sup>4</sup> Jules Oppert, "Chronology," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV (1903).



definitely known: (a) the time of the calendar year when a king began to count his reign; (b) the year when a king began to count his reign, whether from the time of his actual accession, from the following year, or from some other time; (c) how the years of the king of a neighboring state were reckoned, whether according to the system employed in his own nation or in that of the neighbor; (d) whether or not that nation made use of coregencies and whether interregna occurred; and, finally, (e) whether during the period under review a uniform system was followed or whether variations occurred.

An understanding of each of the above items is necessary to a correct reconstruction of the chronologies of Israel and Judah, but to obtain such an understanding is by no means easy. Certain it is that no ancient authorities exist who can pass this information on to us. A few facts may be gleaned from available data, but the rest can be worked out only by a laborious process of trial and error.

Most biblical chronologists have followed a Nisan-to-Nisan year in dealing with the Hebrew kings.<sup>5</sup> The statement in the Mishna tract *Rosh Hashana* that the first of Nisan is the New Year for kings<sup>6</sup> is in large measure responsible for this point of view. Such outstanding authorities as Begrich and Morgenstern have pointed out, however, that, in view of the late date of the Mishna notice, we might expect to find recorded there merely a late tradition.<sup>7</sup> It is quite possible that, by the time

the Mishna statement was prepared, all memory of the exact chronological arrangements of the Hebrew kings had disappeared and that any statements from the authorities of that age are as arbitrary as those of recent investigators.

Kleber employs a Nisan-to-Nisan year for Judah but a Tishri-to-Tishri year for Israel.<sup>8</sup> Many of the best modern students of chronology follow a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for both Judah and Israel.<sup>9</sup> Begrich believes that a shift was made from a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning in the early period to a Nisan-to-Nisan year in later times.<sup>10</sup> Mahler holds that the regnal and the calendar years were not identical but that the former was counted from the day on which the king first came to the throne.<sup>11</sup>

The difficulty with the above systems, however, is that they do not succeed in clearing up the discrepancies in the synchronisms. If the position is taken that these discrepancies are irreconcilable, there might be no way of proving with absolute finality whether the above systems are right or wrong, for complete evidence on this point is not at present available, as has been expressed by some who have made the most careful study of the subject.<sup>12</sup>

There is evidence, however, to give some indications as to the type of regnal

*Königsbücher* (Tübingen, 1929), p. 70; Julian Morgenstern, "The New Year for Kings," *Occident and Orient, Gaster Anniversary Volume* (London, 1936), pp. 439, 454-55.

<sup>5</sup> Albert M. Kleber, "The Chronology of 3 and 4 Kings and 2 Paralipomenon," *Biblica*, II (1921), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1941), 175 ff.; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 439-56; "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, X (1935), 1 ff.; and *Amos Studies* (Cincinnati, 1941), I, 127-79.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-90.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 236-42.

<sup>9</sup> F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1911), II, 27; Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 232 ff., 272 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1728), p. 296; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh, 1857), I, 206; Franz Xaver Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster, 1922), p. 26; Julius Lewy, "Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens," *MVAG*, XXIX, No. 2 (1924), 25; Willis Judson Beecher, *The Dated Events of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Babylonian Talmud, Tract Rosh Hashana*, "New Year," chap. i, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rahmens der*

year employed in Judah. That a Tishri-to-Tishri year was used in the reckoning of Solomon's reign is indicated by the data available concerning the building of the temple. The temple was begun in the second month of the fourth year of Solomon (I Kings 6:1, 37), and it was completed in the eighth month of Solomon's eleventh year, having been seven years in building (I Kings 6:38). In the Hebrew scriptures the months are numbered from Nisan, whether the reckoning was according to a spring or a fall year.<sup>13</sup> And reckoning was according to the inclusive system, whereby the first and last units or fractions of units of a group were included as full units in the total of that group.<sup>14</sup> If Solomon's

secured only when regnal years are computed from Tishri to Tishri but with a Nisan-to-Nisan year employed for the reckoning of the ordinary events of the people and the ecclesiastical year.

If the regnal years of Solomon were figured from Tishri to Tishri, this would certainly be the method employed in the Southern Kingdom. That Judah almost at the close of its history was still counting its regnal years from Tishri to Tishri is proved by II Kings 22:3 and 23:23, for it was in the eighteenth year of Josiah that the work of repair was begun on the temple, and it was still in the same eighteenth year, after the first of Nisan had passed, that the Passover was celebrated. It is

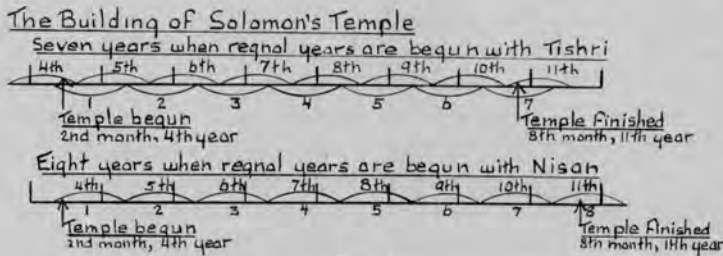


FIG. 1

regnal year began in Nisan, then, according to the above method of counting, the construction of the temple would have occupied eight years instead of seven. As will be clear from Figure 1, the figure of seven years for the building of the temple can be

<sup>13</sup> See Exod. 12:2; Lev. 23:5, 24, 27; Num. 9:1, 5, 11; 28:16; 29:1, 7; I Kings 8:2; II Kings 25:25; Jer. 41:1, 8; II Chron. 5:3; 7:10; 29:3, 17; 30:1-3, 13, 15; Jer. 36:9, 22; Ezra 6:19; Neh. 1:1; 7:73-9:1; Esther 3:7, 12, 13; 8:9.

<sup>14</sup> See I Sam. 20:5, 12, 24, 27, where Jonathan on the last day of the month speaks of the day after the morrow, the second of the new month, as "the third day"; and II Kings 18:9, 10, where the period from the seventh to the ninth years of Hoshea is given as three years. Cf. also Matt. 12:40 and Mark 8:31, where the period from Christ's crucifixion on Friday afternoon to his resurrection on Sunday morning is counted as three days; and Acts 10:4-30, where the period from a certain day on which Cornelius had a vision, the next day when he sent messengers to Peter at Joppa, the following day when they arrived at the home of Peter, and the day after that, when Peter arrived at the home of Cornelius, is reckoned as four days.

true that if all the events narrated between II Kings 22:3 and 23:23—the delivering of the funds for the repair of the temple to the carpenters, builders, and masons who were to perform this work; the accomplishment of the work of repair; the finding of the book of the law; the reading of the book by Shaphan the scribe and before the king; the consultation with Huldah the prophetess; the gathering of all the elders of Judah to Jerusalem to hear the reading of the law; the destruction of the vessels of Baal; the putting-down of the idolatrous priests; the breaking-down of the houses of the sodomites; the defilement of the high places from Geba to Beersheba; the destruction of the emblems of the sun-god; the desolation of the altar and high place at Bethel; the doing-away with all the houses of the high



places in the cities of Samaria; and the slaying of the idolatrous priests—if all this could have been performed in the short period of two weeks between the first and the fourteenth of Nisan, then there would be no evidence here for the beginning of the regnal year with Tishri 1. But since it is quite clear that all the above events could not have taken place in a two-week period, it is evident that Josiah's eighteenth year of reign must have commenced before the first of Nisan and carried over beyond Nisan 1 and that Tishri 1 must have thus been the beginning of the regnal year. Furthermore, it is clear from Neh. 1:1 and 2:1 that Nehemiah reckoned the years of the Persian king Artaxerxes from Tishri to Tishri, for a certain Kislev was in the twentieth year of the king, and the following Nisan was still in the same twentieth year. But why would he do this, when it was well known to him that the Persian kings reckoned their years from Nisan to Nisan? Is it not reasonable to suppose that Nehemiah was acquainted with the custom formerly followed by the kings of Judah of beginning their regnal years with Tishri and, in a spirit of intense nationalism, applied the Jewish practice even to a Persian king?

For further details of the methods of reckoning employed by the Hebrews, no specific evidence need here be given, for the evidence will be found throughout the following pages in the harmonious correlation of the data regarding the synchronisms and lengths of reigns when the present scheme is employed, whereas according to any other method the vexatious discrepancies will ever be present.

Trial and error has indicated the following bases by which alone the Hebrew chronology for the period of the kings may be understood:

1. In Israel the regnal year began with Nisan, while in Judah it began with Tishri.

2. At the time of the schism Judah reckoned the years of its kings according to the accession-year system, "postdating," as it is usually called; while Israel employed the nonaccession-year system, "antedating."<sup>15</sup> In Judah, from the time of Jehoram, reigns were figured according to the nonaccession-year system, and this was continued until the time of Amaziah, when the accession-year system was again employed. Israel continued the use of the nonaccession-year system until the time of Jehoash, when it adopted the accession-year system and retained this system to the end of its history.<sup>16</sup>

3. Both Israel and Judah, when computing the years of each other's kings, did

<sup>15</sup> According to the accession-year system—the system commonly employed by the Mesopotamian powers, Assyria and Babylon, and by Persia—that portion of the regnal year during which a king came to the throne was called not the first but the accession year. Thus in a nation in which the regnal year began with Nisan, that portion of the year from the time the king ascended the throne up to the next first of Nisan was known as that king's accession year, while his first year began with this same first of Nisan. According to the nonaccession-year system, however, the year in which a king came to the throne was known as his first year, while his second year began with the first of Nisan following his accession.

<sup>16</sup> The writer is happy to acknowledge a number of striking parallels between the details of his chronological scheme and that of Professor V. Coucke of the Grand Séminaire de Bruges. See "Chronologie biblique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigouroux (*Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot), Vol. I (1928). Not until the writer had worked out his system did he become aware of the earlier work of Professor Coucke. It is a matter of gratification to know that these two independent studies have produced essentially the same results on a number of important points, such as Tishri-to-Tishri regnal years in Judah and Nisan-to-Nisan years in Israel (though Professor Coucke suggests the latter might be the first of Thoth instead of Nisan), and accession-year reckoning in Judah except for a period when a shift was made to the nonaccession-year system, and nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel with a later shift to the accession-year system. Professor Coucke, however, commences Judah's shift to the nonaccession-year system with Athaliah instead of Jehoram and continues it through the reign of Jotham or Ahaz instead of to the accession of Amaziah; Israel's shift to the accession-year system he commences with Menahem instead of Jehoash, with a shift back to the nonaccession-year system under Pekah, and then again to the accession-year system under Hoshea. Other vital points, however, were not ascertained by Professor Coucke, and in consequence he retains a number of discrepancies and uncertainties in his completed scheme.



so according to the method of reckoning in force in their own countries and not according to the system used by their neighbors. Thus, when Israel was employing the nonaccession-year system and Judah was employing the accession-year system, a scribe of Israel would speak of the years of a king of Judah according to the non-accession-year system, while a scribe of Judah would refer to the years of a king of Israel according to the accession-year system.<sup>17</sup>

4. Both Israel and Judah made use of coregencies, but in neither nation did interregna occur.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The question may be raised whether Israel and Judah in their cross-reckonings of the reigns of each other's kings might not also have begun counting the regnal year of the neighboring kings from the month with which they began their own regnal years and not with that employed by the neighbor. That is, might not Israel have reckoned the years of the kings of Judah as beginning with Nisan and might not Judah have reckoned the years of the kings of Israel as beginning with Tishri? The possibility that such a procedure might at times have been followed is indicated by the fact that Nehemiah, when speaking of the reign of Artaxerxes, applied the Judean practice of beginning the regnal year with Tishri even to that of a king of Persia (Neh. 1:1; 2:1); but that such a system was not regularly employed is revealed by the fact that, when the endeavor is made to employ this system in reckoning the synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah (flexible though the system may be), the vexatious discrepancies remain, whereas with the scheme herewith suggested they disappear. Not even the reign of the first king of Israel, Jeroboam, can be synchronized with the reigns of his contemporaries Abijam and Asa according to this system without discrepancies. It is clear, then, that this system could not have been followed as a regular procedure.

<sup>18</sup> A coregency is a perfectly proper and historical procedure. In certain nations at certain times, as in Egypt during the Twelfth Dynasty, coregencies were the usual procedure. Among the Hebrews Solomon was anointed and proclaimed king at the specific direction of David before the latter's death (I Kings 1:30—2:10). The accession of Jehoram during the reign of his father Jehoshaphat is definitely mentioned (II Kings 8:16). Concerning Azariah, it is declared that he was a leper and that his son Jotham judged the people in his stead (II Kings 15:5). Coregencies are usually not specifically recorded as such, but, when the available evidence points to their existence, they are to be accepted. An interregnum, however, is neither a proper nor a regular historical procedure. As long as a nation remains a going concern, that nation continues to have its governmental leaders to direct its affairs. Breaks do occur, but when they occur they usually involve a more or less violent turnover in administration with an accompanying chaos until a readjustment takes place. However, in such a

5. In the case of coregencies the years of the king were usually counted from the beginning of the coregency.

The best argument for the correctness of the above outline of chronological procedure among the Hebrews is that it works, giving us a chronological scheme of the kings of Israel and Judah in which there is internal harmony and which fits into the chronology of neighboring states. When these principles are applied to the Hebrew kings, it will be found that the irritating discrepancies that have so long baffled and perplexed students of Old Testament history will at last disappear. To apply these principles to the data of the Massoretic text available for the various kings of Israel and Judah, and thus to establish the chronology for the royal period, is the task we shall here undertake.

## II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABSOLUTE DATE IN HEBREW HISTORY

In the Old Testament no absolute dates are given, and it becomes our first task to establish, if we can, some absolute date in the history of Israel which can be used as a starting-place for the establishment of other dates in the desired chronological scheme. Our only hope of doing this is to find some cardinal point of contact where Hebrew history ties with certainty into the history of some other state whose absolute chronology has already been established.

nation as Israel, at a period of history when so much was involved in the royal head of the state, it is inconceivable that such lapses of rulers as have been postulated should have occurred. The interregna at times employed by biblical chronologists are pure inventions with no evidence of their existence and are resorted to solely for the purpose of evading difficulties in the given data. Such a procedure, however, only raises more problems than it solves, for it is obvious that if an interregnum is invented simply for the sake of clearing up some supposed discrepancy in synchronisms and if such an interregnum had not actually occurred, its effect would be to increase the chronology of the period involved by just that many years and thus to throw the reckoning off that much from a correct and absolute chronology.



In the early period of the Hebrew monarchies the most frequent and definite contacts were with Assyria, and in the later period they were with Neo-Babylonia. Fortunately, the chronologies of these two nations, at least for the period with which we are most concerned, have been quite definitely established. There were also frequent Hebrew contacts with Egypt, Syria, and other lesser states, but these contacts were in almost all instances very indefinite in point of time, and the chronologies of these nations are likewise far from being positively established.

Assyrian chronology back to the beginning of the ninth century B.C. rests upon a highly dependable basis. Of outstanding importance is an eclipse of the sun which fixes the Assyrian eponym list. The canon reports that in the month of Simanu, in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale, an eclipse of the sun took place. Astronomical computation has fixed this as June 15, 763.<sup>19</sup> The Assyrian eponym lists extant today provide a reliable record of the annual *limmu* officials from 890 to 648 B.C., and for this same period they provide us with reliable dates in Assyrian history. Where events are dated by the eponym of any particular year, the absolute dates of those events can be given with almost complete certainty.

To establish an absolute date in Hebrew history, it is necessary to secure an exact synchronism with some established Assyrian date. The earliest point where a positive synchronism between Israel and

Assyria may be secured is from the reigns of Ahab and Jehu and Shalmaneser III. The latter lists Ahab as one of the western allies who fought against him at the Battle of Qarqar, during his sixth year, the eponymy of Daian-Assur, 853 B.C.,<sup>20</sup> and mentions receiving tribute from Jehu dur-

<sup>20</sup> Since in this inquiry we propose to deal with absolute chronology and since Ahab's contact with Shalmaneser at Qarqar is a cardinal point of departure, the establishment of the exact date of Qarqar is a matter of vital importance. The question is, of course, whether this was 854 or 853. The reason for these two datings lies in the fact that on one eponym list, C<sup>3</sup>, the symbol of Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 423, is found one more eponym, Balatu, than is found on the other lists C<sup>6</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>, and C<sup>5</sup>. Either list C<sup>3</sup> is correct and the other lists have mistakenly omitted the name of Balatu, or the latter three lists are correct and some explanation must be found for the insertion of the name "Balatu" on list C<sup>3</sup>. If the former position is taken, all dates beyond Balatu will be one year higher than if the latter position is held. This is responsible for the divergent dates of 854 and 853 for Qarqar and for all points beyond 785 B.C.

Not only does list C<sup>3</sup> contain the extra name "Balatu," but on this list the eponym Nabu-shar-usur occupies a different place than it does on the other lists. On C<sup>3</sup> the sequence is as follows:

788 Sil-Ishtar  
787 Balatu  
786 Adad-uballit  
785 Marduk-shar-usur  
784 Nabu-shar-usur  
783 Ninurta-nasir

But on the other lists occurs the following sequence:

787 Sil-Ishtar  
786 Nabu-shar-usur  
785 Adad-uballit  
784 Marduk-shar-usur  
783 Ninurta-nasir

It will thus be seen that on the latter three lists the name of Nabu-shar-usur occupies the place which on C<sup>3</sup> is held by Balatu.

Olmstead accepts the list containing the extra eponym Balatu as correct and ascribes the omission of this name from the other lists to a scribal error (see A. T. Olmstead, "The Assyrian Chronicle," *JAOS*, XXXIX [1915], 344 ff.; "Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power," *ibid.*, XLI [1921], 374, n. 61; and "Bruno Meissner," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V [1928-29], 30).

Ferrer, on the other hand, accepts the witness of the lists containing the eponym Nabu-shar-usur for the year 786 as correct and explains the inclusion of the name "Balatu" on the other list by the suggestion that the name of the eponym for an ensuing year was in all likelihood announced before the first of Nisan of the year in which he was to hold office, that the death of Balatu, who had been selected as the eponym for 786, took place after the announcement of his name but before his assumption of office, and that, consequently, a new eponym, Nabu-shar-usur, was appointed, but that in the most distant provinces datings during the first few months of the year, before

<sup>19</sup> Various efforts have been put forth to identify this eclipse either with that of June 24, 791, or with that of June 13, 809. These efforts have usually been prompted by the attempt to introduce some adjustment in Assyrian chronology which might bring about a closer harmony with certain preconceived ideas of biblical chronology. Such attempts introduce not harmony but confusion into both Hebrew and Assyrian history. They presuppose a break in the eponym canon at the very period when the validity of that canon is abundantly sustained by the almost contemporaneous Khorsabad king list which comes from the time of Ashur-nerari V (755-745 B.C.) (see A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES*, II [1943], 74, 78).

ing his expedition to the West in his eighteenth year, 841. Ahab was succeeded by Ahaziah, who reigned two years, and he in

word could reach them of the newly appointed eponym, would be by the name of the eponym already deceased. Thus according to this hypothesis there were two eponyms, Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur, for the year 786, with the scribe responsible for C<sup>3</sup> inserting the name "Nabu-shar-usur" in the wrong place and with the scribes responsible for the other lists omitting the name of the deceased Balatu (see Emil Forrer, "Zur Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit," *MVAG*, XX, No. 3 [1915], 5 ff.).

A determination of the question whether there were one or two eponyms during the year 786, and whether the longer or the shorter chronology is correct, is vital to our inquiry. If we know the total number of years from some fixed point beyond 786 to some fixed point on this side of 786, an answer to this question could be given. Beyond 786, the accession of Shalmaneser III in the eponymy of Tab-Bel, according to the Assyrian Chronicle, is one such fixed point. This is 860 according to the longer chronology and 859 according to the shorter. On this side of 786, a fixed point is the accession of Tiglath-pileser III in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur, according to the Assyrian Chronicle, in the year 745. The total of the years of reign of the kings who ruled between these two points will provide the number of years between the eponymies of Tab-Bel and Nabu-bel-usur. These, according to the Khorsabad list, are as follows:

	Years
Shalmaneser III.....	35
Shamshi-Adad V.....	13
Adad-nerari III.....	28
Shalmaneser IV.....	10
Assur-dan III.....	18
Assur-nerari V.....	10
Total.....	114

Since the death of Assur-nerari V and the accession of Tiglath-pileser III took place in 745, in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur, the accession of Shalmaneser III and the eponymy of Tab-Bel must be just 114 years before, or 759. According to the evidence, then, of the Khorsabad list, the shorter rather than the longer chronology is correct.

Another indication that this is the case is the fact that according to the Khorsabad list the reign of Adad-nerari III, which covers the section of the eponym list under dispute, was 28 years, and according to the shorter chronology there were just 28 years from the eponymy of Adad-nerari III to the eponymy of his successor, Shalmaneser IV, whereas according to the longer chronology there were 29 years. The only other explanation of this would be to assume that, instead of following the usual custom of holding the eponymy during the second year of reign, either Adad-nerari held the eponymy during his first year or Shalmaneser in his third year. There is no evidence, however, of variations from the regular custom until a century after this time.

If the testimony of the Khorsabad list can be accepted, the shorter chronology is correct, and 853 rather than 854 is the correct date for the Battle of Qarqar. There is every indication that this is the case, and it is this chronology which will herein be followed.

turn by Jehoram, who had a reign of twelve years before Jehu came to the throne. Inasmuch as there was, according to the nonaccession-year system of reckoning then in use in Israel, an overlapping of the last year of an outgoing king with the first year of an incoming king, there would thus be an interval of just twelve years—one for Ahaziah and eleven for Jehoram—between the last year of Ahab and the first year of Jehu, which is exactly the interval between the years in which Ahab fought at Qarqar and Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III; thus we secure the date of 853 as the final year of Ahab and 841 as the first year of Jehu.<sup>21</sup>

With 853 fixed as the last year of Ahab, we should be able from the data available in the Massoretic text to ascertain the date of the first year of Jeroboam I and the schism between Judah and Israel. The official and actual years of reign for this period, deducting from the reign of each king the one year overlap involved when the nonaccession-year system of reckoning is employed, are as follows:

King	Official Reign	Actual Reign
Jeroboam I....	22 years	21 years
Nadab.....	2 years	1 year
Baasha.....	24 years	23 years
Elah.....	2 years	1 year
Zimri.....	7 days	.....
Omri.....	12 years	11 years
Ahab.....	22 years	21 years
Total.....	84 years, 7 days	78 years

With an interval of 78 years between the accession of Jeroboam I and the death

<sup>21</sup> Since the interval between Qarqar and the payment of tribute by Jehu is just 12 years, no other datings for these events are possible, for, if we were to push Qarqar back to some other year than the last year of Ahab, we would be required to push back the payment of tribute by Jehu an equal period, and that would be before he came to the throne. If, on the other hand, we were to advance the payment of tribute by Jehu to some time later than his accession year, we would likewise be forced to advance the Battle of Qarqar an equal period beyond the last year of Ahab, and this would be an impossibility.



of Ahab, and with the latter occurring in 853 B.C., we thus secure the date of 931 B.C. as the year of Jeroboam's accession and of the schism between Judah and Israel. And, being in possession of this date, we are in a position, if the data with which we shall work are basically sound, to ascertain the dates for the kings of Judah and Israel to the close of their histories.

### III. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, 931-740 B.C.

Jeroboam I of Israel took the kingdom during the year of Rehoboam's accession to the throne of Judah (I Kings 12:1-20). Since Jeroboam took the throne in 931, that would, therefore, also be the year of Rehoboam's accession.<sup>22</sup> It is of interest to notice that Jeroboam did not follow the practice employed by the kings of Judah of beginning the regnal year with Tishri but that he began his own regnal year with Nisan. During the closing years of Solomon's reign, Jeroboam had been a political refugee in Egypt (I Kings 11:40) and had returned only after the death of Solomon (I Kings 12:2, 3). While in Egypt he had, of course, become acquainted with the Egyptian "wandering" year, which in his time happened to begin in the middle of April, and upon his assumption of the royal power in Israel it was only natural for him to begin his regnal year at some time other than that employed in the rival kingdom of Judah and to adopt a spring new year as was the practice in both Egypt and the Mesopotamian Valley.

Judah, in contrast to Israel, was now

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that when the date 931 is given as the accession year of Jeroboam I and of Rehoboam, what is actually meant is that Jeroboam came to the throne some time between the first of Nisan, 931, and the first of Nisan, 930, and that Rehoboam's accession took place some time between Tishri 1, 931, and Tishri 1, 930. Inasmuch, however, as the accession of Rehoboam preceded that of Jeroboam, the accession of the latter must actually have occurred at some time after Tishri 1, 931, and before Nisan 1, 930.

reckoning according to the accession-year system. The year Tishri, 931, to Tishri, 930, was thus the accession year of Rehoboam, while his first year was from Tishri, 930, to Tishri, 929 (see the chart accompanying this article, after p. 154). It was in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Tishri, 926, to Tishri, 925, that Shishak of Egypt came against Jerusalem during his invasion of Palestine (I Kings 14:25; II Chron. 12:2). This Shishak was the vigorous and able Sheshonk I, founder of Egypt's Twenty-second Dynasty, who left his own record of his Palestinian invasion and of the cities he captured. Breasted gives the date of this invasion as "probably about 926 B.C."<sup>23</sup> He was almost exactly correct. If the invasion took place in the fall after Tishri, which was not the time of year when invaders of Palestine usually entered upon their campaigns, then the date was 926; but if it was in the spring of the year, which is much more probable, then the date can be fixed by the chronology of the Masoretic text as 925.

Rehoboam reigned seventeen years (I Kings 14:21; II Chron. 12:13) and was succeeded by his son Abijam, who began his reign in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:1; II Chron. 13:1). Since Abijam was a king of Judah where the accession-year system was followed, the reference to the eighteenth year of Jeroboam was to the eighteenth year of that king figured according to the accession-year principle, which was one year later than the eighteenth year of Jeroboam figured according to the nonaccession-year system prevailing in Israel. That year was 913, which Jeroboam called his nineteenth year. The accession of Abijam thus took place some time after Nisan, 913, when Jeroboam's own "eighteenth year" began, and before Tishri.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1912), p. 529.

Abijam reigned three years and was succeeded by his son Asa in the twentieth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:9). This again was the twentieth year of Jeroboam according to the accession-year system, or Jeroboam's own twenty-first year. Asa thus took the throne some time between Tishri, 911, and Nisan, 910.

Jeroboam I ruled twenty-two years (I Kings 14:20). Since he was a northern king using nonaccession-year reckoning, this was an actual twenty-one years rather than twenty-two. He was succeeded by his son Nadab in the second year of Asa (I Kings 15:25). Nadab, being a king of Israel, was, in accordance with the system already described, speaking of the years of a king of Judah according to his own nonaccession-year principle, and thus his second year of Asa was the year which Asa termed the first year of his reign. Nadab thus began to reign between Tishri, 910, and Nisan, 909. He ruled two years (I Kings 15:25) and was succeeded by the usurper Baasha in the third year of Asa (I Kings 15:27, 28, 33). It is obvious that, having begun his reign in the second year of Asa and having completed his two-year reign by the third year of Asa, he must be employing the nonaccession-year principle. The date of Baasha's accession thus falls between Tishri, 909, and Nisan, 908. He reigned twenty-four years (I Kings 15:33) and was succeeded by his son Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), between Tishri, 886, and Nisan, 885. Elah ruled two years (I Kings 16:8), when he was slain and succeeded by his chariot commander, Zimri, in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:10, 15), 885/84. Since he had come to the throne in the twenty-sixth year of Asa and had completed his two-year reign by the twenty-seventh year of Asa, we have here again positive proof that in Israel the nonaccession-year system was being employed. After only seven days on the throne Zimri

was disposed of by Omri, also in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:15, 16), between Tishri, 885, and Nisan, 884.

Omri ruled twelve years and was succeeded by his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:23, 29), between Tishri, 874, and Nisan, 873. The dates for the beginning and the close of Omri's reign are thus definitely fixed. Omri did not at first possess control of all Israel, since half of the people followed Tibni (I Kings 16:21). Though the length of Tibni's rule is not stated, there are indications as to when this came to an end and when Omri took over control of the entire state. Of the twelve years of Omri's rule, six were said to have been from Tirzah as his capital, and he is said to have begun to rule in the thirty-first year of Asa (I Kings 16:23). But we have already seen that Omri displaced Zimri as king in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, 885/84, so this statement that he began to rule in the thirty-first year of Asa would clearly indicate this as the beginning of his sole reign and would provide 880 as the date for the elimination of Tibni. It is altogether possible that there is some connection between Tibni's rival rule and the fact that Omri was restricted to Tirzah as his capital for the first six years of his reign.

Coming back to Judah, we learn that Asa, who came to the throne in 911/10, ruled forty-one years (I Kings 15:10). Inasmuch as he was a southern king, the reckoning would be on the accession-year basis and would bring the termination of his reign and the beginning of that of his successor Jehoshaphat in 870/69. That year should be the fourth of Ahab, accession-year basis, and so it is declared to be (I Kings 22:41).

Ahab's rule over Israel continued for twenty-two years (I Kings 16:29), from 874/73 to the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, when he was succeeded by his son



Ahaziah (I Kings 22:51). This synchronism falls between Nisan and Tishri, 853.<sup>24</sup> Ahaziah ruled two years (I Kings 22:51) and was succeeded by Jehoram, another son of Ahab, in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) and in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), some time between Nisan and Tishri, 852. This double-dating points to the existence of a coregency in Judah at this time, this being the second year that Jehoram was reigning with his father Jehoshaphat. Jehoram ruled twelve years (II Kings 3:1) and was slain and succeeded by the usurper Jehu (II Kings 9:23, 24).

It is at this period of Israel's history that for the first time accurately dated events in Assyrian history can be definitely tied into Hebrew history. Ahab was listed among the western allies who fought against Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in the eponym-year of Daian-Assur,<sup>25</sup> the sixth year of Shalmaneser III, 853.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, no record has been preserved of the exact year of Ahab's reign when Qarqar was fought, but, as we have seen above, this must have been in his last year, since it is known that twelve years after Qarqar, in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, the latter received tribute from Jehu,<sup>27</sup> and there is also an interval of exactly twelve years between the last year of Ahab and the first year of Jehu.

<sup>24</sup> In the Harvard excavations of Ahab's palace at Samaria fragments of an alabaster jar were found bearing an inscription of Osorkon II (see George Andrew Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924], I, 81). Breasted's date for Osorkon is 874-853, and thus he was an exact contemporary of Ahab.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926), Vol. I, secs. 563, 610, 646.

<sup>26</sup> "Dajanu-Assur," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, eds. Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, Vol. II (1938); Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 672.

We thus secure 853 as the year of Ahab's death,<sup>28</sup> and 841 for the accession of Jehu.

With the accession of Jehu in Israel fixed to 841, this date must also mark the end of the reign of Ahaziah, who was slain by Jehu at the same time that he slew Jehoram (II Kings 9:23-27), and the accession of Athaliah, who succeeded Ahaziah (II Kings 11:1, 3). It is important that the above date be definitely established, for it will assist materially in the reconstruction of the chronology of Judah for

<sup>28</sup> Inasmuch as Ahab was slain in battle by the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead (I Kings 22:3, 34, 35), this campaign must likewise have occurred in the year 853, following Qarqar. The month and day of the Battle of Qarqar are not given, but Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh on this campaign on Airu 14 and crossed the Euphrates at its flood (Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 610). This could not have been much later than the last of June, for in this month the flood is already on the decline and in late July reaches a low-water stage. For modern recordings of the Euphrates flow see M. G. Ionides, *The Regime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London, 1937), pp. 39 ff. The Battle of Qarqar was thus probably fought during July or possibly early August. This would, however, leave Ahab ample time to return to Samaria and, with his forces already mustered, conduct the campaign at Ramoth-gilead well before the close of the season that year. For three years he had been at peace with Syria (I Kings 22:1). The suggestion has been made that the alliance between Israel and Syria was prompted by a common fear of the growing power of Assyria (see Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse [London, 1885], I, 189-90; II, 323; Francis Brown, *Assyriology, Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study* [New York, 1885], pp. 53-62). Threatened by the same danger, Ahab and Benhadad were for a time able to bury their differences. The Syrian king was no doubt at the head of the western allies, for it is always he who is listed first in Shalmaneser's accounts of Qarqar. And it was he who furnished the largest number of infantry—twenty thousand out of the fifty-odd thousand involved are the figures given. It is altogether possible that Syria suffered a disproportionate share of the huge losses that Shalmaneser claims to have inflicted on the enemy and that Ahab with his chariots might have given a particularly good account of himself. At any rate, immediately after the battle was over, Ahab felt himself able to come to grips with his old foe and recent ally. On his return to Samaria he might have determined to square accounts with Syria before dispersing his troops, and Jehoshaphat was probably invited to Samaria with a large retinue and showered with hospitality (II Chron. 18:2) for the express purpose of securing his co-operation in the contemplated campaign for the recovery of Ramoth-gilead. The accession of Jehoram as coregent with Jehoshaphat in 853 may have had some connection with his father's forthcoming participation in the campaign against Syria.



the period immediately preceding. Without such a check there are some items which might lead to erroneous conclusions.

Ahaziah ruled over Judah only one year (II Kings 8:26). If the accession-year principle of reckoning is applied to that year, as it has been to all other kings of Judah thus far, then Ahaziah came to the throne in 842, the year prior to his death in 841. The predecessor of Ahaziah was Jehoram, who ruled eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20). If the eighth year of Jehoram was 842, then he would have come to the throne in 850 according to the accession-year system. But the record states that he came to the throne in the fifth year of Jehoram of Israel (II Kings 8:16), and that year, according to the accession-year principle which has so far prevailed, is 847. Thus there seems to exist a discrepancy of three years.

The key to the difficulty is provided by the information given concerning the accession of Ahaziah. One record states that he came to the throne in the eleventh year of Jehoram of Israel (II Kings 9:29), while another gives the time as the twelfth year (II Kings 8:25). This double-dating for the accession of Ahaziah in terms of Jehoram of Israel is significant, for it provides a clue to the fact that at this period the Southern Kingdom had shifted its method of reckoning from the accession-year system to the nonaccession-year system. One group of scribes accepted the new system and, in accordance with the regular custom, applied it to the king of North Israel, while another group of scribes of the conservative class refused to follow the innovation and clung to the old system. The change was introduced either by Jehoram, whose wife was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (II Kings 8:18, 26), or possibly by Athaliah herself when she took the throne of her slain son, with the reckoning in the

latter instance thrown back by the scribes to include the reign of Jehoram.<sup>29</sup> The nonaccession-year reckoning for Judah now evident in the records, at least, goes back to the reign of Jehoram.

A period of *rapprochement* between Judah and Israel had been introduced by Jehoshaphat, with the royal families intermarrying (II Kings 8:18, 26), adopting the same names for their children (II Kings 3:1; 8:16), and visiting each other (II Kings 8:29; II Chron. 18:1, 2). The two nations united in joint ventures for foreign trade (II Chron. 20:35, 36) and made a common disposition of their forces in battle (I Kings 22:2-4; II Chron. 18:3-31). Israel rather than Judah seemed to be the leading power in these matters of affiliation, with the Southern Kingdom following the lead of her northern neighbor (I Kings 22:2; II Kings 8:27; II Chron. 18:2, 3; 22:2-5) and being rebuked by her prophets for this affiliation (II Chron. 19:2; 20:37). With such a strong-willed daughter of Jezebel as his wife (II Chron. 22:2, 3, 10-12; II Kings 11:1-3), it is only to be expected that Jehoram would be induced to adopt certain customs of the northern house. Indeed, the record expressly declares of him that "he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab" (II Kings 8:18; II Chron. 21:6). Such a grip did northern influence at this time secure upon the Southern Kingdom that Judah changed her method of reckoning the years of her kings to correspond with that of Israel. Once introduced, the nonaccession-year system was to continue in Judah for fifty-two years through

<sup>29</sup> I am indebted for this latter suggestion to Professor W. A. Irwin. Inasmuch as both the accession- and the nonaccession-year systems were still in use at the end of Jehoram's reign, Professor Irwin has called my attention to the fact that the actual shift in reckoning may well have been introduced by Athaliah and then thrown back by the scribes or annalists to include the reign of Jehoram, but with the conservative element continuing for a time to cling to the old system.



the reigns of four rulers. The valuable clue to this change found in the Masoretic text of II Kings 8:25 has been lost in the Lucian text, whose editor changed the "12" to an "11" to correspond to II Kings 9:29.<sup>30</sup>

The new system of reckoning now prevailing in Judah produces the following results for the period under discussion: Ahaziah's one-year reign, which, as already ascertained, ended in 841, also had its beginning in that year. Since Jehoram's years were reckoned from Nisan and Ahaziah's from Tishri, the reign began at some time after Nisan and ended before Tishri, 841. Jehoram, the predecessor of Ahaziah, reigned eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20), and this, according to the nonaccession-year system which he was following, brought the beginning of his reign in 848. This is the fifth year of Jehoram, not according to the old accession-year system but according to the newly adopted nonaccession-year system—another evidence of the adoption of this system at this time. Jehoram's accession thus took place some time between Nisan and Tishri, 848.

It has already been pointed out that the double-dating of the accession of Jehoram of Israel, both in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) as well as in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), points to a coregency between Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, of which 852 was the second year and 853 was the first.

Still another perplexity remains. Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years (I Kings 22:42; II Chron. 20:31). His father Asa completed his reign between Tishri, 870, and Nisan, 869. If that year is taken as the accession year of Jehoshaphat, his twenty-fifth and last year would come in

845, and that would be the year when his son Jehoram would begin his sole reign. But we have already secured 853 as the date when Jehoram began his coregency with his father and 848 as the beginning of his sole reign. The latter date must thus mark the termination of Jehoshaphat's twenty-five years, and 873 would then be their beginning. This was three years before the death of Asa, and our enumeration would thus call for a coregency for this period of Jehoshaphat with his father Asa. Was there any condition that might call for such a coregency? The chronicler has preserved the report that in the thirtieth year of his reign Asa was "diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great" (II Chron. 16:12). So it is altogether probable that at about this time the precarious state of Asa's health necessitated his associating his son Jehoshaphat with him on the throne<sup>31</sup> and that the latter's twenty-five years of reign began in 873/72 in a coregency until 870/69 with his aged, stricken father.

The accession of Athaliah in 841 has already been mentioned. The length of her reign is not recorded, but it is stated that the infant Joash was hidden in the temple for a period of six years (II Kings 11:3; II Chron. 22:12) and that in the seventh year he was brought forth and made king, with Athaliah being put to death (II Kings 11:4, 12, 20; II Chron. 23:1, 11, 15). The reign of Athaliah should thus be seven years. That this is correct is proved by the information that Joash began to rule in the seventh year of Jehu (II Kings 12:1), and Jehu, it will be remembered, began to reign in the same year as did Athaliah. It is significant, moreover, that this was according to the nonaccession-year system only recently introduced into Judah. One might have expected a reac-

<sup>30</sup> The author has already prepared a monograph on the variant figures in the Greek texts, the Syriac, and the account of Josephus, which will appear elsewhere at a later date.

<sup>31</sup> A number of biblical scholars have come to this same conclusion. Begrich (*op. cit.*, p. 130) calls attention to the fact that LXX Vaticanus a b credits Asa with only 39 years.

tion at this time and a return to the old system of reckoning. There was a reform and a return to some of the old customs, but the record explicitly points out that this was only partial and by no means as complete as was desired by the more conservative element (II Kings 12:3). The chronicler has preserved the report that when Zechariah, a son of Jehoiada, the priest who had championed the cause of the infant Joash and had preserved his life and placed him on the throne, issued a reprimand for the failure to institute a more complete reform, he was stoned at the command of the king (and this in the court of the House of the Lord), and that, because of his having followed such a course, Joash was beset by judgments sent upon him by God and was ultimately slain as the result of a conspiracy, to be buried not in the sepulchers of the kings but in the city of David (II Chron. 24:18-26). Certainly, too much in the way of a return to the old ways is hardly to be expected from such a king as this.

Athaliah came to the throne between Nisan and Tishri, 841, and reigned until the same period in 835, when she was succeeded by the infant Joash. The latter ruled forty years (II Kings 12:1) to 797/96.

Jehu was king over Israel twenty-eight years (II Kings 10:36) from some time between Nisan and Tishri, 841, to 814/13. He was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz who began his seventeen-year reign in the twenty-third year of Joash of Judah (II Kings 13:1), between Tishri, 814, and Nisan, 813. His kingship terminated in 798, and he was succeeded by his son Jehoash in the thirty-seventh year of Joash of Judah (II Kings 13:10).

Here we seem to meet with a discrepancy, for, according to the nonaccession-year system which we have thus far been following for Israel, the end of the seventeen-year reign of Jehoahaz and the acces-

sion of Jehoash of Israel took place in the thirty-eighth and not the thirty-seventh year of Joash, as the record declares. There is only one way in which this statement can be correct, and that is to compute it according to the accession-year principle. But the employment of such a statement for a king of Israel would imply a shift from the nonaccession- to the accession-year system. That this is precisely what did occur at this point is proved by the reckonings of all future kings of Israel, which henceforth without exception were according to this newly adopted system until the final breakup of the Northern Kingdom. The date of the accession of Jehoash of Israel can therefore be definitely established as at some point between Nisan and Tishri, 798. The same year marked the first preserved date according to Israel's newly adopted accession-year system. The Northern Kingdom had at length forsaken the system of reckoning employed in Egypt for that in use in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys.

Amaziah of Judah succeeded his father Joash in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1). If this is to be reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system, the time was between Tishri, 797, and Nisan, 796; but, if it was according to the accession-year system, it was between Nisan and Tishri, 796. It will be seen presently that the latter is correct. Jehoash of Israel reigned sixteen years (II Kings 13:10), and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II in the fifteenth year of Amaziah of Judah (II Kings 14:23). This took place between Tishri, 782, and Nisan, 781. Fifteen years after the death of Jehoash (II Kings 14:17) and after a reign of twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2), occurred the death of Amaziah and the accession of his son Azariah in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II (II Kings 15:1), 767. But this turns out to be the



twenty-ninth year of Amaziah's reign, not according to the nonaccession-year system that had been followed in Judah since its introduction by Jehoram in 848, but according to the accession-year system. This is an indication that Judah was once more reckoning according to the accession-year system. That this is correct may be ascertained from the fact that henceforth the reigns of all the kings of Judah to the close of Judean history were reckoned according to the accession-year system. Since Amaziah was the first king whose reign was reckoned according to this system after its reintroduction into Judah, it was no doubt this king who made the change. His accession may thus be definitely set as between Nisan and Tishri, 796, which date likewise marks the first recorded instance of reckoning according to the readopted accession-year system.

It will be noticed that Judah made its shift back to the accession-year system only two years after the adoption of this system by Israel in 798. It can be hardly a mere coincidence that both Israel and Judah should have adopted the accession-year system at practically the same time, though one would hardly expect collaboration between such kings as Jehoash and Amaziah. Inasmuch as it was the accession-year system which was followed by Assyria and inasmuch as Assyria had by this time manifested very definite interests in the West, this shift to the accession-year system in both Israel and Judah is no doubt indicative of the growing power of Assyrian influence in western Asia and may point to a rather wide adoption of this system of reckoning in these areas at this time.

The ensuing period presents a number of outstanding chronological difficulties. The correct dating of Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, will for this section prove to be of the greatest importance, for

no less than six kings of Israel are dated in terms of the years of Azariah. It was in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II that Azariah began his reign (II Kings 15:1). Nisan to Tishri, 767, would thus mark a synchronism between the accession-year of Azariah and the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. But the death of Jehoash, father of Jeroboam, has already been established as 782/81, and since Jeroboam came to the throne at that time, 767 would be his fifteenth and not his twenty-seventh year. There is only one way in which that year can be both the fifteenth and the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam at one and the same time, and that is to postulate a coregency of Jeroboam with his father lasting twelve years, with datings given in terms of that coregency. And if 767 is the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam, then 793 would be the first year of his regency. He reigned forty-one years (II Kings 14:23) to 753. At that time Jeroboam was succeeded by his son Zachariah, in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8). Nisan to Tishri of Zachariah's accession year, 753, overlapped the last six months of the thirty-eighth year of Azariah—Tishri, 754, to Tishri, 753. Given 754/53 as the thirty-eighth year of Azariah, 768/67 would be his twenty-fourth year. But that is the year in which his father Amaziah died. Azariah had thus reigned twenty-four years before the death of his father, having come to the throne in 791/90. How can we account for this?

Amaziah's unprovoked war with Israel and his humiliating defeat (II Kings 14:8-14; II Chron. 25:17-24) evidently made him exceedingly unpopular with his people and may have been responsible for an early conspiracy against him and the elevation of the sixteen-year-old Azariah to the throne (II Kings 14:19, 21; II Chron. 25:27; 26:1). But Amaziah evidently lived on for twenty-four years



while the kingdom was ruled by his son Azariah, although the record of his violent death is introduced in immediate connection with the account of the much earlier initial insurrection. It is to be noticed that both Israel and Judah at this period, when expressing synchronisms of their kings in terms of the years of the neighboring king, do so in terms of the beginning of a coregency and not in terms of the sole reign, as has heretofore been the custom.

The accession of Zachariah as Jero-boam's successor in 753 has already been mentioned. Zachariah ruled only six months (II Kings 15:8) and was followed by the usurper Shallum in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:10, 13). The fact that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8) and that, after a reign of only six months, his successor came to the throne in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah is evidence that it was the last six months of Azariah's thirty-eighth year, Nisan to Tishri, and not the first six months, Tishri to Nisan, which overlapped Zachariah's reign. Zachariah thus began to reign some time between Nisan and Tishri, 753, and closed his reign between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752. The one-month reign of Shallum (II Kings 15:13), Zachariah's successor, must therefore have been some time between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752.

Shallum was in turn assassinated by Menahem, who took the throne during the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:14, 17). Unless there can be certainty as to the exact date when Shallum's reign of one month occurred, whether in 753 or in 752, there can be no certainty as to precisely when Menahem's reign began. If Zachariah began his six-month rule in Nisan (or soon thereafter) of 753, Shallum's reign could have fallen entirely within the year 753. In such a case the accession year of Menahem would be 753/52. If, however, Zachariah's reign did not begin un-

til Elul, 753, it would have terminated in Adar, 752; with Shallum's reign beginning less than a month before the first of Nisan, it would have carried over into that month. In such a case the accession year of Menahem would be dated 752/51. The information given in the above connection is not sufficient to indicate which of these positions is correct.

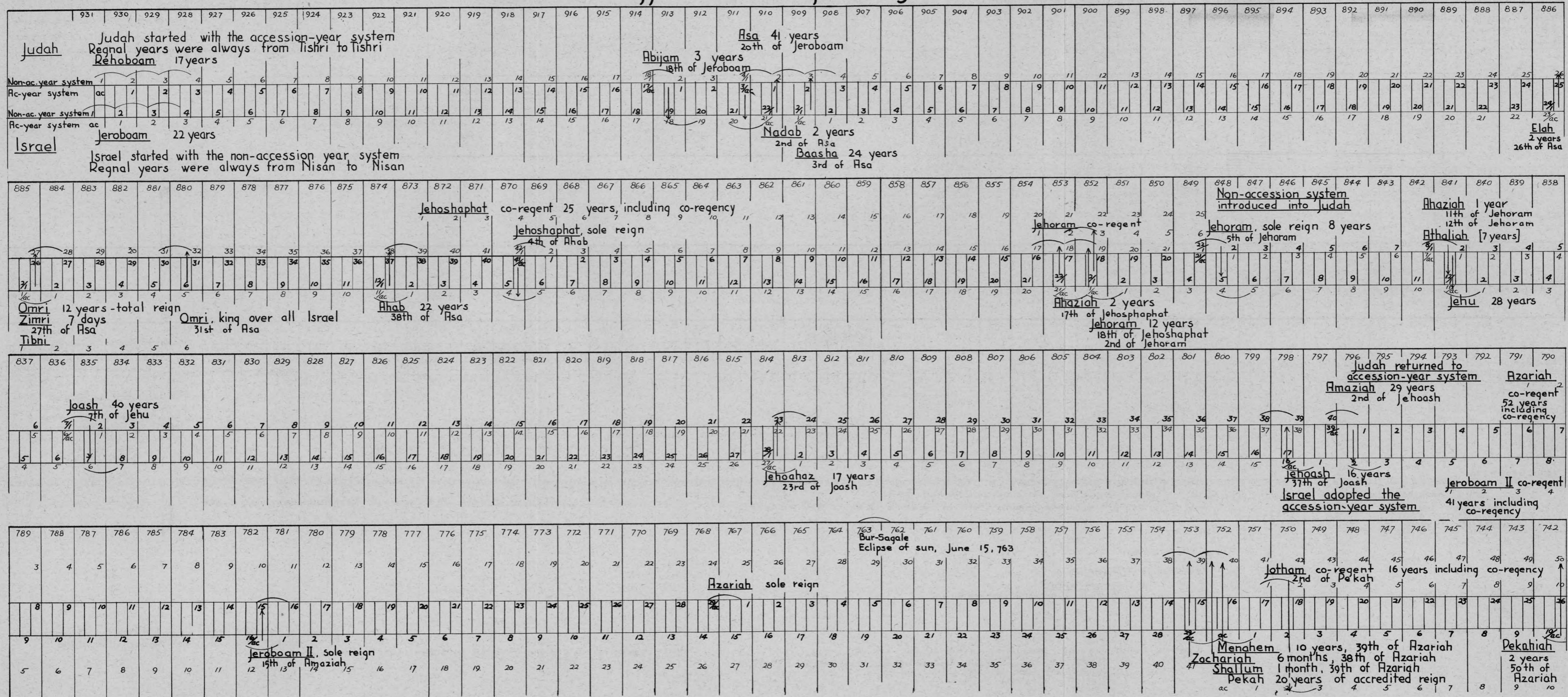
If 753/52, however, be accepted as the accession year of Menahem, then his ten-year reign (II Kings 15:17) would terminate in 743/42, and then the accession year of Pekahiah, son and successor of Menahem (II Kings 15:22), would be Nisan, 743, to Nisan, 742. But Pekahiah came to the throne in the fiftieth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:23), and that year, according to the pattern we have been following, is from Tishri, 742, to Tishri, 741. Under this arrangement there would be no time when the accession year of Pekahiah would overlap the fiftieth year of Azariah, and therefore this position cannot be correct. If, however, 752/51 be taken as the accession year of Menahem, then his ten-year reign would terminate in 742/41, and the months Tishri to Nisan of Pekahiah's accession year would fall within the fiftieth year of Azariah. It is clear, therefore, that the second of the two positions postulated above is correct and that Zachariah came to the throne of Israel in Elul, 753, and terminated his reign in Adar, 752; Shallum's reign began in Adar and terminated in Nisan, 752; and Menahem ascended the throne in Nisan, 752. His accession year can thus be set at 752/51, his death in 742/41,<sup>32</sup> and the accession of Pekahiah in 742/41.

<sup>32</sup> It will be noticed that this date for Menahem, 752/51—742/41, allows for an overlap between Menahem and Tiglath-pileser III (745—727), as II Kings 15:19 and I Chron. 5:26 require there should be. The questions as to the identification of Tiglath-pileser and Pul, the exact time of Menahem's contact with Tiglath-pileser, and how the above date for Menahem can be harmonized with the dates of his successors will be dealt with in the following section.



# The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel

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Pekahiah ruled two years (II Kings 15:23) to 740/39. Since his accession year synchronized with the fiftieth year of Azariah, his second and final year would synchronize with the fifty-second year of Azariah, who ruled fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2; II Chron. 26:3) to 740/39.

It will be noted that all the reckoning thus far of the kings of Israel and Judah has been strictly according to the data supplied by the Massoretic text. The chronology of each nation is so closely interlocked with the other by the data given that a very rigid reconstruction is necessary. Even the slightest shift, one way or the other, of any particular item would necessitate other adjustments elsewhere which would lead to more and still more discrepancies, and the errors, once introduced, would grow ever more serious until at length a point would be reached where nothing remained but the wreckage of a once harmonious scheme. In the present reconstruction, based strictly upon the data of the Massoretic text, it will be noticed that thus far internal harmony at least has been preserved.

#### IV. THE CONTACTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER III WITH AZARIAH AND MENAHEM

If the chronological outline that has just been presented is indeed the absolute chronology of Israel and Judah for the period in question, then we must expect exact synchronisms with the absolute chronology of Assyria at any and all points at which precise contacts between the two nations can be established.

Unfortunately, no absolute synchronisms of definite years of Hebrew and Assyrian kings are available from this particular period, but the well-known contacts of Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah and Menahem may be of service.

One of the first questions to arise in this connection is the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III. According to II Kings

15:19, 20, Menahem paid tribute to Pul, and in I Chron. 5:26 the names of Pul and Tiglath-pileser are given as conquerors of Israel. Owing to the extreme difficulties met with in the endeavor to synchronize the biblical and Assyrian chronology of this period, certain scholars for a time took the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were two distinct individuals. In view of the fact, however, that Tiglath-pileser in his annals claimed the reception of tribute from Menahem<sup>33</sup> and that, according to the Bible, Menahem paid tribute to an Assyrian king by the name of Pul, it would seem clear that Tiglath-pileser and Pul were one and the same individual.<sup>34</sup> Identification of the two was long since established by Schrader,<sup>35</sup> and clinching proof is provided by notations from a Babylonian king list and the Babylonian Chronicle shown on the following page.<sup>36</sup>

It is quite clear from the impartial Babylonian testimony that there can be no question concerning the identity of Pul and Tiglath-pileser, the former being

<sup>33</sup> Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 770.

<sup>34</sup> In regard to the much-debated text I Chron. 5:26, often quoted to prove that the Bible supports the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser III were two individuals, Horner has pointed out that, inasmuch as the Hebrew verb "carried" is here in the singular, this verse definitely conveys the idea that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were one and the same individual and that the correct translation of the *waw* introducing the epexegetical phrase concerning Tiglath-pileser should be "even." Thus the verse would read, "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, even the spirit of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and he carried them away." As the verse is now translated in English, it is ambiguous and grammatically incorrect, for the singular pronoun "he" cannot stand as the antecedent for the plural "Pul and Tiglath-pileser." Thus this verse, instead of conveying a wrong idea concerning Pul and Tiglath-pileser, actually becomes a valuable early documentary authority for the identification of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III (see Joseph Horner, "Biblical Chronology," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX [1898], 237).

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 218 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (5th ed.; Stuttgart, 1926), I, Part 2, 36 ff. Translation from the Babylonian Chronicle copied from a translation made from the unpublished Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. The text appears in *CT*, Vol. XXXIV, Pls. 46-47.

the name assumed by Tiglath-pileser as king of Babylon, just as Shalmaneser V was known in Babylon as Ululai. Further confirmation is given by Ptolemy's Canon, which for the seventeenth year of the Nabonassar Era, 731, gives Chinziros and Poros as the Babylonian kings. The latter name is a Persian corruption of Pul, and Chinziros is clearly Ukin-zer.

Of vital importance to our inquiry is the question as to whether the usually accepted date of 738 for Tiglath-pileser's suppression of the western uprising insti-

reign of Tiglath-pileser III, all reconstructions thus far rest on bases which are more or less insecure and which must in many important aspects be regarded as provisional rather than final and conclusive. In regard to the point in question, for instance—the date of Tiglath-pileser's contact with the kings of the Westland—there are factors which seem definitely to point to the year 738, but there are also factors which support an earlier year. The assumed mention of "Kullani" as restored in the section dealing with Azariah seems

## BABYLONIAN KING LIST, COL. IV

Line

5. Nabu-shum-ukin his son for 1 month and 12 days.  
7. Ukin-zer . . . . 3 years.

8. Pulu for 2 [years].

gated by "Azriau of Yaudi"<sup>37</sup> and his reception of tribute from "Menihimmu of Samerina" does not invalidate our date of 740/39 for the termination of Azariah's reign and 742/41 as the last year of Menahem.

First, it must be admitted that, in spite of the work which has been done on the

<sup>37</sup> The writer believes the evidence for the identification of "Azriau of Yaudi" mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions with Azariah of Judah to be entirely convincing. It is hardly likely that at the very time that Judah had such an outstanding king, possessing such marked abilities as a warrior and statesman, another state of a similar name should possess a king with a name that is almost identical and with the same outstanding characteristics. For a discussion of this side of the question see Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 208 ff.; Howell M. Haydn, "Azariah of Judah and Tiglath-pileser III," *JBL*, XXVIII (1909), 182-99; and D. D. Luckenbill, "Azariah of Judah," *AJSL*, XLI (1925), 217-32.

## BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE, COL. I

Line

17. One month and 2 days Shum-ukin reigned in Babylon.  
18. Ukin-zer . . . . cast him from the throne and seized the throne.  
19. In the 3d year of Ukin-zer, Tiglath-pileser  
20. when he made a descent against Akkad  
21. devastated Bit-Amukan and captured Ukin-zer.  
22. Three years Ukin-zer ruled as king of Babylon.  
23. Tiglath-pileser seated himself on the throne in Babylon.  
24. The 2d year Tiglath-pileser died in the month of Tebetu.

to date that section in the eponymy of Adad-bela-ukin, 738, when Kullani was captured; the mention of the transport of captives to Ulluba would again lend support to the same year, for the campaign of the previous year in the eponymy of Sintaklak was against Ulluba; and the fact that the section dealing with Menahem immediately precedes the section dealing with Tiglath-pileser's campaign to the northeast in his ninth year, 737, further seems to indicate that that section should be assigned to 738, the preceding year.

The force of such arguments as these, standing by themselves, cannot be gainsaid, and at first sight they might appear to be altogether convincing. The weight of their evidence, however, must be



judged in the light of certain other factors that have usually been overlooked. "Kullani," it must be remembered, is partially restored in the annals, and even if it should prove to be correct, it would not necessarily follow that 738 is the only time when that site might appear.<sup>38</sup> The mention of Ulluba is important, but it must also be remembered that that city appears a number of times in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III,<sup>39</sup> the dates of which are by no means finally settled, and that as early as 829, in the eponymy of Nergal-ilia, the campaign of the year was against Ulluba.<sup>40</sup> And if there is logic in the argument that the section mentioning Mena-

hem must be dated to the eighth year simply because it immediately precedes the section of the annals dated in the ninth year, there is just as much logic in the argument that the section dealing with Azariah must be dated in the fourth year or even the third year, since it immediately follows or possibly even constitutes part of the section dealing with the third year. Further, if the sections dealing with Azariah and Menahem constitute a unit dealing with a single year, that unit would still remain a unit, whether it immediately precedes the ninth year or directly follows the third year.

Of vital importance in determining the dating of these sections is any internal evidence which might link the section with material which precedes or which follows. A careful examination of the annals reveals the fact that there exists a much closer connection of those sections mentioning Azariah and Menahem with the preceding material than with that which follows. The section dealing with Azariah begins with the following words: "[In] the course of my campaign, I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast . . . [Azariah] of Judah, like. . . ." <sup>41</sup>The annalist is here dealing with some definite campaign of Tiglath-pileser. Which campaign? Naturally that campaign which he has just been describing, and that is the campaign of his third year, 743, against Sardurri of Urartu and his sympathizers of the West.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> The Assyrian military machine seemed never able to complete its work. Repeated campaigns against the same localities were necessary, often in quick succession. A brief glimpse at the eponym lists with notes reveals the fact that many places appear there year after year:

Hama- nu:	Bit Adini:	Hatti:	Baby- lonia:	Tabali:	Ulluba:
853	857	853	851	837	829
842	856	848	850	720	739
	855	845	811		

Damas- cus:	Namri:	Urartu:	Madai:	Arpad:	Itu:
841	844	832	821	805	790
773	835	781	809	754	783
733	797	780	800	743	782
732	774	779	799	742	777
727	749	778	793	741	769
	748	776	792	740	
	744	774	789		
		743	788		
		735	786		
			766		
			737		

Man- nai:	Karne:	Tille:	Guzana:	Musa- sir:	Hubush- kia:
829	819	817	808	716	801
806	818	816	759	713	791
718			758		784

Kue:	Der:	Hota- rika:	Arra- pha:	Dur Iakin:	Gana- nati:
840	795	772	761	706	771
834	794	765	760	705	767
833		755			

If the above-mentioned places appeared so frequently as centers of the campaign of the year, it is quite evident that numerous other places must have figured in the campaigns of many years other than those for which they are officially listed.

<sup>39</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 770, 785, 796, 814; Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 23, 47, 53, 67.

<sup>40</sup> *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 433.

<sup>41</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

<sup>42</sup> The writer is well aware of the implications of the position he is here taking in regard to the correct placing and dating of this and related sections of Tiglath-pileser's annals, and he understands that this involves in the way of modification of the usually accepted view. But he believes that he is in a position to show that the Azariah and Menahem sections of the annals immediately follow and constitute an intrinsic part of the section dealing with the revolts and campaigns involving Sardurri of Urartu and Tutummu of Unki and the whole general area of the northwest, which took place in the third year and continued to be the primary scene of action until the eighth year, and that this entire period is dealt with in the annals as a

In this section is given a long list of cities of the land of Hamath which at that time were brought within the power of Assyria. This list is clearly parallel to a similar list of cities found on a twenty-four-line inscription which contains the names of cities in the lands of Enzi, Urartu, Unki, and Hamath.<sup>43</sup> The following cities of Hamath and the sea coast are found on both lists: Usnu, Siannu, Simirra, Hatarikka, Nukudina, Ara, Ashhani, Iadabi, Ellitarbi, and Zitanu. The fact is significant that Arpad heads the list of cities in the Westland in the account parallel to the annals. Here, then, is evidently a list of cities of the West which paid tribute or were subject to Assyria at some time when Arpad was under Assyrian power. According to the eponym lists, 743 was such a year, for in that year the king was "in" Arpad, whereas during the next three years the campaign was "against" Arpad.

In addition to the above-mentioned cities of the land of Hamath appearing in both this particular section of the annals and the parallel list, there are a number of other cities such as Gublu and Arka. There can be no question concerning the parallelism of these two lists. Of further significance to our inquiry is the fact that, prior to any of the above-mentioned cities on the parallel list, occurs the name of the city of Kulmadara. In the annals, on the other hand, prior to the above list of cities and immediately before Gublu, occurs a single "Kul" sign which Rost has restored to "Kullani," a restoration which has been widely used to date this section of the annals to 738. The natural question is whether or not the same city is not intended in

single unit without being broken up into individual years, to be directly followed by the next unit of the ninth year when the focus of action shifted to the northeast. This is a question so broad and so far-reaching that it cannot be dealt with here, but it is a matter with which the writer plans to deal in a future presentation.

<sup>43</sup> III R, 10, No. 3; cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

both instances. The mention of Kulmadara on the one list would be a strong argument in favor of such a restoration in the annals.<sup>44</sup> This would, moreover, be definitely in line with other evidence to follow for the dating of this particular section of the annals to the year 743 rather than 738, which has thus far been the almost universally accepted date.

Captives from the campaign in which Azariah is mentioned were settled in Ulluba.<sup>45</sup> While it is true that the eponym canon of 739 records a campaign in that year against Ulluba, it is also true and possibly significant that the important Nimrud Tablet No. 1 records the capture of Ulluba and Kirhu in the lines immediately preceding those recording the revolt of Sardurri,<sup>46</sup> which took place in Tiglath-pileser's third year, 743.<sup>47</sup> On Nimrud Slab No. 1 the conquest of Ulluba is once more dealt with in the same section relating the revolt of Sardurri.<sup>48</sup> And on Nimrud Slab No. 2 the conquest of Ulluba is again closely associated with the conquest of

<sup>44</sup> A single sign for "Kul" appears in the annals, but on III R, 10, No. 3, two signs are employed, "Ku-ul," although it should be noted that Rost's transliteration of these signs is mistakenly given as "Kul" instead of "Ku-ul" and that in this mistake he has been followed by many writers (cf. Rost, *op. cit.*, I, 85, and *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. XXVII). Such a variation could not be urged as a valid objection, however, for the variant Ku-ul for Kul would be altogether possible, such variations being a common practice in Assyrian inscriptions, here as well as elsewhere. Still another objection that might be raised is that the spacing on Rost's autographic copy of Layard, between the "Kul" sign of Kullani and the final "lu" of [Gu-ub]-lu—a space now a blank—would seem to favor the restoration of five signs rather than the six that would be necessary if Kulmadara rather than Kullani were to be restored. A careful comparison of Rost's spacing with the spacing of inscriptions still extant shows frequent variations, and there is thus no certainty that these six signs might not be inserted in the necessary space of the original inscription, if that were now available.

<sup>45</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

<sup>46</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 796, 797; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 66, ll. 43 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 59.

<sup>48</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 25.



Sardurri.<sup>49</sup> Certain it is that all the events having to do with the conquest of Urartu, Ulluba, Kirhu, and Mount Nal do not belong to a single campaign or a single year. But also it is certain that the exact sequence of these events has not been revealed, that any modern detailed reconstructions are largely arbitrary and tentative, and that we must await evidence which is not at present forthcoming before a full picture can be drawn which is to be regarded as altogether final.

It should be noticed that while there is no evidence that would exclude Ulluba from the great campaign against Sardurri in Tiglath-pileser's third year, there is evidence in each of the above-mentioned inscriptions wherein Ulluba is named, indicating that that city may in all probability have occupied some part in the campaign of 743. First of all, the annals in opening the account of the third year report the revolt of Sardurri and his allies and the crushing defeat of the same, with 72,950 captives taken.<sup>50</sup> And it is the very next section opening with the words "in the course of my campaign"—evidently continuing the account of the same campaign—which mentioned the settling in Ulluba of 1,223 captives taken from among Azariah's allies.<sup>51</sup>

The point is often stressed that events on inscriptional material of the so-called "Prunkinschriften" group are arranged not in chronological but in geographical order,<sup>52</sup> and on these grounds the effort may be made to rule out any chronological significance of the mention of Ulluba

in connection with Sardurri's revolt on the other inscriptions mentioned. But a careful comparison of these inscriptions with the eponym lists and the annals reveals striking parallels in arrangement on all these accounts. Using the numbers of the sections as they are given by Luckenbill, the arrangement is as shown on the following page.

With such a pattern before us it would be difficult, indeed, to argue that the eponym lists and annals are arranged in chronological order, but that the Nimrud tablet and slabs are not arranged in such an order; for the order is identical. It is particularly unfortunate that there should be such a large break of approximately a hundred lines in the Nimrud tablet and that this break should come just where it does, for the missing section, as Olmstead has suggested,<sup>53</sup> must have contained most of the Urartu account and an account of the events in Syria during the campaign against Arpad. Then, again in all probability, came a continuation of the campaign of the seventh year against Ulluba, the eighth year against Kullani, the ninth year against the Medes, and the tenth and eleventh years against Mount Nal and Urartu. If only this section of the tablet were complete, we would no doubt have light on the questions with which we are here particularly concerned. But enough of the tablet remains to indicate that its essential arrangement, as well as that of the Nimrud slabs, is chronological, and the argument that the mention of Ulluba on all three of these inscriptions is out of its correct chronological order is hardly warranted.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 813, 814; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 53, l. 41.

<sup>50</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 66.

<sup>51</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

<sup>52</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Abraham S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III* (New York, 1912), p. 3; A. T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* (Columbia, Mo., 1916), pp. 33-34; Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), II, 371.

<sup>53</sup> Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, p. 34.

<sup>54</sup> The fact that the eponym list mentions a campaign against Sapia for 731 and that the Babylonian Chronicle mentions a march by Tiglath-pileser against Akkad in the third year of Ukinzer (I:19-21), 729 a.c., may be raised as an argument against a campaign by Tiglath-pileser in his first year against Sapia, as would be indicated by the mention of Sapia in the first part of the Nimrud tablet, if the arrangement of

		Eponym List	Annals	Nimrud Tablet No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 2
<i>To Babylonia:</i>						
Yr. B.C.			Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.
745	1st yr.	Between rivers	762 Babylonia 763 Babylonia 764 Babylonia 765 Babylonia	788 Babylonia 789 Babylonia 790 Babylonia 791 Babylonia 792 Babylonia 793 Babylonia 794 Babylonia	782 Babylonia 783 Babylonia	809 Babylonia 810 Babylonia 811 Babylonia
<i>To Northeast:</i>						
744	2d yr.	Against Namri	766 Northeast 767 Northeast 768 Northeast	795 Northeast	784 Northeast	812 Northeast
<i>To Northwest and West:</i>						
743	3d yr.	In Arpad  Urartu revolt	769 Northwest  770 Northwest	796 Northwest  797 Northwest	785 Northwest	813 North- west  814 North- west
742	4th yr.	Against Arpad	771 Northwest	Break in tablet; about 100 lines missing		
741	5th yr.	Against Arpad	772 Northwest			
740	6th yr.	Against Arpad				
739	7th yr.	Against Ulluba				
738	8th yr.	Kullani cap- tured				
<i>To Northeast:</i>						
737	9th yr.	Against Madai	773 Northeast 774 Northeast 775a Northeast			
<i>To Northwest and West:</i>						
736	10th yr.	To Mount Nal	775b Northwest			
735	11th yr.	Against Urartu	776 Northwest			
734	12th yr.	Against Pilista	777 West	798 West		
733	13th yr.	Against Da- mascus	778 West	799 West		
732	14th yr.	Against Da- mascus	779 West	800 West 801 West		
<i>To Babylonia:</i>						
731	15th yr.	Against Sapia				
<i>King in Assyria:</i>						
730	16th yr.	In the land		802 Rab-shaku to West 803 Rab-shaku to West 804 Palace built		



That Tiglath-pileser's campaign of his third year against Urartu did indeed cover a large extent of that country can be learned from the names of three cities, Kukusanshu, Harbisina, and Izzeda, evidently conquered by him, which are found in a section of the annals placed by Rost and followed by Luckenbill, immediately after the section giving a description of Sardurri's flight and the capture of his camp.<sup>55</sup> Both Izzeda and Kukusanshu are included in the list of cities (III R, 10, No. 3) of the lands of Enzi and Urartu.<sup>56</sup> An idea of the location of these cities may be gained from the inclusion among them of the city of Parisu, a site which on Nimrud Slab No. 1 is listed as one of the strongholds of Urartu, back of Mount Nal, in the land of Ulluba.<sup>57</sup> Harbisina is included among the strongholds of Urartu listed on Nimrud Slab No. 1 as captured by Tiglath-pileser.<sup>58</sup> This particular group of strongholds immediately follows the mention of Ulluba.

these tablet were on a strictly chronological basis. While the possibility exists that Tiglath-pileser may have made some move against Amukani as early as the first year of his reign, it could also very well be that the above item has been removed from its correct chronological setting. But this would not vitiate the tablet's essential chronological arrangement, although it would lend some force to the argument that other items also might have been removed from their exact chronological setting. Every Assyriologist, however, is aware of the weaknesses inherent in the royal documents of Assyria, including chronological items in the royal annals (cf. A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 B.C.* [New York, 1908], pp. 2 ff., and *Assyrian Historiography*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 7). The above tabulation, however, is sufficient proof of the basic chronological arrangement of the items on Nimrud Tablet No. 1, and, although we do not claim for it perfection, we believe that unless more evidence is forthcoming than up to the present has been produced, its testimony may be accepted as an indication that Ulluba played some part in the great northwestern campaign of Tiglath-pileser's third year.

<sup>55</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff., ll. 77 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 820; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 84, ll. 1, 17.

<sup>57</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 26.

<sup>58</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 28.

In brief, a careful survey of the section of the annals dealing with Azariah makes it clear that this section demands a time when the king is present in the West, when his campaign is thought of as a continuation of the campaign of his third year against Urartu, and when Arpad is under Assyrian power. The year 743 meets all these requirements.

That the section of the annals dealing with the payment of tribute from Menahem dates from the same year as the section dealing with Azariah is generally acknowledged.<sup>59</sup> That these two sections were very closely associated in Tiglath-pileser's annals and that the Menahem section immediately followed the Azariah section is proved by the fact that the last line of a fragment of one version of the annals which was written across a group of figures, Plate XXI in Rost, is the first line of a column of the twelve-line version, Plate XV in Rost. This is line 141 of the annals as arranged by Rost. Of great service in helping to date the Menahem section are lists of places from which and to which captives were transported at that time. Captives were usually transported at the time of conquest or very soon thereafter. At the time of the suppression of the uprising of the western allies, Usnu, Sianu, and Simirra are listed among the cities subdued.<sup>60</sup> We have just seen that there are indications that this was the year 743. The same three cities are included in a group of cities on the sea coast,<sup>61</sup> in which captives were settled at the time of the reception of tribute from Menahem.<sup>62</sup> Among the captives transported were

<sup>59</sup> Sidney Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1929), III, 37; H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (9th ed. rev.; London, 1936), pp. 463-64.

<sup>60</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

<sup>61</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>62</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

5,400 from the city of Dur,<sup>63</sup> and 588 Budeans, Duneans, and others.<sup>64</sup> Tiglath-pileser's campaign into Babylonia took place in his first year, at which time Budu was one of the lands overcome.<sup>65</sup> Three times captives are mentioned from Bit-Sangibuti.<sup>66</sup> Tiglath-pileser's march to the northeast where Bit-Sangibuti was located took place in his second year, in the eponymy of Bel-dan, 744, when the campaign of the year was "against the land of Namri."<sup>67</sup> On Nimrud Tablet No. 1 is a section evidently dealing with the campaign of this second year.<sup>68</sup> The land Namri heads this list and Bit-Sangibuti comes next. Many names on this list, such as Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, Ariarma, and Tar-lugale, are common to a list of places mentioned in the annals as subdued by Tiglath-pileser in his campaign against the northeast in his second year.<sup>69</sup> With Bit-Sangibuti coming into Assyrian hands in Tiglath-pileser's second year, 744, a transfer of these captives to cities of the West would be a logical procedure the following year. This section of the Nimrud tablet, moreover, immediately precedes the section dealing with the campaign against Ulluba, Kirhu, and Urartu.

Still more to the point is a list of cities in the land of Unki—Kunalia, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra, and Sagillu—in which transported captives were settled.<sup>70</sup> The capture of Ku-

nalía, capital of the land of Unki, and the subjugation of that country took place in the third year of Tiglath-pileser.<sup>71</sup> Mention has already been made above of a list of cities of the West and Northwest (III R, 10, No. 3), which on other grounds we have dated to the third year. One group of these cities—in all probability cities which were paying tribute to the Assyrian king—is from the land of Unki.<sup>72</sup> With Unki brought into subjection in the third year of Tiglath-pileser, it would again be a logical procedure to transport captives there either that year or very soon thereafter.

Yet again, among those listed with Menahem as paying tribute to Assyria are the following: Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Rasunnu of Damascus, Hirummu of Tyre, Urikki of Kue, Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarhulara of Gurgum, and Sulumal of Melid.<sup>73</sup> All these are likewise among the rulers of the West listed by Tiglath-pileser as having been subdued and paying tribute on the occasion of his campaign against Urartu in his third year.<sup>74</sup> Of particular interest in this connection is mention of the fact that the reception of tribute from this latter group was "in Arpad."<sup>75</sup> It will be remembered that Tiglath-pileser was "in Arpad," according to the eponym canon, in this important year, 743.

Inasmuch, then, as the places from which captives were transported at the time of Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-pileser were places captured in or shortly prior to his third year, inasmuch as the same is true of the places in which

<sup>63</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>64</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, I, 146; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>65</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 4, l. 14; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 764.

<sup>66</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, ll. 145, 148, 149; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>67</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 436.

<sup>68</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 29; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 795.

<sup>69</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-13; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 766-68.

<sup>70</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, ll. 144-45; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>71</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, ll. 92 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

<sup>72</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>73</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27, ll. 150 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

<sup>74</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, ll. 61 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

<sup>75</sup> Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 16, l. 91; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.



these captives were settled, and inasmuch as the tribute-payers of that year were the same group that paid tribute "in Arpad" in Tiglath-pileser's third year, it seems only logical to conclude that this section of the annals dealing with Menahem's payment of tribute must be closely related to the third year. And, while there are such definite connections of this section with the third year, the internal evidence shows no such connection with the material of the ninth year, which immediately follows.

Although the available evidence does not permit us to speak with absolute finality as to just when the western uprising sponsored by Azariah of Judah was put down and when Menahem of Samaria paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser, the above-mentioned evidence points more definitely to the neighborhood of the year 743 than to the usually accepted date, 738. This date would be quite in keeping with terminal dates of 742/41 for Menahem and 740/39 for Azariah, as called for by the present reconstruction of the reigns of the Hebrew kings.

#### V. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL, 740-716 B.C.

The period we are about to enter upon bristles with difficulties, both internal and external. It is here that the most baffling problems of Hebrew chronology are to be encountered. Every student is aware of the impossibility of harmonizing all the statements of the Massoretic text with the evidence furnished by the Assyrian inscriptions. Almost every type of adjustment has been attempted in the biblical data for this period in the many chronological systems that are now afield, yet the final solution has not been produced. Schrader, in setting forth the internal and external difficulties of this period, declares:

There gapes here a chronological discrepancy which refuses to be explained away. If the Assyrian chronology, certified, as we have said, five-fold, be the correct one, the Biblical cannot be correct. . . . But if the Biblical chronology is to be rejected in the statements that have reference to the later period, i.e., the period which lies nearer to the chronicler, how are we justified in assuming for the earlier period a greater trustworthiness, open as it is to still other grounds of objection?<sup>76</sup>

And yet again:

Unfortunately we cease to feel confidence in the scriptural computation just at the point where a comparison with another chronological system is rendered possible. . . . It is therefore in the most recent period of chronology that our verdict must be pronounced against the scriptural system, though we should have expected the most trustworthy and unassailable statements with respect to that period. The system must, however, be abandoned in presence of the corresponding statements of the monuments and the eponym canon.<sup>77</sup>

To Schrader it appeared quite certain that some shift somewhere would have to be made if harmony was to be secured, but concerning the introduction of proposed adjustments he declared: "But this again destroys the entire synchronism of Judean and Israelite history, for in these annals everything is so closely dovetailed together that, if we remove a single stone, the entire structure tumbles to pieces."<sup>78</sup>

Difficult problems indeed exist, into all the intricacies of which we cannot enter here;<sup>79</sup> but, if their correct solution can be found, it is altogether possible that the material even from this period will have much of value for the chronologist.

We will proceed with the data as given in the Massoretic text. The last two as-

<sup>76</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 213.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 164-65.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 217.

<sup>79</sup> For a presentation of some of these difficulties see Mowinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.; Karl Chr. W. F. Bähr, *The Books of the Kings*, Book II, pp. 160 ff.

certain dates in our study were the terminal dates of Azariah and Pekahiah in 740/39. Azariah was succeeded by his son Jotham in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Jotham's reign is declared to have been sixteen years (II Kings 15:33), but according to the chronological picture given us of Israel for this period, Hoshea came to the throne in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and the twelfth year of Ahaz, son and successor of Jotham (II Kings 17:1), whose reign also was sixteen years (II Kings 16:2). This pattern calls for a twenty-year reign for Jotham, from 740/39 to 720/19, the last twelve of which, however, were contemporaneous with those of his son Ahaz (732/31 to 720/19). Ahaz completed the remaining four of his sixteen years in 716/15, at which time occurred the accession of his son Hezekiah (II Kings 18:1).

This date for the accession of Hezekiah is of vital importance, for it provides an opportunity of testing another exact synchronism between a Hebrew and an Assyrian king. It was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah that Sennacherib made his famous attack on Judea (II Kings 18:13). This was in 701, both according to the chronological scheme we have just presented and according to Assyrian sources.<sup>80</sup> The last previous precise synchronisms with Assyria occurred in 853 and 841. The fact that the independent records of both the Hebrews and the Assyrians give us precisely the same figure of a hundred and forty years for the interval in question gives us confidence that we are here dealing with an absolute chronology in the case both of the Hebrews and of the Assyrians.

The one fact of vital importance which emerges from the above picture is that the

scribe who presented it was in possession of data which showed that there was an interval of just twenty-four years between the death of Azariah and the accession of Hezekiah. But there are also indications that his understanding of the total picture for this period was not entirely clear. The synchronisms which he gives between Hezekiah and Hoshea, for instance, provide for impossible datings for the siege and capture of Samaria, from the seventh to the ninth years of Hoshea and the fourth to the sixth years of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:9, 10), for this siege was begun by Shalmaneser V (II Kings 18:9), who reigned from 727 to 722, and it was Sargon II (722-705) who claimed the capture of Samaria in his accession year,<sup>81</sup> while Hezekiah did not begin his reign until 716/15.

In view of the definite evidence of confusion somewhere in the chronological picture of this particular period, the task before us is to make note of every item that seems to be unsustained and every item that is well grounded and then, separating the two, to endeavor to reconstruct the picture in its original harmony and at the same time to account for the note of discordance that crept in. Already we have noticed that there are indications that the synchronisms of II Kings 18:9 and 10 call for an impossible picture.

It has long been evident that very serious difficulties center about the reign of Pekah. The final year of Menahem cannot be placed earlier than 743, the third year of Tiglath-pileser III, when the latter first appeared in the West. That being the case, the accession of Pekahiah cannot come earlier than 743, nor can Pekah's assassination of Pekahiah and his seizure of the throne be dated earlier than 741. And if Pekah's years of reign are to be counted from the latter date, then his

<sup>80</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 10 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, sec. 4.



seventeenth year and the accession of Ahaz (II Kings 16:1), could not come earlier than 724. Such a date would be altogether too late for Ahaz, for by that time Tiglath-pileser had already passed from the scene, his terminal year being 727, and thus the contacts of Ahaz with Tiglath-pileser, called for by both the biblical and the Assyrian sources, would be impossible. So it is clear either that the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 is incorrect or that Pekah, if the figure of twenty years for his reign is correct, must have begun numbering his years from some time prior to 741.

Upon the death of Azariah, his son Jotham assumed his position as sole ruler of Judah (II Kings 15:7), having, however, for some time prior to that ruled as coregent with his father (II Kings 15:5). Since Azariah ruled fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2), Jotham's accession as sole ruler took place in the fifty-second year of Azariah. It is also stated that Pekah came to the throne in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). But the accession of Jotham is declared to have taken place in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). That being the case, there would either be a gap between the death of Azariah and the accession of his son Jotham, or the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 is wrong, or the years of Pekah must be numbered from some time prior to the fifty-second year of Azariah, 740/39. The first possibility can immediately be ruled out, for it is quite certain that there was no gap between the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham. Concerning the third possibility, we have seen in the previous paragraph that the requirements of contemporary history make necessary the numbering of Pekah's years from some time prior to 741 or the conclusion that II Kings 16:1 is in error. Since there are these two indications that it might be

necessary to push back the numbering of the years of Pekah's reign to some time prior to 741 or 740, the probabilities are that the correct solution will be found in that direction. In such a case there would be no evidence that there is anything wrong with the synchronisms of either II Kings 16:1 or 15:32.

In the recorded pattern for this period the accession of Hezekiah took place in the third year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1). Inasmuch as Hezekiah succeeded his father Ahaz (II Kings 16:20), and since Ahaz is said to have ruled sixteen years (II Kings 16:2), the sixteenth year of Ahaz synchronized with the third year of Hoshea. The ninth and last year of Hoshea must have been very close to 722 B.C., for Sargon claims the capture of Samaria in his accession year; consequently, the third year of Hoshea must be about 728. But 728 can hardly be the sixteenth year of Ahaz, for that would bring his accession in 744, at which time Azariah was still alive and his son Jotham was reigning conjointly with him. Inasmuch as this construction is based on the synchronism of II Kings 18:1, the indications are that that synchronism, together with those of II Kings 18:9 and 10, is open to question.

Going further, if the sixteenth year of Ahaz is the third year of Hoshea, then the thirteenth year of Ahaz would synchronize with the accession year of Hoshea. Hoshea took the throne by the assassination of Pekah (II Kings 15:30), and Pekah is said to have ruled twenty years (II Kings 15:27). The twentieth year of Pekah would then synchronize with the thirteenth year of Ahaz. But in such a case the accession year of Ahaz would synchronize with the seventh year of Pekah and not with his seventeenth year, as II Kings 16:1 declares. It is thus evident that if the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 is correct, that of II Kings

18:1, upon which the above pattern was reconstructed, cannot be. And, inasmuch as we have already had one indication that the synchronism of II Kings 18:1 is open to question and no indication that that of II Kings 16:1 is in error, the safe course is to proceed on the assumption of the reliability of II Kings 16:1. Had that synchronism been followed, the above erroneous picture would not have developed.

Still further, the accession of Hoshea is said to have taken place in both the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1) and the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30). Since Pekah ruled twenty years (II Kings 15:27), and since he was succeeded by Hoshea, then the twentieth year of Pekah would synchronize with the twentieth year of Jotham. That being the case, the accession of Jotham would synchronize with the accession of Pekah and not with the latter's second year, as II Kings 15:32 declares. One of the following three synchronisms must therefore be incorrect:

- Ahaz 12 = Hoshea ac. (II Kings 17:1)
- Jotham 20 = Hoshea ac. (II Kings 15:30)
- Jotham ac. = Pekah 2 (II Kings 15:32)

In the previous erroneous picture we found no indication of error in II Kings 15:32, so the probabilities are that the difficulty will be found in either II Kings 17:1 or 15:30. Since the evidence of contemporary history indicates that Hoshea's ninth and last year must have occurred about 722, his accession must have taken place about 731. If that is the twentieth year of Jotham, his accession year would be about 751. And since the final year of Azariah was 740/39, the above date would be altogether possible for the beginning of Jotham's coreign with his father. There is, therefore, no evidence of error in II Kings 15:30. If, however, 731 is the twelfth year of Ahaz, then his accession year would be

743, at which time Azariah was still king of Judah and Jotham was his coregent, and there is no place in the picture for Ahaz. Thus the indications are that the difficulty lies with the synchronism of II Kings 17:1. If the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 had been employed, the above erroneous pattern would not have developed, so the indications are that this synchronism, together with that of II Kings 16:1, is to play a major role in the correct reconstruction of the chronology of this period.

The age relationships of Ahaz and Hezekiah should likewise be noticed. Ahaz came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), at which time he was twenty years old (II Kings 16:2). In Pekah's twentieth and last year (II Kings 15:27), Ahaz would thus be twenty-three years of age. Pekah was slain and succeeded by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30). If Ahaz was twenty-three years old in the accession year of Hoshea, then he was twenty-six or possibly twenty-seven years old in Hoshea's third year. Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, was twenty-five years old when he took the throne (II Kings 18:2), and according to II Kings 18:1 this was in the third year of Hoshea. In such a case, however, Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when his father Ahaz was only twenty-six or twenty-seven! Either the ages given for Ahaz and Hezekiah are wrong, or Ahaz began to reign earlier than is indicated by the synchronism of II Kings 16:1, or Hezekiah later than is indicated by II Kings 18:1. Inasmuch as we have had no reason so far to question the validity of II Kings 16:1, but since on other grounds we have had reason to question the correctness of the synchronism of II Kings 18:1, the indications are again that it is in this latter synchronism where the difficulty will be found.



A study of the relationships of Assyria with Israel and Judah at this time should be of great assistance in the establishment of the correct chronology for this period. According to the biblical record, Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel made a joint attack upon Ahaz at Jerusalem (II Kings 16:5). Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser for aid, whereupon the latter came against Syria, captured Damascus, and slew Rezin (II Kings 16:7-9). This Old Testament account finds confirmation in the Assyrian inscriptions, for according to Tiglath-pileser's annals, in a campaign which he made against the West at some time after his ninth year, he marched against Rezin and wrought great devastation in Syria.<sup>82</sup> In this campaign reference is made to Samaria, but the exact details are not clear owing to the damaged state of the inscription. Ashkelon is also mentioned. On the Nimrud Tablet, Tiglath-pileser claims the receipt of tribute from Ahaz of Judah and from the Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Gaza.<sup>83</sup> And in a fragmentary annal he declares that the people of Bit-Humria deposed Pekah their king and that he placed Hoshea upon their throne.<sup>84</sup> These inscriptions do not give the exact time of the above events, but they indicate that they must have taken place in the latter part of Tiglath-pileser's reign. The eponym canon, however, supplies these details, for according to this record the campaign of the twelfth year, 734, was against Philistia, and in 733 and 732 against Damascus.

It thus appears altogether probable that the final year of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea must come about 732, at the conclusion of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against Damascus, for this victory by Tiglath-pileser against the western al-

lies would no doubt have some bearing upon the overthrow of the anti-Assyrian Pekah and the establishment of Hoshea as Israel's vassal king to Assyria. Such a date would also be in keeping with a nine-year reign of Hoshea terminating at the fall of Samaria, which capture Sargon claimed to have effected at the time of his accession, 722/21. Ahaz must definitely be in the picture during the years 734-732, when Tiglath-pileser conducted his campaigns against Philistia and Damascus, and his accession can therefore hardly be placed later than 734. Azariah, as we have seen, terminated his reign in 740/39. Jotham must have reigned at least three years in his own right (II Chron. 27:5), and the accession of Ahaz can therefore hardly have taken place earlier than 737. It thus seems quite certain that Ahaz came to the throne some time between 737 and 734. And if the accession of Ahaz is to be synchronized with the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), then Pekah's reign must be reckoned from about the middle of the eighth century B.C.

Ahaz was twenty years old when he took the throne (II Kings 16:2). If this is true, and if he came to the throne about 737-734, his son Hezekiah could not at that time have been more than about four or five years of age. And if it is true that Hezekiah was twenty-five years old at his accession (II Kings 18:2), then his accession must have taken place about twenty years later than 737-734, or in the neighborhood of 717-714. This would be in harmony with the accession date of 716/15 previously secured for Hezekiah, but it would again point to the fact that Hoshea and Hezekiah could not have been contemporaneous and that the synchronisms of II Kings 18:1, 9, and 10 are in error.

The above gives us some idea of what the final pattern of Hebrew chronology for this period must be when the now tangled

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, secs. 773, 777, 779.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 801.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 816.

threads are brought back into harmony. The task before us is to re-examine the chronological data for this period and, making use of such items as we know to be correct, to endeavor to reconstruct the original historical pattern.

In the production of the above pattern, we saw that the accession of Jotham in 740/39 was begun with the fifty-second and final year of his father Azariah. But we also saw that, in doing this, the information of II Kings 15:32—that Jotham began to reign in the second year of Pekah—was neglected. Pekah, it is stated, began to reign in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27), 740/39. But if he came to the throne in the final year of Azariah and if that year was counted as his accession year, then his second year, when Jotham came to the throne, would not occur until two years after the death of Azariah. Can it be that Jotham did not begin to reign until two years after his father's death? A gap of two years between the termination of the reign of Azariah and the beginning of that of Jotham is unthinkable. Not only was there no such gap but there is explicit information that, before the death of Azariah, the latter, a leper, abode in his own house and that the kingdom was already ruled by Jotham (II Kings 15:5). But, as has been the case in all previous coregencies of the Hebrew kings, the beginning of Jotham's coregency is not expressed in terms of the years of his father. The beginning of a coregency is, however, often expressed in terms of a synchronism with the ruler of the neighboring state. Can it be that II Kings 15:32 gives us the beginning of Jotham's coregency in terms of a year of Pekah's reign?

It should be noticed that if the statement of II Kings 15:32 is true—that Jotham began to reign in the second year of Pekah—it is conveying to us the very in-

teresting information that Pekah must in some form have begun counting the years of his reign from some time prior to his actual taking the throne on the occasion of his overthrow of Pekahiah in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:25, 27). This would be true if the beginning of Jotham's reign just referred to was the beginning of his sole reign, but it would be all the more true if this were the beginning of his coregency. Unfortunately, however, no information is available from Israelitish sources as to just when Pekah might have begun numbering the years of his reign; and, if this information is to be secured, we have no recourse but to turn back to the meager information from Judah.

It has already been ascertained that the scribe who left the previous picture of the period under discussion was in possession of information which showed the interval between the death of Azariah and the accession of Hezekiah to be twenty-four years. And we also know that in dealing with this period the endeavor was made to compress twenty years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and sixteen years for Ahaz (II Kings 15:33) within the compass of this twenty-four years. In order to do so, however, it was necessary to postulate an overlapping of twelve years of the reign of Ahaz with that of his father Jotham (II Kings 15:30; 17:1). But there is no certainty that such an overlap occurred, and the picture which we found to be faulty in other details might conceivably have been faulty in this. Without such an overlap, according to the sources our informant was using, the total period from the accession of Jotham as coregent with his father Azariah to the death of Ahaz would have been thirty-six years, inclusive reckoning, rather than twenty-four. And being already in possession of the terminal date 716/15 for the



death of Ahaz, this would provide the date 751/50 as the beginning of Jotham's coregency. We have, as yet, no certainty that this figure is correct, but we will proceed on this basis and let the forthcoming picture determine our decision concerning its validity.

Given Tishri, 751, to Tishri, 750, as the accession year of Jotham, then we should find a synchronism somewhere within this year with the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Nisan, 750, to Nisan, 749, would provide such a synchronism and may be tried as the second year of Pekah. If 750/49 is the second year of Pekah, then 752/51 would be his accession year. But that year, we have previously ascertained, is the accession year of Menahem, father of Pekahiah, whom Pekah overthrew and whose throne he seized for himself (II Kings 15:25).

If the above chronology is correct, we are here brought face to face with a very interesting problem—the reason why Pekah should choose to begin counting the years of his reign not from the time when he overthrew Pekahiah and seized his throne but from the time when Pekahiah's father, Menahem, previously overthrew Shallum and took the kingdom (II Kings 15:14). No answer to this question, of course, is left on record, and we can only surmise what it might be. The supposition that, during the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah, Pekah might have been ruling over part of the troubled land of Israel as a rival king is ruled out by the fact that Pekah was an important officer in the court of Pekahiah, his *šālīš* (II Kings 15:25).<sup>85</sup> It is possible

that, at the court of Menahem, Pekah was already a person of some prominence, and it might be that, at the time of Menahem's seizure of the throne, Pekah was one of the co-conspirators. Now, having taken it upon himself to wipe out the house of Menahem, Pekah may have decided to take to himself the credit for the years that that house had ruled. And having begun to count the years of his reign in this manner, a southern scribe when later working out the synchronisms for this period of the kings of Judah with those of Israel, may have accepted Pekah's unusual form of reckoning for that king. It will be recalled that just prior to this period the kings of both Israel and Judah, Jeroboam II and Azariah, had been reckoning their years of rule not from the beginning of their sole reigns but from the commencement of their respective coregencies, and that each nation extended to the other the courtesy of accepting this method of reckoning when expressing synchronisms in terms of the years of each other's kings. So there existed at least half a century of precedent of kings beginning to number their years not from the commencement of their sole

ply to indicate some officer or official, without evidence of any other officer to whom he was next in relationship. The exact meaning of the term among the Hebrews is obscure, but the *šālīš* was evidently a person of some prominence. At an early period in the history of Israel the term may have been used for some military officer, for when the names of David's heroes were listed, the first name to appear was that of "Ishbaal the Hachmonite, who was leader of the Three" (II Sam. 23:8, American Translation). In the case of Jehoram, the *šālīš* was evidently the right-hand man of the king, for he is spoken of as the "lord on whose hand the king leaned" (II Kings 7:2). At the time when Samaria was reduced to the most desperate straits during the siege by Syria, it was this officer who was sent with an important message to Elisha, evidently to sound out the prophet as to some means of relief (II Kings 6:26-33), and it was he who at the hour of Samaria's deliverance had charge of the gate (II Kings 7:17), possibly as judge in place of the king. When Jehu slew Jehoram, it was Bidkar his *šālīš* who was ordered to dispose of the body of the fallen king (II Kings 9:24, 25).

<sup>85</sup> The term *šālīš* appears quite frequently in the Assyrian records, and its various usages in the seventh century B.C. are discussed at some length by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1901), II, 114 ff. While at times the term was used to indicate some officer who was definitely third in relationship to some other officer, it is nearly always used in an absolute sense sim-



reigns but from their first assumption of power. What precedent Pekah may or may not have had for numbering his years from the year of assumption of power on the part of the house he overthrew we do not know, but usurpers do not always wait for precedent.<sup>86</sup>

Having set the tentative dates of 751/50 for the accession of Jotham and 752/51 for the accession of Pekah, we are in a position to carry the chronology through on this basis and to ascertain the results. The length of Jotham's reign is thrice recorded as sixteen years (II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8), which would bring the termination of his rule in 736/35. This pattern would provide Jotham with a twelve-year coregency with his father Azariah, from 751/50 to 740/39, and four years of sole reign, from 740/39 to 736/35. That Jotham reigned alone at least three years is indicated by a statement in II Chron. 27:5 that he was victorious over the Ammonites and that they paid tribute to him three years. The Ammonites were already tributary to Azariah (II Chron. 26:8), and it is altogether possible that

<sup>86</sup> Every investigator who has gone carefully into the chronology of this period has noticed that Pekah could not have had a sole reign of 20 years. Various types of adjustment have been attempted. Löw takes the view that Pekah ruled only 5 years instead of 20 and that the latter figure was inserted into the record by well-meaning but blundering Exilic chronologers (see Gustav Löw, "Das synchronistische System der Königsbücher," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIII [1900], 167). Lederer makes the accession of Pekah contemporaneous with Menahem, taking the view that he ruled as a rival of Menahem (see Carl Lederer, *Die biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der babylonischen Gefangenschaft* [Speier, 1887/88], pp. 135 ff.). Hellemann also begins the reign of Pekah in the same year as Menahem, declaring that he usurped the latter's reign (Alfred Hellemann, *Chronologia probabiliter vera historiae Judaicae et Israëliticae gentis ab Abrahamo ad Christum* [Hafniae, 1925], pp. 71, 73). Chapman's position is almost identical with that of the writer. He suggests that, inasmuch as Pekah was leader of the anti-Assyrian party, he reckoned his own reign *de jure* from the downfall of the house of Jehu and endeavored to expunge as usurpers the two kings of the pro-Assyrian house of Menahem (W. J. Chapman, "The Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating in II Kings XV. 13, 17 and 23," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II [1925], 59).

upon the death of the latter they refused longer to pay tribute but were again brought back into subjection by Jotham early in his reign. The fact that Jotham is pictured as a strong ruler (II Chron. 27:6), but that Ammon is reported to have paid tribute to him only until the third year, may possibly indicate this as the extent of his sole reign.

Since 736/35 marked the termination of Jotham's reign, that would also be the year of the accession of his son Ahaz. Ahaz came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1). With 752/51 as the accession year of Pekah, his seventeenth year would be Nisan, 735, to Nisan, 734. Nisan to Tishri, 735, would thus be the time when the seventeenth year of Pekah would synchronize with the accession year of Ahaz.

The question arises as to whether Jotham actually ruled sixteen or twenty years. In favor of a sixteen-year reign are the three direct statements giving that as the length of his reign, whereas for a twenty-year reign there is only the evidence of the synchronism of II Kings 15:30. Also in favor of a sixteen-year reign is the fact that this would be in harmony with the synchronism of Ahaz's accession in the seventeenth year of Pekah, while with a twenty-year reign for Jotham the accession of Ahaz would not take place until after Pekah had terminated his reign and Hoshea had taken the throne. But it was while Ahaz was king that Pekah and Rezin came against Judah and that Ahaz called Tiglath-pileser to his aid against Samaria and Damascus (II Kings 16:5-10; II Chron. 28:5-21; Isa. 7:1-6).

While we have no record as to the exact year when the contacts between Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser occurred, these contacts do afford an opportunity for testing the correctness of the above chronology within very narrow limits. The length of



Pekah's reign is given as twenty years (II Kings 15:27). If this period began in 752/51, it ended in 732/31. And if Jotham completed his sixteen-year reign in 736/35, then that was the time when Ahaz took the throne. There would thus be a period from the fall of 736 to the spring of 731 when the reigns of Ahaz and Pekah overlapped. But the period when the above-mentioned contacts occurred can be narrowed still further, for it would be very unlikely that a military campaign would be entered upon after Tishri, 736, or before Nisan, 731. So the march of Pekah against Ahaz and the latter's call to Tiglath-pileser for aid must have occurred some time between 735 and 732. It is precisely during this period that the eponym chronicle records campaigns of Tiglath-pileser in the West. The campaign of 734 was against Philistia, and Damascus was the scene of attack in 733 and 732. It seems altogether probable that the presence of Tiglath-pileser in Philistia in 734 must have had some connection with the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz and the latter's call to Tiglath-pileser for aid. In all likelihood, a coalition to resist the Assyrian advance to the Mediterranean had been formed by the states of the West, and the attack on Ahaz may have been prompted by his refusal to enter that coalition. In fact, Ahaz may already have been a tributary ally of Tiglath-pileser, and the latter's campaign against Philistia may have been prompted in part by a call from Ahaz for aid when the outlying districts of Judah were forced to submit to Philistine invasion (II Chron. 28:18). Such a reliance of Ahaz upon Assyria would in all likelihood call upon him the wrath of Syria and Israel, to be followed by Ahaz's next desperate call to the Assyrian king for succor (II Kings 16:7, 8). Although the campaigns of 733 and 732 against Damascus may have been

Tiglath-pileser's response to the call of Ahaz for aid, they no doubt constituted some important part in a larger, purely Assyrian plan for the total subjugation of the Westland.

It will be noticed that our chronological reconstruction fits well into the Assyrian pattern for this period,<sup>87</sup> and we have confidence to proceed upon this basis. Indeed, our chronology could only be pushed one or two years in either direction before conflicting with the Assyrian chronology for these years. Tiglath-pileser's statement that the people of the house of Omri deposed Pekah their king and that he placed Hoshea over them is of great interest in the present connection, but unfortunately it is not dated.<sup>88</sup> It is altogether possible that, with the fall of Damascus and the death of Rezin in 732, popular reaction in Israel against the policy of Pekah may have brought Hoshea to the front and given him the throne. The new king no

<sup>87</sup> Inasmuch as almost all modern scholars have come to the conclusion that the biblical chronology for this period is hopelessly in error and have despaired of reaching any sound results from the biblical data that have come down to us, most modern reconstructions of Hebrew chronology for this time have been arrived at by an endeavor to fit the events of the kings of Judah and Israel into the dated events of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and his successors. Some of the results thus arrived at have in parts been remarkably accurate. Thus, Steuernagel came to the conclusion that for Israel the difficulty would probably be found only in the reign of Pekah and that in Judah it was probably before the reign of Ahaz. For Amaziah he suggested a reign of perhaps only 9 years instead of 29, and for Azariah and Jotham together he suggested a total of 54 years, the latter figure probably to include the coreign of Jotham (see D. Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [Tübingen, 1912], p. 350; cf. also J. Bensinger, *Geschichte Israels bis auf die Griechischezeit* [Berlin, 1924], p. 33). In both of the above instances Steuernagel was not more than a year or two in error. In the case of Amaziah, the sole reign was only 7 years, and this king lived on for 22 years more after Azariah had been placed on the throne, as is evidenced by the statement that Amaziah lived for 15 years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:17). For detailed political reconstructions of this particular period see Mowinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff.; Begrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff., and "Der syrischephräimische Krieg und seine welt-politischen Zusammenhänge," *ZDMG*, LXXXIII (1929), pp. 213 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 816.



doubt was willing to recognize the power of Assyria and pay tribute, and in return he was recognized by Tiglath-pileser. This would fit in perfectly with our date of 732/31 for the death of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea.

It will be recalled that our establishment of the period in question, 751/50 for the beginning of the reign of Jotham to 716/15 as the termination of the reign of Ahaz, was based on a twenty-year reign for Jotham and a sixteen-year reign for Ahaz. Inasmuch as we are here dealing with a fixed period of years, however, any adjustment that might be necessary in the length of the reign of one of these kings would require a compensatory adjustment in the length of the reign of the other. If we accept a sixteen- instead of a twenty-year reign for Jotham, as the evidence indicates we must, then we must assign to Ahaz twenty<sup>89</sup> instead of sixteen years. The only alternative to this would be to postulate a four-year coregency of Ahaz with Jotham, with Jotham pushed entirely into the background and Ahaz playing the leading role, and with the statement that Ahaz ruled sixteen years (II Kings 16:2) referring only to his sole reign. The ages of Ahaz and Hezekiah at their accessions make a twenty-year reign for Ahaz almost imperative, for the latter was twenty years old at the time of his accession (II Kings 16:2), while his son Hezekiah was twenty-five when he began his rule (II Kings 18:2). If Ahaz was only twenty at the beginning of a sixteen-year rule, he would be only thirty-six at its close, when his son, however, was already twenty-five. It would hardly be possible that Ahaz was only eleven years old when his son Hezekiah was born, so a twenty-year reign is almost a necessity.

<sup>89</sup> Among scholars assigning 20 instead of 16 years to Ahaz are Kamphausen (*op. cit.*, p. 28) and Mowinkel (*op. cit.*, pp. 231-32).

The dates for Ahaz are thus 736/35 to 716/15.<sup>90</sup>

The length of Pekah's reign is given as twenty years (II Kings 15:27). If this began in 752/51, it terminated in 732/31. He was succeeded by the usurper Hoshea, whose accession is declared to have taken place in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30) and the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1). Since Jotham began his rule in 751/50, his twentieth year, if he had ruled twenty years, would have fallen in 732/31, which would thus synchronize with the accession year of Hoshea, as II Kings 15:30 declares. Inasmuch as every indication is that this is the correct chronological picture with which we are now dealing, there is a possibility that in some sense Jotham continued to have a part in this picture until his twentieth year, but with Ahaz actually ruling the land from Jotham's sixteenth year. The statement that Hoshea's accession synchronized with the twelfth year of Ahaz is obviously in error.

The event of vital importance in the reign of Hoshea was the siege and capture of Samaria by the Assyrians and the termination of the Northern Kingdom. The siege of Samaria was begun by Shalmaneser V in the seventh year of Hoshea and was continued for three years to the ninth year of Hoshea, at which time the city fell and Israel was carried captive to Assyria (II Kings 17:4-6; 18:9-11). Since Hoshea began his reign in 732/31, the

<sup>90</sup> This date, 716/15, for the death of Ahaz is of great importance to the correct exegesis of Isa. 14:28-32, on which so much has been written. It would support Irwin's interpretation that the broken rod is Ahaz and that, with the death of this king, Philistia has little ground for rejoicing, for Hezekiah would bring upon that nation still greater ruin, which II Kings 18:8 indicates was indeed the case (See W. A. Irwin, "The Exposition of Isaiah 14:28-32," *AJSL*, XLIV [1928], 73 ff.). The position of Begrich, that the broken rod was Tiglath-pileser III, would, of course, be untenable (Joachim Begrich, "Jesaja 14, 28-32: Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der israelitisch-jüdischen Königzeit," *ZDMG*, LXXXVI [1933], 66 ff.).



seventh to the ninth years of his reign would be from 725/24 to 723/22, and this would be the time of the siege of Samaria. The latter date, 723/22, would thus mark the fall of Samaria, the termination of the reign of Hoshea, and the end of the Northern Kingdom.

The question will immediately arise as to how the above date for the fall of Samaria (723/22) can be made to harmonize with the accession year of Sargon (722/21), at which time the latter claimed to have captured the city and taken its citizens into captivity.<sup>91</sup> Sargon came to the throne on the twelfth day of Tebet,<sup>92</sup> which was about the last of December, 722; his first year began with the first of Nisan, 721. If Samaria, however, did not fall until the very last days of the last month of the ninth year of Hoshea, it would still have fallen before the first of Nisan, 722, and there would thus be a gap of at least some nine months between the fall of the city and the accession of Sargon. It will thus be seen that if our chronology is correct, Sargon could not have taken Samaria in his accession year.

It has long been noticed that the biblical account of the fall of Samaria makes no mention of Sargon. Shalmaneser is the king who is named as having begun the siege (II Kings 18:9), and, although he is not expressly named as also having captured the city, it is clear, as Olmstead pointed out in his excellent discussion of the fall of Samaria,<sup>93</sup> that the Hebrew writer intended the same king in both cases. Comparing the relative values of the Hebrew and the Assyrian accounts, Olmstead notes that the Hebrew account seems to rest on very good sources and

that there exists no reason there for distortion of fact, but that in the Assyrian account a most dangerous "personal equation" must be taken into consideration, and that the royal scribe would have every reason for carrying over into his master's reign events which took place in the final year of a predecessor. Olmstead further points out that this presumption as to the accuracy of the Hebrew historian seems to be confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle, I:28, where the only citation given concerning the reign of Shalmaneser is his destruction of the city of Sha-ma-ra-in, which Delitzsch identified with Samaria. The Assyrian Chronicle at this point is of little assistance, for it is badly mutilated, and for the years 725, 724, and 723 retains merely the word "against." The coincidence, however, of these three years with the three years of the Hebrew account of the siege of Samaria, seems to Olmstead to justify supplying "Samaria" from the Babylonian Chronicle. Luckenbill likewise has restored the word "Samaria" for these three years in the eponym chronicle.<sup>94</sup> Olmstead further points out the fact that, inasmuch as Sargon came to the throne about the close of December, his accession year would consist of only four months of the worst season of the year, January to April, the rainy season when the Assyrian army rarely took the field, and his capture of Samaria at such a time would be very unlikely. To sum up, Olmstead declares that for the capture of Samaria by Sargon we have only his own claim, made in a late series of documents, which have often been proved incorrect, while against this is the silence of Sargon's own earlier accounts and the direct ascription of the capture to Shalmaneser by two separate, independent, unprejudiced authorities, the Hebrew and the Babylonian, while a

<sup>91</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, secs. 4, 55.

<sup>92</sup> Babylonian Chronicle, I:31.

<sup>93</sup> A. T. Olmstead, "The Fall of Samaria," *AJSL*, XXI (1904-5), pp. 179-82, and *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, pp. 45 ff., n. 9.

<sup>94</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 437.

third, a native Assyrian account, presents data which would well fit into the Hebrew scheme. For the above reasons Olmstead feels that the capture of Samaria is properly to be ascribed to Shalmaneser rather than to Sargon, in the year 723 B.C.

The points made by Olmstead are well taken. It is of interest, moreover, to notice that the above date for the fall of Samaria, 723, is in perfect harmony with our date, 723/22, independently arrived at, for the ninth and last year of Hoshea and the termination of the Northern Kingdom.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the synchronism of the accession of Hoshea in the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1) is in error. Likewise in error are the three synchronisms which immediately follow the above: accession of Hezekiah = third of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1), fourth of Hezekiah = seventh of Hoshea (II Kings 18:9), and sixth of Hezekiah = ninth of Hoshea (II Kings 18:10). According to our reconstructed pattern for this period there was no overlapping of the reigns of Hoshea and Hezekiah, since Hoshea completed his reign in 723/22 at the conclusion of Shalmaneser's siege of Samaria, and Hezekiah did not begin his reign until 716/15, fourteen years before Sennacherib's march against the cities of Judah.

A careful examination of the details of the account of the celebration of Hezekiah's first Passover at the beginning of his reign reveals the fact that the Northern Kingdom had at that time already come to its end.<sup>95</sup> It was in the first

<sup>95</sup> Scholars have long noticed the inconsistencies involved in the attempt to apply the narrative of Hezekiah's first Passover to a period when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence (see Otto Zöckler, *The Books of the Chronicles, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded*, Vol. VII of *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal and Homiletical*, ed. John Peter Lange [New York, 1877], p. 259; Ed-

ward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* ["International Critical Commentary" (New York, 1910)], p. 471; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings*, trans. James Murphy [Edinburgh, 1857], II, 79 ff., n. 1).

month of his first year that Hezekiah cleansed the temple (II Chron. 29:3, 17), and the Passover was consequently observed in the second month (II Chron. 30:2, 13, 15). Verse 1 of chapter 30 begins with a *waw* conversive, which usually indicates a continuation of the previous narrative. Verse 3 gives as the reason for holding the Passover in the second month rather than the first (as would be the usual custom) the fact that the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently (which clearly refers back to 29:34) and the people had not yet gathered into Jerusalem. The main work of cleansing the temple occupied the first eight days of the first month, and the cleansing was not completed until the sixteenth day of the first month (II Chron. 29:17); hence to hold the Passover in the first month would have been out of the question.

Invitations to attend the Passover were sent not only to Judah but to Ephraim and Manasseh and even to Zebulun (II Chron. 30:1, 6, 10)—territory that once had been the domain of the Northern Kingdom but was now open to the envoys of Judah. When Joash repaired the temple during the period of the divided kingdom, there is no record of invitations having been sent to the North, but only to Judah and Jerusalem (II Chron. 24:5, 9). Hezekiah sent forth his decree all the way from Beersheba to Dan (II Chron. 30:5), the latter being the northern limit of the undivided kingdom of David and Solomon (I Chron. 21:2). At the time when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, Jehoshaphat extended his reforms only from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim (II Chron. 19:4).

ward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* ["International Critical Commentary" (New York, 1910)], p. 471; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings*, trans. James Murphy [Edinburgh, 1857], II, 79 ff., n. 1).



Hezekiah's admonitions were expressly addressed to a nation that was in deep distress and desolation and whose people had already gone into captivity. The ones who would now receive his letters were spoken of as those who had escaped out of the hands of the king of Assyria (II Chron. 30:6). Their land was already in desolation (II Chron. 30:7). If they now turned to the Lord and came to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, their brethren might obtain mercy from the ones who had taken them captive (II Chron. 30:8, 9).

Although these invitations were largely spurned, there was a considerable response from Asher, Manasseh, Ephraim, Issachar, and Zebulun (II Chron. 30:11, 18). No such Passover had been observed in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon (II Chron. 30:26). When the Passover was over, the people went forth to break down the images, cut down the groves, and throw down the altars not only in Judah and Benjamin but also in Ephraim and Manasseh, and they did not cease "until they had utterly destroyed them all" (II Chron. 31:1).

The above description of Hezekiah's first Passover makes it clear that at this time the Northern Kingdom was no longer in existence. Such things simply could not have happened while Israel remained a sovereign state. No king of Israel would have permitted envoys from his rival to the south to march through his land inviting his subjects to attend a general festival at the rival capital. Particularly was Israel's last king not of the type to have tolerated such a procedure and then to have watched an iconoclastic crowd from the south smashing all places of worship in his own kingdom. When the northern nation fell, the reason given is that it had gone over to idolatry (II Kings 17:6-23). But such a statement would be decidedly out of place if at this time such

striking evidences of religious reform had been introduced with the full consent of the king.

If the Northern Kingdom was still in existence at this time, and if Hezekiah and Hoshea were indeed contemporaries, it would be altogether likely that there would be in the records of Judah some word concerning Hezekiah's relationship with Israel at this critical hour. If one examines the records of all the kings of Judah from Rehoboam to Ahaz, there will almost invariably be some reference to contacts with the contemporaneous king of Israel, or in the only two instances where such mention is lacking there will at least be positive evidence that the two nations still existed side by side.<sup>96</sup> In the case of Hezekiah, however, there is, outside the erroneous synchronisms above referred to, no reference to any contact with a king of Israel and no evidence that Israel was still in existence.

Whitehouse offers the suggestion that

<sup>96</sup> REHOBOAM.—War with Jeroboam all his days (I Kings 14:30).

ABIJAM.—Great war with Jeroboam (I Kings 15:6; II Chron. 13:3-20).

ASA.—War with Baasha (I Kings 15:16-22; II Chron. 16:1-6).

JEHOSHAPHAT.—Went with Ahab against Syria (I Kings 22:2-37; II Chron. 18:1-34).

JEHORAM.—Wife was Athaliah, daughter of Ahab (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 21:6).

AHAZIAH.—Went with Jehoram against Hazael and visited Jehoram in Jezreel (II Kings 8:28, 29; II Chron. 22:5, 6), and was slain by Jehu (II Kings 9:27; II Chron. 22:7-9).

ATHALIAH.—Daughter of Ahab (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 22:2), contemporary of Jehu (II Kings 9:27; 11:1).

JOASH.—No mention of direct contacts, but his son Amaziah had contacts with Israel, so Israel was then still in existence (II Kings 14:8).

AMAZIAH.—Hired army from Israel (II Chron. 25:6-10) and waged war with Jehoash (II Kings 14:8-14; II Chron. 25:17-24).

AZARIAH.—No mention of direct contacts, but Israel was still in existence at the time of Jotham his son (II Kings 15:37).

JOTHAM.—Pekah came against Judah (II Kings 15:37).

AHAZ.—Pekah came against Judah (II Kings 16:5; II Chron. 28:6; Isa. 7:1-7).

HEZEKIAH.—No evidence of any contact with a king of Israel.

the year 715 assigned by Kamphausen to the death of Ahaz is recommended by the consideration that it affords a clue to the foreign policy of Judah during the Assyrian siege of Samaria. This could hardly have been anything else than one of friendly neutrality toward Assyria, and such an attitude was in keeping with the steadfast policy of Ahaz of friendship with Assyria. When Hezekiah took the throne, however, the policy of Isaiah involving resistance to the encroachments of Assyrian power became ascendent.<sup>97</sup>

If the above-mentioned synchronisms are in error, a careful study of them should reveal how they arose. They are all of one group and one pattern and are all found in the short space of two chapters—three of them within ten verses of one chapter. When put together, they reveal a single erroneous picture superimposed upon the true picture. The scribe who was responsible for these errors did not know that the years of Jotham's reign began with the commencement of his coregency with his father or that Pekah began counting the years of his reign with the year when the house of Menahem, which he overthrew, first came to the throne. Thus he erroneously began counting the reigns of these kings from the termination of the reigns of their predecessors.

Let us notice how this works out. The reign of Azariah ended in 740/39. Beginning from there the scribe counted twenty years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30), to 720/19. The accession of Pekah took place in the fifty-second and final year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). The scribe allowed for a synchronism from Nisan to Tishri, 739, between the last year of Azariah and the accession year of Pekah, and began counting the twenty years of Pekah (II Kings 15:27) from that point to 719/18.

<sup>97</sup> Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse, Notes and Addenda by Whitehouse, II, 322.

In doing this, however, he lost all possibility of a synchronism between the accession year of Jotham and the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). But, commencing the accession of Hoshea in 719/18, he did secure a synchronism between that event and the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30), 720/19. The accession of Hoshea also he synchronized with the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1). Given 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz, his first year would fall in 731/30. That, however, would make impossible the synchronism of the beginning of the rule of Ahaz with the seventeenth of Pekah (II Kings 16:1), for 732/31 would be the seventh year of Pekah and 731/30 his eighth year and not his seventeenth. With 731/30 as the first year of Ahaz and 720/19 as his twelfth year, his sixteenth and final year (II Kings 16:2) would fall in 716/15, at which time his son Hezekiah took the throne. Having, according to this scheme, begun the reign of Hoshea in 719/18, his third year fell in 716/15, and he thus secured his erroneous synchronism of the accession of Hezekiah in the third year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:1). Likewise 712/11, the fourth year of Hezekiah, provided the synchronism with the seventh year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:9), and 710/9, the sixth year of Hezekiah, gave the synchronism with the ninth year of Hoshea (II Kings 18:10).

It is clear that this group of erroneous synchronisms was not the product of a contemporary scribe but of an individual who lived at some time sufficiently removed from the occasion of these events to allow for their exact memory to have been forgotten. He was, however, in possession of sufficient precise and trustworthy historical information to enable him to construct a chronological pattern as he thought it should be and also to enable us now to discern his mistakes and



reconstruct that pattern as it ought to be. The exact interval between the termination of Azariah's reign and the accession of Hezekiah was known to him, but just how the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz fitted into that interval he did not know, nor did he know how the history of Israel at this period fitted into the history of Judah. Being in possession of correct information concerning the lengths of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, but knowing that the total of these reigns was too long to fit into the interval available for them, he erroneously telescoped twelve years of the reign of Ahaz onto the reign of Jotham. For Israel, however, no corresponding reduction was made, with the result that the reigns of the kings of that nation were pushed beyond the place where they ought to be in comparison with the kings of Judah, and the erroneous synchronisms between the two nations thus came into being.

The history of Israel is now completed. The striking agreement of the chronology of the Hebrews as it has here been reconstructed, with the chronology of Assyria at such places where definite contacts between the two nations may be established, gives confidence that we are dealing with the absolute chronology of both countries. The use by the writer or writers of the Books of Kings, as has herein been demonstrated, of two diverse systems of chronological reckoning for the Hebrew monarchies, and their interweaving in the way we find them, demands that the writers had access to actual official chronicles which were correct and which they cited accurately. It is an interesting aspect of their faithfulness and their competence that within a single passage, as happens so often, they readily and quickly swung from one system to another, and back again if need be, and that in all this complex procedure they were able to keep

their bearings and pass on to us records so straight that we today, once the principles of their system are understood, are able to unravel the seemingly tangled skein and reproduce the basic pattern as it once existed in its original harmony.

That the last unfortunate misconception should have crept into the chronological pattern as it was preserved by the ancient Hebrew scribes is to be regretted. But when one considers the many imperfections of the contemporary records that have come down to us from Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, when one takes into consideration the ease with which corruption may creep into records copied and recopied by hand and passed on from generation to generation over such vast periods of time, and when one regards the complexities involved in the computation of the chronology of the Hebrew kings, the strange thing is not that some mistakes did creep into the record that has come down to us but how any body of men could have accomplished such an almost impossible task with such a minimum of error.

#### VI. THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH, 716-586

The establishment of an exact chronology thus far has been made possible only by means of the information furnished by the cross-synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah. Without such synchronisms we would have had no information concerning the lengths and no knowledge of the existence of certain coregencies and no intimation of changes in methods of reckoning that took place, and exact chronology would not have been possible without such information. In the period just before us, however, we shall be deprived of the invaluable assistance that these synchronisms have furnished us, and not until we reach the time when synchro-

nisms with Babylonian kings are available will we have the certain evidence again that we are on absolutely solid ground. If there should be any coregencies in the century with which we are about to deal, the only means of ascertaining this fact would be to go on to the next fixed date in the history of Judah and then to compare the number of years in this interval with the recorded years of the kings for the same period. Any excess in the latter would be either a coregency or a number of coregencies or else an error.

The beginning of the reign of Hezekiah has already been ascertained to have been in 716/15. He ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1), to 687/86. The next fixed date in the history of Judah is secured from a synchronism of the fourth year of Jehoiakim with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1). The accession of Nebuchadnezzar took place in 605,<sup>98</sup> and his first year was thus 604. This too, then, was the fourth year of Jehoiakim. To cover the interval from Hezekiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim are the following reigns:

Manasseh.....	55 years
Amon.....	2 years
Josiah.....	31 years
Jehoahaz.....	3 months
Jehoiakim....	4 years
Total.....	92 years, 3 months

But from the termination of the reign of Hezekiah (687/86) to the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604) is only eighty-three years, so we are provided with an excess of some nine or ten years. The task before us is to ascertain whether this might constitute a coregency at some place and, if so, where. We will proceed by a process of elimination.

If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim,

<sup>98</sup> Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.—A.D. 45* (Chicago, 1942), p. 9.

then 609/8 was his accession year. That, too, would be the date for the three-month reign of Jehoahaz and the terminal year of Josiah. And with 609/8 as the thirty-first and final year of Josiah, 640/39 would be his accession year, unless there were some coregencies involved. We know that there was no coregency of Jehoahaz with Josiah, for Jehoahaz was placed on the throne by the people upon the slaying of Josiah by Necho (II Kings 23:30). Moreover, the period involved was only three months. We know also that there was no coregency of Jehoiakim with either Josiah or Jehoahaz, for he was placed on the throne by Necho (II Kings 23:34). A further positive evidence that no coreigns were involved in this particular period is provided by the information that from the thirteenth year of Josiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim was twenty-three years (Jer. 25:1, 3). If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the twenty-third year before that was 627/26, and this would be the thirteenth year of Josiah. The accession year of Josiah on this basis would be 640/39, the same figure as arrived at above. So we know that whatever coregency there might have been came before this period.

The predecessor of Josiah was Amon, who ruled only two years (II Kings 21:19). Was Josiah coregent with his father Amon? If so, it could not have been for more than two years, for that was the extent of Amon's reign. Josiah, moreover, was placed on the throne not by his father, Amon, but by the people after Amon had been slain in a conspiracy (II Kings 21:23, 24). And the age of Josiah when he began to reign was only eight (II Kings 22:1), which would have been rather young for a coregency.

Amon is the next candidate for a coregency. Did he spend part of his reign as regent with his father Manasseh? The



total extent of his kingship was only two years, so if he had spent two years on the throne with his father he would have had no reign in his own right at all and he would have died in the same year as did his father. Had he learned to reign while his father lived—a man who had succeeded in occupying the throne for fifty-five years, longer than any other king of Judah or Israel—perhaps he would not have fallen victim to the palace regicides. Let us not begrudge Amon his two years on the throne alone.

The only other candidate left for a coregency is Manasseh. Might it be that this king spent part of his years as coregent with his father Hezekiah? An examination of the available data makes this seem altogether likely. Manasseh ruled fifty-five years (II Kings 21:1), and part of this very long reign may well have been spent on the throne with his father learning the principles of kingship. Hezekiah was twenty-five years old when he began to reign and he ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 18:2). That would make his age fifty-four at death. Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign (II Kings 21:1). If the beginning of his rule was at his father's death, then Hezekiah was forty-two years old before his first son Manasseh was born. That would be possible, but it would be much more probable that Hezekiah was somewhat younger than forty-two when his first son was born. If Manasseh had ruled with his father ten years before Hezekiah's death, then the latter would have been thirty-two years old at Manasseh's birth, which is much more likely.

But would Hezekiah associate his twelve-year-old son with him on the throne? Were there any conditions calling for such a procedure? A Hebrew lad when he reached the age of twelve was a "son of the law" and had become *gadol*. He had

then passed from the days of childhood to youth and was considered old enough to concern himself with the serious work of life (cf. Luke 2:42, 49). At about the time of Sennacherib's invasion in 701, Hezekiah was in a precarious state of health but had received from the prophet Isaiah assurance of another fifteen years of life (II Kings 20:1-7; II Chron. 32:24; Isa. 38:1-22). It is only to be expected that the king, facing such a situation, as a kind father and a wise sovereign, would give to the heir-presumptive at the earliest possible moment every advantage of training in rulership. Such a moment had arrived when Manasseh reached the age of twelve, and it is, therefore, altogether probable that at this time Hezekiah associated his son with him on the throne. The coregency would thus begin in 696/95 and would terminate with the death of Hezekiah in 687/86. Its length was ten years, inclusive reckoning, and the excess of years previously mentioned as available for the total years of reign for this century would thus be provided for. While it is to be regretted that absolute proof is not available that a coregency did take place precisely at this juncture, we can only point out the above probabilities and proceed on that basis.

In 687/86 Manasseh began his sole rule. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria from 681 to 669, listed Manasseh among the twenty-two kings of the Hittite country who were in vassalage to him.<sup>99</sup> The chronicler has preserved a record that Manasseh was carried captive by the king of Assyria to Babylon (II Chron. 33:11), but no chronological information is available concerning the exact time of these contacts.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, sec. 690.

<sup>100</sup> Professor W. A. Irwin is responsible for the suggestion that there may be some connection between this record of Manasseh's captivity and Esarhaddon's account of Manasseh of Judah being one of the twenty-two kings of the Hittite land who were summoned

Beginning his fifty-five-year reign in 696/95, Manasseh died in 642/41. He was succeeded by his son Amon, who ruled two years (II Kings 21:18, 19), 642/41 to 640/39. Amon was succeeded by his son Josiah, then aged only eight, who reigned thirty-one years (II Kings 22:1), to 609/8.

The period immediately before us is in some respects the most interesting and fruitful of all for biblical chronological study, for in no other period is there available such a wealth of detailed chronological information. Dates are now expressed not only in terms of years but frequently also in terms of months and days. Frequent cross-references occur between the reigns of Hebrew and Babylonian kings which make possible precise dating of events.

Yet there are also difficulties. Never before have there been so many systems of reckoning employed as now. In the case of each individual writer it is necessary to know the exact system of reckoning employed, or inaccuracies and discrepancies result.

A careful examination of the internal evidence indicates that all biblical writers of this period used the accession-year system for Hebrew, Babylonian, or Persian kings. The writers of Kings and Jeremiah used a Tishri-to-Tishri system when speaking of Hebrew kings and a Nisan-to-Nisan system when speaking of Babylonian kings; the dates in the Book of Ezekiel are according to a Nisan-to-Nisan system when speaking of the years of the captivity of Jehoiachin; Haggai and Zechariah used Nisan-to-Nisan years; but Nehemiah, and probably his contemporary Ezra, used a Tishri-to-Tishri reckon-

ing even when speaking of Persian kings, for Nehemiah speaks of being in the palace of Artaxerxes in the month Kislev of the twentieth year of the king, but he also speaks of the following Nisan as still being in the same twentieth year (Neh. 1:1; 2:1).

The reasons why Kings and Jeremiah do not agree as to the exact day of the month in reporting the date of the arrival of Nebuzaradan at Jerusalem and the release of Jehoiachin are still uncertain. Kings gives the former as the seventh day of the fifth month, while Jeremiah has it the tenth day of the fifth month (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12), while for the latter event Kings gives the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month, and Jeremiah the twenty-fifth day of the month (II Kings 25:27; Jer. 52:31). It is possible that these differences point to the use of different calendrical systems.

It is our purpose not to discuss in detail all the chronological material for this period but to establish the chronology of the Hebrew kings. When worked out according to the details given above, the chronological data for the closing period of the Old Testament will be found to preserve internal harmony and to be in agreement with the correct dates of secular history, although a problem still remains concerning the exact time at which Josiah met his death at Megiddo at the hands of Necho II (609-593), as the latter was making his way through Palestine toward Carchemish on the Euphrates (II Kings 23:29; II Chron. 35:20-24). The termination of Josiah's reign has previously been given as 609/8. There is in existence, however, a record to the effect that Assurballit and the Egyptian army advanced against the North Syrian capital of Harran in the month of Tammuz and that the Babylonian garrison was slaughtered.<sup>101</sup>

to Assyria for attendance at the official durbar held by Esarhaddon to validate the presumptive accession of Assurbanipal and that, if this is the case, the date would be shortly before Esarhaddon's Egyptian campaign in 669, in which he died.

<sup>101</sup> C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (London, 1923), p. 41.



The year is not specifically mentioned in this part of the record, but inasmuch as this account immediately follows the section dealing with the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, the time was in all probability the seventeenth year, or 609 B.C. From Tammuz to Elul there was an unsuccessful siege of the city by the Assyrians and Egyptians. This, then, would call for a northward advance by Necho through Palestine in Tammuz or possibly earlier in 609, and a return in Elul or possibly Tishri of the same year.

The question arises as to whether it was during this or in the following year that Josiah was slain. In favor of 609 is the fact that the siege of Harran lasted just three months, Tammuz to Elul, and that the reign of Jehoahaz, who began his rule at the northward advance of Necho through Palestine and was deposed by him evidently on his return to the south, likewise lasted just three months (II Kings 23:31-34; II Chron. 36:1-4). If Josiah died in 609 rather than in 608, the beginning of his reign and that of Amon and Manasseh will have to be pushed back one year from the dates we have previously given.

It is impossible, however, to push back the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, the successor of Jehoahaz, beyond the date previously given, for the years of this king are so definitely tied into the fixed reign of Nebuchadnezzar as to prevent their being moved either one way or the other. For instance, the fourth year of Jehoiakim synchronizes with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1), and, that being the case, Jehoiakim's reign could not be moved backward without breaking this synchronism; therefore, his accession can have taken place no earlier than Tishri, 609. If Jehoiakim came to the throne of Judah in Tishri, 609, then the three-month reign of Jehoahaz would

probably have commenced early in the month of Tammuz of that year, or possibly somewhat before, as Necho was passing through Palestine on his way to the Euphrates, and it must have terminated in Tishri rather than in Elul. This would be altogether possible, for Necho, having terminated his siege of Harran in Elul, might not have reached southern Palestine until Tishri.

But still another possibility exists, and that is that Necho, having made a northward advance through Palestine in 609, may have made another advance through that country the following year to continue the inconclusive struggle with the Babylonian king for the control of North Syria which began the preceding year. The tablet which tells of the Egyptian campaign of 609 closes with a "catch-line," which reproduces the opening words of the next tablet, and this shows that Nabopolassar was in the field again the following year, although the name of the foe is not revealed. Were this tablet still intact, Gadd suggests that it would probably reveal the interesting details of the conflict between Nabopolassar and his allies and Necho II of Egypt.<sup>102</sup> This would bring Josiah's death in 608, the traditional date, and the date we have here given.

Daniel refers to a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan. 1:1), some time between Tishri, 606, and Tishri, 605. Spring or summer of 605 would be the natural time for such a campaign. Josephus has preserved an important witness of Berosus concerning such a campaign.<sup>103</sup> The statement is to the effect that while Nabopolassar was king of Babylon he heard that the West had revolted from him, and so he sent his son Nebuchad-

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>103</sup> *Against Apion* i. 132-39; *Ant.* x. 219-23.

nezzar against the Jews and others to subdue them. After this brief introduction Josephus continues with a presentation of Berossus' own account of the incident. The vital points are that when Nabopolassar heard that the governor whom he had appointed over the West had revolted from him, Nebuchadnezzar was sent against the rebel, conquered him, and brought the country back under his dominion. In the midst of this campaign word reached him of his father's death, whereupon he committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and others to his captains and hastened back to Babylon to take his throne. The last two tablets of Nabopolassar are dated II/6/21 (May 16, 605) and V/1/21 (August 8, 605), while the first two tablets of Nebuchadnezzar are IV/—/acc. (month IV ends August 7, 605) and VI/12/acc. (September 18, 605).<sup>104</sup> All this is in agreement as to 605 being both the third year of Jehoiakim and the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar.

The synchronism of Jer. 25:1 that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar has already been referred to, and upon this synchronism rests the chronology we have just outlined. Jehoiakim ruled eleven years (II Kings 23:36; II Chron. 36:5), to 598/7.

The next ruler was Jehoiachin, who had reigned only three months when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem and took him captive to Babylon (II Kings 24:8-15; II Chron. 36:9, 10). This occurred in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24:12) and must have been after Nisan, 597, for that was the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year. The chronicler states that it was after the turn of the year (II Chron.

36:10), but it is debatable whether *lišūbhath haššānāh* indicates the spring or fall turn of the year. Ezekiel gives the added information that a certain vision which he had in the beginning of the year, on the tenth day of the month, was on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the captivity (Ezek. 40:1). There is again no information as to whether he is referring to a spring or a fall year, but it is clear that Jehoiachin's captivity did begin on either Nisan 10 or Tishri 10, 597. Since Ezekiel was speaking from a Babylonian viewpoint, one would expect that Nisan was intended. Jeremiah says that the body of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin's predecessor, was to be cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem (Jer. 22:19), and that it was to be left exposed in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost (Jer. 36:30). Inasmuch as Jehoiachin reigned only three months, it was in either Tebet or Tammuz that the body of Jehoiakim was left exposed. The summer heat of Tammuz would not meet Jeremiah's specifications of frost at night, but Tebet would. The beginning of Jehoiachin's captivity was therefore on Nisan 10 (April 22), 597.<sup>105</sup>

Jehoiachin was succeeded on the throne by Zedekiah, the last king of the southern monarchy. He ruled eleven years (II Kings 24:18; II Chron. 36:11). Since his accession was in Nisan, 597, his final year was 587/86. The history of Judah closes with the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. This siege began on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's ninth year (II Kings 25:1; Jer. 39:1; 52:4), January 15,<sup>106</sup> 588. The next year, in the midst of the siege, Jeremiah was imprisoned, this being the tenth year of Zedekiah and synchronizing with the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar

<sup>104</sup> Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Albrecht Goetze, "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology," *JNES*, III (1944), 43 ff.

<sup>105</sup> Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26. All Julian dates hereafter to be given are based on the tables of Parker and Dubberstein.



(Jer. 32:1), 587. Famine prevailed, the city was broken, and the king fled the following year on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year (II Kings 25:2, 3; Jer. 39:2; 52:5-7), July 19, 586. On the seventh day of the fifth month began the final destruction of the city (II Kings 25:8-10), August 15, 586. This was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12). Gedaliah, who had been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar as governor of the land, was slain in the seventh month (II Kings 25:22-25; Jer. 41:1, 2). The month of Tishri began on October 7 in the year 586. Word of the fall of Jerusalem reached the captives in Babylon on the fifth day of the tenth month of the twelfth year of their captivity (Ezek. 33:21), January 8, 585.

Jehoiachin was eighteen years of age at the time of his accession and the beginning of his Babylonian captivity (II Kings 24:8) in 597. His lot during his earlier years in Babylon could not have been very severe, for a tablet dated in 592, listing payments of rations in oil, barley, etc., to captives and skilled workmen in and around Babylon includes the name of Yaukin, king of Judah, and five of his sons.<sup>107</sup> Later he must have been placed under more restricted custody, for after the death of Nebuchadnezzar he was released from prison by Amel-Marduk (II Kings 25:27-30; Jer. 52:31-34). The last dates for Nebuchadnezzar are VI/21/43 (October 2, 562) and VI/26/43 (October 7, 562), and the first dates for Amel-Marduk are VI/26/acc. (October 7, 562) and VII/19/acc. (October 30, 562).<sup>108</sup> The release of Jehoiachin occurred on the

twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the thirty-seventh year of his captivity,<sup>109</sup> in the year that Amel-Marduk began to reign (II Kings 25:27), or March 21, 561. This was just before the first celebration of the New Year festivities on the part of the new king—a fitting time for the release of political prisoners.

The study of the chronological material of the Hebrew kings as recorded in the Massoretic text is now completed. Other chronological items besides those we have herein discussed, some of great historical and exegetical importance, are to be found in various books of the Old Testament. But these lie outside the main field we have marked out for our present discussion—the chronology of the period of the kings.

Whether or not the dates here provided are actually final and absolute will be determined by the tests of time. If they are final, they have nothing to fear from the most careful and exhaustive research—they will stand. If they are not final, and if indisputable evidence can prove them in error, they have no right to stand. Up to the present they have withstood every test that the writer has been able to bring upon them. Other tests await them. The kings of Israel and Judah have in the years gone by had part in many a fray. We have no reason to believe that their days of conflict are entirely over. Our only hope is that, when the smoke of the battle clears and the din of the final conflict has at last subsided, each of these valiant stalwarts of old may occupy his right, immovable place in history.

BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN

<sup>107</sup> W. F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile," *Biblical Archaeologist*, V (1942), 49 ff.; Ernst F. Weidner, "Joiachin, Koenig von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), I, 923-35.

<sup>108</sup> Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Goetze, *op. cit.*

<sup>109</sup> It should be noted that according to the reckoning of Kings and Jeremiah the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity was from Tishri, 562, to Tishri, 561. But according to Ezekiel's method of reckoning the thirty-seventh year of the captivity would not begin until Nisan, 561.

## APPENDIX

TABLE A

THE DATES OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

ISRAEL			JUDAH		
King	Years of Coregency or during the Reign of Another King	Reign	King	Coregency	Reign
Jeroboam I.....		931/30-910/9	Rehoboam.....		931/30-913
Nadab.....		910/9 -909/8	Abijam.....		913 -911/10
Baasha.....		909/8 -886/85	Asa.....		911/10-870/69
Elah.....		886/85-885/84			
Zimri.....		885/84			
Tibni.....		885/84-880			
Omri.....	885/84-880	880 -874/73	Jehoshaphat...	873/72-870/69	870/69-848
Ahab.....		874/73-853	Jehoram.....	853 -848	848 -841
Ahaziah.....		853 -852	Ahaziah.....		841
Jehoram.....		852 -841	Athaliah.....		841 -835
Jehu.....		841 -814/13	Joash.....		835 -796
Jehoahaz.....		814/13-798	Amaziah.....		796 -767
Jehoash.....		798 -782/81	Azariah.....	791/90-767	767 -740/39
Jeroboam II...	793/92-782/81	782/81-753			
Zachariah.....		753 -752	Jotham.....	750 -740/39	740/39-736/35
Shallum.....		752	Ahaz.....		736/35-716/15
Menahem.....		752 -742/41	Hezekiah.....		716/15-687/86
Pekahiah.....		742/41-740/39	Manasseh.....	696/95-687/86	687/86-642/41
Pekah.....	752 -740/39	740/39-732/31	Amon.....		642/41-640/39
Hoshea.....		732/31-723/22	Josiah.....		640/39-608
			Jehoahaz.....		608
			Jehoiakim.....		608 -597
			Jehoiachin.....		597
			Zedekiah.....		597 -586



The details available concerning the ages of the kings of Judah should work out into a consistent pattern of age relationships in any chronological scheme which is to be considered valid. Table B gives such details of the kings of Judah for the present chronological scheme as can be worked out from the available data.

TABLE B  
AGES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH

King	Father	Age at Accession as Coregent	Age at Beginning of Sole Reign	Age at Birth of Successor	Age at Association of Son as Coregent	Age at Death
Rehoboam	Solomon	.....	41	.....	.....	59
Abijam	Rehoboam	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Asa	Abijam	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Jehoshaphat	Asa	35	38	23	54	59
Jehoram	Jehoshaphat	32	37	23	.....	44
Ahaziah	Jehoram	.....	22 (42)	22	.....	22
Athaliah	Ahab	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Joash	Ahaziah	.....	7	22	.....	46
Amaziah	Joash	.....	25	16	31	54
Azariah	Amaziah	16	39	32	56	66
Jotham	Azariah	25	35	21	.....	39
Ahaz	Jotham	.....	20	15	.....	39
Hezekiah	Ahaz	.....	25	34	45	54
Manasseh	Hezekiah	12	21	45	.....	66
Amon	Manasseh	.....	22	17	.....	24
Josiah	Amon	.....	8	18 Jehoahaz 16 Jehoiakim 31 Zedekiah	.....	40
Jehoahaz	Josiah	.....	23	.....	.....	.....
Jehoiakim	Josiah	.....	25	19	.....	36
Jehoiachin	Jehoiakim	.....	18 (8)	.....	.....	.....
Zedekiah	Josiah	.....	21	.....	.....	.....

From the reconstructed chronology of the Hebrew kings it will be seen that coregencies entered quite prominently into the history of the Southern Kingdom, but that in the history of Israel only one was found. The only coregencies of which definite mention is made in the text are those of Jehoram with Jehoshaphat (II Kings 8:16) and Jotham with Azariah (II Kings 15:5), although before the schism the elevation of Solomon to the throne and the proclamation of his kingship at the express direction of the aged David is also mentioned (I Kings 1:32-39). Table C gives a summary of coregencies and overlapping years.

TABLE C  
COREGENCIES AND RIVAL REIGNS IN JUDAH AND ISRAEL

	Years Recorded	Years of Co-regency or Overlapping Reign
Coregency Included in Total Years of Reign		
<i>Judah:</i>		
Jehoshaphat.....	25	4
Azariah.....	52	24
Jotham.....	16	12
Manasseh.....	55	10
<i>Israel:</i>		
Jeroboam II.....	41	12
Coregency Not Included in Total Years of Reign		
<i>Judah:</i>		
Jehoram.....	8	6
Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping Reign of Rival King		
<i>Israel:</i>		
Omri.....	12	6
Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping That of the Previously Reigning House		
<i>Israel:</i>		
Pekah.....	20	12



THE SABBATICAL YEAR

BY

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## THE SABBATICAL YEAR

The recent policy of the United States Government of reducing the acreage under cultivation in order to limit the production of agricultural commodities and thus, by raising prices, restore the buying power which the producer enjoyed in more prosperous times, suggests the ancient Hebrew regulation which systematically took land out of cultivation. In the American instance, production of agricultural commodities was said to be in excess of consumption. To the extent that prices depend upon the relation of demand to supply, they seemed destined to continue at a low level unless production could be controlled. In the ancient practice, the legislation was directed toward making the people economically self-sufficient by avoiding the creation of a capitalist class and by safeguarding the original fertility of the soil.

The Hebrew institution of the seventh year of fallow for land is, from any viewpoint, an ancient regulation. Its place in the *Pentateuch* lends support to the belief that it was part of the legislation intended for the children of Israel upon their entrance into Canaan.<sup>1</sup> Even those who assert that the composite authorship and wide range of time in composition and redaction must be accepted grant that the first reference to the practice is found in the oldest Hebrew documents.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the literary and historical evidence, economic logic also supports the antiquity of the institution. The year of fallow and the practice of periodical redistribution of land is "Almost inexplicable if they be supposed to have originated at a late period of Hebrew history," and "they present no difficulty if we assume them to be the survival of a period through which every agricultural community has at the outset passed."<sup>3</sup> It is reasonably certain that the

<sup>1</sup> *Leviticus*, 25:1-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Exodus*, 23:10-11.

<sup>3</sup> John Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, 69-70 (London, 1880).





practice of fallowing land in some systematic way is much older than the Mosaic legislation and that it was not confined to the Hebrews but belonged rather to a stage of agricultural development. However, in the case of the Hebrews greater significance attached to the institution through its linkage to the system of sevens in time: the seventh day of rest for the individual, the seventh week of the calendar year for the Feast of Pentecost, the seventh month for the beginning of the civil year, the seventh year of rest for the land, and the close of the seventh seven of years to usher in a jubilee for the redistribution of land.

The earliest Biblical reference to the special significance of the seventh year had no connection with the year of fallow but merely stated that a Hebrew servant should be free after six years.<sup>4</sup> Apparently each individual's service began when he was sold and terminated six years later, regardless of the relation of that date to the year of fallow. The earliest reference to the year of fallow itself provided that after six years of bearing in response to the owner's cultivation, the land was to lie fallow during the seventh so that the poor might eat and be satisfied, after which the beasts of the field might eat. The same provision extended to the vineyard and the olive grove.<sup>5</sup>

The chief Biblical account of the seventh year is contained in *Leviticus*, 25:1-7, 20-22. These passages leave no question as to the manner of spending the six years, plainly stating that they were to be used for fruitful labor and that the seventh was to be a year of rest for the land during which labor aiming at the production of crops was forbidden. Instead, the land was to lie fallow, and even the grain and fruit which grew naturally under the circumstances were not to be harvested but used from the fields by the owner, his servants, the stranger, the owner's livestock, and other beasts. A man might eat grapes from his neighbor's vines so long as he carried none away. He might pluck corn with his hand from his neighbor's standing crop but might not

<sup>4</sup> *Exodus*, 21:2. Verses 3-11 amplify this simple statement. See also *Deuteronomy*, 15:12-18.

<sup>5</sup> *Exodus*, 23:10-11.

use a sickle.<sup>6</sup> The agricultural products of the six years were to be gathered and might be stored, but those of the seventh year were not to be used for profit. The regulation was humanitarian, if nothing more, but it presented other advantages to be discussed later.

The remainder of the chapter in *Leviticus* gives the provisions for the jubilee. Though the passages in *Exodus* contain provisions which undoubtedly came to be applied to the fallow year, now usually referred to as the sabbatical year, the verses in *Leviticus* furnish the principal basis for the later interpretations and elaborations.<sup>7</sup> A release of debts owed by Hebrews to Hebrews was provided for the seventh year.<sup>8</sup> The reading of the law at the Feast of Tabernacles in the sabbatical year, enjoined by Moses just before the close of his life, seems to be incidental to the original purpose of the observance of the fallow year.<sup>9</sup> In actual practice the entire law was probably not read, unless it was in 426 B.C. when Ezra acquainted the people with its provisions so long forgotten or neglected.<sup>10</sup> It is also probable that the reading of the law at the Feast of Tabernacles in 404 B.C. was in the shorter form referred to in the Mishna, and, since the covenant to observe the seventh year was associated with this reading, the shorter form was no doubt continued.<sup>11</sup>

Because of its relation to the sabbatical year, the law concerning the jubilee should also be mentioned. Its principal provision

<sup>6</sup> *Deuteronomy*, 23:24-25. See *Matthew*, 12:1; *Mark*, 2:23; and *Luke*, 6:1, for a problem that arose concerning this provision.

<sup>7</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, 3(12):3.

<sup>8</sup> *Deuteronomy*, 15:1-11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 31:10-13.

<sup>10</sup> *Nehemiah*, 8:8, 14, 17-18. It is clearly stated to be the first reading for many centuries. The dates of Biblical events are those given in the margin of *The Companion Bible* (Oxford, 1932). Since this article is not a critical study in chronology, dates are given merely for reference, but they are probably fairly accurate.

<sup>11</sup> *Nehemiah*, 9:3. According to the Mishna (*Sota*, 7:8), seven portions of *Deuteronomy* were read: 1:1 to 6:3; 6:4-8; 11:13-22; 14:22 to 15:23; 26:12-19; 17:14-20; and 17:27-28. The reading took place on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles at the end of the fallow year. John McClintock and James Strong, *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 9:201 (New York, 1880); *Nehemiah*, 10:31.



was concerned with the return of all people to the inheritance which had been assigned to their families when Canaan was distributed by lot.<sup>12</sup> There is a question whether the year of jubilee was to be observed after seven seven-year periods or was the last year of the seventh seven-year period. The literary evidence indicates that it was intended to follow the forty-ninth year.<sup>13</sup> The slight historical evidence in the Scriptural account seems to imply that both the forty-ninth and the fiftieth years were intended to be fallow.<sup>14</sup> A number of reputable Jewish authorities are agreed that the jubilee was the fiftieth year when in force during the time of the First Temple but that it was the forty-ninth or the seventh sabbatical year during the Second Temple when its observance was only nominal. There is no evidence that the jubilee was observed in more than name in post-exilic times.<sup>15</sup> The fact that Hebrews considered their ownership of land a sacred trust would imply that their system of land tenure had very ancient sanction.<sup>16</sup>

The passages in *Leviticus* relating to the sabbatical year differ in terminology from other parts of the same book. Although the subject is the only one in the book which is introduced with a reference to Mount Sinai, three sections close in that manner.<sup>17</sup> Apparently the spiritual regulations were associated with the tabernacle of the congregation, but the passage which deals with the moral or economic life of the people was appropriately associated with a secular place. What is now usually called the

<sup>12</sup> *Numbers*, 26:53-56. See *ibid.*, 32, 33:53-55; and *Joshua*, 13:15-32, 15:1-12, 16:1 to 17:11, 18:10 to 19:49, for references to this division. See also *Numbers*, 36:4, for the regulations which kept land within each tribe.

<sup>13</sup> *Leviticus*, 25:10, 21-22. *Ibid.*, 23:15-16, relate to the Feast of Pentecost which was to be the fiftieth day; by analogy the jubilee might be expected to be the fiftieth year.

<sup>14</sup> *2 Kings*, 19:29; *Isaiah*, 37:30. This was about 519 B.C. and is one of the few references which imply any observance of the sabbatical year before the exile. It should be noted that in the Septuagint, *Isaiah*, 37:30, seems to indicate only one fallow year. See L. C. Brenton, tr., *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament According to the Vatican Text*, 2:714 (London, 1844).

<sup>15</sup> Isidore Singer, ed., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:606 (New York, 1916).

<sup>16</sup> *Ruth*, 4:3-6, about 1300 B.C.; *1 Kings*, 21:3, about 800 B.C.; *Micah*, 2:2, about 600 B.C.; *Isaiah*, 5:8, before 500 B.C.; *Jeremiah*, 32:7-12, about 478 B.C.

<sup>17</sup> *Leviticus*, 7:38, 25:1, 26:46, 27:34.

sabbatical year, in the Scriptures, is variously termed the seventh year, the year of release, the sabbath of the land, and the year of liberty, depending upon the idea to be emphasized in each particular passage.

The practice of letting ground lie fallow was general in ancient times. In some instances perhaps it was merely to rest the soil,<sup>18</sup> but usually it was to conserve the moisture as in modern dry-land farming. Ordinarily the ground lay fallow in alternate years, but during the idle year it was cultivated not less than three times.<sup>19</sup>

The provisions for the sabbatical year relate to land, servants, and debts. The part concerning land merely stipulates that it should lie idle and that the trees and vines should remain unpruned during the seventh year. In view of the fact that the logical time for the commencement of this year of fallow was after the ingathering of crops it seems likely that it began on the first day of the month Tishri, or about the first of October. Were it to begin in the spring with the Jewish calendar year, two years without crops would necessarily follow in order to have a year of fallow, for the crops already in the fields could not be harvested and no sowing could take place the following fall. By letting the ground lie idle God's right of ownership was acknowledged in a manner which was of positive benefit to the land. The Hebrews were commanded to farm for six years, throughout which they were to gather produce into their storehouses. At no time, however, were they to glean their fields clean or gather all their grapes.<sup>20</sup> Undoubtedly the provision that mixed seed should not be sown was instituted so that there would be no question as to the purity of the flour used in the sacrifices.<sup>21</sup>

It may be questioned whether the spontaneous crop of a country would be sufficient to sustain its population for a year. How-

<sup>18</sup> T. C. Williams, tr., *The Georgics and Eclogues of Vergil*, 25 (Cambridge, Mass., 1915), translating *Georgic*, 1:71-72.

<sup>19</sup> E. C. Semple, *Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, 385-386, 402-403 (New York, 1931).

<sup>20</sup> *Leviticus*, 19:9, 23:22, 25:3; *Deuteronomy*, 24:19-21.

<sup>21</sup> *Leviticus*, 19:19.



ever, there was no command against storing for the sabbatical year and thus diligence and thrift were rewarded. There was also a promise of a much greater crop in the sixth year,<sup>22</sup> which could not be a result of natural causes since then the ground would be more nearly exhausted than at any other time in the seven-year period. Furthermore, there is at least one account in ancient literature of some such system. It is said that in early times there were many places in Albania where the land when sown once produced two or even three crops, the first a crop of even fiftyfold and the others coming up without additional plowing.<sup>23</sup> Though Palestine was not usually reputed to be an exceedingly fertile land, making allowances for the probable exaggeration of hearsay with regard to Albania, some return should be expected from natural seeding of grain left in the field.

The references in ancient literature to returns from seeding fall naturally into two groups: one, in which yields are about what would be expected from the same sort of soil today; and the other, in which they are so large as to be considered impossible by Ellen Churchill Semple.<sup>24</sup>

In the former group is the statement of Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.) referring to Leontine in Sicily, which reads: "On an acre of Leontini ground about a medimnus of wheat is usually sown, according to the regular and constant allowance of seed. The land returns about eightfold on a fair average, but in an extraordinarily favourable season, about tenfold,"<sup>25</sup> and that of Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 ? B.C.) who said, "the influence of the kind of soil in a district is so great that the same seed yields in some places ten-fold, in others fifteen-fold, as in several parts of Etruria."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 25:21.

<sup>23</sup> H. L. Jones, tr., *The Geography of Strabo*, 5:225 (New York, 1917-1932), translating *Geography*, 11 (4):2. Strabo lived from about 63 B.C. to about 24 A.D.

<sup>24</sup> Semple, *Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, 388.

<sup>25</sup> C. D. Yonge, tr., *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, 1:343 (London, 1921), translating *In Verrem, Second Pleading*, 3:47.

<sup>26</sup> Lloyd Storr-Best, tr., *Varro on Farming*, 92 (London, 1912), translating *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1:44. Semple (*Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, 388) is apparently mistaken in her statement which implies that Columella said that in his time only a fourfold return was received. What he said in the reference

Of the second group of references, in addition to Strabo, may be mentioned the Biblical comment, "Then Isaac sowed in that land, and received in the same year an hundredfold."<sup>27</sup> Herodotus (484?-423 B.C.), referring to Mesopotamia, wrote: "This territory is of all that we know the best by far for producing corn . . . it is so good that it returns as much as two-hundred-fold for the average, and when it bears at its best it produces three-hundred-fold." He said, moreover, of Libya: "when it bears best it produces a hundred-fold, but the land in the region of Kinyps produces sometimes as much as three-hundred-fold."<sup>28</sup> Varro claimed that, "In Italy too, in the country about Sybaris, they say that the usual yield is a hundred fold, and in Syria near Gadara, and in Africa in Byzacium from one peck the return is likewise a hundred pecks."<sup>29</sup> In the parable of the sower, Jesus spoke of certain good ground which brought forth thirtyfold, sixtyfold, and even a hundredfold.<sup>30</sup> Caius Plinius Secundus (23-79 A.D.), better known as Pliny the Younger, stated that in ordinary years land in Byzacium yielded one hundred and fifty-fold. In another place he said that the Byzacium crop that yields so remarkably is common wheat.<sup>31</sup>

No references have been found to ancient yields so low as four-fold and fivefold. Cicero mentioned a yield of eightfold to tenfold in Sicily, and Varro tenfold to fifteenfold in Etruria. Against these Strabo spoke of a yield of fiftyfold in Albania, and there are two Scriptural references, separated by hundreds of years, to yields of one hundredfold in Syria with additional mention of

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cited is that a return of one fourth of one hundred sestertii from a jugerum of land in corns could hardly be remembered. See Columella, *Of Husbandry*, 119 (London, 1745), translating 3:3. Her reference to the small yield reported by Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.) has not been located.

<sup>27</sup> *Genesis*, 26:12.

<sup>28</sup> G. C. Macaulay, tr., *The History of Herodotus*, 1:95, 369 (London, 1918), translating 1:193, 198.

<sup>29</sup> Storr-Best, tr., *Varro on Farming*, 92-93, translating 1:44.

<sup>30</sup> *Matthew*, 13:8; *Mark*, 4:8; *Luke*, 8:8.

<sup>31</sup> Philemon Holland, tr., *Pliny's History of the World*, pt. 1, p. 505, 564-565 (London, 1601), translating 17:5, 18:10. Semple's reference (*Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, 388) to Pliny, 18:55, does not give yield but merely the amount of seed of various grains to be sown.



sixtyfold and thirtyfold in the later instance. Varro mentioned a yield of one hundredfold in Syria near Gadara and in Sybaris, Italy and Byzacium, Africa. Herodotus said that Libya at its best produced one hundredfold and mentioned a yield of two hundredfold to three hundredfold in Mesopotamia and three hundredfold in Kinyps in Africa, and Pliny cited a yield of one hundred and fiftyfold for Byzacium.

There are only two references to small yields, and they refer to land in Italy and Sicily; to yields of fiftyfold or more there are ten extending over three continents, being mentioned by six authors—one Hebrew, two Greeks, two Romans, and one Hebrew writing in Greek. It is plausible, therefore, to presume that there is some truth back of the latter statements.

Data compiled by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture show that the average return from wheat in the United States for the period 1928-1933 was 862,645 bushels harvested from 85,126 bushels of seed, a little less than tenfold, and from corn, 2,522,065 bushels from 17,408 bushels of seed, or more than one hundred and forty-fourfold.<sup>32</sup> These figures are well within the range of the more extravagant ancient claims.<sup>33</sup> While it is true that the corn of America was not known in the Old World at that early period, perhaps other grains of that time gave equally large returns. As the average yield per acre of wheat and corn for the same period,  $14\frac{2}{5}$  bushels and  $24\frac{3}{5}$  bushels respectively, is only about 11.3 percent of the maximum known yield of  $122\frac{1}{2}$  bushels and 225 bushels, it is reasonable to suppose that with greater care considerable improvement could be made in returns from seed in the United States.<sup>34</sup> The returns reported from ancient times and the maximum known returns of the present time present a challenge to improvement of agricultural technique.

<sup>32</sup> Work sheets in the U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

<sup>33</sup> O. W. Willcox, "The Real Farm Problem," *Economic Forum*, 2(1):35-36 (Winter, 1934). The maximum yields are from commercial fields that have shown profits above cost of fertilizer and other field costs.

<sup>34</sup> U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1934, p. 387, 414. As these tables show yields per acre by calendar years, it is necessary to use the figures for 1929-1934 to get the yields for the fiscal years 1928-1933.

The provision for the seventh year relating to servants aimed at periodical equality of opportunity for the people so that a man forced into servitude by reverses should again be free at the close of six years. If, however, he preferred to continue as a servant, he could have his ear bored with an awl as a token of his voluntary submission to lifelong bondage. In all cases the provision applied only to Hebrew servants.

It is not clear whether the regulation concerning debts implied merely a moratorium, since the debtors had no income during the sabbatical year, or meant the forgiveness of debts. In any case only debts owed to Hebrews were involved. According to the Talmud the laws respecting loans were not operative before the end of the sabbatical year, but the land release began with the year of rest.<sup>35</sup>

It would seem that the sabbatical year was observed but slightly if at all early in the history of the Hebrews in Canaan. Although the wording of the commandment might imply that the year after entering Canaan should be the first sabbatical year, it is generally conceded that this was not the case, but that the first cycle began fourteen years later after the conquest and distribution of the land.<sup>36</sup> Thus the first fallow year would be the twenty-first after entering Canaan. Though it was predicted in the time of Moses that in case of a falling away and disobedience to God's commands the land should lie desolate until it had enjoyed its sabbaths,<sup>37</sup> there is no record in the books of the Old Testament that the land ever lay fallow one year in seven during the time which they cover. The references to the perpetual inheritance imply that rights to land were held sacred,<sup>38</sup> but there is no way of knowing whether the other regulations aiming at equality were carried out. The first definite expression, made not earlier than 518 B.C. and possibly much later, stated that the Hebrews should serve the King of Babylon for seventy years.<sup>39</sup> Again, not earlier than 489 B.C., Jeremiah

<sup>35</sup> Singer, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:605.

<sup>36</sup> *Leviticus*, 25:2; Singer, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:607.

<sup>37</sup> *Leviticus*, 26:34-35, 43.

<sup>38</sup> See footnote 17.

<sup>39</sup> *Jeremiah*, 25:11.



prophesied the return from captivity after seventy years.<sup>40</sup> Though neither of these references specifically mentioned the keeping of the sabbaths for the land, a later reference cited prophecies of Jeremiah as indicating that the reason for the seventy years of captivity was that the land might enjoy sabbaths.<sup>41</sup> About 465 B.C., Ezekiel, in giving the organization of affairs for Israel's future time of glory, referred to the year of release for the land.<sup>42</sup> So far as is definitely known, the only instance of an attempt to keep the provisions of the year of rest prior to the return from captivity was made about 479 B.C. when servants were liberated, but since their masters later took them back not even on this occasion was the law kept as originally intended.<sup>43</sup> Whatever the attitude of the Hebrews before the captivity, they came back from exile fully convinced that they could merit and receive God's blessing by observance of the sabbatical year and other commandments. Therefore, in 404 B.C., one of the pledges they made was to keep the seventh year, and apparently it was observed as strictly as possible from that time on.<sup>44</sup>

The first secular account of the observance refers to events in 334 B.C., but it was written long afterwards. When Alexander the Great, direct from the capture of Gaza, approached Jerusalem, he was met by Jaddus, the high priest, in his purple and gold robes, the other priests in their fine linen, and the multitude arrayed in white. He was much impressed by the sight, remarking that he had seen the high priest thus attired in a dream some time before when he was exhorted to proceed at once in the advance against the Persians, and for this reason he revered the God whom Jaddus represented. When, in the Temple, the prophecy of Daniel that one of the Greeks should destroy the Persian Empire was shown him, Alexander supposed that he was the person meant, and on the following day asked the people what he should do for them. When the High Priest asked that

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 29:10.

<sup>41</sup> *2 Chronicles*, 36:21.

<sup>42</sup> *Ezekiel*, 46:17.

<sup>43</sup> *Jeremiah*, 34:8-15.

<sup>44</sup> *Nehemiah*, 10:31.

they be allowed to enjoy the laws of their forefathers and pay no tribute in the seventh year, he granted the request and also that the Jews in Babylon and Media were to enjoy their own laws.<sup>45</sup>

The Samaritans also met Alexander with splendor and enthusiasm a short distance from Jerusalem and invited him to honor their temple also. Upon his acceptance of the invitation for some indefinite future time, they requested that he remit their tribute every seventh year as they did not sow then. When they admitted that they were Hebrews but not Jews he promised to look into the matter on his return but did not make a definite commitment at this time.<sup>46</sup> There is no record that he ever granted the request.

In 163 B.C., both Bethsura and Jerusalem surrendered to Antiochus V (Eupator) of Syria because, as it was the sabbatical year, the ground was not cultivated and provisions were scarce. Moreover, many outsiders had moved in for protection, thus helping to consume the supplies that had been stored.<sup>47</sup> Immunities, probably including the remitting of the tribute for the seventh year, were promised to the Jews in 153 B.C. when Demetrius I, just before his defeat and death, made very generous promises which his son, Demetrius II, confirmed to Jonathan in 145 B.C. and to Simon in 143 B.C.<sup>48</sup> Although none of these charters specifically mentioned the sabbatical year, it was no doubt implied in them.

In 135 B.C., John Hyrcanus is said to have ceased besieging Ptolemy in Dagon because it was a sabbatical year.<sup>49</sup> He sent

<sup>45</sup> Probably *Daniel*, 8:3-8, 20-22; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 11(8):5.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 11(8):6.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 12(9):5; and *2 Maccabees*, 6:49, 53. This was the one hundred and fiftieth year of the Seleucid era. See *2 Maccabees*, 6:20. The text used in this paper is that of Henry Cotton, *The Five Books of Maccabees, in English* (Oxford, 1832). His numbering of the books does not correspond with that ordinarily used. His Book 1 is commonly known as Book 3, Book 2 as Book 1, Book 3 as Book 2, but his Books 4 and 5 are usually known by those numbers. The dates of events in the Maccabean period follow Cotton, and as in the case of Biblical events, they are inserted merely for reference. However, they are probably relatively correct.

<sup>48</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13(2):3, (4):9, (6):7; and *2 Maccabees*, 10:28-45, 11:30-37, 13:36-40.

<sup>49</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13(8):1, and *Jewish Wars*, 1(2):4. The account in *5 Maccabees*, 20:17-18, does not mention the sabbatical year. At first the Jews



an embassy to Rome in 128 B.C. with requests for special favors for the Jews and the renewal of former pledges, which must have been granted the next year.<sup>50</sup> About 47 to 45 B.C., Hyrcanus, grandson of John Hyrcanus, sent ambassadors to Julius Caesar, asking the renewal of the former treaty with the Jews. Josephus gave an account of what is evidently the same transaction, but certainly his version of the edict is a composite.<sup>51</sup> Although some of his text is very corrupt, the two passages which refer to exemption from tribute in the sabbatical year are apparently authentic.<sup>52</sup> Immunities granted to the Jews by Alexander, Ptolemy, and Caesar are mentioned by Josephus.<sup>53</sup> In 37 B.C., Herod succeeded in capturing Jerusalem because of lack of provisions due to the sabbatical year. Their scarcity after the capture of the city is also mentioned.<sup>54</sup> References to the sabbatical year or to immunities of the Jews are also found in Josephus and in the Books of the Maccabees.<sup>55</sup>

Philo Judaeus made several references to the sabbatical year.<sup>56</sup> Tacitus, an unfriendly critic who certainly would not invent the

refrained from fighting on the sabbath day and did not even attempt defense. See Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12(1):1, (6):2. Later they defended themselves on the sabbath day. See *ibid.*, 13(1):3. Still later they would not interfere with the engineering works of the enemy on the sabbath day. See *ibid.*, 14(4):2.

<sup>50</sup> *5 Maccabees*, 21:31-33, 22:1-7. Apparently the first agreement was made in 161 B.C. (*2 Maccabees*, 8:22-32) and was renewed in 144 B.C. (*2 Maccabees*, 12:1). Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13(9):2, evidently refers to the same transaction, though it differs in most details from the other account.

<sup>51</sup> *5 Maccabees*, 44:1. Verses 4-17 give Caesar's reply. Though no mention is made of the sabbatical year, no doubt it was one of the concessions intended. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14(10):6.

<sup>52</sup> Michel S. Ginsburg, *Rome et la Judée*, 100, 172-173 (Paris, 1928).

<sup>53</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2(4). Caesar's pillar at Alexandria is mentioned in Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14(10):1.

<sup>54</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14(16):2, 15(1):2. *5 Maccabees*, 52:27, makes no mention of its being a sabbatical year, and 52:12 seems to imply that it was not; nor is the sabbatical year mentioned in an account of the same incidents in *Jewish Wars*, 1(18):2.

<sup>55</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, 16(1):1, (2):3; *4 Maccabees*, 2:8.

<sup>56</sup> C. D. Yonge, tr., *The Works of Philo Judaeus, the Contemporary of Josephus* (London, 1854-55), "On the Ten Commandments," 3:172, "A Treatise on the Number Seven," 3:264, "On the Creation of Magistrates," 3:407, "On Humanity," 3:434. Philo Judaeus lived from about 20 B.C. to about 54 A.D.

idea of a year of rest, writing about thirty years after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. concerning the customs of the Jews, said: "They are said to have devoted the seventh day to rest, because that day brought an end to their troubles. Later, finding idleness alluring, they gave up the seventh year as well to sloth."<sup>57</sup> When Saint Paul said, "Ye observe days and months and times and years," he may have intended a reference to the sabbatical year.<sup>58</sup> The Talmud contains numerous allusions to it. After the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, some provisions of the law could not be observed for obvious reasons, and rabbinical enactments and interpretations released them from observing the sabbatical year. In the Zionist movement of today, the question has again arisen and is being met in the spirit of the ancient lawgiver.<sup>59</sup>

So far as may be judged, the seventh year was not intended to be primarily a time for spiritual development, since no special feast or convocation was associated with it. The objectives were moral and economic values. However, providing for oneself during six years and then trusting God for the seventh would have a tendency to bring about greater reliance upon Divine beneficence at all times.

Apart from the spiritual implications of the sabbatical year, the curtailing of grain production necessitated a septennial reduction in the number of livestock which, by culling out the unfit, resulted in improvement in the quality of the remaining animals. Furthermore, the decrease in the quantity of grain reduced the tendency of the people to trade with neighboring countries and served to prevent the accumulation of unwieldy wealth. The people thus became more nearly economically self-sufficient and capable of meeting their own needs at all times. The year of fallow was also of unquestioned value to the land. Fallow is a preventive of exhaustion, weediness, and lar-

<sup>57</sup> W. Hamilton Fyfe, tr., *Tacitus' Histories*, 2:206 (Oxford, 1912), translating *Histories*, 5(4):3.

<sup>58</sup> *Galations*, 4:10.

<sup>59</sup> Singer, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:607.



vae,<sup>60</sup> and in dry regions a conserver of moisture. Furthermore, although the original purpose of the observance of the seventh year seems to have been secular, the reading of the law had a tendency to draw the people back to a greater regard and reverence for God.

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<sup>60</sup> *Self-Interpreting Bible*, 1:405 (St. Louis, 1905).





# THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD

A. POEBEL

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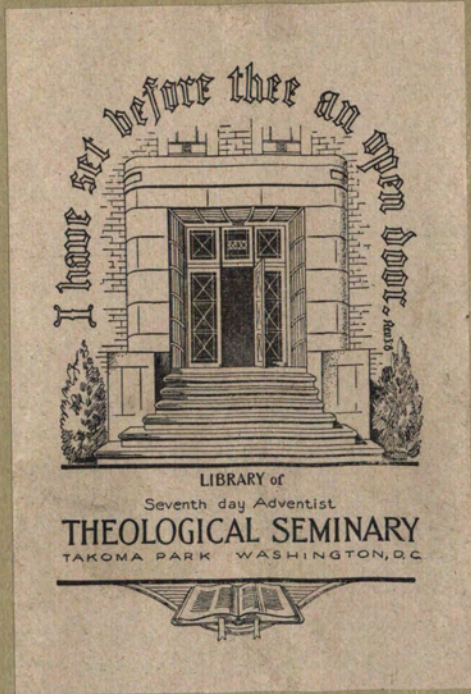






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THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD

A. POEBEL

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The new king list discussed in the following was found at Khorsabad, the site of ancient Dûr-Šarrukîn, in the course of excavations conducted there in the season 1932/33 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. When the news of its discovery came to Chicago, Professor Breasted, then director of the Oriental Institute, charged the writer with the publication of the list. Since the king list was one of the most outstanding finds of the Institute's expeditions, it was Professor Breasted's plan to have it published in an impressive form and with a full treatment of Assyrian chronology before 900 B.C., which it promised to place for the first time on a secure basis. It was evident from the outset that realization of this plan would require considerable time, and it was therefore decided to publish first and as soon as possible a preliminary report setting forth in mere outlines the importance of the new text for the history and particularly the chronology of the Assyrian kingdom. But a speedy execution of these plans was prohibited by many circumstances, chief among them, apart from a one-and-a-half year's delay in the transport of the tablet to Chicago, the fact that in recent years the writer has been engaged with other duties of a more urgent and immediate character. However, the preliminary report here published is broader in scope than was planned at first, since it includes a few of the results which have been arrived at in the course of my investigations and which will be of interest, I believe, to a wider circle than that interested merely in the king list as such.



The tablet containing the list measures  $7\frac{1}{4}$  by  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches, but both at the upper-left and at the upper-right corners a rectangular piece has been cut out, and the tablet thus shows the shape indicated in Figure 1. In the lower part of each vertical side of the reduced upper portion of the tablet, a horizontal hole can be observed. As I shall show in the final publication of the list, the two holes doubtless served to hold wooden or metal pins on which the tablet swung in a frame or casing contrived to hold the tablet in a good position for reading and to allow turning it conveniently from its obverse to its reverse side.

Unfortunately the tablet is not undamaged. The loss of parts of the corners of the unscripted top piece is of no consequence, but very regrettable are the loss of the lower-left corner and the destruction of a

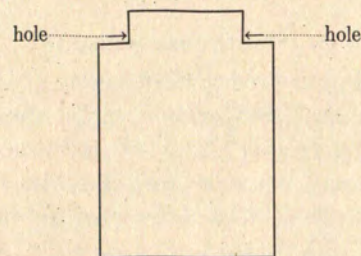


FIG. 1

comparatively large piece of the surface of the first column a little above that corner, since these involve the loss of the numbers indicating the length of the reigns of five Old Assyrian kings. As may be concluded from the two parallel grooves running along opposite sides of the destroyed part of the surface, the damage in this case was probably done by the tool of the workman who dug up the tablet from the ground. Possibly it was likewise with his instrument that the lower-right corner portion of the tablet was smashed into several pieces. Most of these pieces have been joined again to the main portion of the tablet, but the destruction of part of the tablet surface unfortunately brings with it the loss of the statements concerning the length of reign of two Middle Assyrian kings. However, we shall see later on that the length of the two reigns may be accurately determined by synchronization of the king-list chronology with chronological statements in the inscriptions of certain Assyrian kings.

The tablet is kiln fired. Most of its surface is now rather rough—

though still quite even in appearance—and of a dull light brown-red-dish color. Originally, however, as can be seen from considerable traces in parts of the tablet, the whole tablet surface was covered by a very thin layer of fine ivory-colored clay, faintly tinged with green, that gave the tablet a very smooth and pleasing appearance. Fortunately the surfaces of two vocabularies from Khorsabad, coated in the same manner, are much better preserved and still show the pleasing effect of the coating. I hope that a chemical analysis will make it possible to determine the details of that ancient coating technique.

The text of the king list extends through four columns, two on the obverse of the tablet and two on the reverse. The first and the second as well as the third and the fourth columns are separated from each other by a vertical double line, and each of these columns is again subdivided into two half-columns by a similar vertical double line. In detail the arrangement of the text is as follows. Where the statement devoted to a certain king contains all the items intended to be conveyed (i.e., besides the name of the king, that of his father, and the length of the king's reign), it is usually spread over two full lines (= four half-lines) in the following manner (Fig. 2):

X,	son of Y,
x years	exercised kingship

FIG. 2

Nevertheless, in comparatively many cases (namely, whenever the scribe feared that the space which he intended to fill with a certain text portion would not suffice), the statement is crowded into one line, the arrangement then being as follows (Fig. 3):

X, son of Y,	x years exercised kingship
--------------	----------------------------

FIG. 3

On the other hand, in cases where the scribe inserts before the statement on the length of the king's reign some additional remark or remarks relating to events prior to the king's accession to the throne, the section devoted to a particular king may consist of three and even more lines. In cases, however, where only the descent of the king but



not the length of his reign is known, the reference is given without exception as in line 1 of Figure 2, while, finally, in those cases where nothing but the name of the king is known, the space allotted to that king is only one half-line.

In those cases where the statement devoted to one king contains all items, it is separated from the preceding and the following statements by simple horizontal dividing-lines, but the text lines within such a section are not separated from each other by dividing-lines, each section devoted to a king thus being clearly set off from every other section by means of the dividing lines inclosing it.

On the other hand, none of the three groups composed of kings whose regnal years were unknown—and this is the case for the first thirty-two kings—has dividing-lines between the names of the various kings that form those groups. But every subscription found at the end of a group and giving the total number as well as a short characterization of the kings enumerated in that group is set off by a dividing-line from the following group of kings and, in the case of the first two groups, even from the kings listed before the subscription. By this device the various groups as such, too, stand out very clearly. The reason why the dividing-line before the subscription is dispensed with in the third group evidently is the fact that the subscription begins in the second half of a line.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason it is omitted in the only instance of group enumeration outside the three groups at the beginning of the list, namely, in the second column in the case of six consecutive kings who together ruled only a portion of the unfinished year of the king preceding that group.

The lower part of the fourth, i.e., the last, tablet column finally contains the tablet subscription, set off from the king list proper merely by much wider spacing of the signs as well as of the lines. It states that the list has been copied from a king-list tablet in the city of Aššûr by a certain Kandilanu, scribe of a temple in the city of Arbail in the easternmost part of Assyria, on the twentieth day of the month *araḥ lu-lu-bi-e* of the second *limmu* of Adad-EN-GIN, *šaknu* of Aššûr, i.e., in the 7th official regnal year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III (108),<sup>2</sup> the immediate successor of Aššûr-nerâri V (107), with whose reign the king list closes.

<sup>1</sup> The enumeration of the kings in this group comprises 3½ lines, the subscription 1½ lines.

<sup>2</sup> The number in parentheses following the name of a king indicates his place in the row of Assyrian rulers enumerated in the king list (supplemented by later documents).

Apart from orthographical differences and apart from the fact that our tablet carries the list of Assyrian rulers ten reigns further, our Khorsabad list is a duplicate of the much-damaged Assur king list published by Nassouhi in AOf IV, 1-11, and henceforth referred to by us as Assur king list A, or simply as Assur A. Unfortunately the date of this list is broken off, but in view of the fact that the list ends with the reign of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97), after which it has a horizontal line<sup>3</sup> and a large uninscribed space, as well as in view of the analogy offered by the Khorsabad list, we may confidently assume that this list was written in the reign of the immediate successor of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II, i.e., Aššûr-dan II (98). Probably, therefore, Assur A is about 190 years older than our Khorsabad list. Another even older specimen of the king-list text is represented by the small Assur fragment VAT 11554, published by Schroeder in KAVI as No. 15 and designated by us as Assur B. Although only a few lines of its first and fourth columns are preserved, the fact that it enumerates the kings Aššûr-nerâri III (80), Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), and Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82) in its fourth column, while both the Khorsabad list and Assur A mention them already in their third columns,<sup>4</sup> may be taken as an indication that Assur B closed with a king six or seven more reigns before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97), the last king mentioned in Assur A.<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE FIRST GROUP OF KINGS

The first group of rulers enumerated in column 1, lines 1-9, comprises the following names (here given in the same arrangement as they are found on the tablet):<sup>6</sup>

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| 1. 𐎲udia   |            |
| 2. Adamu   | 3. 𐎶angi   |
| 4. 𐎶irġamu | 5. 𐎶arḫaru |

<sup>3</sup> This dividing line is important, since beginning with its second column Assur A does not separate the various reigns by dividing-lines.

<sup>4</sup> In the Khorsabad list the section relating to the three kings begins in the middle of the column (l. 23); in Assur A, about three lines before the beginning of the last quarter (l. 30).

<sup>5</sup> This point, however, is not so certain as one would desire, for Assur A leaves a portion of its fourth column uninscribed, and this space might well have been utilized by Assur B to record a number of reigns.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers preceding the names are not on the tablet. They indicate the position of the ruler in the long row of kings of Aššûr enumerated in the king list. No attempt has been made to render the names according to etymological theories, each sign being rendered with the phonetic value most common in the later periods. The readings are therefore in many cases only provisional. Note especially that *d* in several cases might be *t*, that *b* might be *p*, and *z* might be *š*.



6. Mandaru	7. Imšu
8. ḤARŠU	9. Didānu
10. Ḥanú	11. Zuabu
12. Nuabu	13. Abazu
14. TILLÚ	15. Ašaraḥ
16. Ušpia	17. Apiašal

Neither the father's name nor the length of reign is given. For the sake of appearance as well as to make better use of the line spaces, the names in this section of the tablet are arranged so that each half-line contains the name of one king, with the exception of the right half-line of line 1, which, owing to the upward slant of the lines, is much smaller than the first half-line and therefore is left unscribed. Note that the enumeration does not run in two parallel vertical columns, as is customary in modern lists, but (with the exception of l. 1) runs from the left half-line to the right half-line of one line, to the left and again to the right half of the following line, etc.

At the end of the enumeration of kings, i.e., in line 10, we read the following subscription: "a total of 17 kings who lived in tents (*a-ši-bu-tu kul-ta-re*)." This interesting statement implies, of course, that the "kings" of this first group did not reside continually at Assur but were nomad rulers who moved with their tribe and herds from place to place within the territory claimed by them.

Unfortunately the list is silent about the name and the nationality of the tribe or tribes led by those nomad rulers. But, judging from the fact that all these names can well be conceived as belonging to some Semitic idiom, we may take it as certain that they were of Semitic origin. Note, for instance, the name Zu-a-bu, which it is quite natural to regard as identical with Su-a-bu<sup>7</sup> and Su-mu-a-bi,<sup>8</sup> the name of the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, even though in our list the name is written with the sign *zu*. It must, of course, be taken into consideration that at the time of the dynasty of Akkad and the immediately following period—it will later be shown that this is the approximate time of our nomad kings—the syllable *su* was regularly written with the sign *zu*, and it is quite possible that the compilers of the king list kept this writing. For Em-šu (Im-šu) compare E-mi-šum, the name of the second king of Larsa, which, if its initial *e* is short,

<sup>7</sup> Date list for the time from Suabu to Samsu-iluna, LIH, No. 101 (written at the time of Ammi-zaduga), col. 1, l. 15.

<sup>8</sup> In the so-called Babylonian king list B, obv., l. 1 (very late).

would be the unelided form of our name. For HAR-ŠU (Ḥur-šu or Ḥar-šu) one may compare names like Ḥu-ru-šum (LIH, No. 15, l. 17) and Ḥur-ša-nim (gen.; CT IV, 44b, l. 19), Ḥur-ša-a-nim (CT VIII, 18b, l. 24), Ḥu-ur-ša'-nim (CT II, 22, l. 26). Di-da-a-nu might be a contracted form of Da-wi-da-nim (gen.; CT VIII, 31a, l. 21; 31b, ll. 19 and 21).<sup>9</sup> For A-da-mu one could think of Hebrew *ʿādām*, "man," if the second *a* is an unelided short *a*, or of a form like Arabic *ʿādamu* (< *ʿādamu*), "reddish," "brown." Ḥar-ḥa-ru can be a reduplicating form like *kap-ka-pu*, *dandannu*, *rebrebtu*, etc. A-ša-ra-aḥ might be a name composed of a form of *uš*, "to come forth," and *urḥ*, "moon" ("month"). For Ušpia and Apiašal see the remarks on pp. 273 f. (and especially n. 67 on p. 274). Note also that twelve of the seventeen names show the Semitic nominative ending *u*; that Ia-an-gi may be a verb form with the prefix *ia-*, found so frequently in non-Akkadian Semitic names of the Hammurabi period; and that the *-ia* of Ṭudia and Ušpia and the *-ānu* of Didānu may be the hypocoristic endings *-ia* and *-ānum*, likewise frequently found in names of the First Dynasty.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, there is among these names not one that is so un-Semitic in character as to make a foreign origin absolutely certain. This refutes, of course, or at least deprives of its basis, the theory that the Assyrian empire took its origin from an old Hurrite or some other non-Semitic state or settlement, a theory put forth in the main on the strength of the fact that the names of Ušpia, Sulili, and Kikia, the earliest of the Old Assyrian rulers then known, did not lend themselves readily to a Semitic etymology, in conjunction, of course, with the observation that peoples of a non-Semitic nationality were in the vicinity of Assur not only in the middle of the second millennium B.C. but already in a very early period. To be sure, some of the names presented in the king list, as, for example, Zuabu and especially Ašaraḥ, if the suggested explanations should prove correct, would appear to be already in a comparatively much advanced stage of development that might seem entirely too early for that period. But it may be recalled

<sup>9</sup> Hardly identical with the substantive (and adjective?) *di-ta-nu* = Sumerian *alim* (CT XII, 29 f., col. 4, l. 54; CT XIV, 1 f., col. 3, l. 7), although the writing of *ta* with *da* was a regular orthographic feature of the time of the dynasty of Akkad. But if one assumes an archaic writing in this instance, one could expect the syllable *di* to be written with the sign *ti*.

<sup>10</sup> For *-ānu* cf. also Ib-ra-nu-um, 16th (or 15th) king of the Quṭean dynasty (7th king, counting from its end.)



that king lists, date lists, chronicles, etc., as a rule give the names of the early rulers in the form and orthography of their own period. Thus, for example, the name form Su-a-bu instead of Su-mu-a-bu-um<sup>11</sup> appears already in a date list written at the time of Ammi-zaduga.<sup>12</sup> The name of the third king of Babylon usually appears in the uncontracted form *Ša-bi-um* on documents written in his own time, but already in a few contemporary legal documents it appears in the contracted form *Ša-bu-um*, which probably represents an adaptation to the Akkadian language of that time, and in the late king-list chronicle King, CEBK II, 143 ff. (pp. 46 ff.), rev., col. 1', l. 3', it even appears as *Ša-bu-u*. In the chronicle CEBK II, 121 ff., rev., l. 7', the name of A-bi-e-šu-u' of Babylon appears as A-bi-ši, and in the Babylonian king list B even as E-bi-šum, while that of Am-mi-za-du-ga (Ammi-šaduqa) in the same list is written Am-mi-sa-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga. Note also A-dara-kala<sub>m</sub>-ma and A-kur-UL-an-na in Babylonian king list B, but A.A-dara(-kala<sub>m</sub>-ma) and É-kur-UL(-an-na) in king list A. Moreover, although it seems to be a widespread opinion that advanced forms did not yet exist in certain early periods, actual observations prove that among related or originally even identical idioms one of them may in a certain early period have already reached the stage of development which the other did not reach until centuries or millenniums later. Literary Hebrew, for example, and literary Aramaic showed a much more advanced development at 300 B.C. than did literary Arabic after A.D. 600. In some respects, as in the contraction of diphthongs and in the elision of unstressed vowels, even the Akkadian of the time of the dynasty of Akkad in the third millennium B.C. is more advanced than the literary Arabic of the seventh century A.D. Theoretically, therefore, it is quite possible that the nomads from whose tribal organization the Assyrian state developed actually spoke a Semitic dialect which had already achieved a highly advanced stage of development. Such a fact would be in no way remarkable, since the regions around Assur were old Subarean territory and since languages superimposing themselves on another language are likely to change very rapidly. In the absence to date of any extensive inscriptional material with a sufficient number of other names, however, the question of the state of the dialect spoken by the Assyrian nomads is almost a purely academic one; it is here

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *OIP* XLIII, 191: date formula No. 113.

<sup>12</sup> King, *LIH* II, No. 101, col. 1, l. 15.

touched upon merely for the purpose of meeting one-sided and inconclusive arguments in the other direction. It may, however, be pointed out that the idea that the native language of nomad peoples in Babylonia or Assyria or in their vicinity was the Akkadian language or some Akkadian dialect obviously is quite out of the question.

As regards the name by which the old Assyrian nomad tribe was known, the easiest and most attractive solution would be to assume that it was Aššūr, which was also the name of the tribal deity and later that of the city of Aššūr, which derived its name from the fact that it had developed around a sanctuary devoted to that tribal deity at the site of the later city. Such an assumption might be supported with certain arguments which by themselves are completely inconclusive but which in spite of this fact might be used to sketch certain concatenations, which, if harmonizing in all their features and in the absence of unambiguously contradictory evidence, quite naturally tend to acquire a certain substantiality. These arguments are as follows.

1. Gen. 25:3 contains the statement that the sons of Dedan, who according to the preceding text—like Sheba—was a son of Jokshan and through him the grandson of Abraham and Keturah,<sup>13</sup> were the Ashurim (Aššūrīm), the Letushim, and the Leummim. The Keturah (Q<sup>c</sup>ṭūrā) peoples concededly were Arabian tribes, and as one of them the Ashurim of Genesis, chapter 25, were, of course, nomads. If the tradition concerning the name is at all to be relied upon, at least the possibility that these Ashurim, a subdivision of the better-known tribe Dedan, are in some way connected with the Assyrian nomads will almost force itself upon our minds. The fact that Gen. 25:3b, because the three tribes are mentioned in the gentilic form, is a later addition to the original text is, of course, quite irrelevant for the questions in which we are here interested, but it may be considered as doubtful whether the interpolator—the correctness of the tradition concerning the name of course presupposed—wanted to refer to the old Assyrian nomads instead of to some small portion of the Ashur tribe still living in old Dedan territory. There is, however, no telling whether actually there did not still exist at his time an old tradition that the founders of the Assyrian empire stemmed from a branch of the tribe Dedan.

<sup>13</sup> According to P, Gen. 10:7, Sheba and Dedan were sons of Raamah and through him grandsons of Cush, while Ashur, according to P, Gen. 10:22, was a son of Shem (=Sumer).



2. In Gen. 10:8-12 we read: "And Cush begot Nimrod, who<sup>14</sup> began to be a mighty one on the earth. . . .<sup>15</sup> And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh in the land Shinar. From that land went out Ashur and he built Nineveh and Rehoboth-ir and Calah and Resen between Nineveh and Calah. This is the great city." For Assyriologists the passage as it stands has been a veritable crux, since neither Nimrod, nor Calneh, Rehoboth-ir, and Resen could be unambiguously identified from Assyrian sources. Moreover, the present text fails to define the relation between Ashur and Nimrod, nor does it indicate, if Ashur actually is the subject of the last sentence, what the later or last extent of Nimrod's kingdom was, circumstances that have led to the attempt by modern translators to interpret "and he (= Nimrod) went to Ashur and built Nineveh. . . ." But this rendering certainly is not warranted by the present text. To me it seems quite probable that the ill-fitting Ashur was originally a marginal note which called attention to the fact that the cities built by Nimrod were situated in the land later called Ashur, the text originally reading (with omission of the unidentifiable statements): "(But) from this land (= Shinar) he (= Nimrod) went out and built Nineveh and Calah." Since Nimrod (Nimrōd) must refer to some people occupying Babylonia and Assyria, that name would best be considered as corrupted from Mardu (= Uardu), as I proposed years ago<sup>16</sup> to read MAR-TU (= *mar-dú*), the well-known name of the Arabs in the Sumerian inscriptions.<sup>17</sup> No matter, however, whether in the

<sup>14</sup> Hebrew text: "this one."

<sup>15</sup> I omit the variants referring to Nimrod as a *gibbôr-šajid*.

<sup>16</sup> In a still unpublished treatise on "Martu and Amurru in the Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament."

<sup>17</sup> The reason for this reading of MAR-TU as well as for the assumed initial *u* was the fact that these assumptions lead to a plausible etymology for the Akkadian *yardum*, "slave," Sumerian *urda, arad, eri(d)*, etc. Originally it meant simply "Arab" but became the word for "slave," "servant," because the slaves of the earliest Sumerians (or their predecessors presumably) were almost exclusively of MAR-TU nationality. Cf. the similar etymology of German "Sklave" and English "slave" from the Latin ethnicon *Sclavus*, late Greek *Sklavos*, English "Slav," German "Slave." Note, furthermore, that the original pronunciation *yardu* of the MAR-TU of the cuneiform inscriptions makes it possible to identify this people with the prediluvian Seth people *Iared* (< Uardum) of Gen. 5:15-20 (P), which in Jahwistic tradition, Gen. 4:18, appears as Cain people 'Irad. This need not necessarily be a "corruption" of *Iared*, since 'Irad (> 'Irad > 'Irad) with 'instead of' prostheticum might well have developed from Uar(.)dum, owing to a change of stress.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that the mystery surrounding Calneh (Kalnē) might easily be solved by the assumption that by the mistake of a copyist a *ydy* has been omitted between *nān* and *hē* and that the original text had *y'kol-nāyā* ("and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Akkad), and every pasture ground in the

passage quoted above the subject of "he went" is Nimrod or Ashur, in either case the passage makes no reference to the building of the city of Ashur. It is quite possible that the passage in Genesis is based on a good tradition reflecting the fact that in the period of the invasion and the following occupancy of Babylonia and Assyria by the Mardu (which only in a much later period was followed by an invasion of the Amurru, the biblical Amorites) the city of Aššūr had not yet come into existence.

3. In order to broaden the foundation for these combinations, it might be advantageous to recall that Sumerian GIR-RI<sup>18</sup> and GIR-GIR,<sup>19</sup> to be read *ti-id-nu*<sup>20</sup> *ti-di-[nu]*,<sup>21</sup> are rendered with *a-mur-ru-u*, "Amurreean," "Amorite," and similarly *ku-r-GIR-GIR*<sup>ki</sup> with *mât a-mur-ri-e*.<sup>22</sup> Note, furthermore, that the fourth year of Šu-Sin of Ur is dated with the formula *d š u - d s i n - l u g a l - u r i k i - m a - g é b á d - m a r - d ú - m u - r i - i q - t i - i d - n i - i m m u - d ú*, "year (called): Šu-Sin, king of Ur, built (the fortress) Dûr-Amurrim-murîq-Tidnim, i.e., Dûr-Amurrim, which holds the Tidnu people at a distance." Finally we read in Gudea, Statue B, column 6, lines 13 ff., that the *iššakku* procured marble blocks from *ti-da-num-ḥur-sa-g-mar-dú*, "Tidanum, a mountain district of Amurru." It has been suggested long ago that this Tidnu(m) or Tidanum (Tidinu) is identical with the biblical Dēdān, in which case we might, of course, transliterate Dī-da-num and Dī-id-ni-im in the Gudea and Šu-Sin passages mentioned above. Such an identity, though to date not conclusively provable, would be quite possible, even though in the syllabaries we must necessarily read *ti-id-nu* and *ti-di-nu*, since in the period from which the transmitted redactions of these syllabaries date the sign *ti* no longer had the value *di*. The old writing may, however, have been kept in the syllabaries because perhaps it was believed to represent the Sumerian pronunciation of the name.<sup>23</sup>

land of Shinar (= Sumer and Akkad)." The MAR-TU Arabs that took possession of parts of Babylonia, of course, came there as nomads. For *nāyā* as "nomad settlement" see Gesenius-Buhl (14th ed.), pp. 485 f.

<sup>18</sup> CT XI, 26: K 7689, l. 15 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>19</sup> CT XI, 27, col. 3, l. 15 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>20</sup> CT XI, 26: K 7689, l. 15; *ti-id-[nu]*, CT XI, 27, col. 3, l. 15.

<sup>21</sup> CT XI, 26: K 93031, l. 6 (Syll. b, No. 2).

<sup>22</sup> R 50:4337, col. 3, l. 59.

<sup>23</sup> No great difficulty would arise from the elision of the *a* in the second syllable of Sumerian and Akkadian Tid(a)nu(m), which, of course, would presuppose a form Dīdānum,



In case the proposed identification is correct, the Gudea passage and the Šu-Sin date formula would show that at the time of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur the Dedan people, of which the Ashurim, according to Genesis, chapter 25, formed a section or with which they were at least associated by the Hebrews, not only are within the horizon of Babylonia but even menace the boundaries of the territorial possessions of the kingdom of Ur.

Of great importance for the problem with which we are here concerned are, of course, any hints concerning the age of the city of Aššūr or its names which we can gather from inscriptions. The earliest accurately datable mention of the city of Aššūr occurs in the inscription on a votive slab<sup>24</sup> found at Qal'at-Šergat in which Zariqum, šakanakku of <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sup>ki</sup>, states that for the life of AMAR-Sin, king of Ur, and for his own life he built the temple of <sup>d</sup>Belat-ekallim (at Aššūr). The fact that a military commander of AMAR-Sin, the third king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, was stationed at Aššūr, indicates that at that time the city was of considerable political and military importance, while the fact that the city name is written <sup>d</sup>A-šur<sup>ki</sup>, i.e., with the god-sign before Aššūr, vividly reflects the fact that the city had grown out of a sanctuary of the god Aššūr. In the light of the new information gained from the Khorsabad king list, the existence of the city Aššūr at that time appears in no way remarkable, for if we sum up merely the generations—not the reigns—attested in the king list before Ilu-šumma, who is the contemporary of Suabu of Babylon (and Sumu-il of Larsa), and furthermore count only twenty years for a single generation, the beginning of the reign of Ušpia, the last ruler but one of the first group, whom inscriptions of later kings mention as the builder of a temple of Aššūr at Aššūr,<sup>25</sup> would fall into a time more than a century

with both vowels short and the stress on the first syllable, while the <sup>š</sup>uá of the first syllable and the length of the vowel in the second syllable of Hebrew D<sup>d</sup>ān would perhaps point to a foreign form Didānu, with stressed long vowel in the second syllable. It may be assumed that under the influence of names like Zimrān, Iqšān, Midjān, Iqšān, etc., where the <sup>ā</sup>n is the formative element -ān, a more original D<sup>d</sup>ān changed to D<sup>d</sup>ān. The different stressing presents no difficulty, of course, since the various languages here follow their own tendencies. Cf. Hebrew bārāq (< bāraqum), Aramaic b<sup>r</sup>āq, Akkadian bīrqu; Hebrew B<sup>n</sup>ē-b<sup>r</sup>āq, Assyrian Banai-barqa, modern Arabic Ibn-ibrāq; Akkadian Gublu and Gubla, Greek Byblos, Hebrew G<sup>b</sup>āl; Akkadian Mār(u)duk, Hebrew M<sup>r</sup>ōdāk (< Marūduk).

<sup>24</sup> KAH I, No. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Sulmānu-ašarēd I, KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 32 ff.: <sup>22</sup>bīl aš-šur belī-ia šā Yuš-pi-a <sup>23</sup>šangu aš-šur a-bi i-na pa-na <sup>24</sup>e-pu-šu, and Aššur-aša-iddina, KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 12 ff.: <sup>12</sup>... bīl aš-šur <sup>13</sup>maḥ-ru-u ša Yuš-pi-a <sup>14</sup>a-bi šangu <sup>15</sup>aš-šur <sup>16</sup>ina pa-ni e-pu-šū.

before AMAR-Sin's reign and still at least a quarter of a century before Zu(r)-Nammu, the first king of the dynasty of Ur.<sup>26</sup>

Actually we are led into a still earlier period by the inscription on a similar votive slab from Assur<sup>27</sup> reading: <sup>1</sup>I-ti-ti <sup>2</sup>yaklum <sup>3</sup>DUMU<sup>28</sup> I-nin-la-ba<sup>29</sup> <sup>4</sup>in ša<sub>10</sub>-la-ti <sup>5</sup>GA-SUR<sub>11</sub><sup>ki30</sup> <sup>6</sup>a-na <sup>7d</sup>Innin <sup>8</sup>A-MU-RU, "Ititi, the yaklum, son of Ininlaba, dedicated to Innin (Ištar) (this object) out of the booty (made in the city) of GA-SUR." The forms of the signs *uslan*, *nin*, *mu*, and *ru* are more archaic than the corresponding signs in Gudea's inscription and agree with those of the dynasty of Akkad and even older periods, though other signs on the whole would point to a somewhat later time, perhaps the time immediately after the Akkad period. Similarly, language and orthography agree with that of the Akkad period. Especially, however, it may be noted that the Ititi inscription not only in its language, in its orthography, and in the forms of certain signs, but even in its proper names shows the closest affinity with the Old Akkadian tablet material from Nuzi published by Meek in HSS X. Note that the personal name I-ti-ti occurs on five Nuzi tablets,<sup>31</sup> and the personal name I-nin-la-ba once in No. 211, line 15 (as father of an I-ku<sub>8</sub>-ša<sub>12</sub>-lim). The city of GA-SUR<sup>ki</sup> is mentioned on nineteen tablets, and on one of them (No. 57, l. 8) it is written GA-SUR<sub>11</sub> (i.e., with the simple SAG sign), as in the Ititi inscription from

<sup>26</sup> A seal impression of I-zi-dagan | šakanak Ma-rī | warad MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan, Andrae, AITA, p. 103, Fig. b, cannot be used for exact dating, since the time of MAŠ-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan himself cannot yet be established with chronological exactness.

<sup>27</sup> Andrae, AITA, p. 53; Schroeder, KAH I, No. 1.

<sup>28</sup> On the forms of Old Assyrian *mer'um* (*mar'um*) "child," "son," see Gelb, IAV (= OIP XXVII), pp. 21 ff. Professor Gelb points out that the nominative and accusative form *me-ra-šu* (< *mar'd-šu*), "his child, his son," to be contrasted with the genitive form *me-er-i-šu* (< *mar'i-šu*, "of his son," suggest *méra* (< *mara*?) as the usual construct form ("son of . . ."), but notice that in texts which form, e.g., the genitive plural or dual as *ma-re* (< *māré*)—so, e.g., IAV, No. 56, ll. 58 f.—the construct of the singular might be expected to be *māra* or perhaps even *mar* (*mār*), rather than *méra*?! As regards Old Akkadian, the language of the Ititi inscription, all evidence for an accurate reading of the ideogram DUMU is still missing.

<sup>29</sup> To date the name has been read I<sub>a</sub>-ku-la-ba. The wedge combination read as *ku*, however, shows the form of the sign *tūg*, *egi*, etc., and not that of the sign *ku*. Moreover, the wedge group read as *a* (in *ia*) is totally different from the *a* in ll. 6 and 8. Finally, in the interior of this group of three wedges read as *a* there is visible another horizontal wedge, which makes the sign a MUNUS (= SAL). This, together with the following *tūg*, forms the sign *nin* (= MUNUS-EGI), best recognizable in Andrae's copy. The occurrence of the same name In-nin-la-ba with a completely unmistakable *nin* in Meek's Nuzi texts (see above) removes any doubt concerning the signs composing the name.

<sup>30</sup> Sign *sur*<sub>11</sub> = SAG.

<sup>31</sup> Nos. 143, l. 16; 154, col. 2, l. 4; 155, col. 5, l. 6; 175, col. 3, l. 4; and 153, col. 3, l. 24 (in the last passage a man from I<sub>a</sub>-ma-zi<sup>ki</sup>).



Assur. Especially important for our present purposes, however, is the fact that the city of A-šūr<sup>ki</sup> itself is mentioned on seven of the Nuzi tablets.<sup>32</sup> Judging from the forms of the signs, the appearance of the tablets, etc., the group of Nuzi tablets that corresponds to the Ititi inscription belongs to the time of the Akkad dynasty. At that time, therefore, the city of Aššūr already bore this name. This date, indeed, would seem to be supported, or at least not contradicted, by a calculation of the possible date of Ṭudia, the first of the rulers mentioned in the list. We have seen that Ušpia should have reigned *at least* a quarter of a century before Zu(r)-Nammu, i.e., in the time of the last Qutean kings. If we now assume that the fifteen nomad rulers before Ušpia ruled about 150 years, i.e., on an average 10 years each, and if we further assume—as the most unfavorable case for our calculation—that the dynasties of Akkad, Uruk IV, and Quṭium were strictly consecutive, Ṭudia would be at least a contemporary of Dudu, the last king but one of Akkad. But if, as is very likely, the kings of the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk ruled contemporaneously with the successors of Šar-kali-šarrê of Akkad, Ṭudia would be a contemporary of that fifth king of Akkad. If, furthermore, also the first Qutean kings were contemporaries of the successors of Šar-kali-šarrê, the date of Ṭudia would fall already in the reign of Narâm-Sin, fourth king of Akkad. But we have based our calculations concerning the presumable length of the reigns of the first group of Aššūr rulers on rather reasonable, i.e., intentionally low, figures, representing probably a minimum. Any increase in the presumable figures for the regnal years or generations will, of course, place the presumable time of Ṭudia even further back. It must also be realized that in the absence to date of any pertinent information we cannot be absolutely certain that Ṭudia actually, as it would appear from the king list, was the first ruler of the Aššūr tribe after it took possession of the site of future Aššūr. For the fact that the compilers of the king list begin with that ruler might be owing simply to the fact that he was the earliest one to whom their sources reached back, while the nomad rulers before Ṭudia were forgotten. Nor can we, as long as we have no certain information on the origin of the first section of the list, be absolutely sure that the nomad leaders enumerated in it actually, as it would appear from the king list, repre-

<sup>32</sup> Nos. 36, col. 6, l. 2; 37, col. 1, l. 3; 151, col. 1, l. 11; 153, col. 10, l. 2; 154, col. 1, l. 11; 160, col. 4, l. 5; 169, l. 15.

sent an uninterrupted line of rulers. For example, in case their names were gathered from old tales or songs handed down by word of mouth—a possibility with which we may have to reckon—it would be possible that the list reproduced in the king list comprised only the famous leaders of the tribe, while those whose reigns were not filled with stirring enterprises that could inspire the poets were forgotten by the generations following them. In such a case the date of Ṭudia would naturally be moved into a period more or less earlier than that to which our calculations based merely on the king-list names would safely lead us.<sup>33</sup> That in the period of the dynasty of Akkad a settlement existed on the site of Assur is indicated also by a small clay tablet and a stone document recording a purchase (both found at Assur) whose writing unmistakably shows that they belong to that period—provided, of course, that Forrer's statement (in RIA I, p. 230b) concerning this point is correct. Like the Ititi inscription, however, these tablets do not mention the city of Aššūr.<sup>34</sup>

That the site of Aššūr bore a city even before the dynasty of Akkad is shown by Andrae's excavation of the Ištar temple area. The lowest layers, underneath which Andrae found only virgin soil or the rock of the hill, are those designated by him as G and H (the latter is the lower of the two). Layer G contains debris with traces of a big conflagration. This as well as the fact that the floor of the then existing Ištar temple was strewn with broken statues and cult objects unmistakably indicates that the temple and presumably the whole city had

<sup>33</sup> I wish to emphasize that with these purely methodical deliberations it is in no way proved that the list cannot be based on perfectly good historical tradition. As matters stand, i.e., as long as we have no contradictory evidence, from the standpoint of method it is, of course, advisable first to try to utilize only the data actually given in the king list.

<sup>34</sup> To be sure, it might perhaps seem a little improbable that a new city named Aššūr should have sprung into existence in such a comparatively short time after the presumable reign of the first ruler of the Aššūr tribe, if it is understood that the first occupation of the city site took place in his reign. That would, however, be in no way impossible, for when the domicile of the tribal god was permanently established at the site of later Aššūr and his sanctuary became the recognized center of the tribe, a settlement—at first, of course, small, around the sanctuary and probably at first belonging to the sanctuary—would at once have sprung up, and, furthermore, the leader of the tribe will, of course, at once have done what he could to fortify not only the sanctuary but also its dependencies and the approaches to it west and south of the city. Actually, however, we have to date no indications whatever that the place mentioned in the Nuzi texts as A-šūr<sup>ki</sup> was anything but a small town that doubtless could have developed within a very short time. (Meek, HSS X, Nos. 36, col. 1, ll. 1 f.; 151, col. 1, ll. 10 f.; 153, col. 10, ll. 1 f.; and 154, col. 4, l. 5, mention a man named A-ḫu-ṭāb from A-šūr<sup>ki</sup> at Nuzi. Nos. 160 and 169 have a note at the end of the tablet inscription that certain men received grain, beer, fat of a swine, etc., at A-šūr<sup>ki</sup>.)



been burnt down by an enemy who stormed the city. After that catastrophe the place to all appearances remained uninhabited for some time, during which the upper layers of sun-dried bricks of the building walls crumbled until the debris covered the whole temple area.<sup>35</sup> Unfortunately the statues found in the temple remains bear no inscriptions which might have made it possible to determine the accurate age of Layers G and H.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, a mere glance at the "Zottenrock" worn by the men of Layer G—they wear it around the lower part of the body, leaving the upper part unclothed<sup>37</sup>—shows that these people lived in the same period as, for example, Lugal-da-lu of Adab and Zu(r)-Nanše and E-anna-tum of Lagaš in southern Babylonia, all of whom wear the "Zottenrock" in exactly the same fashion.<sup>38</sup> But whether the city that found its end in this catastrophe already bore the name Aššûr, we have no direct means of proving or disproving, since inscriptional finds from which this might be established are not at hand, and especially since the results of the excavations at the Aššûr temple site from which we might perhaps learn whether or not a temple of Aššûr existed there already in the G and H periods have not yet been published. This much, however, may be said: that to date it seems more satisfactory to assume that it was only after the destruction of that old city and perhaps, as hinted above, only after some time during which the city remained uninhabited that the Aššûr tribe took possession of its site, at least for the purpose of a new settlement there. For in this case we would have the possibility of considering ʾudia, in accordance with the king list, as the first ruler connected with the city Aššûr, or rather with the Aššûr sanctuary established in the northeastern corner of later Aššûr, without having to

<sup>35</sup> As far as the period is concerned, Layer G therefore actually represents only the end of the period represented by Layer H.

<sup>36</sup> Andrae's assumption (AITA, p. 9) that the adding of explanatory inscriptions to a statue was a prerogative of great rulers, while the smaller princes were forced to content themselves with the making and setting-up of statues without inscriptions (cf. also p. 23 in the discussion of an inscriptionless statue of the E period: "Das Inschriftlose deutet vielleicht gerade auf das Vasallentum, wenn es überhaupt dem Vasallen erlaubt war, sein Standbild aufzustellen") is, of course, wrong, and no argument for the dependency of Assyria upon Babylonia, etc., can be drawn from it. All a vassal would have had to do if he felt inclined to hint at his dependency upon another ruler was to make use in his inscription of the well-known formula: "for the life of X, king of Y."

<sup>37</sup> AITA, Pls. 30 and 32.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the plate illustrations 9, 11, 22, and 54 in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, Vol. I. The same "Zottenrock"—the artist, however, indicates only two rows of "Zotten"—is worn by an archaic ruler of Mari (Meissner, *op. cit.*, plate illustration No. 21) belonging to that period.

resort to the hypothetical assumption of wholly unknown additional rulers before ʾudia. Moreover, the previous destruction of the old city would be a good explanation for the occupation of its site by a nomad tribe and the establishment of a sanctuary of their tribal deity there. At any rate, what to date has been excavated below Layer G—practically only Layer H—does not seem to indicate any similarly favorable occasion for the occupation of the place by a nomad tribe.

The opinion just expressed receives additional support from the fact that in the inscriptions the city of Aššûr is frequently mentioned as BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. In point of fact, the geographical explanatory text 5 R 12, No. 6, of which we here quote, as sufficient for our purposes, only the following first four lines:

<sup>1</sup> aš-šur <sup>ki</sup>		šU		šĀ-URU
<sup>2</sup> BAL-BAD <sup>ki</sup>				šĀ-URU
<sup>3</sup> si-mur-ra <sup>ki</sup>				zap-pan
<sup>4</sup> sirara <sup>2ki39</sup>		šU		me-e-ṭur-ni

gives us three names for the city, namely, Aššûr, BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, and šĀ-URU, while the corresponding lines of the similar text KAVI, No. 183, obv., lines 17–19:

si-ra-ra		sirara <sup>4ki40</sup>		šU		alūmê <sup>41</sup> -ṭur-il(?)
		si-ūr-ru <sup>ki</sup>		šU		alūza-pan
		BAL-BAD <sup>ki</sup>		šU		alūšĀ-URU

omitting the common Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>, gives the two names BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> and alūšĀ-URU. For a better understanding of what these texts tell us it may be pointed out that the first of the three columns that are identical in both texts, i.e., the first column of the 5 R text and the second column of the Assur text, lists certain cities under the names borne by them in a former period, while the last of the identical columns names the same cities under the names in use at the time when the list was drawn up, i.e., under the names by which the cities were known in the latest Assyrian periods. Thus the last two lines of the above quotations reveal that the two cities known in the old period as Simurru and Sirara in the late Assyrian periods bore the names Zappan and Mê-ṭurni (Mê-ṭurnat, etc.), while the first two lines of the 5 R text tell us that the city formerly known as Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> or BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, respectively, in

<sup>39</sup> I.e., Thureau-Dangin's *sirard*.

<sup>40</sup> Thureau-Dangin's *sirara*.

<sup>41</sup> A-MEŠ.



the latest period was called ŠÀ-URU, i.e., Lib-âli (Libbu-âli, Libbi-âli, etc.),<sup>42</sup> a name found quite frequently in late inscriptions—so, e.g., also in the colophon of the Khorsabad king list in the title, *amêlu šá-kin*<sup>43</sup> *Libbi-âli*, of the *limmu* official Adad-EN-GIN.

The functions of the middle column of 5 R 12, No. 6 (= third column of KAVI, No. 183), will be readily understood when one disregards the last columns in both texts, i.e., those which give the late name of the city listed in the first or second column. For, by so doing, it will at once be apparent that 5 R 12, No. 6, represents or imitates a Sumerian-Akkadian "vocabulary," with column 1 as its Sumerian and column 2 as its Akkadian column, while KAVI, No. 183, represents a so-called three-column syllabary with column 2 (its middle one) representing the Sumerian column, column 3 representing the Akkadian column, and column 1, like the first column of the syllabaries, giving a phonetic rendering of the "ideogram" of the Sumerian column. In many instances the "Akkadian" column of the two texts actually gives the Akkadian translation of a Sumerian city named in the Sumerian column, but naturally only in case such a translated name had been used by the Akkadians of the older periods, while in those cases where also the Sumerian name was used in Akkadian, the Akkadian column indicates this fact, in accordance with the well-known custom of the vocabularies and syllabaries, by the word *šuma*, "the same (name)" here, as usually, expressed by the abbreviation *šU*, i.e., *šu(-ma)*. In cases where the old name of the city was Akkadian or of foreign origin but thoroughly Akkadianized, this name too is placed in the "Sumerian" column, which is recognized as the proper column for the word to be explained; in such a case 5 R 12, No. 6 + 2 R 52, No. 2, leaves the "Akkadian" column blank, while KAVI, No. 183, which

<sup>42</sup> To date we have in the inscriptions no direct statement on the reading of the signs ŠÀ and URU as components of the city name ŠÀ-URU, but this very fact can be taken as an indication that the two signs have to be read as they were read anywhere else in the Assyrian inscriptions, i.e., as *lib*, *libbu*, or *libbi*, and as *du*, the whole name therefore being Lib-âli, Libbi-âli, etc., "heart of the city." This is corroborated by the fact that in the letter KAVI, No. 168, l. 6, where we read . . . *i-na âli Lib-bi-âli*, the first component of the name is written *lib-bi*. Very difficult to answer, however, is the question why a name meaning "heart of the city" replaced the old name Aššûr. "Heart of the city" would be a good designation for what we would call "the inner city" or "the innermost part of the city," "the center of the city," but it might perhaps have been understood as "the city nucleus," i.e., as designation of the old part of the city, which because it contained the temples and palaces was the most important part of the later, greatly extended city and therefore became the name of the whole city. Or should we assume that the name developed from the expressions (*ina*) *libbi âli*, "in the city," *ana libbi âli*, "into the city," etc., similarly as the name Stambul for the older Konstantinopolis developed from *eis ten polin*, "into the city"?

lists no older Akkadian names, also in the case of Akkadianized names of foreign origin has a *šu(-ma)* in its "Akkadian" column.

According to these rules, it would seem to follow from the first lines of 5 R 12, No. 6—provided, of course, the copy is correct—that Aššûr<sup>ki</sup> was a Sumerian name, while BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> represented an early Akkadian or Akkadianized name. This, however, would seem rather strange in the light of our previous deductions. Moreover, the name BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, however one might try to read it, looks neither Akkadian nor Akkadianized. To be sure, the name BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is known to date only from comparatively late texts, but this certainly is no proof that it is a late invention, for in the later centuries of the Assyrian empire, when historical researches began to flourish, kings as well as scholars were fond of using almost forgotten early geographical names, and it may be, or rather it seems very probable, that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is such an old name revived in the later centuries. Note especially that Aššûr-aḥa-iddina<sup>43</sup> and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn,<sup>44</sup> after having traced their origin to King Bêl-bâni, son of Adasi, call Bêl-bâni a *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, which if it meant simply "a descendant of (the city of) Aššûr" would make no sense, but if it means "a descendant of (the pre-Aššûr city of) BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>" would trace the origin of the royal family as far back as the Sumerian period to which Lugal-da-lu, Zu(r)-Nanše, and Eannatum belonged.<sup>45</sup> Note also that Aššûr-aḥa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, wherever they refer to Bêl-bâni, call him king of Aššûr, not king of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, while whenever the old descendancy from a city is referred to, the city is always BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. Similarly, Šarru-kîn II in his report on his eighth campaign (l. 113) calls himself *zêr* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. Note, finally, that Šamaš-šuma-ukîn in his bilingual inscription (5 R 62, No. 2) uses BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in the Sumerian column, alongside the Sumerian names Ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup> and Tin-tir<sup>ki</sup> for Babylon and UD-KIB-NUN<sup>ki</sup> for Sippar, while in the Akkadian version he refers to the last three cities as Ba-bi-lu, Šu-bat-ba-la-tu, and Si-ip-par. This fact shows that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> was considered to be, if not a Sumerian, at least a Sumerian-

<sup>43</sup> Nies and Keiser, HRETA, No. 28, l. 38 (duplicate: B.M. 81-6-7, 209 = Meissner and Rost, BA III, 353, l. 31).

<sup>44</sup> Lehmann, *Šamaš-šum-ukîn*, Pls. VIII ff. (A.H. 82, 7-14), l. 23.

<sup>45</sup> Probably a more direct proof would be available if we were able to interpret correctly the words *ki-šit-ti qa-a-ti šá du-rug(?) -šú* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in Meissner and Rost, op. cit., pp. 299 ff., which to all appearances form an apposition to the preceding *Bêl-[ba-ni] šar mdî Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup>* (cf. also *zêr šarru-ú-tu ki-šit-ti qa-a-ti* immediately after *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> *šu-qu-ru* in HRETA, No. 28, l. 31).



ized name that could be used in Sumerian inscriptions.<sup>46</sup> This, moreover, is clearly indicated by the equation BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> | šU in KAVI, No. 183, which designates BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> as the Sumerian as well as the Akkadian name of the city. Summing up, then, we may state that all our evidence outside 5 R 12, No. 6, seems to favor the assumption that BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> was a name used in the Sumerian periods and therefore probably was the name of the city that existed at Qal'at Šergat before the city of Aššūr sprang up there.

On the basis of these observations it would appear that in 5R 12, No. 6, the šU is only erroneously placed after Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> in line 1, instead of after BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in line 2. Since KAVI, No. 153, does not have the equation Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> = <sup>ali</sup>Libbi-āli, this equation evidently is a later interpolation and as such should, of course, have its place after the equation BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> | šU | Libbi-āli. Now it will be observed that 5 R 12, No. 6, lines 2-8, enumerates the cities in reverse order as compared with KAVI, No. 183, lines 14-19, and that by reversing the order of 5 R 12, No. 6, lines 2-8—this for the purpose of adapting the sequence of the equations to that of KAVI, No. 183—Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> would actually follow BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. If we now assume that KAVI, No. 183, has preserved the original order and that also the text from which the compiler of 5 R 12, No. 6, took the equations of Libbi-āli with Aššūr and BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> had that original order, the explanation of the misplaced šU would be simply this, that the compiler of 5 R 12, No. 6, when reversing the original order of the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> and Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> equations, simply forgot to change also the position of the šU in the "Akkadian" column of that prototype, this šU therefore incorrectly referring now to Aššūr instead of to BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunately we are not yet in a position to establish beyond any doubt the correct reading of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, although a hint to that effect may perhaps be given in the bilingual inscription of Šamaš-šuma-

<sup>46</sup> In the passage just quoted BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is, of course, used as a name for the late city of Aššūr, exactly as in the colophon of our king list and in the colophons of many other inscriptions.

<sup>47</sup> Apparently also the unmodified Tir-ga-an<sup>ki</sup> (Tir-qa-an<sup>ki</sup>), which in 5 R 12, No. 6, precedes but in KAVI, No. 183, follows the two modified cities of that name, is a later insertion. KAVI, No. 183, in that it places this Tir-qa-an at the end of the group, apparently again has the original text. This may perhaps be true also of its equation of this Tirgan with Širqu, since we know from Šamši-Adad I's inscription ZA, XXI, 247 ff., that this city at his time bore the name Tir-qa<sup>ki</sup>. The equation with Ša-Bu-la-la in 5 R 12, No. 6, and the apparent confusion in all other Tirgan equations may at least in part again be due to the reversion of the original order.

ukin<sup>48</sup> by its rendering of the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> of its Sumerian column with BAL-KI in its Akkadian column. As shown by the rendition of Ká-dingir-ra<sup>ki</sup>, Tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>, and Zimbira<sup>ki</sup> with Ba-bi-lu, Šu-bat-ba-la-ṭu, and Si-ip-par, the author of the inscription makes it a rule not only to render the Sumerian place-names in the Akkadian version with their Akkadian equivalents<sup>49</sup> but also to write them with purely phonetic characters such as were employed in the Akkadian system of writing of his time. Moreover, although in the Sumerian version the scribe never fails to add the place determinative *ki* after the names, in the Akkadian version he never uses it.<sup>50</sup> Now, the BAL-KI with which he renders the BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> of the Sumerian version is commonly thought to be a mistake for BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, but, plausible as this emendation seems to be, it would not conform to the rule that the Akkadian text does not use the determinative *ki*. Everything, however, would be in order if *bal-ki* could be explained as a phonetic rendering of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>. This, of course, would mean that the sign transliterated as BAD should be read *ki*. However, such a phonetic value or even a similar one for the sign BAD is not known, but one might perhaps think of the phonetic value *kir*, with which according to Zimolong, Ass. 523, column 2, line 35, the sign IDIM as Sumerian equivalent of Akkadian *irkalla*, "nether world,"<sup>51</sup> is to be read and for which one can unquestioningly assume a shorter value *ki*. But whether the second sign of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> is the sign IDIM instead of BAD—the two signs are no longer distinguished in the late periods—is a question that could be answered only on the basis of additional evidence.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> 5 R 62, No. 2.

<sup>49</sup> To be more specific, with the names listed in the "Akkadian" column of the geographical texts discussed above.

<sup>50</sup> In addition to the examples already mentioned, cf. also Am-na-nu<sup>ki</sup> and Ki-in-gi-U<sup>ki</sup>-ra in the Sumerian column but Am-na-nu and māt Šu-me-ri u Ak-ka-di-i in the Akkadian column.

<sup>51</sup> Although in CT XXV, S: K 4349, etc., ll. 10 f.:

d am-ma KUR		[di]ir-qi-tum
d am-ma KUR		[di]ir-kal-la

<sup>52</sup> *d*KUR according to the gloss(!) is to be read *amma*, one may, nevertheless, note the close connection between *kur* = *šadā*, etc., and *kir* = *irkalla*.

<sup>53</sup> From Meek, HSS X, No. 177, which in ll. 4 f. has the entry: "15 . . . pigs in ši-ba-la-ba-ad/t," one cannot draw any conclusions (at least not directly) concerning a reading *ba-la-ba-ad/t* for BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, since the phrase apparently means "in Šu-Balabad/t," i.e., "in (the village or town) of (a person by the name of) Balabad/t." Nor is there any evidence for a reading Bala-sumun<sup>ki</sup>, "the old district, city or mansion," although BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> in some inscriptions evidently is used as a name for the old part of Aššūr.

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## III. THE SECOND GROUP OF KINGS

The second group of kings enumerated in column 1, lines 11-20, consists of the following:

26. Aminu	mâr Ilu-kabkabi
25. Ilu-kabkabi	mâr Iazkur-ilu
24. Iazkur-ilu	mâr Iakmeni
23. Iakmeni	mâr Iakmesi
22. Iakmesi	mâr Ilu-Mer
21. Ilu-Mer	mâr Hâjâni
20. Hâjâni	mâr Samâni
19. Samanu	mâr Hâlê
18. Hâlê	mâr Apiašal
17. Apiašal	mâr Ušpia

A strange feature of this list is that it enumerates the kings in reverse order, as is evident from the fact that Aminu, the king whom the list places at the head of the group, is—according to the statements in the right half-column—the son of the king in the second line, the grandson of the king in the third line, and the ninth descendant of Apiašal, the king mentioned nine lines below that referring to Aminu himself. Furthermore, this Apiašal, who is here designated as the son of Ušpia, is, of course, identical with the Apiašal, the last king of the first group, whose predecessor there is stated to have been Ušpia. Similarly, Aminu, the first in the enumeration of the kings of this group, in reality, however, the last king of the group, is identical with Aminu, the father of Sulili, who, as we shall see, is the first king of the third group. The peculiar manner of enumerating the rulers of the second group gives us a most welcome hint concerning the historical source for this portion of the Assyrian king list. For the arrangement will at once be recognized as being identical to that of the genealogical sections at the beginning of a number of inscriptions of earlier Assyrian kings, namely, of Ilušumma,<sup>53</sup> Êrišum I,<sup>54</sup> Ikûnum,<sup>55</sup> Eriša-Adad I,<sup>56</sup> and Aššûr-uballiš I.<sup>57</sup> The tablet inscription of Aššûr-uballiš, KAH I II, No. 27 (= IAaK, XVII, No. 3), for instance, begins as follows:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> IAaK, IV, No. 2.<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, No. 3.<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10.<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, XVI, No. 1.<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII, Nos. 3-5.<sup>58</sup> In the above transliteration the misleading division lines after ll. 3, 5, 7, 9, and 11 are omitted and division lines placed instead after ll. 2, 4, etc., as logically required. The scribe who wrote the inscription probably was misled by the usual genealogical scheme of his time, in which each new section began with *mâr X*.

Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-uballiš šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
mâr Ye-ri-ba-<sup>d</sup>adad

<sup>3</sup>Ye-ri-ba-<sup>d</sup>adad šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
mâr Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-bêl-ni-še-šu

Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-bêl-ni-še-šu šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
<sup>6</sup>mâr Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-ni-ra-ri

Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-ni-ra-ri šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
mâr Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-rabi

<sup>9</sup>Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-rabi šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
mâr Υ<sup>d</sup>en-lil-na-šir

Υ<sup>d</sup>en-lil-na-šir šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
<sup>12</sup>mâr Υ<sup>puzur</sup><sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>aš-šur šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur

[Υ<sup>d</sup>aš-šur-uballiš ša-ki-in <sup>d</sup>en-lil šangu <sup>d</sup>aš-šur

There can be no doubt whatever, therefore, that the list of the kings of the second group is in reality the genealogy of an Assyrian ruler, most probably that of Aminu, who heads the enumeration in our king list. Actually, therefore, the compiler of the king list in this portion of his work gives us not the results of his historical studies but the source for them. It need hardly be stressed that this fact is of the greatest importance for our conception of the scientific methods of that scholar and more generally of the historians and chronologists of his time. We must realize, of course, that the professor of history in the ancient school when teaching his class would use that genealogy as well as similar documents only as a basis for his reconstruction of the oldest history of his country and that in his oral expositions, of which we have no record, he would teach his students—similarly as we do it now—to obtain from that genealogy the actual sequence of the kings mentioned therein. He would, moreover, explain that this genealogy was the only document to throw light on the sequence of the kings of that rather obscure period of the ancient history of Assyria, but, of course, he will not have failed to connect with the kings of the genealogy wherever possible the rulers mentioned in other sources, such as, for example, certain tales transmitted by word of mouth or already noted down in writing. Finally, he probably will also have explained—ex-



actly as we shall presently at greater length—that the genealogy was not completely adequate as a historical document on which to base the reconstruction of the whole line of Assyrian rulers in that old period and that for this reason he preferred to give his students the evidence as he found it, namely, as nothing more than a genealogy instead of as a real list of rulers.

In order to elucidate the last point—the possible defectiveness of the genealogy as a basis for the reconstruction of the actual line of rulers for the time covered by that genealogy—it is necessary only to realize in what situation we would be if, for example, we had to reconstruct the line of Assyrian rulers during the period covered by the genealogy of Aššūr-uballiṭ I, just referred to, from this genealogy alone. We would, of course, have the following line of only seven kings, each of whom is, exactly as in the second group of the king list, the father of the next king:

61. Puzur-Aššūr III
62. Enlil-nāšir I
65. Aššūr-rabi I
68. Aššūr-nerari II
70. Aššūr-bél-nišēšu
72. Eriša-Adad I
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I

But the king lists and the authentic inscriptions of the kings show that during this period the following thirteen kings ruled over Assyria:

61. Puzur-Aššūr III
62. Enlil-nāšir I, son of Puzur-Aššūr III
63. Nūr-ili, son of Enlil-nāšir I
64. Aššūr-šadūni, son of Nūr-ili
65. Aššūr-rabi I, son of Enlil-nāšir I
66. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I, son of Aššūr-rabi I
67. Enlil-nāšir II, son of Aššūr-rabi I
68. Aššūr-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-rabi I
69. Aššūr-bél-nišēšu, son of Aššūr-nerāri II
70. Aššūr-rīm-nišēšu, son of Aššūr-nerāri II
71. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē II, son of Aššūr-rīm-nišēšu
72. Eriša-Adad I, son of Aššūr-bél-nišēšu
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I, son of Eriša-Adad I

This list contains six kings more than Aššūr-uballiṭ's genealogy, owing, of course, to the fact that in several instances the succession to the

throne did not follow a straight line but in some cases passed from brother to brother, from nephew to uncle, or from cousin to cousin. The same may, of course, have been the case during the period from Apiašal to Aminu, not to forget the possibility that the rule of the established royal family may have been interrupted for a short interval by the reign of one or more usurpers. To be sure, theoretically it would be quite within the realm of possibility that throughout the time from Ušpia to Sulili succession to the throne actually followed an unbroken line (i.e., in all instances from father to son); but, judging from the fact that elsewhere such an unbroken line for any considerable time is rarely found,<sup>59</sup> one may, to say the least, be not too certain that in the case here discussed the straight line of succession actually extended over a period of twelve generations.

But be this as it may, the genealogy preserved by our king list at least proves the existence of a quite long-lived Ušpia dynasty in that early period of Assyrian history. For if we assume only 20 years for one generation, it would have ruled 240 years; and with each break in the line of succession the period probably would be likely to increase.<sup>60</sup>

The subscription which the compiler of the king list added at the end of the second section reads: "a total of 10 kings with (known) fathers."<sup>61</sup> The phrase "with fathers" refers, of course, to the fact that for each of these kings, since they were taken from a genealogy, the name of his father could be given. This phrase implies, moreover, that the fathers of the kings of the first group were not known to the compiler, and it is, of course, for this reason that the kings' fathers are not given by him in that group. On the other hand, although the first group of kings is characterized as having lived in tents, no statement is made as to where the kings of the second group lived. But the very omission of such an express statement indicates that it is to be understood that they resided in Aššūr, the capital of the kingdom of Aššūr, exactly as did the later kings, whose residence at Aššūr the king list

<sup>59</sup> The most famous example within the Near East for an extended direct succession is offered by the kingdom of Judah with its twelve-generation period from Joash to Jehoiachin, or even, if one disregards the interruption by the seven-year reign of Queen Athaliah, during the twenty-generation period from David to Jehoiachin. For Babylonia one may recall the ten-generation period from Sumulail of Babylon to Samsu-ditana.

<sup>60</sup> Note—for the sake of comparison—that the ten kings from Sumulail of Babylon to Samsu-ditana, who represent ten generations, ruled about 286 years. This would make an average of 28 to 29 years per generation.

<sup>61</sup> *Ša abbt-šū-nu-ni*, literally: "of whom there are fathers" (= "who have fathers").



likewise does not refer to. We have, however, every reason to assume that in the original work of the compiler the characterizing subscriptions to Group I and Group II contained also the items just referred to, i.e., that the subscription to the first group did not run merely: "a total of 17 kings who lived in tents," but "a total of 17 kings with unknown fathers and"—here we anticipate from the following chapters—"with unknown regnal years, who still lived in tents." Correspondingly, the original subscription to the second group will have run: "a total of 10 kings with known fathers, but still with unknown regnal years, who already had their permanent residence at Aššûr." Any Assyriologist who has an eye for such features knows that practically all extant cuneiform inscriptions offer their content in a much condensed form, leaving unsaid everything that, in the opinion of the writer or in the opinion of the later copyist or redactor, a reader versed in scribal customs could himself supply according to certain logical rules. The group subscriptions of our king list provide a good example for this. They suppress, for example, the negative statement that neither the fathers of a group of certain kings nor their regnal years are known, since this can be concluded from the positive statement that the fathers or regnal years of some other particular group of kings are known. For the same reason the positive predicate "who lived in tents" in the first subscription is not paralleled by a negative statement in the second subscription, "who no longer lived in tents"; and even the positive statement "but who resided in Aššûr," which we could add to that negative statement, is omitted because the reader could be expected to know himself that kings of Aššûr, unless the contrary is expressly stated, must be assumed to reside in Aššûr.

It will have been observed that King Apiašal is mentioned both in the first and in the second group, in the former as the last king, and in the latter as the first king of the group. The total number of kings in both groups is therefore not  $17 + 10 = 27$  but only  $26 (= 16 + \text{Apiašal} + 9)$ . As far as the characterization of the first group as living in tents and the inferred characterization of the second group as residing in Aššûr are concerned, this double counting does not present any difficulty, for the change from the nomadic life of the earlier rulers to a permanent residence at Aššûr can well have taken place in the course of Apiašal's reign, i.e., at the beginning of his reign this king, like his

predecessors, may still have lived in a tent, though later settling down for good in Aššûr. More disturbing seems the fact that in the first group he appears as a king without (known) father, but in the second as a king with (known) father. The solution of this difficulty evidently is that Apiašal was found by the compiler of the king list not only in the source for his first group of kings, which did not mention the fathers of the rulers, but also in his source for the second group, which, as we have seen, was the genealogy of King Aminu, reaching back to Ušpia, the father of Apiašal. Viewed from this standpoint, the double mentioning of Apiašal actually becomes a proof that not only the second section relating to the kings with fathers but also the list of nomad rulers in the first section is based on a historical source or perhaps even represents that source. It may be noted that the compiler of the king list makes no effort whatever to explain the double mentioning of Apiašal, simply trusting that the professor of history who used the king list as a basis for his class instruction, or any reader of the king list, would be able to draw the obvious conclusions himself.<sup>62</sup>

The names of the kings of the second group are definitely Semitic, though not Akkadian, as is shown by the verbal prefix *ja-* in *Iazkur-ilu*, *Iakmeni*, and *Iakmesi*. *Halû* is the contracted form of *Halijum*,<sup>63</sup> CT VIII 44a, lines 7 and 12 (about the time of Sumulail). For *Samānu* compare *Sa-ma-nu-um*, CT VI 44, line 12 (*Apil-Sin*). For *Ḫa(i)jānu* (*qallān* form probably of *ḫiyu*, "to live" = *qatāl* form of the *qatl* form *ḫaii* < *ḫaiyu*, "living")<sup>64</sup> compare *Ḫa-ajja-nu* of *Sam'al*, *Šulmānu-ašarêd* III, Monolith Inscription, 3 R 7 f., column 1, line 53 = *Ḫa-ja-anu*, son of *Gabbaru*, *ibid.*, column 2, line 24. For *A-mi-nu* compare

<sup>62</sup> The fact that in the second group Apiašal appears as the son of his predecessor shows that it would be rash to draw from the simple enumeration of the remaining kings of the first group the conclusion that no relationship existed between any of them. Nevertheless, since for the leadership of a nomad tribe the principle of heredity naturally plays either no role at all or a much lesser one than in a definitely localized state, most or at least some of those nomad rulers may actually not be the sons of their predecessors. Quite possibly the tendency toward localizing the seat of government in Aššûr and the tendency toward hereditariness of the ruler's office may have been parallel developments. To what extent also the fact not yet firmly established that the oldest rulers of Aššûr functioned simultaneously as high priests of the god Aššûr may have contributed to making the city of Aššûr the permanent residence of the ruler, it is still impossible to say. Note that already Ušpia is given the title *šangu* Aššûr by *Sulmānu-ašarêd* I (KAHI I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 33 f.) and *Aššûr-aḫiddina* (KAHI I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 13 ff.).

<sup>63</sup> Written *Ḫa-li-ju-um*, with sign *IA* = *ju* and later = *ur* (see n. 67).

<sup>64</sup> At least as far as the form is concerned, *ḫa(i)jānu* is identical with Arabic *ḫaiyān*, "animal."



perhaps Arabic *ʿamin*, "trustworthy." Iakmeni and Iakmesi might be either the substantivized present forms of two different verbs, *k m n* and *k m s* (both names in the genitive form), or more probably the same verbal form *iakme* with accusative suffixes *-ni*, "me," and *-si* (= *ši?*), "her."<sup>65</sup> Note that the name Ilu-kapkapu appears already in its Akkadianized form as compared with I-la-ka-ap-ka-pu-u, the name of the father of Šamši-Adad I (39) in a Mari text (RA XXXIV, 136).<sup>66</sup> With Thureau-Dangin (*ibid.*), *i-la* most likely represents *ʿilāh*, "god" (= Arabic *ʿilāh*, Hebrew *ʿēlōah*).<sup>66</sup> These Semitic names of the descendants of Ušpia make it seem very probable that the name of this king and that of his son Apiašal are likewise Semitic, although I cannot suggest a definite Semitic etymology for them.<sup>67</sup>

Of all the kings of the second group, only one had been known before from the inscriptions, namely, Ilu-kapkapu, the last king but one, whose descendant Adad-nerāri III in his stone slab inscription from Kalḫu, 1 R 35, No. 3, lines 23–27, claims to be. The inscription, to be sure, gives the name as <sup>d</sup>Illil-kap-ka-pi with <sup>d</sup>illil (<sup>d</sup>𐎠𐎢𐎠) for *ilu* (*ilā*). Possibly the scribe misunderstood *illil* for *ilu* when the passage was

<sup>65</sup> If this explanation of *-si* should turn out to be correct, it would be an indication that the Semitic idiom to which these names belong do not go with the West Semitic languages but with a group of Semitic idioms from which in some manner also Akkadian derives.

<sup>66</sup> The second sign of I...-ka-ap-ka-pu, the name of the father of Šamši-Adad I in the latter's brick inscription from Assur, KAHI, II No. 3, l. 4, is not clear but evidently was intended for *la* too, with *lu* perhaps a possibility.

<sup>67</sup> The names of the two kings are here read as they would be read—and evidently were read—by the late Assyrians. It is possible, however, that the names were taken over by the compiler of the king list more or less in the form in which he found them written in the ancient sources used by him. In this case the old original reading of the names could, of course, differ from the manner in which they were read by the Assyrians of the late periods. E.g., it would be possible that the *pi* in Ušpia and Apiašal was pronounced *bi* and that, therefore, the first element of Apiašal was *abi*, "my father." The variant writing =A-uš-pi-a for =Uš-pi-a in several duplicates of the stone tablet inscription of Šulmānu-ašarēd (KAHI I, No. 13) need by no means represent, as has been believed, either a name form Aʿušpia, with an additional syllable *a* before Ušpia, or a name form Aušpia, with initial diphthong *ay*, whose position before the vowelless *š* followed by another consonant it would be difficult to explain in a name of Semitic origin, since in the Semitic languages *ay* is the equivalent of the vowel *a* plus the consonant *y*. Evidently the writing A-uš-pi-a was found by Šulmānu-ašarēd in an old inscription in which, in accordance with the orthographical system of the time when the inscription was written, the initial *a* probably was used with the phonetic value *ʿu*, the correct transliteration of the name therefore being ʿUe-uš-pi-a. The value *ʿu* is, of course, derived from the phonetic value *ʿd* of *ʿ*, exactly as the values *ʿu* (StAG, p. 4, and *ibid.*, n. 2) and *ju* of *j* were derived from its values *ʿa* and *ja*. There is even a possibility that *ʿ* as well as *j* was used in that early system to express the syllable *ʿu* with initial *ʿajin*; cf. *re-ʿur-ū* < *\*raʿāju*, *ri-te-ʿur-ū* < *\*ritanʿuju* (*loc. cit.*). Note that, no matter whether originally initial *ʿ* or initial *ʿ* was intended, the writing A-uš-pi-a (= ʿUe-uš-pi-a, etc.) would point to the Semitic character of the name.

dictated to him. Or is what looks like 𐎠𐎢𐎠 and *kap* simply an enlarged form of *kap*, or at least intended for *kap*? That Adad-nerāri meant the ruler of the second group (and not the father of Šamši-Adad I) is made clear by the added phrase *qu-ud-mu šarru-ti ʿša* 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠, "before the kingdom of Sulili," who though being the last king of the Ušpia dynasty in the king list heads the third group of rulers.

#### IV. THE THIRD GROUP OF KINGS

The third group comprises the six kings:

27. Sulili, son of Aminu
28. Kikkia
29. Akia
30. Puzur-Aššūr I
31. Šallim-aḫḫē
32. Ilušumma (18...-1853 B.C.)

Of these rulers, only the first, Sulili, is designated as the son of another king, namely, of Aminu, the last king of the preceding group. It seems remarkable that our list fails to state that Ilušumma was the son of Šallim-aḫḫē and this king the son of Puzur-Aššūr I, a relationship known to us from the inscriptions of Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um,<sup>68</sup> Ilu-šuma,<sup>69</sup> I-ri-šum (Ērišum) I,<sup>70</sup> and Ikūnum.<sup>71</sup> It is evident that the early compiler of the oldest part of the king list did not know those inscriptions and therefore was ignorant of that relationship, while the later redactors of the king list, if those inscriptions had become known to them—which, however, is not likely—at least did not enlarge the old text of the king list by a statement of their own. Note that also Tukulti-Ninurta I, where he refers to Ilušumma in his inscriptions,<sup>72</sup> does so without designating him as son of Šallim-aḫḫē or Šallim-aḫḫē, an indication that he too did not know of that relationship. On the other hand, however, the author of the king list does not designate the five kings after Sulili as sons of a "nobody" (i.e., as persons who became king in spite of the fact that they were not members of a royal family).

<sup>68</sup> IAaK, III, No. 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 1 (= KAHI II, No. 4) and 2 (Br. Mus. Guide [3d ed.], p. 62, No. 137).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10 (= KAHI I, No. 1).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, No. 3.

<sup>72</sup> KAHI II, No. 48, col. 1, ll. 1 f., and the duplicate inscription No. 59, ll. 21 ff.



The compiler of the king list evidently leaves the question of relationship in the case of those five kings completely undecided, showing by this that he possessed the truly scientific ability of not overstating a case in any respect.<sup>73</sup>

The names of the last three kings of this group—Puzur-Aššûr, Ša-lim-a-ĥu-um (Šallim-aĥĥê in our list), and Ilu-šu-ma (Ilu-šum-ma)—like those of their successors in the next group are of genuinely Akkadian character, readily recognizable as such. In this regard they sharply contrast with those of the first three kings—Sulili, Kikkia, and Akia. The name Sulili, however, since its bearer belongs to the Ušpia dynasty, could be expected at least to belong to the same non-Akkadian Semitic dialect, to which, as we have seen, the names of the other members of that dynasty belonged, i.e., to the language usually referred to as West Semitic, etc. It may therefore quite well be—though it is, of course, not certain—that it is basically identical with the name of the second king of Babylon Sumulael (Sumulailu), of which it could be a rather developed form.<sup>74</sup> As regards the hypocoristic names Kikkia and Akia, no plausible explanation from a Semitic idiom can be given at present, but to conclude from that that they were “Hurrite” and their bearers foreign invaders would go beyond the limits of a safe historical reconstruction of events. Even if the two names should be of foreign origin, this would not necessarily imply that their bearers were foreign invaders. At any rate, our king list shows that they do not belong, as has been assumed, to a group of kings of foreign origin at the beginning of the history of Aššûr. Note, however, that hypocoristic names such as those of the two kings, though very frequently found among the common population, usually are not borne by the members of royal families, and it is therefore quite possible that Kikkia and Akia were commoners, the former perhaps placed on the throne of Aššûr by a revolt, which presumably put an end to the Ušpia dynasty, while Akia may have ascended the throne either as heir of Kikkia or owing to a second revolution. With regard to Puzur-Aššûr, finally, it may be noted that the genealogies of his four immedi-

<sup>73</sup> In this respect some modern scholars might perhaps learn from their Babylonian and Assyrian predecessors.

<sup>74</sup> Direct identity of the Assyrian king Su-li-li with the Babylonian king Sumulail was suggested by Hommel in OLZ, 1907, col. 485.

ate successors in no instance trace their genealogy beyond him, a fact that might be conceived as indicating that Puzur-Aššûr headed a new line of rulers placed on the throne by a third or second revolution, as the case may be. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that, probable as this and the preceding deductions are, they are, of course, not of a conclusive character, as may be illustrated by the fact that none of the three successive kings Arik-dên-ili (75), Adad-nerâri I (76), and Šulmânu-ašarêd I (77), traces his descentance beyond Aššûr-uballit (73), and yet this king was not the first of a new dynasty but the son of his predecessor, Erîba-Adad I (72), who again in one of his inscriptions begins his genealogy with Puzur-Aššûr III (61).

The name of the fifth king appears in his own inscription,<sup>75</sup> as well as in those of his successors Ilušu(m)ma (32)<sup>76</sup> and Êrišum (33),<sup>77</sup> as Ša-lim-a-ĥu-um,<sup>78</sup> usually conceived as meaning “the brother is well and safe.” In our king list, however, his name appears as Šal-lim-aĥĥê (= seš-meš), “let the brothers be well.” The reason for this transformation—if it actually was a real transformation—is not yet evident. The scribe may, of course, have considered *ša-lim* as an old defective writing of *šallim*, but the replacement of *a-ĥu-um*, which seems to be the singular, by *aĥĥê* seems rather strange.<sup>79</sup> Note also that

<sup>75</sup> IAaK, III, No. 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, V, No. 10.

<sup>78</sup> The same name in the same writing borne by a n u - b a n d a of Tu-tu-ub<sup>KI</sup> occurs in the account tablet from Drehem, CT XXXII, Nos. 19 ff. (col. 1, l. 14, and col. 5, l. 34), which is dated in the second year of Ibi-Sin of Ur (ll. 1–21 of col. 1 refer to the first year), as well as on Cappadocian tablets, where it is found also in the syncopated form Šalmaĥum. As Ša-lim-a-ĥu—without mimation—it is found already in Manistušu, Obelisk, C, col. 10, l. 20 (etc.).

<sup>79</sup> Should one assume that in the damaged *limmu* list at the disposal of the king-list compiler the name was preserved only in its genitive form, Ša-lim-a-ĥi-[im], with final *im* broken off, and that the compiler conceived this Ša-lim-a-ĥi as a defective writing of Šallim-aĥĥi? The name is no longer used in the later periods, a fact which naturally could facilitate a transformation. It should, however, be taken into consideration that names of apparently Akkadian form need not always be of genuinely Akkadian origin, i.e., they may be non-Akkadian Semitic names somehow Akkadianized. If Ša-lim-a-ĥu-um as well as the likewise Assyrian (“Cappadocian”) Šâl-ma-ĥu-um (cf. Šâl-ma-ĥu-um-ma, KtKA Pl. 3:438, l. 3; Šal-ma-ĥi-im, CTCT IV 33:113349, l. 24), which doubtless is identical with Šalim-aĥum, should be such a name, the Akkadian case ending *-um* would, of course, have to be separated from the main part of the name, Šalim-aĥ. Salmah, which would be the form of the name in the non-Akkadian idiom (Šal-mah actually occurs in CTCT I 4, l. 24!). Since the so-called West Semitic dialect in many names presents itself in a very advanced or, if one prefers, corrupted form, that name might quite well have been shortened from a more original Šallim-aĥĥê, Šallim-aĥê, etc., and it is quite possible that at the time when the name was still in use people still recalled that the proper meaning of the shortened name was “let the brothers be safe.” In this case the name given in the king list would be



the king list writes Ilu-šum-ma instead of the Ilu-šu-ma used in the king's own inscriptions as well as in those of his successor, Irišum. Like the compiler of our king list, already Šamši-Adad I<sup>80</sup> writes Ilu-šum-ma, the Ilu-šu-ma of the older inscriptions, therefore, doubtless being a defective writing of Ilušumma.

With the third group of kings we have reached already a period comparatively well attested in the inscriptions. Of Šallim-aḥḥê and Ilu-šumma we have their own inscriptions with a genealogy reaching back to Puzur-Aššûr, the fourth king of the group. Sulili and Kikkia are referred to in late inscriptions, the latter (28) in the spelling Ki-ki-a in an inscription of Aššûr-rîm-nišêšu<sup>81</sup> as the earliest builder of a wall of the city of Aššûr, later repaired or restored by Ikûnum (34), Šarru-kên I (35), Puzur-Aššûr II (36), Aššûr-nerâri I (60), and finally by Aššûr-rîm-nišêšu (70) himself. Sulili (27) is found in an inscription of Adad-nerâri III (104),<sup>82</sup> who there designates himself, as mentioned already, as the descendant of "Ilu(!)-kapkapu, a king of Aššûr, (ruling) even before the kingdom of Sulili." This statement is of great interest, since it indicates implicitly that the scribes of Adad-nerâri III at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century B.C. knew the group divisions in the king list. For the purpose of the statement is to express simply the idea that the Ilu(!)-kapkapi referred to is a king ruling before the king list's third group of rulers, which is headed by Sulili. This observation shows that the group division of the king list had acquired a kind of authority with the later scribes, probably for no other reason than that the king list was a most handy compilation to consult whenever it became necessary to ascertain and to describe to others the position of an earlier king in the long line of Assyrian rulers.<sup>83</sup>

The preserved part of the subscription to this third group of kings runs: "a total of 6 kings, [who]se [ . . . ] *limmu's* are destroyed" (or

rather a restitution of the older form. I notice that also Levy in MVAeG XXXIII (1930), p. 223, n. a, explains the element *šalm* as shortened from *šallim* with the pertinent remark that the rendering, e.g., of Šâl-ma-Adad with "Adad is well" makes no sense, while "O Adad; let (the brothers, etc.) be well" would be a very appropriate meaning of the name.

<sup>80</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 1 (= KAH I, No. 2), col. 1, l. 20.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, No. 1.

<sup>82</sup> 1 R 35, No. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Note the similar observation with regard to Êrišu I on p. 282.

perhaps: [the list (etc.)] of [who]se *limmu's* is destroyed."<sup>84</sup> From it we gather the important information that there had existed *limmu* lists covering the reigns of the six kings of this group, although at the time when the king list was compiled the *limmu's* of these kings—probably in the only copy available to the compiler—were no longer preserved. The fact that the king list mentions *limmu's* for the first time in connection with the third group of kings proves, of course, that the compilers of the list did not know of any *limmu* list covering the reigns of kings prior to Sulili. In other words, this ruler was the first king for whose reign *limmu's* were known to have been gathered in a *limmu* list. It was, of course, for this reason or chiefly for this reason that the compiler of the king list separated Sulili, although he was the son of the last king of the second group, from this group and made him the first of a new group of rulers. As already stated, the object of his classification of the kings in different groups was not the distinction of certain dynasties—in this case he would have counted the kings from Ušpia to Sulili as one group—but to show on which or what kind of historical sources his list was based. We may therefore assume that the source for the third group of kings was a *limmu* list beginning with the reign of Sulili, but, as we are told in the subscription, with the *limmu's* of the first six kings destroyed in such a manner that not even the exact length of their reigns could be established with certainty. Nevertheless, the grouping of the kings according to the character of the source available for the compilation of the king list should not mislead us into the belief that the compiler as historian did not recognize or attributed no importance to the various dynasties into which the long line of Assyrian kings could be divided. For he gives all the information at his disposal concerning the relationship of the kings concerned, thereby providing the reader with the material on

<sup>84</sup> The rendering "destroyed" is very general, since the literal meaning of *la'ātu* (Hebrew *lāhaṭ*) is undoubtedly "to eat up." German *fressen*, *auffressen*. Compare the parallelism between *akālu* (Hebrew *ʾākal*) and *la'ātu* (Hebrew *li(h)haṭ*) in CT XV 32, rev., ll. 5 f. (and Deut. 32:22), and note also *ip-te-ma pi-i-ša Ti-amat a-na la-a-a-ti-šu*, "Ti'amat opened her mouth in order to devour him," Enuma eliš, Tablet IV, l. 97 (Meissner, *Ass. Stud.*, V, 42 f.). When the term is applied to the activity of the fire, the idea "to eat up," "to devour," becomes the equivalent of "to destroy," and it is not impossible that a meaning "destroyed [by fire]" is intended here. But—and in point of fact this is more likely—*la'ātu* may quite as well refer to the destructive effect of acids, salts, the air, etc.; upon the surface of the clay tablet; cf. in German the *ätzende* (= "eating"), or *serfressende Wirkung* of the agents just named, the term "corrosion" (= "gnawing") in Latin, the expression "rust-eaten," etc.



which to base the grouping of those kings in various dynasties but leaving it to him to do the actual grouping.

It should, furthermore, be realized that the first mention of *limmu*'s in connection with the third group does not prove conclusively that the whole *limmu* institution originated at the time of Sulili; as said before, it proves merely that the compiler did not have at his disposal, and did not know of, any *limmu* lists for the time before Sulili. The *limmu* institution itself, of course, goes back to a much earlier period, probably to the first establishment of the Aššûr cult at Aššûr and perhaps even into the tribal period before that event, since care for the sanctuary and the cult of Aššûr, which seems to have been the basis for the *limmu* institution, naturally became a necessity when and wherever the sanctuary and the cult of that deity was established. Theoretically it is, of course, conceivable that at a later time (e.g., at the time of Sulili), a kind of reorganization or legal consolidation of the *limmu* institution took place that might have led, for instance, to the official use of the *limmu*'s for dating purposes and thus have made necessary the establishment of *limmu* lists. However, if this took place under Sulili, it would be difficult to explain how the whole reign of Sulili could be included in those lists and, if it took place under Sulili's predecessor, why that part of this king's reign which followed the reform should have been disregarded in them. At all events, a definite answer to all these questions could be given only on the basis of actually conclusive evidence to date not available.

#### V. THE PORTION OF THE KING LIST DEVOTING AN INDEPENDENT STATEMENT TO EACH KING

With the successors of Ilušumma, last king of the third group, we reach the long row of Assyrian kings concerning whom the compiler has at his disposal all three of the items of information in which he from his chronological viewpoint is primarily or almost exclusively interested, namely, the name of the king, his relation to his predecessor or predecessors, and the length of his reign. In accordance with the principles described in the introductory remarks, the list for this reason from this point on devotes a complete and independent statement to every single king except in the case of six consecutive rulers who again are treated as a group, but simply, as we shall see, in order

to avoid the continuous repetition of the same phrase indicating the length of their reigns.<sup>85</sup>

Since each statement devoted to a king forms at least one whole sentence—with subject (the king) and verbal predicate (exercised kingship for so many years)—this portion of the king list, like all older king lists that use that phrase, is actually not a list, if this term is understood to mean the mere enumeration of kings, but a chronicle, though one of a rather reduced and standardized form. Because of this chronicle character of the king list, it is in no manner remarkable that in certain cases the statement is expanded, sometimes into a whole series of sentences such as could occur without any change of its wording in an Assyrian or Babylonian chronicle of the usual type. It will be observed, however, that these occasional enlargements in no instance refer to memorable feats of the king during his reign but exclusively to such events as throw light on the circumstances under which an extraordinary change of reign took place.<sup>86</sup> Logically, therefore, these expansions belong together with the reference to the king's father, which under ordinary circumstances is a sufficient explanation of the succession to the throne of the new king. Even with those enlargements the king list therefore must still be defined as a chronicle representing a mere chronological skeleton for the various reigns and the whole period covered by the list.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> See, however, later on the basic identity of principle in all groupings.

<sup>86</sup> The older Babylonian king lists present a parallel in the remark inserted at the end of each dynasty: "The kingdom of (the city) X was overthrown and went to (the city) Y."

<sup>87</sup> A good parallel to the reduction of a chronicle or even an annalistic history to just a chronological framework as described above is found in the Books of Kings in the Old Testament. For when we disregard the many prophet stories, the ubiquitous deuteronomic evaluations of the kings of Israel and Judah, etc., the section devoted to a single king frequently is restricted to a mere statement of the relation of this king to his predecessor, the equation of his year of succession with the corresponding year of the contemporary king of the other kingdom, his age at his accession to the throne, the length of his reign, and the equation of the year of his death with a year of his contemporary in the other kingdom, while the historical events during his reign are lightly passed over with the—for historians really annoying—formula: "What else is to be said of King X and the deeds which he achieved (etc.), all that is written in the annals of the kings of Judah" (or "Israel," as the case may be).

In some respects the type of skeleton chronicle described above is reflected also in the "book of the generations of Adam," Genesis, chapter 5, and its subdivisions or continuations, the "generations of Shem," Gen. 11:10-26; (the "generations of Abraham"), Gen. 21:1-2-5; the "generations of Isaac," Gen. 25:19 f., 26b; Gen. 35:28; the "generations of Jacob," Gen. 37:1 f., 47:27b-28; etc. Its statements being likewise in the form of complete sentences (with the verbs "and he begot," "and he died," etc.), this "book of generations," too, is a kind of chronicle, but with the exclusive aim of establishing a chronological



The section here under discussion forms the great bulk of the king list, extending from column 1, line 27, to the very end of the list in column 4, line 32, and consisting of seventy paragraphs devoted to the reigns of the seventy-five kings from Erišu I (33) to Aššûr-nerâri V (107). For the purpose of splitting up this long section into several subsections, however, we may use as demarcation points the comparatively few cases of a change of dynasty, which also in the king list readily catch the eye because of the greater length of the statement devoted to the first king of the new dynasty. But it should be understood that this division into subsections is exclusively for our own benefit; in the king list itself the subsections are in no manner indicated.

A. FROM ERIŠU I TO ERIŠU II

33. Êrišu I, son of Ilušumma (1852-1813 B.C.)
34. Ikûnu, son of Êrišu I (1812-.... B.C.)
35. Šarru-kîn I, son of Ikûnu
36. Puzur-Aššûr II, son of Šarru-kîn I
37. Narâm-Šîn, son of Puzur-Aššûr II
38. Êrišu II, son of Narâm-Šîn (17...-1727 B.C.)

In this row each king is the son of his predecessor, including Êrišu I, whose father is Ilušumma, last king of the preceding group, who in turn was preceded by his father, Šallim-aḥḥê, and his grandfather, Puzur-Aššûr I. The historian, whose interest, of course, is not centered exclusively on the source foundations of the king list as was that of the compiler of the list, would therefore quite naturally join the nine kings from Puzur-Aššûr I (30) to Êrišu II (38) into a Puzur-Aššûr I dynasty instead of placing the first three at the end of his third group of rulers and the last six kings at the beginning of his last group. But here again we have an opportunity to observe that the group division of the king list acquired a sort of authoritative character for the later Assyrians. The author of the synchronistic king list, published by Weidner in AOf III 70 f., which synchronizes, though frequently only tentatively, the kings of Assyria with those of Babylonia, according to the summary in column 4, lines 17 ff., began his list with Êrišu, son of

framework and therefore referring only to such periods as time from the birth of a patriarch to the birth of his son (= a generation), to periods determined by epochal events, such as the great flood, the immigration into Egypt, etc.

Ilušumma, of Assyria and Sumulail of Babylon, but it would be difficult to imagine any reason why the list should begin with these kings—it might quite as well have started with the synchronism between Ilušumma and Suabu known from the chronicle CEBK II, 3-14—except that in our king list Êrišu I heads the section here under discussion, or rather, as will be explained more fully later on, heads the Assyrian *limmu* list as far as it was known to the later generations.

In the first paragraph of the section here discussed, which contains the statement devoted to Erišu I, the king has after the words *Erišu mâr Ilušumma* as a further apposition to Erišu a relative clause of which, however, in the Khorsabad list only [. . . . .] . . -*šu-ni* and in the Nassouhi list only [. . . . .] *li-ma-ni-š[u-ni]* is preserved. Probably the clause is to be restored as *ša abu-šu-ni ša(?) li-ma-ni-šu-ni*, “((first) king) (both) with (known) father and with (known) *limmu*’s.” This characterizing epithet was, of course, intended by the compiler to be mentally repeated in every one of the following paragraphs—in the translation, of course, with “second (third, fourth) king,” etc., instead of “first,” this numeral being supplied by us merely in order to make it clear in English that the apposition applies to all following kings too.<sup>88</sup> The fact that the relative modification—which, of course, corresponds to the similar relative modification in the subscription to the third group—is here inserted in the paragraph devoted to King Erišu instead of being added (of course, in the plural form) as subscription at the end of the whole section column 1, line 27—column 4, line 32, only on the surface seems to be a deviation from the plan on which the first sections of the king list seem to be drawn up. Since the king list, as we have seen, is a chronicle, the single, independent statement devoted to a single king represents the basic principle of the king-list plan, while the contraction of several such statements into a group statement is a secondary development, merely an outgrowth of the tendency to shorten the text. According to the original plan, for example, the subscription (as we have called it hitherto): “a total of 17 kings, living in tents,” is only a contraction of the seventeen uniform singular appositions “a king who still lived in a tent,”

<sup>88</sup> It need hardly be expressly mentioned that the omission of the apposition in all following statements is only a further case of the text shortening referred to in previous remarks.



one placed after the name of each of the seventeen kings. Nor does the position of the relative clause in the middle of the statement devoted to Erišu, as compared with the fact that in the preceding sections the corresponding relative clauses appear at the end of these sections (as part of the subscription), represent any deviation, for in accordance with the chronicle character of the king list also the three group sections at the beginning of the king list should end with a verbal predicate, which, judging from the statements devoted to a single king each, should refer to the number of years they ruled. In the original conception of the king list, therefore, the text of the first section, treating of the nomad rulers, must, of course, have run like this: "Tudia, Adamu, . . . , in all 17 tent-dweller kings, ruled an unknown number of years." The words "in all 17 kings living in tents," which in the present text of the king list appear to be a kind of subscription, therefore originally formed an apposition to the subject of the statement exactly as does the relative clause in the Erišu statement. In the present draft of the king list the verbal predicate is omitted because it was reasoned that the fact that the length of the reigns of the kings concerned is not stated would make it perfectly clear that it was not known.<sup>89</sup>

Much has been speculated on the Assyrian kings of this period. Basing his views in part on the genealogies contained in the inscriptions of Ikûnu<sup>90</sup> and Šarrukîn I,<sup>91</sup> and in part on certain king-list fragments found at Assur<sup>92</sup> Weidner in his latest attempt<sup>93</sup> tried to reconstruct the following row of kings:<sup>94</sup> Erišu I, son of Ilušumma; Ikûnu, son of Erišu I; Šarru-kîn I, son of Ikûnu; Puzur-Aššûr II; Aḫi-Aššûr; Rîm-Sîn, son of Kudurmabuk; Erišu II; [. . .]-Aššûr; Iz(?)kur-Sîn; and Erišu III, son of Iz(?)kur-Sîn, altogether ten kings instead of the six counted in our king list and, of course, also in the Nassouhi list and the Assur fragments. The misread Aḫi-Aššûr (5th) and the incomplete [. . .]-Aššûr (8th) are simply wrong duplications of Puzur-Aššûr

<sup>89</sup> This omission again is a method of text shortening.

<sup>90</sup> IAaK, VI, Nos. 1 and 3.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, No. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Schroeder, KAVI, No. 14 (= Weidner, MVAeG XXVI, No. 2, Pl. 5); No. 18 (= Weidner, *loc. cit.*); and No. 15 (= Assur B); Nassouhi list (= Assur A).

<sup>93</sup> AOf IV (1927), 16.

<sup>94</sup> For the sake of uniformity the names are transliterated as throughout this publication.

II, and both Rîm-Sîn (6th) and Iz(?)kur-Sîn (9th) are wrong readings for Narâm-Sîn, while the supposed Erišu III (10th) finally is the same king as Erišu II. The most gratifying feature of the new information gained from the king list certainly is the final disposal of the speculation that Rîm-Sîn, the well-known king of Larsa in southern Babylonia, ruled over Assyria and was even counted as king of Aššûr in the Assyrian king lists.<sup>95</sup>

According to our king list, the length of Erišu I's reign is 40 years, but in every other instance the number of regnal years is destroyed. In Assur A at least part of the number for Narâm-Sîn, perhaps 7 (Weidner: 4), is preserved with no indication, at least in the photographs, whether a 10 or several 10's are or are not to be restored before the units. In Assur B the statement on Puzur-Aššûr II evidently has [h]i-pi, "broken," instead of a number, showing that already in the text from which Assur B was copied the number of regnal years of that king was destroyed. Whether all copies had this *hi-pi*, however, is doubtful, since Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmânu-ašarêd I give definite numbers for the time from Erišu I to Šamši-Adad I, and Tukulti-Ninurta gives a definite number for the time from Ilušumma to his own reign. On these statements see the following section.

#### B. THE ŠAMŠI-ADAD I DYNASTY

This dynasty, which followed that of Puzur-Aššûr I, comprises only two kings, namely:

39. Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapu (1726-1694)

40. Išme-Dagân I, son of Šamši-Adad I (1693-1654)

The change from the old to the new dynasty is described in the statement relating to Šamši-Adad I with these words: "[Ša]mši-Adad, son of Ilu-kapkapu, [at the time of Narâm-Sîn,<sup>96</sup> [to Kardunias] went. In the *limmu* of Ibni-Adad, [Šamši-]Adad from Kardunias [came up. The city (or district) . . . ] . . he seized,<sup>97</sup> [ . . years in its midst],<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> The untenability of this and practically all other theories regarding Rîm-Sîn and his father, Kudurmabuk (inclusive of the theory concerning their rule over Elam) as well as the utter baselessness of the theory—closely connected with those theories—concerning the original home of the Amurru on the Pušt-l-kuh (Landsberger and Th. Bauer) had been set forth by me more than ten years ago in "Martu and Amurru" (see n. 16).

<sup>96</sup> The last king but one of the preceding dynasty.

<sup>97</sup> Hardly: "(the whole land) from Kardunias [to . . . ] he seized."

<sup>98</sup> Conjectural.



forsooth, he lived. [In the *limmu* of . . . . .] Šamši-Adad [from . . . . . to Aššur(?)<sup>99</sup> came up. [Ērišu, son of Narâm-Sîn, from the throne he removed. The throne he seized. Thirty-three years kingship he exercised.]

It will be noted that it was the country of Karduniaš to which Šamši-Adad fled, and not the land of Ḫana, as assumed by Nassouhi<sup>100</sup> on the ground that Šamši-Adad, according to his inscription (*ZA*, XXI, 247 ff.), built a temple of Dagân in Tirqa, according to Nassouhi the capital of that country.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the statement shows that Šamši-Adad was not a nephew of the supposed King Iz(?)kur-Sîn, as assumed by Nassouhi<sup>102</sup> and Weidner,<sup>103</sup> for instead of the words [*ahî-šu ša Iz-kur*]-<sup>d</sup>*sîn*, "brother of Izkur-Sîn," which these scholars took as an apposition to Ilu-kapkapu, Šamši-Adad's father, the list actually has [*ina tar-ši mNa-ram-dSîn*, "at the time of Narâm-Sîn." Finally, a few lines farther on, the list reports Šamši-Adad's return from Karduniaš, not a fight against Babylonia, as suggested with question mark by Nassouhi.<sup>104</sup> Note that the events reported in this passage present a close parallel to those related later on in a similar passage on Ninurta-apil-Ekur.<sup>105</sup>

Ilu-kapkapi, the father of Šamši-Adad I, is, of course, not identical with Ilu-kapkapu (25), the last king but one of the second group. Between this ruler and Šamši-Adad I our king list enumerates thirteen kings, of whom ten (forming two groups of two and eight kings) are the sons of their immediate predecessors, the intervening thirteen kings, therefore, representing at least ten generations.

The fact that Šamši-Adad, although he begins a new dynasty, is described in the king list not as "the son of nobody" (i.e., of a man of nonroyal birth), but as the son of an Ilu-kapkapu, is significant, since the express naming of a new king's father always indicates that the latter was of royal status (i.e., had been the member of a royal family or even a king himself). That Šamši-Adad's father actually had been a ruler is clearly shown by a letter,<sup>106</sup> found at Mari and addressed to

<sup>99</sup> Restoration of the broken half-line not certain but correct in substance.

<sup>100</sup> AOF IV, 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>105</sup> The question whether the Šamši-Adad passage could be restored on the basis of the Ninurta-apil-Ekur passage was discussed by Nassouhi.

<sup>106</sup> Actually a copy kept as a record at Mari.

some important personage by the son of Šamši-Adad I, Iasmaḥ-Adad, who during the later part of Šamši-Adad's reign and at the beginning of the reign of Išme-Dagân I ruled as a kind of viceroy over Mari. In this letter<sup>107</sup> Iasmaḥ-Adad first states that in his family no one has ever broken an oath and then continues: "In the past Ila-kapkapû<sup>108</sup> and Iagit-Lim<sup>109</sup> (a former king of Mari) swore each other a mighty oath and Ila-kapkapû did not break his oath to Iagit-Lim, but Iagit-Lim broke his to Ila-kapkapû." The letter then refers to the fact, evidently regarded as the punishment for Iagit-Lim's perjury, that Ila-kapkapû destroyed "his [i.e., Iagit-Lim's] fortress."<sup>110</sup> If according to this letter Ila-kapkapû was able to wage a successful war against the king of Mari, he must of necessity have been a ruler having at his disposal an army strong enough to place him on an equal footing with that king. Unfortunately the Mari letters do not inform us over which city or district Ila-kapkapû ruled, but probably it was the city or district from which Šamši-Adad fled to Babylonia when, as we may suppose, Narâm-Sîn of Aššûr seized it, perhaps at the death of Ilu-kapkapu, Šamši-Adad's father. Very likely, furthermore, it was that city—which according to the king list must have been situated somewhere southeast of Aššûr<sup>111</sup>—that Šamši-Adad on his return from Karduniaš

<sup>107</sup> Cf. the extracts communicated in transliteration and translation by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXIV 136 f.

<sup>108</sup> The name is written I-la-kap-ka-pu-û in all four places where it occurs in the letter. Although the long vowel at the end of the name might be owing to some kind of emphasis—it is found quite frequently in letters—nevertheless, the constant writing of the name with final long vowel in this letter seems to indicate that it belongs to the name. In that case the root of the reduplicating *kapkápû* (< \**kapkápî'u*, \**kapkáp'u*) would be *k p î* (etc.) i.e., a root *tertia* in *irmae*, formation and stressing of the adjective corresponding entirely to that of *dandánu* "mighty," < \**dandánu*. For *kápî'u* > *kápû* cf. *rabûum* (instead of *rabî'um*), "great" > *rábû*. *Kapkapu* in Ilu-kab-ka-pî (Ila(?)-ka-ap-ka-pî) could be the endless form of \**kapkápî'u*, while *kapkapu* in Ilu-kab-ka-bu might represent the same form but developed from the younger *kapkápû*.

<sup>109</sup> The character of the *k* and *t* sounds is uncertain.

<sup>110</sup> In the continuation of the letter Iasmaḥ-Adad evidently refers to a similar oath taken by Šamši-Adad I and Iahdun-Lim, king of Mari and son and successor of Iagit-Lim, which likewise was broken by the Mari king. As a punishment for this Iahdun-Lim's own servants killed him. The letter thus establishes the synchronisms:

Ilu-kapkapu . . . . .	Iagit-Lim of Mari
Šamši-Adad I . . . . .	Iahdun-Lim of Mari
Iasmaḥ-Adad . . . . .	of . . . . .

For the synchronism Šamši-Adad—Iahdun-Lim cf. also the Mari letter discussed by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXIV, 138 (a *redû*, by the name of Nûr-ilîšu, who had fled from Ekallâte, addressed the agent of the king of Mari with these words: "Thou knowest, formerly I was a *ya-ar-du-um ša bit I(a)-ah-du-Li-im*, but I fled *a-na bit dŠamši-ši-dAdad*").

<sup>111</sup> This follows from the statement in the king list that Šamši-Adad "came up" to Aššûr from that city.



seized and made his residence for several years, before he finally marched to Aššūr, dethroned Ērišu II, and made himself king of Assyria.<sup>112</sup>

With Šamši-Adad I we have reached a point where we can advantageously attack the problem of establishing a definite chronology for the kings of Assyria, at least as far as the Assyrian sources are concerned. If we first take up merely the statements of the Khorsabad king list and its two duplicates, the situation brought about by the recovery of the Khorsabad list is this: we now have at our disposal king-list statements concerning the length of the reigns of all the kings from Šamši-Adad I (36) down to Aššūr-nerâri V (107) with the sole exception of the two consecutive kings Aššūr-rabi I (65) and Aššūr-nâdin-aḫḫê I (66), the statements on the length of whose reigns are preserved in none of the three lists.<sup>113</sup> Since beginning with Tukulti-Ninurta II (100) connection is established with the well-fixed Assyrian chronology after 890 B.C., which is based on the Assyrian *limmu* lists, Babylonian chronicles and king lists, and the Ptolemaic Canon, we are now able to assign—merely on the basis of the king-list figures—quite definite dates to all the Assyrian kings after Aššūr-nâdin-aḫḫê I (66), while to the reigns of the kings from Šamši-Adad I (39) to Aššūr-nâdin-aḫḫê I can be assigned at least minimum dates that fall short

<sup>112</sup> Since Išme-Dagân, the successor of Šamši-Adad, before the death of his father was stationed at Ekallâte, which therefore must have been the political and military center of an important district—just like Mari, where Iasmah-Adad was stationed—it seems not improbable that perhaps Ekallâte was that city. On the other hand, in view of the fact that Šamši-Adad I in the chronological statement in col. 1, ll. 14–17, of his inscription from Nineveh, Thompson, AAA XIX (1932), No. 260 A—he counts there a period of 7 *dâru's iš-tu* <sup>113</sup>*u-lum Akkadim* (= A-GA-DE<sup>113</sup>) *ša-di šar-ru-ti-ia* <sup>114</sup>*ša-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi*—gives such a prominent place to the capture of the city of Nurrugi, one might perhaps be tempted to assume that it was this city which Šamši-Adad captured before he took Aššūr. But the taking of Nurrugi may belong to a later period of Šamši-Adad's reign, since he doubtless did not build the Ištar temple at Nineveh until after the capture of Aššūr, which took place after that of the unknown city. Nevertheless, it may well be that Šamši-Adad actually wanted to reckon that period from the end of the dynasty of Akkad to the very beginning of his rule as king, i.e., when he made himself king of that city south of Aššūr. Dossin in RA XXXV, 182, believes that Nurrugi too was situated south of Aššūr, but he fails to give clear reasons for his assumption.

<sup>113</sup> Of the seventy-two preserved statements, the Khorsabad list contains all except that on Puzur-Aššūr III (61), which is supplied from the Nassouhi list. Disagreement in the number of years attributed to a particular king can be observed only in the case of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82), where the Khorsabad list has 3 years instead of the 13 years offered by the Nassouhi list. Since, as we shall see, the chronological calculations in the inscriptions of certain kings are based on a 13-year reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, the statement of the Nassouhi list has been accepted as correct in all our calculations. If, however, new and more authoritative evidence should prove the correctness of the statement in the Khorsabad list, all dates prior to 1179 would have to be lowered by 10 years.

of the actual dates only by the number of years to be attributed to the two reigns not preserved in the king list, provided, of course, that all the preserved numbers have been transmitted correctly in the king list.<sup>114</sup>

The date for Šamši-Adad I can be established, on the basis of the king-list statements, by the following simple calculation.<sup>115</sup> The Khorsabad list ends with the 10-year reign of Aššūr-nerâri V, and from the dating of the list in a *limmu* of this king's immediate successor, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, it is evident that these 10 years comprise the king's entire reign. The tenth and last year of Aššūr-nerâri (the year in which this king died) is also the year in which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III ascended the throne, i.e., the year 745/44 B.C., while the next year, 744/43, represents Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's first official year of reign. By adding, to this year 982 years, i.e., the sum of the regnal years, as preserved in the king list, of the kings from Šamši-Adad I to Aššūr-nerâri V, including the reigns of both of these kings, and by designating the length of the two unknown reigns as  $x$ , the first official year of Šamši-Adad I would be 1726/25 ( $+x$ ) B.C., while his official reign would cover the 33-year period 1726/25( $+x$ )—1694/93( $+x$ ) B.C. His accession year, of course, would be 1727/26 $+x$ , which at the same time would be the last year of Ērišu II.

<sup>114</sup> Absolute certainty on this point can, of course, be obtained only after each number has been corroborated by contemporary or almost contemporary sources.

<sup>115</sup> In order to avoid any possible misunderstandings, it may be pointed out that the year here used for datings as well as calculations is not the year of the Gregorian calendar but the Babylonian year, which begins with Nisân (= March/April). Any Babylonian year therefore comprises parts of two Gregorian years, namely, approximately the last 9½ months of the first year and approximately the first 2½ months of the second year, and for this reason it is most correctly designated with a double number, e.g., 745/44 B.C. If for the sake of simplification this year is designated simply as 745, it is nevertheless to be understood as 745/44.

Furthermore, the regnal years of a king are not reckoned, as they commonly are in modern times, from the date of his accession to the throne, but, in accordance with the Babylonian practice, from the first Babylonian calendar year after his accession to the throne. While this year is considered his first official year, the preceding fraction of his reign is considered as belonging to the last year of the preceding king.

It need hardly be pointed out that, when dealing exclusively with Babylonian and Assyrian chronology or the chronology of those countries that adopted the Babylonian year, the only sensible method is, of course, to base all chronological calculations on this year for the simple reason that, since our knowledge of the interpolation of the intercalary months before the Persian period is extremely defective, we actually lack the means for any accurate identification of dates given according to the Babylonian calendar, not to mention the fact that in case no month is mentioned it is usually utterly impossible to decide in which of the two years of our calendar represented in part by one Babylonian year the event concerned took place.



Naturally it will be our aim to replace these approximate dates with definite dates by attempting to determine the value of  $x$ , which represents the length of the two lost reigns. The king lists as we have them to date do not furnish any clue as to how this might be achieved, but fortunately chronological statements made in the building inscriptions of several kings concerning the periods that elapsed between the reign of some early king who built or rebuilt a certain temple and the later king who again restored it will help us to attain our goal. To be sure, if these statements are interpreted as has hitherto been done, it would seem quite impossible to use them for any accurate calculation, since at least according to the common conception none of them seems to harmonize with the other, the assumed differences varying from about thirty to several hundreds of years in some cases. For instance, while Aššūr-aḥa-iddina (112)<sup>116</sup> states that 126 years elapsed between the construction of a temple by Êrišu I (33) and its reconstruction by Šamši-Adad I (39), Šulmānu-ašarêd I (77)<sup>117</sup> seems to ascribe 159 years to the same period. And while Aššūr-aḥa-iddina<sup>118</sup> reckons 434 years for the period from the latter event to a still later reconstruction by Šulmānu-ašarêd I (77), the last-mentioned king<sup>119</sup> himself seems to ascribe to this period 580 years, the whole period from Êrišu I to Šulmānu-ašarêd I therefore amounting to 560 years according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, but to 739 years according to Šulmānu-ašarêd. Again, the 720 years assumed, according to the customary views, by Tukulti-Ninurta I (78), Šulmānu-ašarêd I's son,<sup>120</sup> for the period between Ilušumma, Êrišu I's father, and himself, agrees neither with Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's numbers—in comparison with these they represent much too high a number—nor with those of Šulmānu-ašarêd—in comparison with these Tukulti-Ninurta's number is much too low! Finally 641, the number of years assumed by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87),<sup>121</sup> as the present text actually seems to indicate, for the period between Šamši-Adad III (59) and Aššūr-dan I (83) is more than twice as high as the sum of the intermediate reigns according to the king list, namely, 316 years. In view of the fact that there existed king lists as well as

<sup>116</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 19 ff.

<sup>117</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 37 ff.

<sup>118</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 24 ff.; KAH II, No. 126, col. 3; ll. 6' ff.

<sup>119</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, l. 41 + col. 4, ll. 1 ff.

<sup>120</sup> KAH II, No. 48, obv., ll. 14 ff., and No. 59, col. 2, ll. 5 ff.

<sup>121</sup> I R 9-16, col. 7, ll. 64 ff.

*limmu* lists for the whole period from Êrišu I to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina (and his successors) and that the scribes of Aššūr-aḥa-iddina (112) as well as those of Šulmānu-ašarêd I (77), Tukulti-Ninurta I (76), and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87) doubtless had or could have had access to those lists, the assumed amazing discrepancies not only tend to discredit all chronological statements of the royal inscriptions, but also tend to cast doubt on the correctness of the statements of the king lists. For this reason it will be necessary to examine thoroughly the statements in the inscriptions as compared with those of the king list (see p. 305).

We begin with Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, the latest of the kings from whom we have such chronological references. He ascended the throne in 681 B.C., his official first year therefore being 680 B.C. Adding to this year the 580 years which Aššūr-aḥa-iddina<sup>122</sup> states had passed between the time when Šulmānu-ašarêd I rebuilt the Aššūr temple at Aššūr and the time when he himself rebuilt or started to rebuild it, we are carried back to the year 1260 B.C. According to the numbers given in the king list, Šulmānu-ašarêd's reign lasted from 1272 to 1243 (accession year: 1273), and 1260 would therefore be the thirteenth year of his 30-year reign. Now it has been almost an axiom with some modern chronologers who have tried to explain the chronological statements in the Assyrian inscriptions that the intervals are to be counted not from the year in which the temple, etc., was built or restored by a previous king, down to the year in which it again was restored by a later king, but always from the first year of reign of the older builder's immediate successor to the last year of the later restorer's immediate predecessor; in other words, the statements are always understood as referring to the period represented by the reigns of the kings ruling between the reign of the early builder and the reign of the later builder. But this could not well be the case in the instance here discussed if the numbers as given by the Khorsabad king list for the intermediate reigns as well as the number given by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina are to stand. For according to that list the sum of the intermediate reigns between Šulmānu-ašarêd I and Aššūr-aḥa-iddina is not 580 but only 562 years—18 years less than the interval given by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina.<sup>123</sup> We might, of

<sup>122</sup> KAH II, No. 126, col. 3', ll. 12' ff.

<sup>123</sup> If the numbers of the Khorsabad list are adopted, the difference would even be 28 years.



course, assume either that Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's scribes made a mistake in their calculation, e.g., that they counted the 18-year reign of Aššûr-rêš-iši I (86) twice,<sup>124</sup> or that they used a king-list copy in which the numbers given for the regnal years somehow deviated from those given by the Khorsabad text. In point of fact, a striking example of such a discrepancy is observed in the statements of the Khorsabad and Nassouhi lists concerning the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82), for while the former quite clearly attributes to that reign 3 years, the latter quite as clearly ascribes to it 13 years. Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of method, the assumption of mistakes should, of course, be resorted to only in cases where no other explanation is possible. As a matter of fact, the statement of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina agrees perfectly with the statements of the king list if only we apply his statement to the period between the older and the younger construction of the temple (see p. 305).

When we now turn to Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's statement<sup>125</sup> that 434 years elapsed between the construction of the Aššûr temple by Šamši-Adad I (39) and its reconstruction by Šulmānu-ašarêd I, we are, of course, again confronted by the question from when to when the period of 434 years is to be reckoned. Judging, however, from our observation that the number of years given by Aššûr-aḫa-iddina as the interval between the restoration of the Aššûr temple by Sulmānu-ašarêd I and his own restoration must necessarily have been reckoned from reconstruction to reconstruction, we might at least expect that the same would be true of the interval here discussed. However, there remains to be considered the fact that the restoration of a temple as large as the Aššûr temple could hardly be achieved in one single year, and in case it required a considerable number of years, it would, of course, be very important for our chronological calculations to know whether the interval of 434 years or the next interval of 580 years somehow includes the period of construction or whether it is reckoned—as would actually seem more natural—only to the year in which the reconstruction was begun. In the latter case, any accurate calculation

<sup>124</sup> Or, to explain the difference of 28 years resulting when the Khorsabad list figure for Ninurta-apil-Ekur (see above) is adopted, that they counted the 28-year reign of Adad-nirāri III (104) twice.

<sup>125</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 24 ff.; KAH II, No. 126, col. 3', ll. 6' ff.

of the whole period covered by the statements of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina would, of course, be impossible. Since, however, it can hardly have been Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's intention to defeat the whole purpose for which he evidently stated such definite numbers as 126, 434, and 580, we must necessarily conclude that the intervals given by him were intended to be considered as being conterminous with each other, no matter whether they are reckoned only to the year in which the reconstruction started—in this case the construction period should be included in the following interval—or to the end of the construction period—in this case it should be included in the preceding interval. Adding, therefore, the 434 years directly to the date indicated by Aššûr-aḫa-iddina for the reconstruction of the Aššûr temple by Šulmānu-ašarêd, i.e., to the year 1260 B.C., we arrive at the year 1694 B.C. as the year in which, according to Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, the older reconstruction by Šamši-Adad I took place. We have already seen that on the basis of the king-list numbers the date for Šamši-Adad I's reign can be established as 1726(+*x*)—1694(+*x*) B.C., and it will readily be observed that if the year 1694 is to fall within the reign of Šamši-Adad as established on the basis of the king-list statements, the value of *x* (i.e., the number of years comprising the two lost reigns of the king list) must equal zero. The exact date of Šamši-Adad I's reign would therefore be 1726–1694 B.C., and the construction of the temple by Šamši-Adad I would have taken place (or would have been begun or finished, as the case may be) in Šamši-Adad's last year, i.e., the year of his death. Furthermore, according to these deductions, the interval between Šamši-Adad I's last year and 1272 B.C., Šulmānu-ašarêd I's official first year, would be exactly 421 years, corresponding to the 421 + *x* years, which represent the sum of all regnal years attributed by the king list to the kings between Šamši-Adad I and Šulmānu-ašarêd I.

But before comparing this interval with the 580 years that seem to be given in Šulmānu-ašarêd I's inscriptions for the same period, it will be advisable, for reasons soon to become obvious, first to direct our attention to Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's statement concerning the interval between Êrišu I (33) and Šamši-Adad I (39) or between the restorations of the Aššûr temple at Aššûr by these two kings. According to Aššûr-aḫa-iddina,<sup>126</sup> that interval amounted to 126 years, which, judging

<sup>126</sup> KAH I, No. 51, col. 2, ll. 18 ff.



from Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements just discussed, should likewise be reckoned from restoration to restoration. By adding the three intervals stated by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, namely,  $126 + 434 + 580 = 1140$  years, to 680 B.C., Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's official first year, we would obtain the year 1820 B.C. as the year in which Ērišu I, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, built or finished his Aššūr temple. With which year of his reign, which according to the Khorsabad list lasted the long time of 40 years, this year 1820 B.C. would be identical, we cannot establish directly, since the king-list numbers for Ērišu's immediate successors are not preserved.

Now we may turn to the chronological statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I relating to the same restorations of the Aššūr temple as those to which Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements (of course, with the exception of his last statement) refer. According to the usual conception—and it is perhaps not impossible that the scribes of Šulmānu-ašarēd I, who were responsible for the wording of the inscription, had the same idea—the king states<sup>127</sup> that between the construction of Ērišu's temple (or even the king's last year of reign) and the reconstruction of the temple by Šamši-Adad I (or his first year of reign) not 126 but 159 years elapsed, while between the construction of the temple by Samši-Adad I and that by Sulmānu-ašarēd I himself, not 434 or 421 but 580 years passed,<sup>128</sup> the whole period from Ērišu to Šulmānu-ašarēd thus apparently amounting to 739 years instead of to 560 years as stated by Aššūr-aḥa-iddina. That these gross deviations should be due simply to an almost unbelievable inability of the scribes of Šulmānu-ašarēd I to count or add correctly in the then existent *limmu* and king lists the years between the events or kings referred to, seems almost impossible, and especially so because in Šulmānu-ašarēd's statement each of the two periods is so considerably extended. Even more unpalatable is the assumption that in the short space between Šulmānu-ašarēd I (1272–1243) and Aššūr-dan II (934–912), in whose reign the Nassouhi list was written, the contents of the king and *limmu* lists should have undergone such tremendous changes that from them the great deviations in the chronological statements here discussed could be explained. The only possible solution of the problem, therefore, seems

<sup>127</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, ll. 37 ff.

<sup>128</sup> KAH I, No. 13, col. 3, l. 41 + col. 4, ll. 1 ff.

to be that the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I are made according to a quite different system of dating, namely, not by defining the intervals between the various events but by giving the years of a certain era. This era can, of course, be no other than that of the then extant *limmu* lists, which, as we have seen, began with the first year of Ērišu I, while all earlier *limmu*'s, as is stated in the king list, had been destroyed and therefore were unknown to the later Assyrians.

The correctness of this presumption is proved by a mere application of that system to Šulmānu-ašarēd's statements. If we add to 1272 B.C., which is the first year of Šulmānu-ašarēd's reign, 580 years, the resulting year, 1852 B.C., should represent, according to our suggestion, the first year of Ērišu I's 40-year reign. The year 1820 B.C., which, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's statements is the year in which Ērišu I built or completed his Aššūr temple, would therefore be the 33d year of this king's reign. It is from this year down to 1694, which is the last year of Šamši-Adad I according to the king list and also the year in which he built or completed the temple of Aššūr according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina, that this latter king reckons 126 years ( $1820 - 1694 = 126$ ). Šulmānu-ašarēd's period of 159 years, however, is not reckoned from the thirty-third year of Ērišu I but, exactly like his 580-year period, from the year 1852 B.C., Ērišu's first regnal year and at the same time the first year of the *limmu* era. The 159th year of this era, according to Šulmānu-ašarēd the year in which Šamši-Adad I built his temple, is then the year 1694, i.e., *exactly* the year in which, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's figures, Šamši-Adad's temple was built.<sup>129</sup>

But, furthermore, if from 580, the number of years ascribed by Šulmānu-ašarēd to the period from the first year of Ērišu to the last

<sup>129</sup> Note that the scribe has included in the period of 159 years the year in which the temple was built (or finished).

The fact that the 159 years are to be reckoned from Ērišu's first year seems still to be indicated, though now only imperfectly, by the words *2 šu-ši 39 šandte iš-tu palē ḡ E-ri-še il-li-ka-ma . . .*, which must be interpreted as "When 159 years had passed since (the beginning[!] of) the reign of Ērišu, (this house again had become weak, and Šamši-Adad, priest of Aššūr, rebuilt it)." Note that the term *ištu palē X* is not used in the Aššūr-aḥa-iddina passage, which has merely *2 šu-š 6 šandte il-lik-ma* immediately after the statement that Ērišu had rebuilt or replaced the old Ušpia temple. Similarly, the passage *9 šu-ši 40 šandte illi-ka-ma*, etc., which continues the Sulmānu-ašarēd passage just translated, should be rendered: "When (finally) 580 years had gone by (since the beginning of Ērišu's reign), the temple which Samši-Adad . . . had built and which (during that time) again had become weak and old, was struck by lightning," etc. The omission of "the beginning of," by which in the original text the intended meaning doubtless was made quite certain, again comes under the head of tendencies toward abridgment of the text.










year before Šulmānu-ašarēd's first official year—i.e., the year in which he ascended the throne—we deduct the 159 years of the period from Êrišu I's first year to Šamši-Adad I's last year (both years included), we obtain 421 years as the interval between Šamši-Adad's last year and Šulmānu-ašarēd's first year (both years excluded). But that is *exactly* the number of years as could be derived for the same interval on the basis of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's statements as well as—after the elimination of the unknown *x*—from the statements of the king list! This fact is of the greatest importance, for two of the three different calculations are entirely independent of each other, and the fact that they lead to the same result must therefore—barring, of course, the possibility of quite unusual coincidences—be regarded as an almost absolutely conclusive proof that neither of the two consecutive kings Aššūr-rabi I (65) and Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I (66), the statements on the length of whose reigns are not preserved in any of the king lists, had an official year of his own and that therefore the destroyed chronological formula in either of the two paragraphs devoted to them must have been DUB-pi-šú KI-MIN (= DUB-pi-šú šarru-ta épūš-uš).<sup>130</sup> As a consequence of this elimination of the two unknown reigns, we are now able to establish definite dates—at least as far as the official Assyrian chronology is concerned and provided, of course, that the numbers as transmitted in the Assyrian king lists are correct—for the whole uninterrupted row of Assyrian kings from Šamši-Adad I (1726–1694 B.C.) down to Aššūr-bāni-apli (668–626 B.C.).<sup>131</sup> Moreover, the date for the reign of Êrišu I can be established as 1852–1813 B.C. Finally, we know that the 86-year period from 1812 to 1727 comprised the five reigns of Ikūnu, Šarru-kīn I, Puzur-Aššūr II, Narām-Sīn, and Êrišu II, although a definite distribution of these years over the various reigns will, of course, be possible only after discovery of material giving the now missing regnal years of the five kings.

We turn now to the statement of Šulmānu-ašarēd's son and succes-

<sup>130</sup> The complete disregard of the DUB-pi-šú reigns in the computations of the royal chronologers proves that DUB-pi-šú means not "an unknown time" or "a short time," and not "two years" or "one year." Unquestionably DUB-pi is a term for the portion of the last king's last year after this king's death. It is therefore the equivalent of what elsewhere is called the m u - s a g - n a m - l u g a l - l a of the new king. The -šú, which is evidently abbreviated from *i-na* DUB-pi-šú, refers to the preceding king similarly as does the -šú of *it-ti-šú*, *aḫū-šú*, etc.

<sup>131</sup> To some extent even to Aššūr-uballiṣ II, last king of Assyria.

sor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242–1206 B.C.). In the gold tablet inscription KAH I, No. 48, and its duplicate, the limestone slab inscription, *ibid.*, No. 59, which commemorate the reconstruction of the temple of Ištar Aššūritu at Aššūr, this king makes mention of the number of years that had elapsed between Ilušumma, the older builder of that Ištar temple, and his own reign. The numeral signs in question have been variously read as 13 šu-ši = 780<sup>132</sup> and 1' nêr 2 šu-ši = 720.<sup>133</sup> The first number is entirely out of the question because 13 would never be written  . The space left between the first group of a slanting and a perpendicular wedge and the following group of two perpendicular wedges clearly indicates that the number is composed of the two signs  and , of which the latter, the number 2, is, of course, to be connected with the following substantive šu-ši, the whole expression 2 šu-ši meaning "2 sixties" = 120. Since, in consideration of the great length of the period in question, the sign before 2 šu-ši should represent a large number, one would naturally surmise that it is the sign for nêr, "600," the next higher basic unit above geš (= šuššu), "60," in the Sumerian sexagesimal system. But note that the nêr sign, which is a combination of 60 and 10,<sup>134</sup> wherever else it occurs not only has the "10" wedge after the perpendicular "60" wedge—in conformity, of course, with its Sumerian name geš-u, "ten sixties"—but in the later periods also has the "10" wedge moved upward to a position on a level with the head of the "60" wedge, the actually certain symbols for 600 in the later periods therefore being <sup>135</sup> and <sup>136</sup>. Tukulti-Ninurta's sign, however, has a slanting wedge before the lower part of the upright, the form of this sign thus being completely identical with that of the sign šú (= ) in Tukulti-Ninur-

<sup>132</sup> So, e.g., Weidner, *MVAeG*, XXVI (1921), No. 2, p. 30, and Luckenbill, *ARAB I*, §§ 181 and 186.

<sup>133</sup> So, e.g., Ed. Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babylonien, Assyriens und Aegyptens* (1925), p. 18. Other scholars refrain from making a choice.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. the older signs in Thureau-Dangin, *ROEC* 504.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. HGT, No. 4, col. 8 (Old Babylonian), and Zimolung, *Ass.* 523, col. 4, ll. 15 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. 5 R 17 f., col. 4, l. 23', etc.



ta's inscriptions.<sup>137</sup> Moreover, the scribes of the Assyrian royal inscriptions are not in the habit of using the Sumerian numeral sign 600 but instead use ME, "hundred," and LIM, "thousand," of the Semitic decimal system.<sup>138</sup> On the other hand, the Assyrian mathematicians, who in their calculating operations actually use the whole sexagesimal system of the Sumerians, would not write the number 600 when it is part of a compound number like 720 with the proper "600" sign but would express it with the number 10 placed before the "60" wedges, i.e., the number 720 would be written by them not as  $\overline{10} \overline{2} \overline{š} \overline{u} \overline{š} \overline{i}$  but as  $\overline{12} \overline{š} \overline{u} \overline{š}$  (or similarly), no matter whether one conceives that as "12 šuš" or as "1 nêr and 2 šuš." But be this as it may, when we calculate the periods on the basis of the king-list chronology and the chronological statements of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarêd, Tukulti-Ninurta's father, not only 780, but also 720 years would be a number much too high for the period between Ilušumma (. . . -1853 B.C.) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206 B.C.). The first number would carry us back as far as 2022 B.C., i.e., 170 years before the first year of Êrišu I, Ilušumma's son and successor (1852-1813 B.C.), while the 720th year before Tukulti-Ninurta, i.e., the year 1962 B.C., would still be 110 years before Êrišu I's first year. It is, of course, quite out of the question to assume for Ilušumma a reign of 170 (or more) or 110 (or more) years.

Now, if Tukulti-Ninurta wanted to indicate the time between Ilušumma and himself in a definite number of years, he could do so, of course, only on the basis of the *limmu* era, which, as we have seen, begins with Êrišu I; for according to the king list the *limmu*'s of Êrišu's predecessors were not known. According to this *limmu* era the

<sup>137</sup> For this sign cf. KAVI II, No. 59, col. 4, ll. 11, 17, 19 ff.

<sup>138</sup> Note, however, the use of the Sumerian numeral š ſ r, "3600," in the stone tablet inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, KAH I, No. 60, col. 2, l. 4, and No. 61, obv., l. 23, in

VIII  $\overline{10} \overline{2} \overline{š} \overline{u} \overline{š} \overline{i}$  qabê mât ḫa-at-ti-i (var. ḫa-ti-i), "8 šar's of Hittite warriors." Probably the Sumerian š ſ r is used here for no other reason than that the writer wanted to give a number based on a high and impressive numerical unit and at the same time perhaps a number that was at once understood to be a round number. It would seem to be wrong, therefore, to translate "28,800 Hittite warriors." Cf. in German familiar language *ein Dutzend Kinder* and *ein Schock Kinder*, expressions which are much more impressive than "12 Kinder" and "60 Kinder," and which are loosely used for any number of children around 12 and 60, as, e.g., 11 or 13 and 55 or 65.

period from Êrišu I's first year to the last year of Tukulti-Ninurta I's predecessor (both years included) would be 610 years, and it is this number or one not far removed from it, not 720, that should be represented by the  $\overline{10} \overline{2} \overline{š} \overline{u} \overline{š} \overline{i}$  of the king's inscription. In point of fact, a number near the expected 610, namely, 620, would result if it could be shown that the character before  $\overline{2} \overline{š} \overline{u} \overline{š} \overline{i}$  is a sign not for "600" but for "500." Assumption of such a meaning doubtless receives strong support from the fact, pointed out above, that the sign found in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription is quite different from the well-known sign for 600. Note, furthermore, that if the sign is 500, this would agree excellently with the custom followed by the scribes of the royal inscriptions, which is to use for the higher numbers those of the decimal system, for 500 is half of 1,000. Finally, when we compare the sign in question with LIM, "1,000," it will be noticed that the former sign is or seems to be identical with the first part of the latter sign, and a speculatively inclined mind would perhaps be justified in concluding that the former might have been arrived at by "halving" the sign for 1,000, similarly as, for example, the symbol IO or D for 500 was created by halving CIO (M) = 1,000. But it is equally possible—apart from other possibilities—that the sign actually is š ſ, here used for "500" for a reason not immediately apparent. I do not recall any occurrence of the sign here discussed in the meaning of "500" or in the function of any other numeral outside of Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription, and it is doubtful whether a systematic search for it would ever lead to its discovery in any inscription. But that would in no way be decisive, since it leaves open the possibility that the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta actually made an attempt to introduce a special sign for 500 but did not succeed in enforcing its general use. Really decisive would be only the positive proof that the wedge group found in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions denotes a number different from 500.

But even if, on the strength of the foregoing arguments, the supposed number 780 or 720 is reduced to 620 we are still confronted with a difference of 10 years between this number and the 610 years which are to be counted for the period extending from the first year of Êrišu I to the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta I according to the statements of the king list and those of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarêd



as well. To attribute this difference simply to a mistake made by the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta while counting the intervening *limmu*'s in the *limmu* list, or to a mistake made already in the king-list copy used by the scribes for their calculations,<sup>139</sup> is not very appealing, since it should be resorted to only in case no other solution of a less radical character is possible. Assuming, therefore, that the scribes actually meant a period of 620 years, one might perhaps suppose that they believed, or even knew it to be a fact, that Ilušumma erected his Ištar temple ten years before Ērišu I's first year. But this, though not altogether impossible, seems not very likely, since according to the king list the *limmu*'s prior to Ērišu's reign had been lost. On the other hand, we could quite as well assume that the 620 years were meant by the scribes to extend not to the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's accession year but to the end of his tenth year of reign. This indeed, seems quite possible, despite the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta in his inscriptions expressly refers to his first year of reign.<sup>140</sup> For, the original royal record on the construction of the Ištar temple, from which our present much abbreviated inscriptions are derived, will, of course, have stated not only the year in which the preparations for the reconstruction of the temple (the removal of the old temple buildings, excavations, making of bricks, etc.) as well as the construction work itself began—this would have been the 610th or 611th year of the *limmu* era—but also the year in which the reconstruction, the adornment, and the equipment of the temple building as well as its courts, gates, etc., were completed—this, in case the explanation of the number suggested above is correct, would have been the 620th or 621st year of the era. When later the royal redactor of inscriptions shortened the original report into the condensed form of the present inscriptions, he may quite well have suppressed, for the sake of brevity, the *limmu* era years relating to the beginning of the reconstruction in favor of those relating to the completion of the restoration, without, however, deleting the reference to the *šurru šarrāti*, thereby still indicating in the simplest possible

<sup>139</sup> For such an assumption one may point to the fact already mentioned that the duration of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign is given as 3 years in the Khorsabad list but as 13 years in Assur A.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. KAH I, No. 48, obv., l. 20: *i-na šur-ru šarru-ti-ja*.

manner that the work of restoration had actually been begun already in Tukulti-Ninurta's first year of reign.<sup>141</sup>

That 10 or 11 years is quite the normal length of time required for the construction of a large temple may perhaps be concluded from the date given by Šulmānu-ašarēd I for his reconstruction of the Aššūr-aha-iddina. For while Šulmānu-ašarēd's 580-year period according to our calculations ends with his accession year, 1273 B.C., thus indicating that the reconstruction work or the preparations for it were initiated at the very beginning of Šulmānu-ašarēd's reign, the interval of 580 years which Aššūr-aha-iddina states elapsed between Šulmānu-ašarēd's and his own reconstruction, leads us back no further than 1260 B.C., which according to the king list is Šulmānu-ašarēd's 13th year of reign, the whole construction period thus extending over 12 years. Similarly the year 1694 B.C., which both Aššūr-aha-iddina's and Šulmānu-ašarēd's statements indicate to be the, or rather a, year of Šamši-Adad I's reconstruction of the Aššūr temple, to all appearances is the year in which Šamši-Adad's reconstruction was completed, since, according to the king list plus the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd 1694 is the last year of Šamši-Adad I's reign, i.e., the year in which this king died and which therefore was only partly covered by his reign.

The gratifying result of these explanations, which I hope will prove correct, is that Tukulti-Ninurta's chronological statement would be completely in harmony with the king-list chronology and the statements of Aššūr-aha-iddina and of Šulmānu-ašarēd, Tukulti-Ninurta's father. It would show, or, in connection with our other observations, help to show, that the chronological statements of the Assyrian kings were based on a reliable or at least authoritative source, namely, the king and *limmu* lists, and not on inaccurate calculations of royal scribes possessing a greatly restricted knowledge of history and chron-

<sup>141</sup> In the present form of the inscription the reference to the year in KAH I, No. 48, obv., ll. 14 f., is logically to be connected only with the statement in rev., ll. 10 ff.: *iš-tu uš-še-šu a-di gaba-dib-be-šu ú-še-ik-lil na-re-ia aš-ku-un*, "from its foundations to its parapets I completed (the temple) (and) my *narā*'s I deposited," while the intervening formally co-ordinated sentences actually represent subordinate clauses and, in order to bring out their real meaning, should be translated: "after already in my inauguration year (literally: in [or: during] (the period of) the inauguration of my kingship [sometimes the phrase is: in (the period of) the consecration of my royal throne]) I had torn down all (expressed by the pīl *u-ne-gīra*) its dilapidation (= the whole dilapidated structure)."



ology and—what would be of even greater weight—being utterly indifferent to sources of information that for all we know must have been readily accessible to them. But even should the sign in Tukulti-Ninurta's inscriptions turn out to be a rather unusual or mistaken form of the sign for 600 after all, it still would have to be regarded as a significant fact that the number 720, which we would then have to read in Tukulti-Ninurta's statement, and the number 620 calculated from the statements of the king list plus the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd and Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, differ by 100 years; for to some extent this fact might still be evaluated as a proof that the scribes of Tukulti-Ninurta based their statement on the king list. The number 720 for 620 would, of course, be merely an arithmetical or even a counting mistake on the part of Tukulti-Ninurta's scribes, a mistake that would have been of almost no consequence had it occurred in the units instead of in the hundreds.

We now turn to the statement found in the prism inscription of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I<sup>142</sup> (87) that the temple of Anu and Adad, which in ancient times Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, had built, had been torn down after 641 years by Aššur-dan and that then it had not been rebuilt for 60 years until he, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, himself rebuilt it. Among the kings of Assyria there is only one Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, namely, Šamši-Adad III (59), who, according to the king list, ruled from 1510 to 1495 B.C. But, as already hinted, it is, of course, absolutely impossible to harmonize the interval of 641 + 60 = 701 years of which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra speaks with the interval between the reigns of Šamši-Adad III and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (1114–1086), as figured on the basis of the king-list statements, since, according to these, the interval amounts to only 380 years. Nor is it possible to explain the 701 years as figured on the basis of the *limmu* era, for, according to the king list and the statements of Šulmānu-ašarēd I, the period from 1852 to the accession year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (inclusive of both years) is 738 years, and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's period of 701 years would therefore end already with the 38th year before his own first year, i.e., with 1152 B.C., which is the 27th year of the 46-year reign of Aššūr-dan I (1178–1133 B.C.), Tukulti-apil-

<sup>142</sup> 1 R 9–16, col. 7, ll. 60 ff.

Ešarra's grandfather and fourth predecessor. In order to remove the chronological difficulties presented by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's statement, it has been assumed that the author of the inscription mistook Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapi, for Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagān, and Meissner (in IAaK, p. 17, n. 2) supports this with the statement that in the Old Assyrian building inscription Assur 12780 + 12794<sup>143</sup> Šamši-Adad I is mentioned as builder (or first builder?) of the Anu and Adad temple. But with this assumption the chronological difficulty would in no way be removed, since subtraction of the 701 years from 1726–1694, Šamši-Adad's reign, would bring us to 1025–993 B.C., i.e., to 69–101 years after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's last year; while, if we try a solution on the basis of the *limmu* era, the situation would remain the same as has been described above, i.e., the 701st year of the era would be the 38th year before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's first year.

The solution of the problem must therefore be sought in a quite different direction. The old temple which, according to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's inscription, Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagān, had built and which Tukulti-apil-Ešarra himself rebuilt is referred to by the latter as the temple of Anu and Adad. But in Old Assyrian inscriptions, namely, in three of Ērišu I<sup>144</sup> and in one of his son, Ikūnu,<sup>145</sup> only a temple of Adad is mentioned, and it has been concluded from this fact that originally there was only a temple of that god there, while the temple of Anu was built at a later date<sup>146</sup> and originally probably was much less important than that of Adad. In point of fact, the former preponderance of the Adad temple over that of Anu is still reflected in the brick inscriptions of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's father, Aššūr-rēš-iši I (86),<sup>147</sup> who built most of the substructures under the platform on which his son erected his Anu and Adad temple; for the double sanctuary is designated in these inscriptions as "temple of Adad and Anu." Moreover, in the door-socket and brick-tile inscriptions of Šulmānu-ašarēd II (93)<sup>148</sup> the double temple is referred to as *bīt* <sup>d</sup>*A-nim bīt* <sup>d</sup>*Adad*, "the house of Anu and the house of Adad," and corresponding-

<sup>143</sup> Evidently unpublished.

<sup>144</sup> IAaK, V, Nos. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>145</sup> IAaK, VI, No. 1.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Andrae, AATA, p. 1; Meissner in IAaK, p. 17, n. 2.

<sup>147</sup> AATA, pp. 5 f.

<sup>148</sup> AATA, pp. 43 ff.



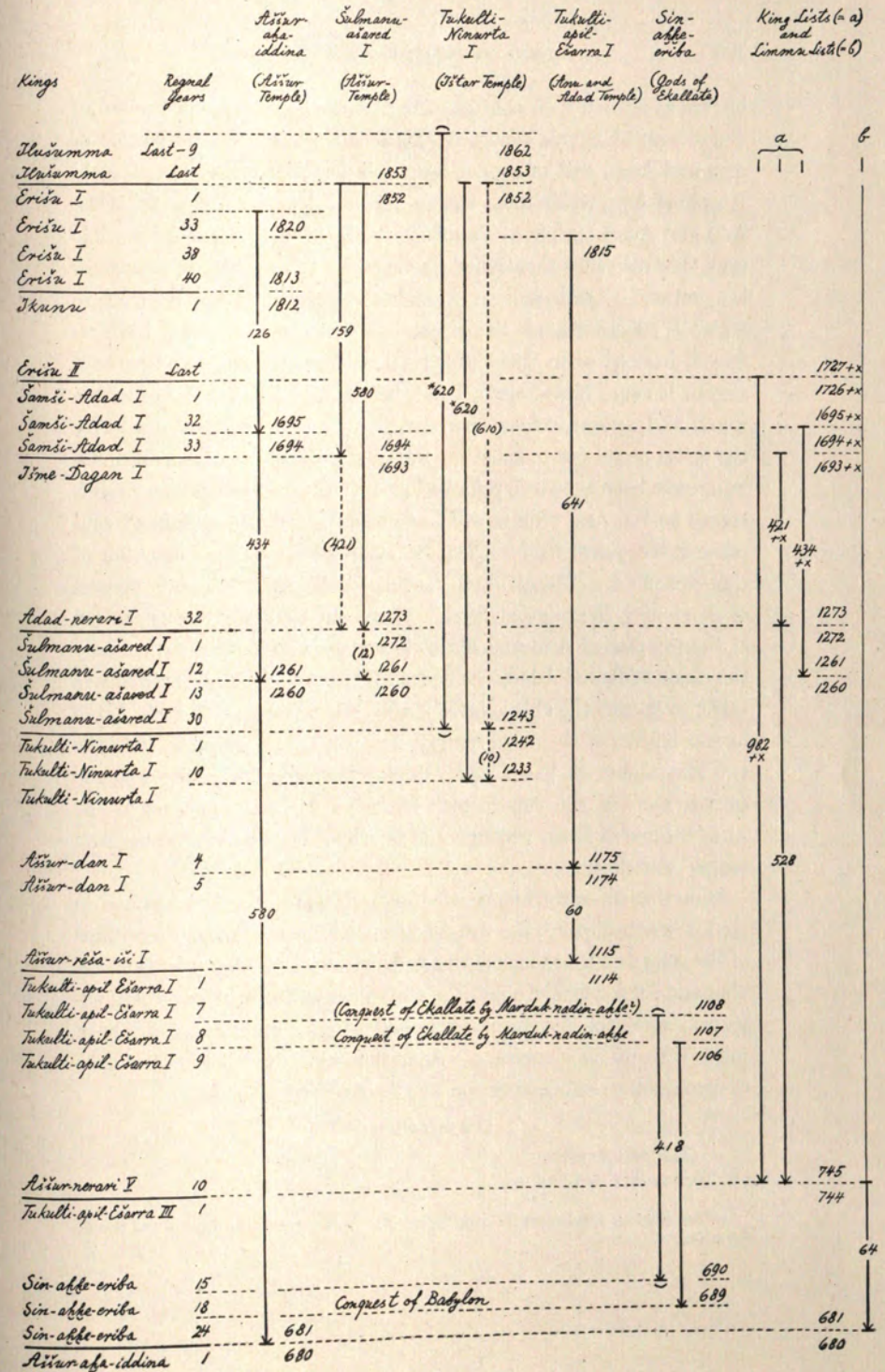
ly the late text KAVI, No. 42, enumerates in two separate sections the gods whose statues stood in the temple of Anu and those whose statues stood in the temple of Adad, these facts showing clearly that even in the later periods the double temple was regarded as consisting of two separate temples. This agrees completely with the fact—still recognizable from the arrangement of the substructures of the temple built by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I—that this temple was divided by a central corridor into two almost entirely symmetrical halves, one of which, of course, belonged to Anu, while the other belonged to Adad.<sup>149</sup>

Now, it may be noted that when one assumes the numbers 641 and 60 to be actually intended by the author of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's inscription, the year from which the 701 years are counted would be 1815 B.C., which is the last year but two of the 40-year reign of Êrišu I (1852-1813 B.C.). The solution of the difficulty in the chronological statement of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's inscription, therefore, doubtless is that in the original, much more extensive official report on the reconstruction of the Anu and Adad temple, from which the present inscription is abbreviated, the 701 years referred, not to the time between Šamši-Adad III's supposed construction of the Anu and Adad temple and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's first regnal year, but to the time that elapsed between the construction of the old Adad temple by Êrišu I, to which the three Êrišu inscriptions mentioned above refer, and the first year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. It may be noted that this conclusion receives strong support from the fact that, according to the above calculations, the construction of the Adad temple falls in the very last part of Êrišu's reign, namely, his last year but two. For this is in harmony with the statement of Ikûnu, his son and immediate successor, in IAaK, VI, No. 1, that after his father, Êrišu, had built the temple of Adad and also had begun to adorn it, he, Ikûnu, his son, finished its adornment and also some other works begun by Êrišu in the temple area.<sup>150</sup> We see from this statement that, although the building itself had already been erected, and although also its adornment and equipment had already been begun, Êrišu I died before the latter was finished, leaving this job to be done by his son Ikûnu. In addition to the

<sup>149</sup> Cf. AATA, Pl. IV.

<sup>150</sup> *E-ri-šum* *šbit* *Adad* *š-i-pu-uš* *u e-ip-še* [...] *u-bi-in-ni* *ku-nu-um* *mār-šu* *šbit* *Adad* *šig-mu-[ur-ma]* *u-bi-[in-ni]*, etc.

Synopsis of the Chronological Statements





historical reference to that old Adad temple, the original version of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's report on his reconstruction of the temple of Anu and Adad will, of course, have had a similar reference to the old temple of Anu, which must have occupied the site of Anu's half of the Anu and Adad temple of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra; and it is quite possible that this reference mentioned Šamši-Adad III as its first builder or last rebuildler, although, if Meissner's communication referred to above is substantiated, the original version may quite well have referred, instead of to Šamši-Adad III, to Šamši-Adad I and perhaps also to his son, Išme-Dagân I (as the one who finished the construction?).<sup>151</sup> In point of fact, however, there is no longer any reason for the latter assumption, since the 641 years, the cause of that speculation, have been shown to refer to Êrišu I. Naturally the historical reference to the Anu temple will have contained also a statement concerning the years that elapsed between the former construction of that temple and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. In the rather careless process of shortening the original version of the report on the reconstruction of the temples of Anu and Adad, however, it so happened that only the name of Šamši-Adad, the former builder of the Anu temple, was taken over into the abbreviated statement, while that of Êrišu I, the former builder of the Adad temple, was dropped. Vice versa, from the two statements on the periods which had elapsed subsequent to the construction of the two former temples only that applying to the Adad temple of Êrišu was taken over, while that applying to the Anu temple was dropped.

Summing up our evidence, we may now state that if understood in the manner indicated, the chronological statements in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings harmonize very well with the statements of the king and *limmu* lists. In point of fact, this result might have been expected, since the Assyrian kings constitute an uninterrupted row of rulers with no overlapping of reigns that could have occasioned misunderstandings concerning the length of certain periods.

[To be concluded]

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<sup>151</sup> The original version might even have referred to both Šamši-Adad I and Šamši-Adad III.

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A. POEBEL



THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD—

*Continued\**

A. POEBEL

C. AŠŠŪR-DUGUL AND SIX OTHER USURPERS

41. Aššūr-dugul	1653-1648
42. Aššūr-apla-idi	1648
43. Nāšir-Sîn	1648
44. Sîn-namir	1648
45. Ipqi-Ištar	1648
46. Adad-šalūlu	1648
47. Adasi	1648

Although to date our knowledge of the political events at the time of the Šamši-Adad I dynasty is still rather scanty, it nevertheless suffices to show, or at least to make us realize, that this dynasty represented a culminating point of the earlier history of the Assyrian kingdom. It may be noted that, according to our king list, each of the two kings belonging to the dynasty ruled a comparatively long time, namely, Šamši-Adad 33 years, and Išme-Dagân even 40 years—a circumstance which perhaps was not without influence on the strong consolidation of royal power under the two rulers. The end of the dynasty, however, must have been marked by a catastrophe, for Aššūr-dugul, the king who succeeded Išme-Dagân, was not a son or other relative of Išme-Dagân or Šamši-Adad but a usurper of non-royal birth.

The king-list statement relating to him is as follows: "Aššūr-dugul, son of a nobody, (and) not even occupant of a throne (outside of Aššūr), for six years kingship (over Aššūr) exercised." The designation of a king as "the son of a nobody," i.e., as the son of a man of nonroyal status, occurs here for the first time in the king list, and evidently it is for this reason that it is here coupled with the additional designation of the usurper as *lā bêl kussê*, "(and) not the occupant of a throne." By that the king-list compiler means, of course, that when Aššūr-dugul, the son of a nobody, became ruler over As-

\* See *JNES*, I, No. 3 (July, 1942), 247-306.

syria, he had not even previously acquired royal status by the usurpation of some other kingdom outside of Aššūr. The double characterization of King Aššūr-dugul's previous status is quite instructive of the Assyrian views on royalty and a man's right to, or rather fitness for, the occupancy of the royal throne; we see from it that the opprobrium clinging, from a legalistic point of view, to a king of nonroyal birth was deemed considerably mitigated in case he had previously raised his status to that of royalty by the usurpation of some other kingdom.<sup>152</sup>

Apart from the passage just discussed, and the beginning of the next statement, where once more it is used of Aššūr-dugul, the phrase "son of a nobody" is found in our king list only twice, namely, once in the immediately following statement, where it refers to each of the six usurper successors of Aššūr-dugul, and once, several statements later, where it is applied to the usurper Lullajju. But in these instances the phrase *lā bêl kussê* is not added again. The most natural explanation of this omission seems to be that, although the phrase was considered a necessary supplement to the phrase *mâr lā mamâna* in all instances, it is expressly added, however, by the author of the king list (or probably, more correctly, preserved by the later redactors) only in the case of the first usurper of nonroyal birth, the redactors evidently trusting that the use of the comprehensive formula in the first instance would enable the reader to supply the missing part of the intended formula by himself.<sup>153</sup>

The reign of the usurper Aššūr-dugul was brought to an end by an even greater catastrophe than that which had overtaken the Šamši-Adad dynasty, for the king list reports that, within the last year of the six-year reign of Aššūr-dugul, six usurpers of nonroyal birth took possession of the royal power of Aššūr. The king-list statement concerning these usurpers is as follows: "At the time of Aššūr-dugul, the son of a nobody, Aššūr-apla-idi, Nāšir-Sîn, Sîn-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-šalūlu, (and) Adasi, six kings, (each of them) the son of a nobody, (at) the beginning<sup>154</sup> of his *DUBpu*, kingship he exercised."

<sup>152</sup> The customary translation of *lā bêl kussê* as "not entitled to the throne" is not justified; here, as well as elsewhere, *bêl*, "lord of something," has the meaning "owner of something," "one who owns, possesses, occupies, or has something"; in German, "einer, der etwas besitzt, hat, innehat."

<sup>153</sup> This is another instance of text shortening.

<sup>154</sup> Literally: "gate," "entrance."



As it stands, this statement presents some difficulties. Since grammatically the introductory phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma*, "still<sup>155</sup> at the time of Aššûr-dugul," must necessarily refer to each of the six kings who are the subject of the sentence, the statement seems to indicate that each of the six usurpers ruled over Aššûr at the time when Aššûr-dugul still was ruling it. But this is at variance with the further statement that these six kings ruled "at the beginning of his (= Aššûr-dugul's) *DUBpu*," since the *DUBpu* of Aššûr-dugul, representing that part of Aššûr-dugul's last year which lies after his death or after his removal from the throne, naturally cannot be considered as belonging to the time when Aššûr-dugul was still living and ruling over Aššûr. Moreover, if all the six new usurpers, as the text seems to state, ruled "(at) the beginning of Aššûr-dugul's *DUBpu*," this, of course, could only mean that they all started their reign at the same time, namely, immediately after Aššûr-dugul's death or his removal from the throne, and that they also continued to rule as kings over Aššûr, even though only for a short while, at the same time. But it is quite unthinkable that the city of Aššûr was ruled, even for a very short period, by six (or even seven) different kings, all of them recognized by the king list as kings of Aššûr, a fact which, of course, means that each of them had taken actual possession of the throne of Aššûr. It is therefore quite obvious that the six usurpers ruled one after the other, each of them seizing the throne by a revolt against his predecessor. Very strange, finally, is the fact that, although the grammatical subject of the one-sentence statement relating to the usurpers is the six usurpers, the apposition *mâr lâ mamâna* as well as the verbal predicate *šarrûta êpuš* is in the singular!

The solution of these material and grammatical difficulties is, of course, that the present statement is a rather awkward contraction of six single statements each referring to one of the six usurpers. The words *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma*, with which the present statement begins, as well as the phrase *bâb DUBpišu*, with its *-šu*, "his," referring to Aššûr-dugul, originally, of course, belonged only to the first of the six statements, namely, that on Aššûr-apla-idi, the first phrase originally probably forming part of an introductory statement that, at the time of Aššûr-dugul, Aššûr-apla-idi rebelled; whereupon the original

<sup>155</sup> Col. 2, ll. 6-11: <sup>6</sup> *i-na tar-ši* <sup>7</sup> *Aš-šur-du-gul-ma* | *mâr lâ ma-ma-na* <sup>7</sup> *Aš-šur-apla-i-di* | <sup>8</sup> *Nâ-ši-ir-Šin* <sup>9</sup> *Šin-na-mir* | <sup>10</sup> *Ip-qi-Ištar* | <sup>11</sup> *Adad-ša-lu-lu* | <sup>12</sup> *A-da-si* <sup>13</sup> *6 šarrâ ni-ni* | *mâr la ma-ma-na* <sup>14</sup> *bâb DUB-pi-šu* | *šarru-ta êpuš-uš*.

report perhaps continued with the statement that Aššûr-apla-idi dethroned Aššûr-dugul and himself ascended the throne but that he ruled only for a short time at the beginning of Aššûr-dugul's *DUBpu*. Of a similar trend were probably also the next five statements, but lacking, of course, the phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul*, instead of which the second statement possibly had *ina tarši Aššûr-apla-idi*, the third *ina tarši Nâšir-Sîn*, etc., but, of course, only in case the original or an earlier text described the circumstances under which the other usurpers seized the throne at the same length as in the statement on Aššûr-apla-idi. The phrase *bâb DUBpišu*, however, may have been used in all statements, the *-šu*, "his," referring, however, not uniformly to Aššûr-dugul, as in the present text, but in each case to the usurper who preceded the king of the statement concerned. When contracting the six statements into one, the redactor simply forgot to change or to eliminate the *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma mâr lâ mamâna*, which could make sense only in a more extensive form of the first statement. Furthermore, he took over from each of these six statements, without changing it, the singular apposition *mâr lâ mamâna*, "son of a nobody," as well as the singular predicate *šarrûta êpuš*, "he exercised kingship," both of which in those six statements referred to just the king mentioned in the single statement, but which, with the contraction of the six statements, should, of course, have been placed in the plural.<sup>156</sup> To all appearances the redactor or simple copyist who contracted the six single statements into one used the statement referring to the first usurper as a frame for the contracted text; i.e., leaving the text of the statement on Aššûr-apla-idi as he found it but omitting the note on the rebellion, etc., he simply inserted into it, as an addition to the subject Aššûr-apla-idi, the names of the other five usurpers and, as an addition to all six usurpers, the summary *6 šarrâni*, "six kings."

Apart from the necessary variation of the names, the original statements relating to the six usurpers were evidently completely identi-

<sup>156</sup> As is well known, in the late periods the apposition to a plural substantive denoting persons can in certain cases actually be placed in the singular. Under the supposition that the contraction of the six statements into one took place in a relatively late period (see on this presently below) the singular apposition *mâr la mamâna* after *6 šarrâni* might therefore be conceived as not in contradiction with Assyrian grammar; but the singular finite verb form *êpuš* after the plural subject could not be justified under any circumstances. Note that in all other cases of group enumerations the appositions and other references to *šarrâni* are in the plural (in Group I, *âšibûtu*; in Group II, *ša abbešununi*; in Group III, *limânê-šunu*).



cal, and doubtless it was for this reason that some scribe making a new copy of the king list from a specimen of the older text thought the six statements might well be contracted into one. Evidently, however, he was not quite equal to this task. This clearly indicates that the contraction into one statement of the various statements on the six usurpers after Aššûr-dugul was not made by the author or the early redactors of the king list, whose subscriptions to the various groups at the beginning of the king list are completely in conformity with grammar and logic.<sup>157</sup> An additional indication that the contraction of the statements on the six usurpers is from a different hand is apparently, at least in combination with our other observations, the fact that the *naphar*-sign, which in each of the subscriptions to the king Groups I-III precedes the number of the summary, is not found in our passage.

Although the king list does not state that each new usurper dethroned his predecessor and perhaps even killed him in order to remove every obstacle to his own pretensions, it nevertheless is most likely that this was the case, since revolt and usurpation of the throne always meant gambling with his life for the usurper, who himself had been able to secure the throne as a rule only by killing his predecessor. Considering the fact that all the usurpers ruled within the *DUBpu* of Aššûr-dugul and each of them therefore can have ruled only a very short time, some of them perhaps no more than a few days, the situation prevailing at Aššûr in Aššûr-dugul's last year may be imagined as resembling—but apparently in much greater proportions—the situation that prevailed at Tirzah, the capital of the kingdom of Israel, in the year in which Zimri, the servant of King Baasha, killed his lord, made himself king in his stead, and ruled over Israel for seven days, to be slain at the end of these days by Omri, the commander of the army. But only part of the people had chosen him king, while others tried to procure the kingdom for Tibni, and only at the latter's death was Omri, it appears, universally recognized as king.<sup>158</sup> It may be noted that omission—at least in the present form of the king list—of any statement concerning the manner in which the seven usurpers seized the royal power is to some extent in conflict with one of the principles followed by the authors of the king list, namely, that of making as clear as possible the relation existing be-

<sup>157</sup> See foregoing note.

<sup>158</sup> I Kings 16:9-22.

tween the new king and his predecessor or predecessors, especially in cases involving a change of dynasty. But, as shown by the phrase *ina tarši Aššûr-dugul-ma* at the beginning of the present statement, the original king-list text actually made some specific statement or statements on the circumstances under which Aššûr-apla-idi and the other usurpers came to power. The late redactor, however, was evidently of the opinion that these statements could be left out, because whenever a *mâr lâ mamâna* aspired to the throne of Aššûr, as a rule he could attain this goal only by a revolt, the killing of the king or the legal heir to the throne, etc. The later omission of these statements is only a step in the ever progressing reduction of the original extensive chronicle to a mere skeleton king-list chronicle.

With the exception of Adasi, the last of the seven usurpers, none of these has been known before. Weidner in his various lists of Assyrian kings (latest in AOf IV, 16 f.) assumed between Išme-Dagân I and Adasi only two kings, whose names he gives as [. . .]jaššat and Rimuš on the basis of line 5 of the Aššûr king-list fragment VAT 9812 as copied by Schroeder in KAVI, No. 14, and by himself in MVAeG XXVI (1921), No. 2, last plate. On the original (collated by me in 1935), however, none of the signs preserved in that line are reasonably certain with the single exception of the sign *KUR*. Probably the line is a scribal note somehow explaining the omission on the tablet of the names of the thirteen kings between Išme-Dagân I and Šû-Ninua.<sup>159</sup>

For the inscriptions mentioning Adasi see the following section. In the name Adad-šalûlu note the preservation of the original first base vowel *a* of the substantive *šalûlu*, "cover," "protection."<sup>160</sup> As our name shows, this *šalûlu* must be regarded as the specifically Assyrian

<sup>159</sup> It is not clear whether the horizontal division line which this tablet has between Êrišu II and Šamši-Adad I and that which it has between Išme-Dagân (+ scribal note) and Šû-Ninua are to indicate a change of dynasty or whether they simply serve to indicate the different character of the various sections of the list. Note that, while in the last sections each line contains the names of two kings, in the first section each king is given a whole line, the second half-line—now missing—probably containing the phrase "son of . . . ." or even giving the regnal years of each king.

<sup>160</sup> As is shown by its Sumerian equivalent *a-n-dul* (< a-n-e-dul), "cover," "protection," literally "it is (< had been) laid upon him or it," "it is lying (< it has laid itself) upon him or it" (more freely translated: "it covers him or it"), the *qatûl* form *šalûlu* (with stressed and lengthened second base vowel) had a passive (as Hebrew *qatûl*) or passive-intransitive meaning. This proves that, in addition to the actively transitive theme *šalil* (*iqtal*), "he has laid himself," "he lies," which is preserved in Akkadian, Pre-Akkadian had also a passive-intransitive theme *šalul*, "he has been laid," "he lies."



form,<sup>161</sup> while *šulûlu* with change of the short *a* to *u* before the *û* in the next syllable<sup>162</sup> is the specifically Babylonian form.<sup>163</sup>

## D. THE EARLIER ADASI DYNASTY

47. Adasi	1648
48. Bêlu-bâni, son of Adasi	1647-1638
49. Libajju, son of Bêlu-bâni	1637-1621
.....	.....
72. Erîba-Adad I, son of Aššûr- bêl-nišêšu	1389-1363
73. Aššûr-uballiṭ I, son of Erîba- Adad I	1362-1327
.....	.....
78. Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Šulmânu-ašarêd I	1242-1206
79. Aššûr-nâdin-apli, son of Tu- kulti-Ninurta I	1205-1203
80. Aššûr-nerâri III, son of Aš- šûr-nâdin-apli	1202-1197
81. Enlil-kudur-ušur, son of Tu- kulti Ninurta I	1196-1192

In the preceding section King Adasi (47) has been grouped with his six predecessors because, like all of them, he was a *mâr lâ mamâna* and a usurper, having in common, moreover, with the last five of his predecessors this, that he ruled only a fraction of Aššûr-dugul's last official year. The fact that in that year the city of Aššûr saw the rule of seven consecutive usurpers appeared so significant that it has not seemed advisable to separate Adasi from that group of usurpers, especially because the king list in its present form groups Adasi at least with the last five of his usurper predecessors. On the other hand, the usurper Adasi is the royal ancestor, in the male line, of all kings who succeeded him on the throne of Aššûr, down to Sîn-šarra-iškun (115) (and perhaps even to Aššûr-uballiṭ II [117], the last king of Assyria of whom we know) with the single exception of King Lulajju (53), "son of a nobody," who interrupted the rule of the dynasty

<sup>161</sup> Cf. also Aššûr-nâsir-apli, Great Alabaster Inscription (I R 45-47), col. 1, l. 44, and Standard Inscription (Layard, ICC, No. 1), l. 13.

<sup>162</sup> This partial assimilation is, of course, a case of vowel harmony.

<sup>163</sup> In some respects the relation just pointed out parallels that between Assyrian *kaššudum* and Babylonian *kuššudum*.

for six years but who was followed by a member of the dynasty, and probably of King Sîn-šumu-lišir (115), who ruled a very short time evidently between Aššûr-etel-ilâni and Sîn-šarra-iškun. For these reasons Adasi must be counted as the first king of the dynasty, which we therefore call the Adasi dynasty.

Unfortunately, the present extremely condensed text of the king list fails to give us any detailed information explaining the fact that the reign of Adasi, like that of his predecessors, was of extreme shortness. It is, of course, quite possible that he died a natural death immediately or a short time after he ascended the throne.<sup>164</sup> In point of fact, at the time when Adasi ascended the throne he was presumably already an older man, since each of his first four successors, who followed him in a straight line of succession and who therefore represent one generation each, ruled only a comparatively short time (Bêlu-bâni, 10 years; Libajju, 17 years; Šar-ma-Adad I, 12 years; EN-TAR-Sîn, 12 years). This fact might quite well mean that at the time of his ascension to the throne Adasi was not only a grandfather but possibly a great-grandfather. For this reason it seems likely that he was placed on the throne, perhaps by members of his own family, as the senior chief of the family.<sup>165</sup>

On the other hand, we cannot be sure, as long as we have no authentic information, whether Bêlu-bâni's accession to the throne still in the last official year of Aššûr-dugul and therefore only a short time after the accession to the throne of his father was not brought about by a revolt of Bêlu-bâni against his father. But even in this case Adasi would remain the ancestor of the dynasty, the usurpation of the throne by his son, if such a usurpation actually took place, representing merely a minor incident in the history of the dynasty and being of no more weight than, for example, in a later period the dethronement of Aššûr-šadûni (64) by his uncle Aššûr-rabi I (65), the seizure of the throne by Aššûr-nâdin-apli (79), while his father, Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) was still living, etc.

It is a very significant fact that Aššûr-aḥa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn name as their oldest known ancestor not Adasi, but Bêlu-

<sup>164</sup> Cf. below the remarks on Mutakkil-Nusku.

<sup>165</sup> For rulers who were placed on the throne when they had attained an advanced age, cf., e.g., Galba, who was proclaimed Roman emperor when he was seventy-three years old, and Nerva, of whom it is expressly stated that he was proclaimed emperor in his old age.



bâni, son of Adasi<sup>166</sup> (in one inscription of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and its duplicate simply Bêlu-bâni).<sup>167</sup> One of the reasons for giving such prominence to Bêlu-bâni probably was the fact that among their ancestors Bêlu-bâni was the first who not only himself, but also whose father, was a king. Of course, Bêlu-bâni was, strictly speaking, not of royal birth, since at his birth his father was a commoner, and so he himself was born a commoner; yet even the short time that Adasi was king made his son at least a royal prince before he came to the throne. Moreover, the fact that the reign of Adasi lasted such a short time, possibly no more than a month or a few days, must have made this king's reign appear quite insignificant in comparison with the ten-year reign of Bêlu-bâni, especially if the latter, after the turmoil of Aššûr-dugul's last official year, succeeded in re-establishing, at least to some extent, the power of the Assyrian state, which, of course, must have greatly suffered during the series of usurpations. Perhaps one may refer in this connection to the epithet *mukîn šarrûti* <sup>mât</sup>Aššûr, "who (again) established (on a secure basis) the kingship of Aššûr," which Aššûr-aḫa-iddina in his Senjirli stele apparently gives to Bêlu-bâni.<sup>168</sup>

Concurrent, however, with these legalistic and material reasons for designating not Adasi but Bêlu-bâni as their oldest known ancestor on the throne of Aššûr was doubtless the fact that in the king list Adasi is enumerated only as one of the group of six usurpers which precedes Bêlu-bâni, the first five kings of which do not belong—at least as far as we know—to Bêlu-bâni's family. Taking the group

<sup>166</sup> Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Senjirli Stele (VS I, No. 78), obv., ll. 16 f.: *zêr šarru-u-ti da-ru-u-ti* ša <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni mâr <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si mu-kin šarru-u-ti <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki ša du-ru-u-ti-šû] <sup>mât</sup>BAL-BAD-ki Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, HRETA No. 28, ll. 30 f., and duplicate inscription, Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 351 f., ll. 28 f.: *li-ip-ti-pi da-ru-u-ti* <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni mâr <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si šâr <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki *pir'u* BAL-BAD-ki šu-qu-ru *zêr šarru-u-ti ki-ŠIT-ti* ša-a-ti.

Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Negub Inscription, VS I, No. 79, l. 5: *li-ip-ti-pi* <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni *apil* <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si . . . . .]; still more complete in Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, p. 35 (Meissner-Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 206), where the line continues *apil* <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si šâr <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki *ki-ŠIT-ti* [ša-a-ti] . . . . .]

Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, Lehmann, Pl. VIII ff., l. 23: *zêr šarru-u-ti da-ru-u-ti* ša <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni mâr <sup>mât</sup>A-da-si *pir'u* BAL-BAD-ki.

<sup>167</sup> Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff., obv., ll. 48 f.: *lip-lip-pi šarru-ti* ša <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-ba-ni šâr <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki <sup>mât</sup>ki-ŠIT-ti ša-a-ti ša du-ruk-]šû BAL-BAD, and its duplicate, *ibid.*, pp. 299 ff., l. 32: š[Ā-BA]L-BAL <sup>mât</sup>Bêlu-[ba-ni] šara <sup>mât</sup>Aš-šur-ki *ki-ŠIT-ti* ša-a-ti ša du-ruk-]šû BAL-BAD-ki.

<sup>168</sup> See n. 166.

enumerations of the six usurpers not as a late and rather casual development but as an original and intentional arrangement, the late scribes who consulted the king list would necessarily regard Bêlu-bâni as the first of the long row of kings to each of whom the king list from now on uniformly, i.e., without interruption by a further group enumeration, devotes an independent statement. Under the influence of this arrangement, which gave Adasi a very unfavorable place, the royal scribes as well as their royal lords quite naturally would feel that they should disregard Adasi and in the inscriptions should name Bêlu-bâni as the ancestor of the royal family. This, moreover, must have appeared to them a very advantageous solution of the problem—resulting for them from the fact that the ancestor of the royal family was a commoner and a usurper—since in this manner the fact of Adasi's existence was not suppressed, his name still being mentioned as that of Bêlu-bâni's father. This, of course, is another indication that with the later Assyrians the king list and its statements had acquired a kind of official and authoritative status.

We have already had occasion<sup>169</sup> to discuss the hints by Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn that Bêlu-bâni, and through him, of course, they themselves, derived their origin from a very old family which had resided in and perhaps even ruled over the city of BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, the predecessor of Aššûr in the old Sumerian period. Note especially the epithet *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup>, "scion of BAL-BAD," in Aššûr-aḫa-iddina's inscription concerning the restoration of Eanna as well as in the cylinder inscription of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn. Even if this epithet should be intended for Aššûr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn themselves, as is quite possible,<sup>170</sup> it would nevertheless apply also to Bêlu-bâni, their ancestor.<sup>171</sup> An idea quite similar to that conveyed by *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> should be expressed by the epithets *ki-ŠIT-ti* ša-a-

<sup>169</sup> See *JNES*, I, 265.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. the epithet *zêr* BAL-BAD<sup>ki</sup> which Šarru-kîn II in his report on his eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin, RHCS, I, 113), applies to himself.

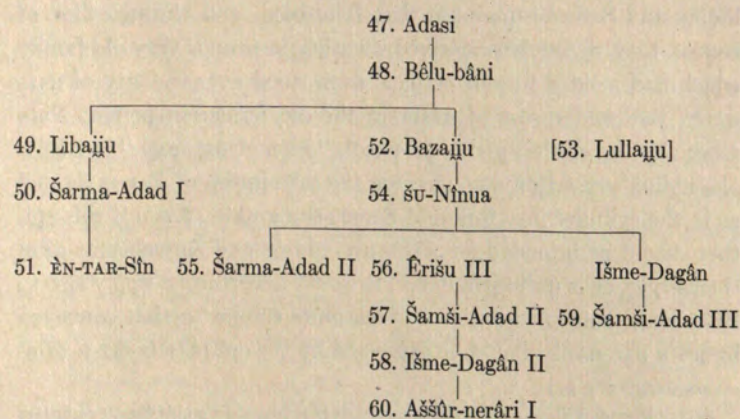
<sup>171</sup> For the combination of *pir'u* with an old city name cf. Sin-aḫe-riḫa, Bellino Cylinder, l. 13: "Bêlu-ibni, son of an overseer of the builders, a scion of Šu-anna (*pi-ir'u* Šu-an-na<sup>ki</sup>), who had grown up in my palace similarly as a young dog, as king of Sumer and Akkad I set over them." Šu-anna apparently is the quarter of the city of Babylon in which the temples were situated, i.e., the west part of the later greatly extended city. As such, it probably was in an old period the name of the whole settlement then existing at the site of the later Babylon. The phrase "scion of Šu-anna" evidently is intended to indicate that the builder family from which Bêlu-ibni came was a very old one which traced its origin to the earliest periods of the city.



*ti du-ruk-šu* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup> in Esarhaddon's building inscription (Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff. and 299 ff.).<sup>172</sup>

With A-d[a-si] and Bêlu-bâni begins the preserved part of column 1 of the Synchronistic King List A from Aššûr,<sup>173</sup> and from it (and in part from the preserved part of col. 2 of the Nassouhi list<sup>174</sup> and a small Aššûr fragment of a different type)<sup>175</sup> also the names—though not in all cases in their correct reading<sup>176</sup>—as well as the sequence of the immediate successors could be established. As of Adasi and Bêlu-bâni, so also of their successors, Libajju, Šar-ma-Adad I, ÈN-TAR-Sîn, Bazajju, Lullajju, šu-Nînua, Šar-ma-Adad II, Êrišu III, Šamši-Adad II, and Išme-Dagân II, we have to date no personal or contemporaneous inscriptions, nor is, as far as our present material goes, any reference to them found in later texts. Historically, therefore, the 127-year period represented by these ten kings (1637–1511 B.C.) still is a blank for us apart from the few facts that can be gathered from the king list itself.

Quite instructive in that respect is the genealogy of the kings of that period as indicated by the following pedigree:



<sup>172</sup> In Esarhaddon's stele from Senjirli only *ša du-ru-u[k-šu]* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup>. In Nies and Keiser, *op. cit.*, No. 28, and its duplicate, Meissner-Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 351 f., only *ki-šit-ti ša-a-ti*, but with preceding *pir'u* BAL-BAD<sup>k1</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> Weidner, AOF, III, 70 f.

<sup>174</sup> AOF, IV, 4 f.

<sup>175</sup> KAVI, No. 14.

<sup>176</sup> Note Weidner's readings in AOF, IV, 16: Lu(?)bâi [in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 450: Šabâi] (49); Lilkud-Šamaš [in Meissner, *loc. cit.*: Gizil(?) -Sîn] (51); [Meissner, *loc. cit.*: Zimzâi—but later correctly Bazâi (52),—and Ši-Nînua (54).

<sup>177</sup> Sumerian writing for a form of *paqâdu* (*pâqid*, *ipqid*, etc.). Or is an Akkadian precativ form *li-tar*, etc., intended?

It will be observed that the first three successors of Bêlu-bâni were his son Libajju, his grandson Šar-ma-Adad I, and his great-grandson ÈN-TAR-Sîn, either of the last two the son of his predecessor. But ÈN-TAR-Sîn is followed by his great-uncle Bazajju, a second and probably younger son of Bêlu-bâni<sup>178</sup> and, therefore, a brother of ÈN-TAR-Sîn's grandfather, Libajju. Unfortunately, we have no information on the circumstances under which this break in the succession occurred. But probably with ÈN-TAR-Sîn the Libajju branch of the royal family became extinct, since from then on succession to the throne remained with the Bazajju branch. The royal dignity then devolved on Bazajju probably because, as brother of King Libajju, he was the closest relative and therefore the nearest heir to the throne, although he may quite as well have become king because he was the then senior of the family. Judging from the relatively low figures attributed to his and his predecessors' reigns, ÈN-TAR-Sîn seems to have died a young man. Bazajju, on the other hand, must have been at least forty-two years old (the sum of the regnal years of Libajju and his successors, plus at least one year of Bêlu-bâni), when he became king, and at least seventy years old at the end of his 28-year reign. Whether perhaps the latter circumstance may be regarded as directly or indirectly responsible for the fact that after Bazajju, evidently in consequence of a revolt, Lullajju, a usurper, ascended the throne, we have no means of ascertaining, although it seems quite likely. As mentioned before, the rule of the usurper lasted only six years, and with šu-Nînua, son of Bazajju—most probably after a successful counterrevolt—the Adasi dynasty reoccupied the throne of Aššûr. It is interesting to note that, although after Lullajju according to our king list a change of reign by an act of violence occurred at Aššûr several times, Lullajju is the last usurper (with the possible exception of Sîn-šumu-lišir and Aššûr-uballiṭ II) who was not a member of the Adasi dynasty.

I presume it will be necessary to explain why the names written *Li-ba-A.A.*, *Ba-za-A.A.*, and *Lu-ul-la-A.A.* in the Khorsabad list (time of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III) and the Synchronistic King List (time of

<sup>178</sup> It may be noted that both sons of Bêlu-bâni bear names ending with the gentilic (or hypocoristic?) ending *-ajju*. Names of this kind, as a rule, were not borne by Assyrian kings and princes, evidently because they were not considered as befitting the dignity of the royal house. The names Libajju and Bazajju may therefore indicate that their bearers were born before Adasi and Bêlu-bâni became kings. Cf. also the name Lullajju, borne by Bazajju's successor, according to the list *a mâr lû mamâna*.



Aššûr-bâni-apli),<sup>179</sup> are rendered by me Libajju, Bazajju, and Lullajju. I might add that in the Nassouhi list (time of Aššûr-dan II?) the same names appear in the writing *Ba-za-A[.IA]* and *[Lu-la-A].IA* and that these writings, too, represent Baza(i)jju and Lu(l)la(i)jju. Similar variant writings of the gentilic forms with *-A.A* and *-A.IA* are, as is well known, quite frequent, and for certain periods the one or the other writing is even a quite characteristic feature. Note, however, as especially instructive, the fact that Adad-nerâri II in his clay tablet inscription KAH I, No. 84, line 39, designates his foe Nûr-Adad as *mâtTe-ma-na-A.A*, "the Temanean," while in line 63 of the same text the same Nûr-Adad is called *mâtTe-man-na-A.IA*, "the Tema(n)nean." Note, furthermore, the plural form *mâtAr-ma-A.IA-MEŠ*, "the Arameans," in line 33 of the inscription just referred to and in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, Clay Prism, KAH I, No. 63, column 3, line 5. Concerning the usual transliteration, e.g., of *mâtMa-da-A.A*, "the Mede," and *mâtHi-in-da-na-A.IA*, "the Hindanean," as *mâtMa-da-a-a* and *mâtHi-in-da-na-a-ia*, I have always (i.e., from the very beginning of my acquaintance with Assyrian) had a feeling of uneasiness, since no plausible reason could be thought of why the Assyrian scribes, though placing the case endings *u* and *i* (in older periods also *a*) after all other substantives and adjectives, should have let the masculine gentilic substantives and adjectives of the type *Ma-da-A.A* end exclusively with *a*. For this would, of course, represent the old accusative ending *-a*, the use of which in the later periods as a general case ending for the gentilica would be very strange, especially since in those periods the accusative ending disappeared from the language, superseded by the nominative ending *u*. Moreover, if the plural form *mâtAr-ma-A.IA-MEŠ*, "the Arameans," is to be conceived as *mâtAr-ma-a-ia*<sup>180</sup>, why should in such a case even the plural ending *-ê* be replaced by *-a*, the former accusative ending of the singular? There is only one way to avoid these difficulties, namely, to concede that, instead of the hitherto prevailing readings of final *A.A* or *A.IA*, these sign combinations have not only the phonetic value *a(i)ia* but also the additional values *a(i)iu*, *a(i)ii*, and *a(i)ie* and that where, for example, *Hi-in-da-na-A.A*, "the

<sup>179</sup> In the latter list (according to Weidner's copy in AOF, III, 70), the last name is actually written *Lu-ul-la-A[.A]*, i.e., with omission of the second *A* by mistake.

<sup>180</sup> So, e.g., Schroeder in KAH I, p. 118, col. 2: *mât[Ū]-ru-ma-a-ia*<sup>mes</sup>; *ibid.*, p. 122, col. 2.

Hindanean," and *Hi-in-da-na-A.IA*, "the Hindanean," are in the nominative singular, they must be read and transliterated *Hi-in-da-na-aiju* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)iu*<sub>2</sub> (the latter with the optional readings *Hi-in-da-na-a-ju* or even *Hi-in-da-na-a-ju*);<sup>181</sup> that as genitives singular they must be read *Hi-in-da-na-aii* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)ii*; that where, in older language, they are in the accusative singular, they represent *Hi-in-da-na-aija* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)ia*<sub>2</sub>; and, finally, that as plurals they represent *Hi-in-da-na-aije* and *Hi-in-da-na-a(i)ie*<sub>2</sub> (cf. *Ar-ma-A.IA-MEŠ* = *Ar-ma-a(i)ie*<sub>2</sub><sup>mes</sup>, or, in certain cases, *Ar-ma-a(i)ie*<sub>3</sub> with *A.IA-MEŠ* = *a(i)ie*<sub>3</sub>).

This can be shown conclusively—at least to anyone not too much impressed by traditional views or not too much engrossed in the views hitherto held by him—in the following manner. The name *Lullajju*, "the Lullean," which, as we have seen, is written *Lu-ul-la-A.A* and *Lu-la-A.IA* in the king lists, appears in the legal document, Ebeling, KAJ I, No. 171, line 6, where as the subject of a relative clause it stands in the nominative, in the writing *Lu-la-IA-Ū*;<sup>182</sup> but where, in the same text, it stands in the genitive, as in lines 4 and 9 and in the scribal note to a seal (in all these passages *mâr L.*) as well as in line 2 (. . . *L.*), it appears as *Lu-la-IA-E*.<sup>183</sup> On the other hand, in KAJ I, No. 62, line 6, in *mâr L.*, the genitive is written simply as *Lu-la-IA*. This genitive is to be read, of course, *Lu-la-ii* or *Lu-la-ie* with *IA* = *ii* or *ie*, while as nominative the same *Lu-la-IA* would have to be read *Lu-la-ju* with *IA* = *ju*, and, as accusative, *Lu-la-ia* with *IA* = *ia*. But also *Lu-la-IA-Ū* represents *Lu(l)la(i)ju* (or *Lu(l)lâju*), i.e., it is to be read *Lu-la-ju* with *IA.Ū* = *ju*, while *Lu-la-IA-E* represents *Lu-la-je* with *IA.E* = *je*, and we must, of course, conclude from this that the combination *IA.I* will have the phonetic value *ii*, *IA + A* the value *ia*. In other words, the simple *IA* is a polyphonic sign in the sense that, although its initial consonant remains unchanged, its vowel can be any Akkadian vowel recognized in the Akkadian system of writing. In that respect *IA* parallels the two signs *PI* and *PA* with their respective phonetic values *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, and *pu* and *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, and *pu*, as well as, from a more com-

<sup>181</sup> On the phonetic value *ju* of the sign *IA* see my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 4, n. 2.

<sup>182</sup> So also in *op. cit.*, No. 215 (a list), l. 23, as well as in No. 223, l. 14, and No. 310, l. 68 (in both instances in the *limmu* formula).

<sup>183</sup> So also in No. 310, l. 3 (*ša qdt L.*).



prehensive point of view, the signs  $\text{A}^2$  (=  $\text{A}$ ) and  $\text{AH}$ , with their respective values  $a^2$ ,  $e^2$ ,  $i^2$ , and  $u^2$ , and  $ah$ ,  $eh$ ,  $ih$ , and  $uh$ . In my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar* (p. 29, n. 2), however, I have shown that, since in an open syllable because of its polyphonic character the reading of  $\text{A}$  would be in doubt,<sup>184</sup> the Akkadian scribes preferred in such cases to use not the ambiguous simple  $\text{A}$  sign but the combinations  $\text{A.A.}$ ,  $\text{A.E.}$ ,  $\text{A.I.}$ , and  $\text{A.Ú}$  for the expression of  $\text{a}$ ,  $\text{e}$ ,  $\text{i}$ , and  $\text{u}$ . According to the same method, the Assyrian scribes, in order to avoid the ambiguity of the polyphonic sign  $\text{IA}$ , used in open syllables, at least where it seemed essential to indicate the vowel, the combination  $\text{IA.A}$  for  $\text{ia}$ ,  $\text{IA.E}$  for  $\text{ie}$ ,  $\text{IA.I}$  for  $\text{ii}$ , and  $\text{IA.Ú}$  for  $\text{iu}$ . In brokenly written closed syllables beginning with  $\text{i}$  the use of these combinations was, of course, unnecessary, and in point of fact they are not used in them, since in such a case the vowel of  $\text{IA}$  is determined by the vowel of the second sign. Compare, e.g.,  $\text{IA-al-ma-an} = \text{Ia-al-ma-an}$ , Šamši-Adad V, I R 29 ff., column 4, line 11;  $\text{Ha-li-IA-um} = \text{Ha-li-iu-um}$ , CT VIII, 44:91-5-9, 2499 (probably time of Sumu-la-il), lines 7 and 12, with which the feminine name  $\text{Ha-li-ia-tum}$  (occurrences indicated in Ranke, EBPN, p. 187) is to be compared;  $\text{A-IA-um-ma} = \text{a-iu-um-ma}$ ,<sup>185</sup> and  $\text{IA-um-ma} = \text{iu-um-ma}$  ( $< \text{eiumma} < \text{aiumma} < \text{aiiumma}$ ), "anyone,"<sup>186</sup> Delitzsch, AHwb., page 47.<sup>187</sup>

According to Weidner's copy of the Aššûr synchronistic king list A (AOf, III, 70 f.) the name of King šu-Nînua<sup>ki</sup> would seem to appear there as šr-Ni-nu-a, while the fragment KAVI, No. 14 (= Weidner, MVAeG XXVI, No. 2, last plate), which I had an opportunity to col-

<sup>184</sup> This is, of course, not the case when  $\text{A}$  occurs as the first part of a brokenly written closed syllable such as  $\text{a-al}$  (=  $\text{al}$ ),  $\text{u-ul}$  (=  $\text{ul}$ ), etc., since there the vowel of  $\text{A}$  is determined by the vowel of the second sign.

<sup>185</sup> May be conceived also as  $\text{A.IA-um-ma} = \text{a(i)iu-um-ma}$ .

<sup>186</sup> It will be observed that with the recognition of the value  $\text{iu}$  for  $\text{IA}$  such monstrous forms as  $\text{a-ia-um-ma}$  and  $\text{ia-um-ma}$  simply disappear.

<sup>187</sup> The same rule applies to the use of  $\text{A.A} = \text{a(i)iu}$  and  $\text{A.A.Ú} = \text{a(i)iu}$ ,  $\text{A.A.} = \text{a(i)iu}$  and  $\text{A.A.I} = \text{a(i)iu}$ , etc. Cf., e.g.,  $\text{A.A-um} = \text{aiiu-um}$  (=  $\text{ai. iu-um}$ ), "who" (Delitzsch erroneously "where"), but without mimation, whereby  $\text{iu}$  becomes an open syllable,  $\text{A.A.Ú} = \text{aiiu}$ , "who," Delitzsch, AHwb., p. 47;  $\text{A.A-um-ma} = \text{aiiu-um-ma}$ , "anyone," *ibid.*;  $\text{Da.A.A-uk-ku} = \text{Da-aiiu-uk-ku}$  (=  $\text{Da-a(i)iu-uk-ku}$ ), Šarrukin, Display Inscription, l. 49 (in Greek  $\text{Dēiōkēs}$ , which, of course, prohibits a reading  $\text{Daioukku}$  [so Luckenbill, ARAB II, §§ 12 and 56]).

The phonetic values discussed in the above sections, as well as others not here discussed, were pointed out by me several years ago in weekly conferences with the members of the Assyrian Dictionary staff held for the purpose of establishing for the Dictionary a system of transliteration not only uniform but at the same time in conformity with the cuneiform system of writing as it was conceived by the Babylonian and Assyrian scribes. The writer intends to publish his proposals in a systematic form at a date not too remote.

late, apparently offers [š]ú-u-<sup>d</sup>Nînua.<sup>188</sup> The phonetic writing of the second component Nînua as *ni-nu-a* in Synchronistic King List A is not especially remarkable, but the use of the god-determinative instead of the city-determinative before Nînua in KAVI, No. 14, is evidently a mistake of the scribe, since Nînua or the contracted Nînâ is attested with any certainty only as the name of a city, not as the name of a deity who in our case should, of course, have some connection with the city of Nineveh.<sup>189</sup> As regards the sign šr of Weidner's copy, however, it is, in view of the šú-u of KAVI, No. 14, very likely that the original of the Synchronistic King List likewise reads šú-u, i.e., that there, too, the last wedge is not horizontal as in šr, but slanting.<sup>190</sup>

The writing of the first element of the name as šú and šú-u seems to indicate that they are to be read phonetically, i.e., as *šú* and *šú-u*, although one could argue that, if šú is an ideogram, the *u* of šú-u could be conceived as a so-called phonetic complement. Note, however, that a purely phonetic writing of the first name element, i.e., as *šú-u*, would well agree with the phonetic writing *ni-nu-a* of the second element in the Synchronistic King List. Since in other names beginning with šú<sup>191</sup> it is followed by the name of a god, the šú apparently is the old genitive and relative pronoun *šú*, which later was replaced by the genitive and relative particle *ša*,<sup>192</sup> the name *Šú-Nînua*<sup>ki</sup>, therefore, meaning "he of Nînua," "the Ninevite," or more likely "(the property, servant, etc.) of the city Nînua," which is conceived as a deity. Since *šú* before the following genitive is in the construct state,

<sup>188</sup> Of the first sign only the perpendicular wedge and apparently the lower end of its slanting wedge is preserved.

<sup>189</sup> With regard to the South Babylonian city *NINĀ* and its chief deity <sup>d</sup>NINĀ, the Chicago Syllabary in the two unfortunately not completely preserved equations, ll. 158 f. offers two phonetic values for the sign Nînâ, namely, *na-an-še* and *ni-nā-a* (or *ni-nū-a*). Since the latter in CT II, 35 f.: S. 1300, rev. 1, 2, is given to the city *NINĀ*, the value *na-an-še* evidently belongs to the goddess <sup>d</sup>NINĀ. Possibly the scribe wrote <sup>d</sup>NINĀ instead of *NINĀ* under the influence of the quite customary writing <sup>d</sup>A-šur (etc.) for *A-šur* (etc.) or under the influence of the fact that in other names šú is combined with the name of a deity. Actually cities are deities, but they are not designated as such in the writing of their names.

<sup>190</sup> Weidner copied the text from a photograph of the original, which is in the Constantinople Museum.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. šú-<sup>d</sup>Šin, Andrae, StrA, No. 132, l. 2; šú-<sup>d</sup>A-[šur], Ebeling, KAJI, No. 62, l. 22; and perhaps, according to Ebeling's copy, šú-*ildā-ni*, *ibid.*, No. 171, l. 6, instead of which l. 3, however, at least according to Ebeling's copy, has a clear *maš-ildā-ni* (= *Ašarē-ilāni*).

<sup>192</sup> Originally the accusative of the sing. masc. of the pronoun. For the inflection of the latter, see my remarks in OLZ XXXI (1928), col. 699.



*Šu-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup>, not *Šu-u-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup>, is doubtless the correct form of the name, as indeed only this writing is found in other names beginning with that pronoun.<sup>193</sup> The plene writing *šú-u* is probably due to the fact that the nominative construct form *šu* had fallen into disuse and had been replaced by *ša*.<sup>194</sup>

The immediate successor of *šú-Ninua* was his son *Šar-ma-Adad* II (55), who is followed—with a break in the line of succession—by his brother *Ērišu* III (56).<sup>195</sup> Then follow in a direct line of succession *Ērišu* III's son *Šamši-Adad* II (57) and his grandson *Išme-Dagân* II (58). But a new break occurs with the accession to the throne of the next king, *Šamši-Adad* III (59). For, although he is the son of an *Išme-Dagân*, the latter is not identical with *Išme-Dagân* II but, as expressly stated in the king list, is the brother of [. . . .]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad*, son of *šú-Ninua*. In other words, while *Išme-Dagân* II was a great-grandson of *šú-Ninua*, *Šamši-Adad* III's father *Išme-Dagân* was a son of *šú-Ninua*, representing, therefore, the second generation before King *Išme-Dagân*. Unfortunately, the first part of [. . . .]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* is broken in both the Khorsabad and the Nassouhi lists. But, if the king list designates *Šamši-Adad*'s father *Išme-Dagân* as the brother of another son of *šú-Ninua*, this makes sense, of course, only in case this brother was one of the preceding kings and not an otherwise unknown person; and since the king list mentions as a king of *Aššûr* no other son of *šú-Ninua* whose name ends with "<sup>d</sup>*Adad*" than *Šar-ma-Adad* II, we must assume that this king was the brother referred to in the king list even though the remnants of the broken signs as they now appear in the break do not clearly indicate that they were *Šar-ma*. It is, of course, not necessary to point out expressly that *Išme-Dagân*, the father of *Šamši-Adad* III, did not rule.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Compare also the well-known writing of the name *šv-<sup>d</sup>Sin* at the time of the third dynasty of Ur.

<sup>194</sup> In case the original of Synchronistic King List A has actually *ši*, one might perhaps be tempted—since *ši* is the genitive form of *šu* (see OLZ XXXI, *loc. cit.*)—to explain *Ši-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup> as the old genitive form of *Šu-Ninua*<sup>ki</sup>, used there instead of the nominative form similarly as in late inscriptions, e.g., the genitive form *Hajjâni* may be used (or written) instead of the nominative form *Hajjânu*. But such an explanation seems nearly out of the question since a name like *Šu-Ninua* no longer allowed inflexion in the period of King *Šu-Ninua* and probably was not inflected even in much older periods.

<sup>195</sup> On Nassouhi's erroneous assumption that his list omits the statement on *Ērišu* III's reign see above, p. 470.

<sup>196</sup> Nassouhi, in whose list the name of *šú-Ninua* is destroyed and therefore could not offer any hint for a reading of the preceding name, restored the [. . . .]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* of his list as

It is quite interesting to see that two of the three known sons of *šú-Ninua*, namely, King *Ērišu* III and *Išme-Dagân*, who did not rule, bear the names of former Assyrian rulers; that this is equally true of their sons, *Šamši-Adad* II and *Šamši-Adad* III; and that a son of the former again bears the name *Išme-Dagân*. This is, of course, not quite accidental. In point of fact, it is an eloquent testimony that, at the time of *šú-Ninua* and his immediate successors, the thoughts of the royal house were turned with special intensity to the past periods of glory in the history of Assyria, doubtless in the hope that those times of glory might come again to Assyria. The king after whom *Ērišu* III was named was, of course, not *Ērišu* II, who was dethroned by *Šamši-Adad* I, but *Ērišu* I, even though to date we actually know nothing certain of the political events of his reign. But his extensive building activity sufficiently indicates that the power of *Aššûr* was at a peak at his time. But especially it was *Šamši-Adad* I and *Išme-Dagân* I, who in the eyes of the royal house represented a time of the greatest might of *Aššûr* and, up to their own time, of the greatest extension of the Assyrian kingdom, and it is especially instructive in that respect that each of the two brothers *Ērišu* III and *Išme-Dagân* called his son *Šamši-Adad*. *Šamši-Adad* I, after whom they were named, was the first ruler of *Aššûr* who could proudly call himself *šar kiššatim*, "king of the mighty mass (of peoples),"<sup>197</sup> and *šakin <sup>d</sup>En-lil*, "governor of Enlil," the god of dominion who is the lugal kurkurra, "lord of all the lands."<sup>198</sup> Similarly, *Išme-Dagân* as the heir of *Šamši-Adad*'s kingdom and, as we know from a letter of *Šamši-Adad* to his son *Iasmaḥ-Adad* in Mari, an energetic military leader, must have been a mighty and vigorous ruler—even though we know practically nothing of his deeds during his 40-year reign and although at the end

[*Šam-ši*]-<sup>d</sup>*Adad* and, on the basis of this restoration, assumed that *Šamši-Adad* II was the brother of *Išme-Dagân*, *Šamši-Adad*'s father. He consequently describes *Šamši-Adad* III as a first cousin of his predecessor *Išme-Dagân* II, instead of as the son of *Išme-Dagân* II's grand-uncle.

<sup>197</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 1, col. 1, l. 2 (here still without the second title *šakin Enlil*; the king reports the reconstruction of the temple of Enlil which *Ērišu* I had built); No. 5, l. 2 (together with the second title), and Thompson, AAA XIX (1932), Pl. 260A, col. 1, ll. 2 f. (time of the restoration of the Istar temple at Nineveh), where *Šamši-Adad* even calls himself *dannum šar kiššatim*, "mighty king of the totality."

<sup>198</sup> IAaK, VIII, No. 4, l. 2, and No. 5, l. 2; Thompson, *loc. cit.*, l. 3. Note that in all these instances the title precedes that of *iššak <sup>d</sup>Aššûr* and that in IAaK, No. 5, also the predicate *pāliḥ <sup>d</sup>Dagân*, "who respectfully reveres Dagan," precedes it.



of his reign Assyria became the prey of usurpers. A similar tendency to revive the reminiscence of a glorious past, coupled with the desire to emulate its famous rulers, evidently marked the time of Ikûnu, son of Êrišu I, and his successors, as is shown by the fact that Ikûnu's son bears the name Šarru-kîn, made famous by the first king of Akkad, as well as by the fact that his great-grandson bears the name Narâm-Sîn, made famous by the fourth king of Akkad; in point of fact, in the minds of the Babylonians as well as of the Assyrians, these two kings were the most renowned rulers of the past. In a smaller way even the names of Puzur-Aššûr II and Êrišu II come under that tendency, the former as bringing to mind the founder of the ruling dynasty, and the latter, like that of Êrišu III, recalling the times of Êrišu I.

With Šamši-Adad III we reach the epoch from which—with only a few exceptions in its earlier part—the reigns of the kings of Aššûr are attested either by their own inscriptions, by references to them in the inscriptions of later rulers, especially in the genealogical parts of these inscriptions, or, finally, by references to them in chronicles, legal texts, etc.<sup>199</sup> Coincidentally it is also with Šamši-Adad, or even his predecessor, Išme-Dagân II, that the better-preserved portion of the Nassouhi king list tablet begins (lower third of col. 2 of the obverse and the two columns of the reverse). Nevertheless, we shall presently see that the damage suffered by the Nassouhi tablet even in this part, especially at the top of column 3 (= right column of the reverse), together with a wrong calculation of the missing lines, has hitherto prohibited, at least to some extent, the correct reconstruction of the names and the sequence of the kings in this section of the king list.

Šamši-Adad III's successor was Aššûr-nerâri I, son of Išme-Dagân. We have of him only the inscription KAH I, No. 62, which in spite of its shortness is quite important because in it Aššûr-nerâri gives his father Išme-Dagân the title *iššak dA-šur*. This title proves that Išme-Dagân is identical, not with Šamši-Adad III's father, who did not rule, but with King Išme-Dagân II, the predecessor of Šamši-Adad. The same conclusion can be drawn also from the fact that in our king list no qualifying apposition is added to his name. For in the tech-

<sup>199</sup> In a former section (see *JNES*, I, 302-6) we have discussed the reference by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I to Šamši-Adad III as the builder or rebuilder of the Anu-Adad temple—or probably only the Anu temple—at Aššûr.

nique of the king-list redactors this indicates that he is to be identified with the last king of that name previously mentioned in the king list. If Aššûr-nerâri's father were identical with Išme-Dagân, Šamši-Adad III's father, who is not mentioned in the list as a king, the principles followed by the scribes would have made it necessary, in order to avoid misunderstandings, either to add to his name the same appositional statements as those made in the preceding paragraph on Šamši-Adad III's father or, since Aššûr-nerâri I in this case would have been the brother of his predecessor, to designate Aššûr-nerâri I simply as "brother of Šamši-Adad, son of Išme-Dagân," or, still shorter, as "his brother," the "his" as in all other cases referring to the immediately preceding king, i.e., to Šamši-Adad III. Note that with Aššûr-nerâri, son of Išme-Dagân II, succession to the throne returned to the Êrišu III family branch, Šamši-Adad III's 16-year reign therefore representing merely a temporary interruption of that line.<sup>200</sup>

From Aššûr-nerâri I, succession runs within this line without any break over Puzur-Aššûr III (61), Enlil-nâsir I (62), and Nûr-ili (63) to Aššûr-šadûni (64).<sup>201</sup> The last-named was king only one month,<sup>202</sup> whereupon, as is expressly stated in the king list, he was dethroned by Aššûr-rabi I (65), who, like Nûr-ili, Aššûr-šadûni's father, was a son of Enlil-nâsir I and therefore an uncle of Aššûr-šadûni. The year 1430 B.C., in which this dethronement of Aššûr-šadûni occurred (only a month after his father's death), must have been a veritable year of calamities for Aššûr and its royal house. For, as has been established in a former section of this report<sup>203</sup> neither Aššûr-rabi I nor even his son and immediate successor Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê I (66), ruled to the end of that year,<sup>204</sup> so that the accession to the throne of the next king, Enlil-nâsir II, a second son of Aššûr-rabi, also fell still within the year.

<sup>200</sup> For a similar temporary interruption of the ruling line by Aššûr-rim-nišêšu (70) and his son Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê II (71), see later.

<sup>201</sup> Copied and read by Nassouhi (4th line from the end of col. 2 of his copy and top of p. 6) = *Aš-šur-šad-ḡd[be<sup>mes</sup>]*.

<sup>202</sup> *I araḫ âmdu-te*. Nassouhi interpreted the preserved signs of his list as [x] *um<sup>mes</sup>* . . . . "[x] days" ("quelques jours" in annotation to ll. 40 f.; "wenige Tage," Weidner, *AOF*, IV, 16).

<sup>203</sup> See *JNES*, I, 288 ff., 293, and 296, n. 130.

<sup>204</sup> In the Khorsabad list the statements on the length of their reigns are broken off, but, as shown by our calculations, the list must have had the *DUB-pi-šû šarru-ta ê<sub>1</sub>ug-uš* formula in either of the two cases.



This year consequently saw five kings, namely, Nûr-ili, Aššûr-šadûni, Aššûr-rabi I, Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, and Enlil-nâsir I. Since Aššûr-šadûni's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father ruled only 14, 13, and 12 years, respectively, he may have been quite young when he ascended the throne, and probably this circumstance made it possible and easy for Aššûr-rabi to depose his nephew. But as to an explanation of the fact that Aššûr-rabi was also king at the most only a few months and possibly less than a month, not even a hint from the inscriptions or from any other source is available. Since, however, the king list does not—as in the case of Aššûr-šadûni—state that he was dethroned by his son and successor Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, one might believe that the unexpected change of reign was caused by his death, no matter whether he died from natural causes<sup>205</sup> or whether he was killed.<sup>206</sup> Corresponding conclusions, for the same reasons, could be drawn concerning Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I and his short reign. It is noteworthy, however, that the king-list statement dealing with his successor, though not saying that Enlil-nâsir II dethroned Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê, nevertheless makes the express remark—quite unique in the king list without the deposition phrase—that “Enlil-nâsir, his brother, seated himself on the throne.” The purpose of this unusual statement can only be to indicate Enlil-nâsir ascended the throne by passing over the legal right to the throne of the son or the sons of Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê.

None of the three rulers, Aššûr-šadûni, Aššûr-rabi I, and Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, are represented by inscriptions of their own. This, of course, is to be expected, for because of the shortness of their reign and in view of the troubled times in which they ascended the throne, they could hardly think of erecting new buildings or of making some object to be dedicated to a deity. But to date we likewise have no inscription from the 12-year reign of Nûr-ili (1441–1430) (63), or from

<sup>205</sup> In view of the fact that not only he himself but also his son Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê I ruled only a very short time, one could well imagine that both he and his son perhaps might have become victims of the plague or some other epidemic disease so frequently overtaking the eastern countries.

<sup>206</sup> In this case one may perhaps suppose that the killing was engineered by a party opposed to Aššûr-rabi and his family, and probably adhering to the Nûr-ili family, but that the Aššûr-rabi family nevertheless succeeded in placing Aššûr-rabi's son Aššûr-nâdin-aḥḥê on the throne.

the 6-year reign of Enlil-nâsir II (1429–1424). Perhaps this indicates that their reigns, too, were not free from troubles, that of Nûr-ili perhaps because he already had to battle with the opposition party with whose help probably Aššûr-rabi succeeded in usurping the throne shortly after Nûr-ili's death. That neither Nûr-ili nor Aššûr-šadûni is mentioned in the genealogies of later kings is, of course, not to be wondered at, since no descendant of theirs ascended the throne. In the light of our previous deliberations, this fact might perhaps indicate that no member of the Nûr-ili family survived the disturbances referred to above.

By a strange fate Enlil-nâsir II, too, after his 6-year reign is not followed by a son of his, but by his brother, Aššûr-nerâri II (68) (1423–1417), a third son of Aššûr-rabi I. The Khorsabad list,<sup>207</sup> to be sure, makes Aššûr-nerâri the son of Enlil-nâsir II, but there can be no doubt whatever that the Khorsabad list is wrong in this point, since in their genealogies the three kings, Aššûr-rîm-nišešu (70), son of Aššûr-nerâri II,<sup>208</sup> Eriba-Adad I (72), grandson of Aššûr-nerâri II<sup>209</sup> and Aššûr-uballiṭ I (73), great-grandson of Aššûr-nerâri II,<sup>210</sup> all designate their father or ancestor Aššûr-nerâri II as the son of Aššûr-rabi. The mistake in the king list is quite interesting, because it testifies to an inclination, of course quite unconscious, on the part of the copying scribes to extend the usual father-son relationship between a king and his immediate successor to cases where that relationship actually did not exist.<sup>211</sup> As we shall presently see, exactly the same mistake is made in the case of King Aššûr-rîm-nišešu (70), who, although actually the brother of his predecessor Aššûr-bêl-nišešu, appears as his son in our king list. In this latter case we are able to observe that the

<sup>207</sup> In the Nassouhi list the passage relating to Aššûr-nerâri II is totally destroyed.

<sup>208</sup> KAH I, No. 63, ll. 1–5.

<sup>209</sup> KAH II, No. 25, obv.

<sup>210</sup> KAH II, No. 27, obv., ll. 1–12.

<sup>211</sup> How natural this inclination was may be judged from the fact that even modern scholars have sometimes unguardedly shown a propensity in actually dubious cases to regard the immediate successor of a king as his son. For instance, Nassouhi, as pointed out above, believed the usurper Lullajju to be the son of his predecessor Bazajju, and Šû-Ninua to be the son of Lullajju. Vice versa, Weidner, as we shall see, believed Aššûr-rabi to be the immediate predecessor of Aššûr-nerâri II (Weidner's Adad-nerâri III) because this king, according to the genealogies in the inscriptions of later rulers, was his son.



Nassouhi list, nearly two centuries older, the text of which fortunately is sufficiently preserved at this point,<sup>212</sup> shows the same mistake; and, judging from this fact, it would not be impossible that it had the mistake concerning Aššûr-nerâri II's relationship to Enlil-nâsir also. In point of fact the mistake may have been much older than the Nassouhi list. The recopying of the mistake by the scribe of the Khorsabad list almost two hundred years later is quite in harmony with the principle observable in the whole Assyrian and Babylonian literature, namely, that the copying scribes might not permit themselves any correction of the text even in cases where they plainly saw that it contained a material error. Such intentionally faithful recopying, however, will of course have had the effect that the mistake of the king list concerning the father of Adad-nerâri in the course of time became, as it were, an officially recognized view.<sup>212a</sup>

How the new information furnished by the Khorsabad list affects the views hitherto held concerning the sequence of Assyrian kings in this period (even after the publication of the Nassouhi list) may best be shown by the following juxtaposition of Weidner's kings as enumerated by him in AOf IV, 16, and the kings as enumerated in the Khorsabad list.

WEIDNER		KHORSABAD LIST	
	Regnal Years		Regnal Years
64. Aššuršadšâbê	0	64. Aššûr-šadûni	0
son of Nûrili		son of Nûr-ili	
Aššurnirâri II	9	65. Aššûr-rabi I	0
son of Enlilnâsir I		son of Enlil-nâsir I	
Puzur-Aššur IV	9	66. Aššûr-nâdin-ahhê I	0
son of Aššurnirâri II		son of Aššûr-rabi I	
Enlilnâsir II	9	67. Enlil-nâsir II	6
son of Puzur-Aššur IV		son of Aššûr-rabi	
65. Aššurrabi I	9	68. Aššûr-nerâri II	7
son of . . . .		son of Enlil-nâsir II <sup>213</sup>	
68. Aššurnirâri III	9		
son of Aššurrabi			

<sup>212</sup> Near top of col. 3.

<sup>212a</sup> For a possible indication, however, that the mistake was restricted to the Khorsabad list, see below *ad* Adad-nerâri I.

<sup>213</sup> Mistake for "brother of Enlil-nâsir" (= son of Aššûr-rabi).

Weidner's second, third, and fourth kings actually represent duplications of the three consecutive earlier kings, Aššûr-nerâri I (60), son of Išme-Dagân II; Puzur-Aššûr III (61), son of Aššûr-nerâri I; and Enlil-nâsir I (62), son of Puzur-Aššûr III. The seeming correspondence between Weidner's Aššûr-nerâri II and the Aššûr-nerâri II of the king list (each of them the son of an Enlil-nâsir), as well as the seeming correspondence between Weidner's Enlil-nâsir II and that of the king list, is merely a coincidence. Of Weidner's four kings between Aššûr-šadûni and Aššûr-nerâri II, there remains therefore only Aššûr-rabi I, who, however, is not the fourth but the immediate successor of Aššûr-šadûni.

For the period from Aššûr-nerâri II (68) to Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), the last king of the older Adasi dynasty, the names, the sequence, and—with just one exception—the genealogy of the kings had been well established before the discovery of our king list. For this reason only a general outline of the succession with a few remarks on some details seems necessary here.

It has already been mentioned that in the Khorsabad list, as well as in the older Nassouhi list, Aššûr-rîm-nišešu (70), the second successor of Aššûr-nerâri II (68), is erroneously designated as son of his immediate predecessor, Aššûr-bêl-nišešu (69). From his own inscription (KAHI I, No. 63, l. 3), however, we know that he was the son of Aššûr-nerâri II (68) and, therefore, a brother of his predecessor, Aššûr-bêl-nišešu (69).

Wrong also is the designation of Adad-nerâri I (76) in the present text of the Khorsabad list as the brother of his predecessor Arik-dên-ili (78), since Adad-nerâri's own inscriptions as well as those of his son Šulmânu-ašarêd I (77) show that he was the son of Arik-dên-ili. The misstatement of the Khorsabad list must seem especially strange, because the Nassouhi list correctly designates Adad-nerâri as *mâr Arik-dên-ili* and because originally the Khorsabad list, too, had the correct *mâr m̄Arik-dên-ili*, the *ahû-šû* of its present *ahû-šû ša m̄Arik-dên-ili* being written over an erased *nirâri* at the end of the left half-line, while the *ša* is written over an erased *mâr* at the beginning of the right half-line. Since one cannot imagine any reason that could have compelled the copyist to change the correct "son of" to "brother of,"



it seems quite certain that the change was made by mistake. To all appearances the following is what happened. When the copyist had noticed that in the statement on Aššûr-nerâri II (68) he had erroneously written *mâr* <sup>m</sup>*Enlil-nâšir* instead of *aḫû-šû* (or *aḫû-šû ša* <sup>m</sup>*Enlil-nâšir*), he tried to emend this mistake by changing the incorrect *mâr* to a correct *aḫû-šû ša*, but inadvertently he strayed into the statement on Adad-nerâri I and changed the there quite correct *mâr* to the wrong *aḫû-šû ša*. His attempt at eliminating one mistake thus actually resulted in adding a second mistake to the one made before.

The 8-year reign of Aššûr-rîm-nišešu and the 10-year reign of his son, Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê II (71), only temporarily interrupted the straight line of succession over Aššûr-bêl-nišešu, for Aššûr-nâdin-aḫḫê is succeeded by Erîba-Adad I (72), son of Aššûr-bêl-nišešu. From him the dynastic line extends in straight succession over Aššûr-uballiṭ (73), Enlil-nerâri (74), Arik-dên-ili (75), Adad-nerâri I (76), Šulmânuašarêd I (77), and Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) to Aššûr-nâdin-apli (79). According to the Nassouhi list, it would even extend to the next king, Aššûr-nerâri III (80),<sup>214</sup> since it is stated there that this king was the son of Aššûr-nâdin-apli. As such, he appears therefore also in Weidner's list, AOf IV, 16. However, the Khorsabad list states that he was the son of an Aš[šûr]-nâšir<sup>215</sup>-apli. As we shall see presently, this Aššûr-nâšir-apli might well be a second son of Tukulti-Ninurta, and Aššûr-nerâri III would then be a nephew of his predecessor, Aššûr-nâdin-apli. Aššûr-nerâri III again is succeeded not by a son of his but by his uncle, Enlil-kudurra-ušur (81), a third son of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

The statement devoted to Aššûr-nâdin-apli runs as follows: "Still in Tukulti-Ninurta's lifetime (= <sup>m</sup>*Tukul-ti-Nin-urta da-a-ri*) his son Aššûr-nâdin-apli seized the throne. Three years (Nassouhi list: four years) he exercised kingship." Instead of *da-a-ri*, "although he was still alive," Nassouhi in his list restored *da-a-i[k]* (AOf IV, 7) and translated the whole introductory phrase "*Tukulti-Ninurta fut tu[é]*" (*ibid.*, p. 8), but the photographs show that his list, too, has *da-a-ri*.<sup>216</sup>

<sup>214</sup> Weidner: Aššurnarâri IV.

<sup>215</sup> Written with the sign PAB (AOf, IV, 7).

<sup>216</sup> In addition to the horizontal wedge of *ri*, one can plainly see in the photographs not only the two forward verticals of that sign but also the upper half of its third—a little more remote—vertical, as well as the rim of the head of the slanting wedge between the two

The correct reading of the phrase is historically not without importance, for, according to Nassouhi's restoration, it would seem that Aššûr-nâdin-apli ascended the throne *after* Tukulti-Ninurta had been killed, while we now have the express statement that, when Aššûr-nâdin-apli seized the throne, his father was still living. Furthermore, the mere use of a phrase meaning "still in his lifetime" proves that after the seizure of the throne by Aššûr-nâdin-apli Tukulti-Ninurta must still have lived for some time, and this, indeed, is in complete accord with the report of Chronicle P, which describes the events immediately before and after the overthrow of Tukulti-Ninurta as occurring in the following four phases: (1) Aššûr-nâšir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, and the (other) great men of Assyria revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta; (2) they dethrone him; (3) they make him a prisoner (and keep him a prisoner for some time) in a house in Tukulti-Ninurta's newly built residence, Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta; (4) they (finally) kill him. It is quite obvious that the statement *ina Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta ina bîti isirâšu* must be interpreted as we just did: "They kept him a prisoner in a house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta (for some time or at first)," since only in this interpretation does it make good sense, while if Tukulti-Ninurta had been killed immediately or shortly after his dethronement the whole statement that "they confined him in a house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta" would be totally out of place.<sup>217</sup>

According to Chronicle P, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, who together

first verticals and the last. Note, moreover, that a form written *da-a-ik* could be only the endingless form of the present participle *dâ'iku* and would therefore mean "he was killing," while the permansive form *da'ik*, *da(i)ik* or, contracted, *dêk*, of which Nassouhi evidently was thinking, would be written *da-ik*, *da-a(i)ik* (= *da-a.ik*) or *di-e-ik*, respectively.

The meaning of *dârû* (< *dârtu*, a derivative of *dâru*, "period," "long period"), literally "being of a long period," i.e., "living or lasting an age," "living a long time," "living on and on," is here weakened to "lasting," "living on," "still living." *Dâri* is the predicatively used endingless form of *dârû* (< *dârtu*).

Since Bezold's *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* gives, among other meanings of *dârû*, also that of "uralt," one might perhaps be tempted to translate the phrase with "when Tukulti-Ninurta was an extremely old man." But the meaning connected by Bezold with "uralt" is not that of "very aged" (as referring to a person) but that of "very primeval," "dating from a very old period."

<sup>217</sup> The "house in Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta" is of course not, as Weidner in AOf, IV, 13, a sumes, the "palace" of Tukulti-Ninurta in that city.



with the nobles of Assyria revolted against the latter and dethroned him, bore the name of Aššūr-nāšir-apli. On the basis of this statement it had originally been generally assumed that this Aššūr-nāšir-apli—assumedly the first of his name—was the successor of Tukulti-Ninurta on the throne of Aššūr. But when subsequently the Nassouhi list revealed the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta's immediate successor was his son Aššūr-nādin-apli, whose name and reign can be verified from two inscriptions of his, and that even after Aššūr-nādin-aḥḥē no king Aššūr-nāšir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, is mentioned in the king list, it seemed a very plausible assumption that the Aššūr-nāšir-apli of Chronicle P was a scribal error for Aššūr-nādin-apli,<sup>218</sup> and this could seem all the more plausible because Chronicle P as well as the Synchronistic History actually was very careless with proper names.<sup>219</sup> But with the new fact that the Khorsabad list gives the name of the father of Aššūr-nādin-apli's successor, Aššūr-nerāri III, again as Aššūr-nāšir-apli and not, as the Nassouhi list has it, as Aššūr-nādin-apli, the problem becomes of course much more intricate. For if the name Aššūr-nāšir-apli is to be considered as wrong, it would now become necessary to assume that the same error was committed—as far as we can see, independently—on two different occasions as well as in two different localities. For in one case the mistake occurs in the account of the end of Tukulti-Ninurta's career, while in the other case it concerns the name of the father of Tukulti-Ninurta's second successor. But of even greater weight is the fact that Chronicle P is a Babylonian product, while the king list was produced in Assyria, and it would be difficult to explain why scribes in the two countries should have been led to the same mistake. Moreover, there is actually no conclusive proof whatever for the assumption that the Aššūr-nāšir-apli of Chronicle P and the successor of Tukulti-Ninurta are the same person, nor does the wording of the report of Chronicle P or the wording of the

<sup>218</sup> So Weidner, AOf, IV, 13 and n. 6.

<sup>219</sup> Note, e.g., that, in the immediate continuation of the passage relating to Tukulti-Ninurta, Chronicle P refers to an Assyrian king, Tukulti-Aššūr, whose name, at least in this form, is not found in the king list. As Weidner suggests, he is probably Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. Chronicle P is a Babylonian composition, and it may quite well be that the Babylonians abbreviated the long name by omitting the first element. But the use of such an abbreviated name would have to be counted as an irregularity in a historical composition such as Chronicle P.

king-list statement contain anything requiring such an identification. The chronicle states that Aššūr-nāšir-apli and the Assyrian nobles dethroned Tukulti-Ninurta, kept him a prisoner, and finally killed him, but it does not state that Aššūr-nāšir-apli ascended or seized the throne. The king list, on the other hand, states that Aššūr-nādin-apli seized the throne, but it does not state or even imply that he revolted against Tukulti-Ninurta, kept him a prisoner, and finally killed him. It is therefore quite possible that Aššūr-nādin-apli and Aššūr-nāšir-apli are two different sons of Tukulti-Ninurta. As stated in Chronicle P, it may quite well have been Aššūr-nāšir-apli who revolted against Tukulti-Ninurta, although not he, but his brother, Aššūr-nādin-apli, became king, be it that the latter seized the throne in opposition to Aššūr-nāšir-apli and the revolting nobles, or be it that he became king in full accord with Aššūr-nāšir-apli or even was placed on the throne by him, possibly being the older or even the eldest brother and therefore having the first claim to the throne.<sup>220</sup> This Aššūr-nāšir-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, would then, of course, be identical with the Aššūr-nāšir-apli whose son Aššūr-nerāri III (according to the Khorsabad king list) ascended the throne after Aššūr-nādin-apli. For these assumptions too, no really conclusive proof is available, but it may be argued in their favor that, in the past, attempts at solving problems without resorting to the assumption of mistakes in the sources have usually turned out to be nearer the truth than those operating with the assumption of such mistakes. Even arguing on the basis of psychological observations would seem to favor the explanation just hinted, for, if we assume that the Khorsabad list is correct in its statement that the father of Aššūr-nerāri III was Aššūr-nāšir-apli the change of the name to Aššūr-nādin-apli in the Nassouhi list could readily be explained as another instance of the unconscious tendency of the copying scribes to make a king's successor his son even when he actually was not his son. But if we are to assume that the Nassouhi list is correct in its statement that Aššūr-nerāri III's father was his predecessor Aššūr-nādin-apli, it would be very difficult to imagine what might have in-

<sup>220</sup> In harmony with this possibility would be the fact that the name of the older (eldest) brother is compounded with *nādin-apli*, while that of the younger is a compound with *nāšir-apli*. The heir must be "given" first, before he can be "watched over."



duced the copying scribe to change that name to Aššûr-nâšir-apli. In this connection it is especially significant that in the Khorsabad list the sign PAB, with which the scribe wrote the second component of the name Aššûr-nâšir-apli, is written over an erasure. Although the erased sign is not recognizable, it can be assumed with good reason that it was the sign sî = *nâdin*. The copying scribe of the Khorsabad list would then probably have made the same mistake as the scribe of the Nassouhi list or the scribe of one of the king-list specimens from which the Nassouhi list derived, but he corrected the mistake when he or another scribe, who checked the correctness of the copy, noticed it.<sup>221</sup> This emendation proves, of course, that the name Aššûr-nâšir-apli was found by the scribe of the Khorsabad list on the Aššûr tablet from which he copied his own list. He himself would, of course, have had no reason to change an Aššûr-nâdin-apli, if the Aššûr list had given this name, into Aššûr-nâšir-apli.

An apparently weighty argument in favor of the Nassouhi list statement, however, seems to be the fact that the king list gives the name of Aššûr-nerâri III's father without adding a further explanatory statement for the purpose of unmistakably establishing his identity. As a rule, the king list makes no statement of that kind whenever the father of a king is identical with the last-mentioned king, but in the case of Išme-Dagân the father of Šamši-Adad III (59), who was not a king of Assyria, it will be recalled, such a statement is added, namely, the statement that this father of Šamši-Adad III was the brother of Šarma-Adad—son of šú-Nînua. It would seem, therefore, that if the Khorsabad king-list statement that Aššûr-nerâri's father was Aššûr-nâšir-apli, who is not mentioned before as king of Assyria, were correct, it should be followed by a further statement elucidating his relationship to the kings preceding Aššûr-nerâri. Since this statement is not added, it would appear that the correct text of the king list should name Aššûr-nâdin-apli, the immediate predecessor of Aššûr-nerâri III,

<sup>221</sup> The fact that the same mistake was made by two different scribes—one living about two hundred years before the other—would in this case be in no way remarkable, since each king-list copyist, no matter when and where he lived, was likely to be affected by the tendency described above.

as the latter's father, for whom such a statement would not be necessary.

But plausible as this argument seems, it is not strictly conclusive, since the explanatory statement concerning the relationship of Aššûr-nerâri's father to one of the previous kings originally may not have been added because at that time the name of Aššûr-nâšir-apli was so well known that it needed no explanation. In the following periods, however, no scribe ever took upon himself the trouble of adding such a statement or ever dared to do so, even though, as shown by both lists, the omission of this statement would naturally lead to mistaking Aššûr-nâdin-apli for Aššûr-nâšir-apli. Moreover, the case of Aššûr-nâšir-apli, father of Aššûr-nerâri III, is perhaps not entirely parallel with that of Išme-Dagân, father of Šamši-Adad III, inasmuch as the former, as we shall see, probably was the ruler of a principality or small "kingdom," while Išme-Dagân, the father of Šamši-Adad III, probably was no more than a member of the royal family. As a ruler, however, Aššûr-nâšir-apli needed no further identification, no more than, e.g., Ilu-kapkapu, the father of Šamši-Adad I, all necessary information probably being available from chronicles, etc.

There is, of course, hardly any need to state expressly that no decisive argument in favor of the Nassouhi list statement can be derived from the fact that Assur A is almost two hundred years older than the Khorsabad list tablet. If the name Aššûr-nâšir-apli of the Khorsabad list is correct, its change to Aššûr-nâdin-apli would have been due, as pointed out above, to the propensity of the copyists to make every king the son of his predecessor, and since this propensity is quite independent of time, it could, of course, at any time have become the cause for a copyist to make the erroneous change of Aššûr-nâšir-apli to Aššûr-nâdin-apli. The situation would, of course, be different, if we knew for certain that all older copies of the king list gave the name of Aššûr-nerâri's father as Aššûr-nâdin-apli, but to date we have only the testimony of the Nassouhi list and must therefore reckon with the possibility that if the Nassouhi list's Aššûr-nâdin-apli is a mistake, it might quite well have been restricted to just that one list.

If thus all logical deliberations seem to point to the correctness of the Khorsabad king-list statement, it must nevertheless be kept in



mind that these deliberations do not have the value of direct and authentic evidence, inasmuch as it would not be beyond all possibility that by some queer coincidence and in a manner now logically no longer accountable an original Aššūr-nâdin-apli was changed to Aššūr-nâšir-apli both in Chronicle P and in the king-list statement on Aššūr-nerârî III. For a final decision we therefore must wait until good luck places at our disposal an inscription of Adad-nerârî III or some other document containing a decisive statement on the problem in question.

It has been indicated that there is a discrepancy between the Nassouhi list and the Khorsabad list in the regnal years attributed to Aššūr-nâdin-apli, inasmuch as the former gives him 4, but the latter only 3, years.<sup>222</sup> For our chronological calculations we have hitherto used only the Khorsabad list statement, but it should be stated that in case the 4 years of the Nassouhi list should turn out to be correct, all dates of our calculations before 1202 B.C. would have to be raised by one unit, except, of course, those based on the statements of Aššūr-aḥa-iddina and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, since the basic years on which the dates in these instances depend, namely, the years 681 B.C. and 1115 B.C., are both later than 1202 and therefore are not affected by that discrepancy. Acceptance of the Nassouhi list statement would mean therefore that the first year of Êrišu I as well as the first year of the *limmu* era which begins with Êrišu I's first year, is to be assumed as 1853 B.C. instead of 1852 B.C.<sup>223</sup> This advance of the *limmu* period date would actually be a great advantage for our calculations, since then Šulmânu-ašarêd's period of 159 years, reckoned from the beginning of the *limmu* era to the completion of the Aššūr temple by Šamši-Adad I, would end with the same year, 1695, with which Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's first period of 126 years, reckoned from Êrišu I's completion

<sup>222</sup> By an accident this fact was omitted in n. 113, on p. 288 above, and its omission went unnoticed until after the issue of the *Journal* number.

<sup>223</sup> Of other changes may be mentioned the following: the year 1820, with which Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's first period of 126 years begins, would be the 34th instead of the 33d year of Êrišu, and consequently the completion of Êrišu's Aššūr temple would fall in his 33d year instead of his 32d year. Similarly, the year 1261, in which Šulmânu-ašarêd I, according to Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's figures, completed the reconstruction of his Aššūr temple, would be Šulmânu-ašarêd's 13th year instead of his 12th year, the period from the beginning of the reconstruction to its completion thereby increasing from 12 years to 13 years. For the year equations relating to Šamši-Adad I's reconstruction of the Aššūr temple see below.

of his Aššūr temple to the completion of Šamši-Adad's temple, begins. In point of fact, this complete agreement would seem to prove the correctness of the Nassouhi list statement over against the Khorsabad list statement, and it would therefore seem necessary to adopt for our chronological calculations not the Khorsabad but the Nassouhi list statement. This reasoning, however, is not so conclusive as it would seem on the surface. For we do not know whether Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's period of 580 years (reckoned from Šulmânu-ašarêd to his own time) is based on a king list attributing 4 years to Aššūr-nâdin-apli or on a king list giving him only 3 years. Since Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's scribes, of course, used a king list for their calculations, the problem thus naturally reverts to the question whether the Khorsabad king list group with its 3 years, or the Nassouhi list group with its 4 years for Aššūr-nâdin-apli, is correct. Note that, under the assumption that Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's scribes used a list of the Nassouhi group, the same complete agreement of the Aššūr-aḥa-iddina date for Šamši-Adad I with that based on the Khorsabad list plus the Šulmânu-ašarêd I statements would result, if the number 580 for Aššūr-aḥa-iddina's last period is reduced by one year to 579 years. Unfortunately, the recovered portions of the great *limmu* list (KAVI, Nos. 21 ff.) do not contain the *limmu*'s of Aššūr-nâdin-apli,<sup>224</sup> and therefore the best means of checking up on the correctness of the Nassouhi or the Khorsabad list is not available. Nor do arguments on a psychological basis help us in this case, since they can be offered pro and contra the statements of both lists. For instance, one could allege that in copying numbers some people have a propensity for counting involuntarily on to the next higher number, a habit that might well account for a 3 being changed to a 4, while no similar explanation could be given for a 4 changing to 3. But, on the other hand, one could well imagine that a scribe intending to write in cuneiform the number 4 simply forgot to make the fourth wedge underneath the upper row of three wedges, the result being naturally a 3. It is, finally, here quite impossible to approach the very intricate question to what extent the Babylonian chronology of the period may be used to shed some light on the problem, since this

<sup>224</sup> In the *limmu* lists all the *limmu*'s of the time between the first years of Tukulti-Ninurta I (78) and the last years of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra (87) are still missing.



would go far beyond the limits set for this report. However annoying the small difference of one year is for our endeavor to establish a settled king-list chronology, the problem for the present must therefore be left as it is.<sup>225</sup>

[To be concluded]

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<sup>225</sup> For the purpose of making more conspicuous the possibility of a complete harmonization of the statements by Aššur-aḫa-iddina and Šulmānu-ašarēd I, it may, however, seem advisable to give in the final publication of the king list—of course, with the necessary reservation—the year numbers on the basis of the Nassouhi list statement and consequently according to a *limmu* era beginning with 1853 B.C. There is, of course, no guaranty that any new king list might not show other deviations in its numbers, thus again starting—at least in cases where no effective check is possible—a problem. In this connection it may also be mentioned that, as will be shown later, under ordinary circumstances the *limmu* period of a king began one year later than the king's reign and that, if this was the custom already at Erišu I's time, we would have to face the problem of identifying the year 1852 or 1853 either with the first year of Erišu I's reign or with the first year of his *limmu* period. As has been pointed out before, a chronology absolutely reliable in all details and conclusively provable as such will be arrived at only when all regnal years of the king list can be verified by *limmu* lists or other historical sources.

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## THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD—Concluded\*

E. THE YOUNGER LINE OF THE ADASI DYNASTY

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THE revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta, the fact that neither the successor of Aššūr-nâdin-apli nor that of Aššūr-nerâri III was the son of his predecessor, and the comparative shortness of the reigns of the three kings—their regnal years total only 14 (or 15) years—all make us realize that in this period Assyria was far removed from the display of power at the time when Tukulti-Ninurta ruled not only over Assyria but over Babylonia too. The most significant indication of this fact, however, may be found in the remarkable letter, Harper, ABL, No. 924, which is addressed by the Babylonian King Adad-šumu-linnašir<sup>226</sup> to <sup>d</sup>Aš-šur-na-ra-ra, i.e., our King Aššūr-nerâri III, and a certain <sup>d</sup>Nabû-da-a-[an]. For while the Babylonian claims for himself the rank of a *šarru rabû*, “great king,” “*Grosskönig*,”<sup>227</sup> and *šarru dannu*, “mighty king,” he gives the two recipients of the letter no other than the rather derogative

\* See JNES, I, No. 3 (July, 1942), 247–306, and *ibid.*, No. 4 (October, 1942), 460–92.

<sup>226</sup> This reading of the name <sup>d</sup>Adad-šumu-linnašir not only is grammatically unobjectionable but makes good sense, its meaning being: “O Adad, may (my) offspring (literally: name) be guarded (=shielded [from all evil]).” A reading <sup>d</sup>Adad-šuma-nâšir is of course syntactically impossible, while a reading <sup>d</sup>Adad-šumu-našir, “O Adad, my offspring has been watched, does not present a good meaning, since the purpose of informing or reminding the god during the whole life of the bearer of the name, that the offspring has been guarded (by whom?) would be rather unintelligible. For names of the same type as Adad-šumu-linnašir cf. <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šumu-mu (or *šumu-me*)-li-bur, “O Nabû, may my offspring become strong”; <sup>d</sup>Nabû-šumu-lil-bir, “O Nabû, may my offspring attain great age”; <sup>d</sup>Nabû-zêru-li-ši-ir, “O Nabû, may my offspring prosper” (all in Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*), etc.

<sup>227</sup> Or, in modern language, “emperor.”

title “the [small] kings of Assyria.”<sup>228</sup> Moreover, the Babylonian king begins his letter by telling them plainly and in many words that, in making certain demands or refusing to fulfil certain obligations, they must have been either drunk or crazy.

Formerly it had been assumed that the Nabû-dân mentioned in the letter held the position of a vizier, etc., at the court of Aššūr, and that designating both Aššūr-nerâri and Nabû-dân as kings of Assyria was merely a derisive allusion to the supposed fact that King Aššūr-nerâri could do nothing without the consent of his vizier. But there is no proof whatever for this interpretation, and it seems much more probable that Nabû-dân actually was a “king,”<sup>229</sup> of course, not in the city of Aššūr but in some other part of Assyria. Permitting ourselves to speculate, we may very well assume that the revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta led to the partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or, if one prefers, principalities, one of which might quite well have fallen to each of the three sons of Tukulti-Ninurta, namely, Aššūr-nâdin-apli, Aššūr-nâšir-apli, and Enlil-kudurra-ušur, while still another one fell to Nabû-dân, who likewise may have played an important part in the revolt. This partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or principalities does not mean, of course, that there was no longer any link between them. In point of

<sup>228</sup> This restoration of the partly broken title seems to me the most plausible and best fitting.

<sup>229</sup> So also Weidner, MVaG XX (1915), Heft 4, 76.

fact it may be taken as certain that some kind of suzerainty over the other principalities was left to the king residing at Aššūr. In this connection it is quite interesting to observe that Aššūr-nâdin-apli in his inscription, AOf VI, 13 (obv., l. 4), styles himself “king of kings,” a title quite rare in that period, found before him to date only in the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, Aššūr-nâdin-apli’s father, CT 36, 8–12, where in column 1, lines 3–5, it is coupled with the similar titles, or rather glorifying predicates, “lord of lords” and “prince of princes.” Weidner, believing that the title in Aššūr-nâdin-apli’s time was meaningless, assumed that it was merely taken over from Tukulti-Ninurta’s inscriptions.<sup>230</sup> But in the light of the foregoing observations we may at least ask whether the title did not gain a special significance by the partition of Assyria into several small kingdoms or principalities, the occupants of which owed allegiance to Aššūr-nâdin-apli.

Continuing our speculations still further, we may assume that very soon the king of Aššūr and the ambitious among the other rulers of Assyria tried to extend their control beyond the boundaries of their own territories, for this might readily explain the fact that Aššūr-nâdin-apli at Aššūr was followed by Aššūr-nerâri III, Aššūr-nâšir-apli’s son (according to the Khorsabad list), and that this king again was followed by Enlil-kudurra-ušur, a third son of Tukulti-Ninurta. With the succession of Enlil-kudurra-ušur to the throne of Aššūr, therefore, evidently three of the small kingdoms were already in the hands of that king, but we shall presently see that he finally took possession also of Nabû-dân’s principality.

Evidently it was the successful recovery of control over the whole of Assyria, and especially, it seems, the occu-

pation of Nabû-dân’s principality, that finally led to Enlil-kudurra-ušur’s downfall. It is likely that 15 or 16 years earlier—in his own 15th or 14th year<sup>231</sup>—Adad-šumu-linnašir of Karduniaš supported the revolt against Tukulti-Ninurta or that he at least favored the partition of Assyria into small kingdoms, since this was to the advantage of his own country. Be this as it may, the reunification of Assyria and the consequent increase of its power could be eyed by Adad-šumu-linnašir only with suspicion and fear. To all appearances it was therefore the seizure of the last independent kingdom, that of Nabû-dân, that gave cause to the war reported in the so-called Synchronistic History (CT 34, 42:K4401b) as follows:

Enlil-kudurra-ušur, king of Assyria, and <sup>d</sup>[Adad-šumu-linnašir]<sup>232</sup> waged war [against each other]. When (both) Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Ad[ad-šumu-linnašir] had been killed<sup>233</sup> in a battle [in front of Aššūr(?)], Ninurta-apil-E[kur, son of Nabû-dân], returned to his land,

<sup>231</sup> According to Babylonian King List A, Adad-šumu-linnašir ruled 30 years. Since the three successors of Tukulti-Ninurta ruled 15 (Khorsabad list) or 16 years (Nassouhi list), and since Adad-šumu-linnašir died in the same year as Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Tukulti-Ninurta’s last year corresponded to Adad-šumu-linnašir’s 15th or 14th year.

<sup>232</sup> Since the missing end portion of the line must have contained Adad-šumu-linnašir’s name plus the words *itti ašameš*, “with each other,” no room seems to be left for the title *šar mākār-du-ni-ja-aš* after Adad-šumu-linnašir. This proves that Adad-šumu-linnašir was already mentioned in the preceding paragraph—there, of course, with his title—as having had to deal with one of Enlil-kudurra-ušur’s predecessors. Of that paragraph only the first parts of the last two lines are preserved.

<sup>233</sup> The temporal subordination (Vorzeitigkeit) is expressed by the *t* of *tidûku* (<*tidûku* instead of *tidûku*), which therefore is, of course, the syntactical *t* (see my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 30, n. 1). The permansive form expresses not the idea “they were killed” but the idea “they had been killed and were dead (at the time when the subsequent event took place).” The passage, as one sees, says nothing of a *Zweikampf* between the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings (Weidner, MVG XX [1915], Heft 4, 76, n. 1, and before him Winckler, Hommel, and Schnabel [references given by Weidner, *loc. cit.*]; Nassouhi, AOf IV, 9: “Enlilkudurušur et Rammanšumnâšir . . . se tuèrent”).

<sup>230</sup> AOf VI, 15.



his own<sup>234</sup> soldiers [he summoned], to Aššūr, in order to (re-)conquer it, he march[ed and the commander of the Babylonians he thoroughly] defeated in its midst. (Thereupon) he (= the Babylonian general) turned around and [went back to his land].

As I interpret this passage, it tells us—at least by implication—that although Adad-šumu-linnašir, like his adversary, Enlil-kudurra-ušur, lost his life in the battle between the Assyrians and the Babylonians, the latter were victorious and succeeded in occupying the capital of Assyria. It also gives us valuable detailed information on the manner in which Ninurta-apil-Ekur, whom the king list mentions as Enlil-kudurra-ušur's successor, managed to take advantage of the events and seize the city of Aššūr for himself. In comparison with it the king-list statement:

Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of 'Nabû-. . . .'], a descendant of Eriša-Adad, went to Karduniaš. From Karduniaš he went up. The throne he seized. 3 (Assur A: 13) years kingship he exercised,

gives only scanty information concerning these events, but it contains the important statements that the future king went to Karduniaš—this is simply another way of saying that he fled there—and that from there he came back in order to seize the throne. Of the more explicit statements of the Synchronistic History the one especially significant is that which tells us that after the death of Adad-šumu-linnašir, in whose retinue he probably was, Ninurta-apil-Ekur went to "his land" and there summoned "his own" warriors. Judging from the whole situation, this land can be no other than that part of Assyria over which Nabû-dân, Ninurta-apil-Ešarra's father, had ruled as "king" and from which Ninurta-apil-

<sup>234</sup> Expressed by the particle *-ma* after *-šu*, "his."

Ešarra evidently had fled to Karduniaš at the time when Enlil-kudurra-ušur of Aššūr seized it, probably at the death of Nabû-dân.

The fact that the king list and the Synchronistic History do not run parallel in the details of their statements, i.e., that each of them relates certain events which the other omits and, vice versa, omits certain details which the other relates, is of course owing to the different aims of the king list and the Synchronistic History. The latter intentionally omits mention of any events indicating successes of the Babylonian kings over Aššūr. On the contrary, its tendency is to prove the superiority of Aššūr over Karduniaš in the past. For this reason it does not mention—according to my interpretation—the fact that the Babylonians won the battle and occupied Aššūr, but it mentions the fact—again according to my interpretation—that Ninurta-apil-Ekur drove the Babylonians out of Aššūr. It likewise never mentions anything indicating that certain kings of Assyria were indebted to the Babylonian kings because they found shelter with them when they had to flee from Assyria, and because it was their help that enabled them to return and seize the throne of Aššūr. No word is therefore said in the Synchronistic History to the effect that Ninurta-apil-Ekur fled to Adad-šumu-linnašir and that the latter probably even undertook the war in which he lost his life in order to re-establish him in the small kingdom of his father. The king list, on the other hand, is merely interested in showing, in a general outline, how the succession to the throne of Ninurta-apil-Ekur came about, and for this reason it states only that Ninurta-apil-Ekur had to flee to Karduniaš and that, coming back from there, he seized the throne. But it is not interested in showing Aššūr's superiority over Baby-

lonia and for this reason omits in its summary statement all references to the defeat of the Babylonians by Ninurta-apil-Ekur.

The king list, furthermore, is especially interested in the genealogy of the new king in order to show his relationship to the preceding king or kings, as well as in order to elucidate the legalistic aspect of the succession. This it achieves in the shortest possible manner. By naming Ninurta-apil-Ekur's father, it indicates that the latter was himself a king, and his son therefore of royal birth. Any details, however, concerning the position of the father are not mentioned by the king list, as little as in the case of Ilu-kapka, Šamši-Adad I's father. It states, however, that Ninurta-apil-Ekur, or his father, was the descendant of a former king of Aššūr, namely, of Eriša-Adad I, who ruled, or rather ascended the throne, two centuries before Ninurta-apil-Ekur. Consequently, this king was actually a scion of the ruling dynasty, though only a remote relative of his immediate predecessors as far as the male line of descendancy was concerned. It is this point which the king list is especially interested in bringing out. The Synchronistic History, however, omits it as having no relation to its aim to show the Babylonians the historical military superiority of Assyria as well as the kindly disposition of their kings toward the Babylonians whenever these were desirous of having friendly relations with Assyria.

The fact that the king list in its genealogy of Ninurta-apil-Ekur omits all ancestors between Eriša-Adad and Nabû-dân indicates that none of them occupied the throne of Aššūr or even any other throne. The line of descent of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's family, therefore, cannot be identical even in part with the Aššūr-uballiṭ line, which held the royal office at Aššūr after Eriša-Adad. If it had, the king list would of

course have mentioned as Ninurta-apil-Ekur's ancestor not Eriša-Adad but the last of Eriša-Adad's royal successors over whom the Ninurta-apil-Ekur line led. The fact that the latter traced its origin to a king who lived two hundred years before that time is quite interesting but entirely in accordance with the custom of aristocratic families, and especially with a family of royal descent. Compare, for instance, the fact that the *limmu* official, Aššūr-mudammiq, on his stela, Andrae, StrA, No. 63, extends his genealogy to his great-grandfather, Qibi-Aššūr, a *suk-kallu rabû* of the king of Ḫanigalbat. Since the Ninurta-apil-Ekur branch for so long a time—eight generations if we count from Aššūr-nerâri III, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's last predecessor but one, or seven generations if we count from Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's immediate predecessor—had played only the role of a princely family agnated with the ruling royal family, Ninurta-apil-Ekur and his descendants on the throne of Aššūr may appropriately be called—as in the caption of this section—the younger line of the Adasi dynasty.<sup>235</sup> That the later kings who descended from Ninurta-apil-Ekur regarded themselves as members of the Adasi dynasty follows from the fact that Aššūr-aḫa-iddina and Šamaš-šuma-ukîn trace their descent to Bêlu-bâni, son of Adasi.

<sup>235</sup> It could, of course, be designated as the Ninurta-apil-Ekur line of the Adasi dynasty, but it would be wrong to call it the Ninurta-apil-Ekur dynasty (cf. Weidner, *MVG XX* [1915], Heft 4, 77: "Ahnerr einer assyrischen Dynastie"), since Ninurta-apil-Ekur as a descendant of Eriša-Adad I was a member of the same royal family to which the kings ruling before him belonged.

Whether, however, the son of Eriša-Sin, from whom the Nabû-dân and Ninurta-apil-Ekur family branch derived, was a younger son of Eriša-Sin as compared with Aššūr-uballiṭ—customarily only in such a case a family branch is called the younger line—we do not know, but probably he was, since, even though not infrequently a younger son was given preference, as a rule the eldest son of the king followed him on the throne.



Although on principle this report does not concern itself with the synchronization of the Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies, I nevertheless wish to mention here the fact that in Synchronistic King List A, in the three-line compartment, column 2, lines 7-9, Ninurta-apil-Ekur is equated with the three Babylonian kings, Adad-šumu-linnašir, [Mel]i-šipak, and [Ma]rduk-apla-iddina, because combined with the new information from our Khorsabad list these equations enable us better than any others to determine the real character of the synchronistic king lists. As is plainly obvious from the first of the three equations—that between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šumu-linnašir—it cannot be the purpose of the equations in the so-called Synchronistic King List A to indicate correspondences of the reigns of Assyrian kings with the reigns of Babylonian kings, for Ninurta-apil-Ekur became king of Assyria only after Adad-šumu-linnašir had been killed in the battle he waged against Enlil-kudurra-ušur, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's immediate predecessor. If, however, this equation was intended to mean anything—and we can expect that it does, since it is given such a prominent place in the first line of the compartment devoted to Ninurta-apil-Ekur—its purpose can be to indicate only that King Adad-šumu-linnašir of Babylonia played an important role in the history of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, naturally at a time before his death and before Ninurta-apil-Ekur's accession to power in Aššûr. That at that time he played such a role we know now from the king-list statement that Ninurta-apil-Ekur, before he became king, "went to Karduniaš"—whose king at that time was Adad-šumu-linnašir—and that he "came up" from there in order to take possession of the kingdom of Aššûr. Considering, furthermore, that such historical relations

between Assyrian and Babylonian kings were reported in the so-called "synchronistic histories," it is quite obvious that the equations of the so-called "synchronistic king lists," which mention only the names of the kings but no events, were intended, at least originally, as we presently shall see, to serve—for the benefit of historians—as a kind of register to the existing synchronistic histories, each equation between a certain king of Assyria and a certain king of Babylonia representing, as it were, the caption of the corresponding synchronistic history chapter that dealt with the historical relations between the two kings in question.

Likewise incompatible with the idea that the equations indicate correspondences of reigns is the third equation, that between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and King Marduk-apla-iddina of Karduniaš. Since Ninurta-apil-Ekur of Assyria and Melišipak, the father of Marduk-apla-iddina of Babylonia, ascended the throne in their respective countries in the same year, namely, the year in which their predecessors Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Adad-šumu-linnašir were killed in battle, and since Ninurta-apil-Ekur ruled 13 years (according to Assur A), but Melišipak 15 years (according to Babylonian King List A), the former must of course have died two years before Melišipak, and Marduk-apla-iddina's reign was therefore contemporaneous not with that of Ninurta-apil-Ekur but with that of Aššûr-dân I, the successor of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. The explanation of that strange equation evidently is as follows: Since the so-called Synchronistic History, immediately after the paragraph which treats of the deaths of Enlil-kudurra-ušur and Adad-šumu-linnašir and the subsequent seizure of Aššûr by Ninurta-apil-Ekur, in a new paragraph brings the report on the conflict between Aššûr-dân of Assyria and Zaba-

ba-šuma-iddina of Karduniaš, the Synchronistic King List, as an index for the Synchronistic History, should bring the equation Aššûr-dân - Zababa-šuma-iddina—of course in a compartment of its own—immediately after the equation Ninurta-apil-Ekur - Adad-šumu-linnašir, or, if Adad-šumu-linnašir's successor, Melišipak II, was mentioned in the missing right-hand half of the preceding paragraph of the Synchronistic History, immediately after the equation Ninurta-apil-Ekur - Melišipak. In other words, the original text of the Synchronistic King List would not have had any reference to the Babylonian King Marduk-apla-iddina I, the son and immediate successor of Melišipak and the immediate predecessor of Zababa-šuma-iddina. Evidently, however, a later redactor of the Synchronistic History index thought it advisable—for the purpose of a better chronological orientation—to insert into it also the names of those kings during whose reigns no contact by war, treaty, etc., between Assyria and Babylonia had occurred and who for this reason were mentioned neither in the synchronistic histories nor in the original form of the Synchronistic King List. In doing so, the redactor followed the principle of adding each missing king—of Assyria as well as Babylonia—to the equation relating to the king whom he had succeeded. In all these additions, of course, no chronological equation whatever was intended, the ditto marks in the half-column for the kings of the other country probably having been added by a still later redactor and merely for the purpose of indicating that the king in question continued to rule without interruption by another reign right to the reign of the king who is mentioned in the next compartment.<sup>236</sup>

<sup>236</sup> This meaning of the ditto marks is especially obvious in the eight-line compartment devoted to Šamši-Adad II with its seven ditto marks under the king's name, which, of course, can only be meant to

Ninurta-apil-Ekur was followed by his son Aššûr-dân (83), who after a reign of 46 years, was succeeded by Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr (84). From the Khorsabad list statement on the latter king we gather the new information—which, as we shall see presently, is of great importance—that he was the son of his predecessor Aššûr-dân. Otherwise the statement contains merely the information that "he exercised kingship (only) in his (= Aššûr-dân's) *duḫpu*," that is, that his reign did not last to the end of his very accession year. The reason it was so short-lived, however, is told only in the statement on his successor Mutakkil-Nusku (85), the first part of which runs as follows: "Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought a battle against him. To Karduniaš he led him away."

indicate that there was no other reign between him and his son Išme-Daġân II.

Furthermore, the equation of the 2d to 9th Kassite kings with one and the same Assyrian king, according to the principle pointed out above, proves that no synchronistic history or any other chronicle had related any historical contact between Assyria and the first eight (or even nine?) Kassite kings. Doubtless the equations between the Assyrian kings and the kings of the Sea Country, too, are not taken from chronicles, but like the first eight or nine Kassite kings, belong to the insertions described above. There can be no doubt that the present arrangement of the names is not the work of the first redactor who tried to make the original index into a comprehensive king list. Knowing of the contemporariness or overlapping of the first dynasty of Babylon, the dynasty of the Sea Country, and the Kassite dynasty, this redactor will naturally have used a three- or even a four-column system for the enumeration of the kings of the four countries in the period from Samsu-iluna of Babylon to Šamši-Adad II of Assyria. A later copyist, however, wishing to avoid the most inconvenient four-column arrangement within the two-column system of the list, placed all the three southern dynasties consecutively in the second column of his tablet. This, of course, was a rather desperate and reckless makeshift, and the copyist himself may have considered it as such, for evidently as a reminder—for himself or the reader—that the three southern dynasties should properly be in three parallel columns, he placed in col. 1, l. 10', at least Ganduš, the first of the Kassite kings, on the same line with Ea-gâmil, the last king of the Sea Country. Probably he had used the same device in the broken upper part of the column, by placing Ilumallu, the first king of the Sea Country dynasty, on one line with Samsu-iluna or Abiešu'. Likewise incorrect from



Much has been speculated, in the past, on this King Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, on his reign, his character, his name, etc. I mention here only a few of the latest of these speculations. Weidner, in *MVaG XX* (1915), Part 4, 78—and following him Nassouhi in *AOf IV* (1921), 9—believed that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was a usurper.<sup>237</sup> His reason for this assumption was that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87) does not mention him in the great genealogy of his prism inscription<sup>238</sup> which reaches as far back as Ninurta-apil-Ekur (82) and which Weidner therefore believed to prove that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr (84) did not belong to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's family. From the Khorsabad list we now know that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was the legitimate successor of Aššūr-dān, at least inas-

the viewpoint of the first redactor are the dividing-lines between the various kings from Adasi to Erišu III, since according to the plan of that redactor they, or rather the compartments formed by them, would indicate actual cases of contemporariness.

It will also be noted that in col. 2 in the five-line compartment devoted to Aššūr-bél-kala (89), the name of the king is written out in the first three lines but is indicated merely by a ditto mark in the last two lines. Probably some redactor used this device as a means to indicate that only the first three equations, those with the Babylonian kings Marduk[-šāpik-zēr-māti], Adad-apla-iddina, and [Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba?], are based on statements of the synchronistic histories, while the last two are insertions. Note that the first two equations actually parallel the section, *Synchronistic History*, col. 2, ll. 25-37, which reports dealings of Aššūr-bél-kala of Assyria with Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti and Adad-apla-iddina of Babylonia. As regards the third Babylonian king, Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba(?), he too may have been mentioned in a more extensive synchronistic history as playing some role in the dealings of Aššūr-bél-kala with Babylonia, although the events there referred to, of course, could not have taken place in his 14-year reign—he came to the throne only after Aššūr-bél-kala's death—but must have occurred in the reign of his predecessor Adad-apla-iddina, when Marduk-aḥḥē-eriba(?) was not yet king. But quite as well a copyist, being unaware of the different meanings of the Aššūr-bél-kala equations with the king's name written out and of those with the name indicated by the ditto mark may erroneously have written the name out, although the original had a ditto mark there.

<sup>237</sup> Weidner, *loc. cit.*: "Er dürfte ein Usurpator gewesen sein"; Nassouhi, *loc. cit.*: "Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr était un usurpateur."

<sup>238</sup> *I R 9-16*, col. 7, ll. 36-60.

much as he was his son and had ascended the throne immediately after his death. We also know now that he could not be mentioned in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I's genealogy because Tukulti-apil-Ešarra descended from Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's brother Mutakkil-Nusku. We have here a good illustration of the fact that the interpretation of a genealogy not supplemented by other evidence is rather treacherous ground for the establishment of historical facts. Later, in *AOf X* (1935), 6, Weidner himself acknowledged the inconclusiveness of his argument by remarking on the omission of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr in Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's genealogy: "Freilich kein Beweis für die mehrfach geäußerte Ansicht, dass er ein Usurpator gewesen sei."<sup>239</sup> But the reason given by Weidner for this change of opinion—namely, that Mutakkil-Nusku, his future successor, lived undisturbed in Assyria during Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign and that this would hardly have been possible for him if Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr had been a usurper—is likewise based, as we shall see later, on an erroneous assumption, namely, that the business tablets which mention Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku date from the reign of the former. With Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr being the son of Aššūr-dān also Weidner's suggestion in *MVaG XX* (1915), Part 4, 79, that he probably had ascended the throne under Babylonian influence, is deprived of its basis. The extreme shortness of his reign, furthermore, disproves the assumption (*ibid.*) that he was a vassal first of the Babylonian king Ninurta-nādin-šumi and later of Nabû-kudurri-ušur, but especially it makes quite impossible

<sup>239</sup> Although Weidner, in the passage just referred to, actually envisages the possibility that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr might be a son (Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens*, p. 180: the elder son) of Aššūr-dān, he is more inclined to the new theory that he was a son of Enlil-kudurra-ušur, the last king of the older Adasi-line.

Winckler's,<sup>240</sup> and originally also Weidner's,<sup>241</sup> conclusion from the letter 4 R 34, No. 2, that after Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr has been king of Assyria for some time he was forced by a revolution to flee to Ninurta-nādin-šumi of Babylonia, that he then reconquered his kingdom with the help of his Babylonian protector, but for his personal safety preferred to stay permanently in Babylon, intrusting all affairs of government in Assyria to his trusted delegate, Aššūr-šumi-lišir. As we now know from the Khorsabad list statements, Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign was brought to an end in the same year in which he ascended the throne, and he never returned to power. In conclusion we may mention Landsberger's speculation in *AOf X* (1935), 143, that the Babylonian king Nabû-nādin-šumi "den N(inurta-tukulti-Aššūr) . . . nach Assyrien zurückgeführt und dort als König eingesetzt habe, vielleicht nur, worauf die Chronik Nassouhi (*AOf IV*, S. 7, Z. 43-46) hinweist, indem er als Aufsichtsorgan dem legitimen Herrscher Mutakkil-Nusku beigegeben wurde, der dann allerdings diesen unbequemen Vormund bald abgeschüttelt hätte."<sup>242</sup> Our king-list statements disprove these assumptions which evidently were based on an erroneous conception of the phrase *DUB-pi-šû šarru-ta epus-uš*—Landsberger must have believed that it meant "he ruled for an undefined or indefinable period"—as well as on an erroneous restoration of column 2, line 46, of the Nassouhi list, of which only *itti*, "with," is

<sup>240</sup> *AOf I*, 393.

<sup>241</sup> *MVaG XX*, Heft 4 (1915), 79. A somewhat modified view, *MVaG XXVI*, Heft 2 (1921), 38; the theory concerning the re-establishment of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's rule abandoned in *AOf X* (1935), 7.

<sup>242</sup> In footnote 25 (*loc. cit.*) Landsberger further explains: "Trotz des sehr defekten Erhaltungszustandes des betreffenden Passus der Chronik Nassouhi ist das Nebeneinander der Regentschaften des N(inurta-tukulti-Aššūr), dessen Regierungszeit nicht verzeichnet ist, und des Mutakkil-Nusku sicher daraus zu entnehmen."

preserved. Landsberger probably believed that it is the rest of a statement that Mutakkil-Nusku ruled jointly with Ninurta-apil-Ekur, while it actually is the rest of the statement "he waged war against him."

While the first sentence of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku quoted above in its first half would seem to need no further comment, the second sentence, "He led him away to Karduniaš," presents great difficulties. Following immediately upon the statement that Mutakkil-Nusku engaged in battle with this brother, the sentence as it stands in the text seems to lack a logical connection with what is reported before, or one would have to assume that the whole statement is exceedingly defective. Before Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr could be led off to Babylonia, he must have been captured by Mutakkil-Nusku, and we could, of course, expect that a statement to this effect be made before the statement on his being led away. Moreover, when it is stated that Mutakkil-Nusku carried his vanquished brother off to Babylonia, one would naturally expect an explanation as to why he did that and especially why he should lead him to the neighboring land of Karduniaš, and even why he should do that personally, as is implied by the text as we have it.

A very simple solution of all these difficulties, however, would be arrived at by considering the *ēbukšu*, "he carried him off," as a scribal error for *īrussu*,<sup>243</sup> "he drove him off," "he chased him away," "he forced him to flee." For in this case the two sentences forming the first half of the king-list paragraph would state that Mutakkil-Nusku, a brother of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, waged a battle against the latter and, although he did not capture him, he at least succeeded in driving him out of the country and in forcing him to

<sup>243</sup> From *šarddu*.



seek refuge in Babylonia. This emendation of the verb *ēbuk* to *iṣrud*, which makes the whole statement perfectly natural, receives strong support from the famous letter fragment 4 R 34, No. 2. After having stated in line 8 that a certain Aššūr-šumu-līšir now lives in his own land, the letter continues in line 9 with the words: "but Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, his (i.e., Aššūr-šumu-līšir's) lord, has been interned in this land (i.e., Babylonia)." In lines 3-5 the same Aššūr-šumu-līšir is referred to with the words: "Aššūr-šumu-līšir, to whom, when they had chased him (out of Assyria) with his lord, and he came (with him) to this country (= Babylonia), my father (= the former king of Babylonia) gave help, leading him back to his country," and on the strength of the passage quoted before the present one it seems quite certain that in this passage the words "his (= Aššūr-šumu-līšir's) lord" likewise refer to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. Now the statement of this passage is not that Aššūr-šumu-līšir—and with him of course also Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, whom he accompanied—was "brought" to Babylonia but that he was "chased" there from Assyria and that he "came" there (of his own volition) as a refugee. The first of the two verbal forms is *iṣ-ru-du-niṣ-šum-ma*, literally "(whom) they chased hither and (he came hither)," of *ṣarādu*, i.e., exactly the verb, the preterit form of which instead of the *ēbuk* of the present text would effectively remove all difficulties from the passage. As long as no other evidence pointing in a different direction is at hand, we may therefore regard the emendation as fully justified, although of course we would feel much more reassured if we had at our disposal a king-list text actually exhibiting the emended form. Unfortunately, the top line of column 4 of the Nassouhi list, which should contain the verb, is ap-

parently rubbed off to such a degree that it is difficult to identify with certainty, at least on the photographs at my disposal, the signs to which the remaining wedge impressions belonged. Nassouhi's restoration <sup>244</sup> *i[ṣku]ssā i[ṣ-bat]*, "he seized the throne," is not supported by what can be seen on the photographs and probably is due solely to the fact that Nassouhi expected that statement at this place. One would certainly be grateful to the first editor of the inscription if he could establish from the original whether it has *e-[bu]-[uk]-[ṣū]*, as in the Khorsabad list, or perhaps *i[ṣt]-[ru]-[u]s-[su]*, which the wedge remnants, judging of course only from the photographs, would seem to fit very well.<sup>244</sup> The strange *ēbukšu* could well have come from some other passage in the same or in a preceding paragraph, in which it was stated that someone carried or led someone or something to Kar-

<sup>244</sup> If only the king-list text were to be explained, one could quite well justify the *ēbukšu* by the assumption that the original much more extensive chronicle text and an older king-list text reported that Mutakkil-Nusku's attack on his brother was made in union with the king of Babylon, that the battle referred to was principally a battle between the Assyrian and the Babylonian armies, that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was captured in that battle, and that the king of Babylon, not Mutakkil-Nusku, led Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr to Babylonia. As is shown by all other statements referring to usurpers who seized the Assyrian throne with the help of the Babylonians, references of the original text, from which the king-list text derived, to such Babylonian help are omitted everywhere in the present king-list text, the statement restricting its report more or less to the formula: "X 'went' to Karduniaš; from Karduniaš he 'came up'; Y he dethroned; the throne he seized." It would therefore be in no way remarkable if in the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku all original mentionings of the Babylonians and the Babylonian king were likewise omitted. But this conception of the king-list statement would be in conflict with the letter statement referred to above—unless our interpretation of the *ḫēliṣu* in ll. 4 f. as referring to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr could be shown to be wrong, which, however, is not very likely. As far as our present evidence goes, we can only assume that Mutakkil-Nusku was not supported by a Babylonian army but expelled Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr with the help of his own followers in Assyria and that the part played by the king of Karduniaš at that time was restricted to the fact that he gave shelter to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, when he fled to him.

duniaš, and to which the copying scribe had strayed inadvertently.

It need hardly be expressly stated that with our Khorsabad king-list statements on Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku, the real background of the famous and so much discussed royal letter 4 R 34, No. 2, to which we have already referred, has become known to us for the first time. Concerning this background we are therefore no longer dependent on the theories which have sprung up so exuberantly in the past, almost all of which can now be shown to be erroneous.

Similarly the king-list statements give us the historical background of the group of 112 clay tablets from Aššūr<sup>245</sup> which were found together in a broken pot and more than half of which<sup>246</sup> mention the name of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. These tablets are generally believed to date from the time when Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king of Assyria, and, since they are dated in a period of twelve months,<sup>247</sup> Weidner, giving up his former explanations in favor of Oppenheim's assumption that the phrase *ana duppišu* in contracts means "for one year," even found in that fact a proof that *DUB-pi-šu* with which the king list describes the length of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr's reign means "one year." Since the year in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king also comprised, as we now know, a fraction of the reign of Aššūr-dân, as well as the reign of Mutakkil-Nusku and a fraction of the reign of Aššūr-rēša-iši, it is, of course, altogether impossible that the tablets, extending as they do over twelve months, were written within the time in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king. Moreover, in none of the tab-

lets is Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr given the title "king," although this could be expected if he actually was king at the time in which the tablets were written. Finally, among the tablets is a short memorandum<sup>248</sup> consisting only of the words "100 sheep of Mutakkil-Nusku" and dated in the tenth month of the twelve-month period during which the tablets were written. As Weidner rightly points out,<sup>249</sup> this Mutakkil-Nusku evidently is the later king; but it cannot be regarded as very likely that the prince Mutakkil-Nusku, who disputed his brother Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr the throne, should have done peaceful business with an office of the king, his brother, at Aššūr.<sup>250</sup> To be sure, as long as it was the general belief that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was a usurper, it could seem likely, or even necessary to assume, that the tablets in which he figures so prominently were written when he was king. Since, however, we now know that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was the son of Aššūr-dân and therefore was not a usurper, we have no longer any valid reason to date the tablets in the time in which Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was king. In view of all these facts it is quite obvious that the tablets mentioning Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr and Mutakkil-Nusku date from the time of Aššūr-dân, in which both brothers had no higher rank than that of royal princes. With this fact established, the *limmu*'s of Aššūr-ētiranni and <sup>d</sup>Šin-še-IA both belong to the reign of Aššūr-dân I, probably near the end of his long reign.

In this connection a word should be said also on the flashy caption "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs,"

<sup>248</sup> AOF X, 49: No. 98.

<sup>249</sup> AOF X, 13.

<sup>245</sup> Published by Ebeling in KAJI; Weidner in AOF X, 31 f. Transliterated and translated by Ebeling in MAOG VII, Heft 1-2, and Weidner in AOF X, 33-44.

<sup>246</sup> Pointed out by Weidner, AOF X, 9.

<sup>247</sup> See Weidner, AOF X, 27.

<sup>250</sup> Weidner, who saw this difficulty, therefore assumed in AOF X (1935), 6, that when his brother had become king, Mutakkil-Nusku had retired to his estates.



under which Weidner in AOf X, 1 ff. published his very meritorious observations on the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets. This caption is wrong, not only because the tablets were not written in the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, but also because it labels this ruler a sham king or, as our newspapers nowadays say, a puppet king. Note also Weidner's characterization of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr as a *Schwächling* ("weakling") in MVaG XX (1915), 30. Giving historical persons hardly known by their deeds a certain character seems to have become a widespread custom, but it is a great danger for a truthful presentation of history. Among the sources of our knowledge concerning Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, the earliest, the business tablets just discussed, contain no hint whatever concerning his character. From the king list, the second source, we know only that, when he had become king, his brother successfully disputed him the throne and that he had to flee to Babylonia, but even this fact cannot give us any hint as to whether he was an energetic or a weak, irresolute person. Napoleon I, for instance, certainly was a most energetic ruler, and yet he succumbed to a superior combination of forces. And to speak of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr as a *Schattenkönig*, i.e., a king without political might, is likewise unwarranted, since we have not the slightest information as to what power he commanded in the short time of his reign or concerning the question what decided the fight for the throne in favor of his brother—it might, for instance, have been owing to a surprise attack. Finally, whatever role Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr might have played in Babylonia at the time when the letter 4 R 34, No. 2, our third source of information on him, was written, is entirely irrelevant, since at that time Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr was no longer king

of Assyria. Certain aspersions referred to in that letter as made previously by the then ruling king, Aššūr-rêša-iši, on the character of his uncle probably can be dismissed entirely as owing to politics.

The name of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, finally, has lately been read Ninurta-tukul-Aššūr,<sup>251</sup> because in the collection of tablets just referred to it is written twice <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-TU-KÚL-Aš-šur (KAJI, No. 187, l. 7, and No. 282, l. 5) and once <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-TU-KÚL-Aš-šur (*ibid.*, No. 214, l. 4), while in 71 other cases the middle component of the name is written with the Sumerian sign combination <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL. As convincing as on the surface the argumentation that the writing TU-KÚL represents the phonetic spelling of the middle component of the name might seem to be, it is nevertheless in no way conclusive. In point of fact, it takes into consideration neither the actual development of the scribal usages nor the possible psychological background of the writing of the usual <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL as TU-KÚL. It is a well-known fact that the names of the various kings called Tukulti-Ninurta and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra are frequently written <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta<sup>252</sup> and <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-apil-É-šar-ra,<sup>253</sup> and there cannot be the slightest doubt that they are to be read *Túkul-ti-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta* and *Túkul-ti-apil-É-šar-ra*.<sup>254</sup> The writing of the first component of the name in these cases is entirely phonetic, the sign combination <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL (=Sumerian <sup>giš</sup>t u k u l, "weapon"), with its two-syllable phonetic value *túkul* being used here to render the

<sup>251</sup> Ebeling, MAOG VII, Heft 1 and 2, 26; Weidner, AOf X, 1, n. 1; Opitz, *ibid.*, p. 48; Landsberger, *ibid.*, pp. 140 and 141, n. 5.

<sup>252</sup> KAHI II, No. 48, l. 1; No. 49, l. 1; No. 50, ll. 1 and 8, etc. (Tukulti-Ninurta I); <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Ninurta, *ibid.*, No. 89, l. 16; No. 97, l. 3 (Tukulti-Ninurta II).

<sup>253</sup> KAHI II, No. 65, l. 1; No. 68, l. 1, etc. (Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I); No. 82, l. 2; No. 83, l. 6; No. 84, l. 11 (Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II).

<sup>254</sup> Note, e.g., the rendering of the latter name as Tiglat Pileser in Hebrew.

first two syllables of the Akkadian word *tukultu*, "trust."<sup>255</sup> Instead of <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti (= *túkul-ti*) we find the word *tukulti* written also as *tukul-ti*, i.e., with the simple sign KU (= *tukul*) plus *ti*. This writing is found already in the Old Babylonian period in *Ir-ra-tukul-ti* (Ranke, BE VI, 1, No. 42, tablet, l. 14, case, l. 16).<sup>256</sup> As a matter of fact, this is the more natural (and of course older) writing, since the phonetic value *tukul* belongs only to the sign KU, while <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL represents <sup>giš</sup>tukul, i.e., *tukul* with the determinative *giš*. Although this determinative in the writing of the Sumerian word t u k u l, "weapon," as <sup>giš</sup>t u k u l is quite appropriate, in the writing of the mere phoneme *tukul* (i.e., in the writing of the two syllables *tu+kul*) as <sup>giš</sup>tukul it is rather an artificial addition, probably resorted to by the scribes of the later periods in order to distinguish it from other values of KU (e.g., *ku*, *tuš*, *dúr*). *Tukul-ti* (with KU = *tukul*) is once found also in the Khorsabad list in the writing of our king's name as <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur, while the Nassouhi list writes <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-túkul-ti-Aš-šur] with <sup>giš</sup>tukul = *túkul*.<sup>257</sup>

In many instances, however, the element *tukulti* of the names Tukulti-Ninurta and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra is written simply with the signs <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL and TUKUL without a following *ti*. Compare, for example, <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-apil-É-šar-ra (Nassouhi list, col. 4, ll. 8, 10, and 14 [= Tu-

<sup>255</sup> If Sumerian <sup>giš</sup>t u k u l, "weapon," were used here as an ideogram, it could properly stand only for its Akkadian equivalent *kakku*, "weapon," i.e., <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti would have to be read *\*\*kakku-ti*, etc.

<sup>256</sup> For the use at that time of signs with phonetic values consisting of two syllables see my Habilitationsschrift, *Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon* (1910), p. 14, n. 2.

<sup>257</sup> The same different writings are observed in the well-known phrase *ina tukulti Aššur*, etc. The usual writing is *i-na tukul-ti*, for which see references in Delitzsch, AHwb, p. 706; but Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, 1 R 9 ff., col. 1, l. 70, for instance, writes *i-na gištukul-ti Aš-šur*.

kulti-apil-Ešarra I]) over against <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-ti-apil-É-šar-ra (*ibid.*, l. 6 [= Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I] and l. 27 [= Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II]); TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta (KAHI II, No. 91, l. 8), TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>Ninurta (*ibid.*, No. 101, l. 3), and TUKUL-Ninurta, (*ibid.*, No. 96, l. 3; No. 98, ll. 3, etc.)—all referring to Tukulti-Ninurta II.<sup>258</sup> These strange and, strictly speaking, wrong writings are to be explained, of course, by a misconception on the part of the Assyrian scribes who erroneously took the phonetic renderings of *tukulti* by means of *tukul-ti* and <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti as half "ideographic" and half phonetic writings, namely, as representing *tukul-ti* and <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ti, in which, according to their conception, TUKUL and <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL are ideograms for *tukulti*, while the *ti* is the so-called "phonetic complement." Owing to this wrong conception, they naturally believed themselves entitled to write *tukulti* simply with the supposed ideograms TUKUL or <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL = *tukulti*, similarly as, e.g., the word *eršetum*, "earth," might be written either *KI-tum* or simply *KI*.

In the light of these observations it would appear that the name <sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-<sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-Aš-šur should be read Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, and especially so in view of the fact that the name is actually written <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur in the Khorsabad list and in the Synchronistic King List (KAVI, No. 10, col. 1, l. 3) and similarly is written (<sup>d</sup>Nin-urta-)tukul-ti-AN-SAR in Chronicle P (col. 4, l. 12), if the king referred to is actually identical with Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. On the other hand, if the name were to be read Ninurta-tukul-Aššūr, we would have to face the fact that the name element *tukul* is not found in any of the thousands of Assyrian and Babylonian names and, in addition to

<sup>258</sup> Especially numerous are these writings of Tukulti-Ninurta II's name in the Nineveh texts published by Thompson in AAA XIX (1932).



that, the fact that to date no word *tuktu* or *tukullu*, etc., from which the *tukul* of the name could derive, is known. One could, of course, argue that Akkadian might have had in addition to the well-known feminine *tukultu* a less used masculine *tuklu* of the same meaning "trust," or that Sumerian <sup>gis</sup>*tukul*, "weapon," might have been taken over as a loan-word *tukullum*, "weapon." In point of fact, if the second element actually represented the construct of such a *tukullu*, "weapon," a seemingly quite acceptable meaning, "Ninurta, the (divine) weapon of Aššūr," would result for the name. But as stated, none of the words is actually attested, nor do we know that Ninurta was considered the weapon of Aššūr. Moreover, the use in an Assyrian name of a rare Sumerian loan-word such as the supposed *tukullu*, "weapon," would again be something quite unusual, since names as a rule are intended to express clearly and simply what is meant by them. Furthermore, if we accept the reading *tukul* for the second element of Ninurta-<sup>gis</sup>TUKUL-Aššūr, we would of course have to explain how it could happen that in the later periods the name was universally read Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr. The assumption that this reading is simply a mistake remains, of course, unsatisfactory as long as one cannot show how the mistake originated; but, as far as we can see to date, hardly any satisfactory explanation can be given for it. For all these reasons it seems to me quite likely that in reality the phonetically written TU-KÚL represents a mistake, namely, in that the scribe who should have written the two signs of the TÚKUL sign combination, i.e., GIS and TUKUL, which were believed to be the ideogram of *tukulti*, instead wrote down the phonetic value *tukul* of that sign combination, written, of course, exactly as in the phonetic value column of the syllabaries, with

the monosyllabic signs of the customary system, i.e., as *tu-kúl*. That such queer mistakes could occur is very clearly illustrated by the fact that in CT 35, 1 ff column 1, line 62, as pointed out by me in JAOS LVII (1937), 67, the scribe, instead of inserting into the LAGAB sign the two signs ŠE and SUM, inserted their Sumerian names, namely, še-a and su-na. An even closer parallel is offered by several of the syllabary statements intended to indicate that a certain sign (listed in the second subcolumn) has a certain pronunciation (given in the first subcolumn) in a certain combination of the sign with one or more other signs, this combination being given in the Akkadian column, preceded by a *ša* (apparently <šà (g)....- (a) k - a, "in") and followed by the Akkadian equivalent of the sign combination. Such statements make sense, of course, only in those cases in which the sign in question actually appears in the Sumerian sign combination in the Akkadian column, as, for example, in CT 12, 10 ff., column 4, line 26:

Ygur | URU<sub>5</sub> | šá <sup>gis</sup>m á -URU<sub>5</sub> *ma-kur'-rum*, which means that the sign URU<sub>5</sub> has the phonetic value gur in the sign combination <sup>gis</sup>m á -URU<sub>5</sub> (to be pronounced, therefore, m á -g u r<sub>s</sub>), the Akkadian equivalent of which is *makurru*, "barge" (loan-word from Sumerian m á -g u r). But in CT XII, 10 ff., column 3, line 25, for instance, we read:

Yni-in | USLAN | šá <sup>d</sup>in-ni-na *šu-ma*, meaning that the sign USLAN is to be read nin in the sign combination <sup>d</sup>in-ni-na, which in Akkadian is written and read in the same manner (= *šu-ma*). As it stands, this makes no sense, of course. What is meant is that the sign USLAN is to be read innina, ennin, or nin in the sign combination <sup>d</sup>ingir USLAN, and it is obvious that, instead

of writing the sign USLAN, the scribe erroneously wrote its phonetic value, of course as it would be written in the phonetic value column of the syllabary, i.e., with the usual one-syllable value signs in-ni-na. It will be noted that this case is completely parallel to that of <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL written tu-kúl in the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets. Of the many other instances of such erroneous phonetic writings of the Sumerian ideogram in the šá . . . formula, only two may be mentioned, namely, CT XXXV, 1-8, column 2, line 27:

Ysu-ur | KU | šá šà-sur *ša-as-su-ru*, where the sign combination should be šà-KU, and *ibid.*, line 14:

Yku-uṭ | KU | šá ku-ṭ-ṭá *raq-qi-du*, where the sign combination should be KU-ṭa or a similar sign combination for the Sumerian equivalent of *raqqidu*. For in the parallel Yale Syllabary the first equation appears in line 127 as:

Ytu-[ur] | KU | šá šà-tur *ša-as-su-ru*, with erroneous writing šà-tur for šà-KU, while line 114 offers for the second equation:

Ygu-u [t]! | KU | šá ku-u ṭ-ṭo *raq-qi-du*, with KU-u ṭ-ṭo instead of KU-ṭo. Although the scribe of the Yale Syllabary makes the same mistake as the scribe of CT XXXV, 1-8, namely, of writing the Sumerian "ideogram" or part of it with the monosyllabic signs of the Akkadian sign system, the different pronunciation of the ideograms in the parallel passages clearly shows that these mistakes are not dependent on one another. This as well as the comparatively great number of such mistakes in the syllabaries, clearly indicates that the peculiar error was one into which the scribes could fall quite easily. Doubtless the reason for the frequent occurrence of the mistakes in the

syllabaries was that these were written from dictation. So doubtless were the business memorandums referring to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr; and this fact readily explains why the erroneous phonetic writing of the "ideogram" <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL (= *tukulti*) occurs three times in those tablets. Most probably the dictating official, in order to insure the writing of the name with GIS-TUKUL (= TÚKUL) instead of with GIS-TUKUL-ti, simply dictated TÚKUL, believing that his scribes would know what he meant. The scribes on their part, of course, knew it, since in all other instances they wrote <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL. But that would not necessarily guard them now and then, in moments of inattentiveness, from writing the dictated ideogram in the same manner as they would write the syllable combination *tukul* in any other case, especially since ideograms, because they represent a deviation from the basic sign system, were always exposed to the danger of being written "phonetically." Possibly the fact that the error occurred comparatively frequently—namely, three times—in the Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr tablets must even be regarded as an indication that at the time of Aššūr-dān I the use of <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL as an "ideogram" for *tukulti* was still an innovation to which most of the scribes had not become thoroughly accustomed and to which part of them even were opposed, because they knew that properly <sup>gis</sup>TUKUL was not an "ideogram" of *tukulti*. It could quite well have been that, by thinking of this, their attention was momentarily diverted.

Although with all these arguments our explanation of the strange TU-KÚL as a phonetically written ideogram TÚKUL for *tukulti* cannot be regarded as proved with the same absolute conclusiveness as it would be if we had a contemporary writing of the second element of the name Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr with *tukul-ti* or



*tu-kul-ti*, it can at least be asserted that this explanation has the great advantage of being entirely in harmony with all the facts observable elsewhere in regard to the use of <sup>gi</sup>TUKUL as ideogram for *tukulti* in proper names, a circumstance which makes it most probable that it will prove correct. In point of fact, the writing <sup>d</sup>Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šûr in our king list, although it does not represent a contemporary writing, already represents strong evidence to that effect.

The second half of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku runs as follows: "(But still within) his (=Ninurta-tukulti-Aš-šûr's) *DUBpu* Mutakkil-Nusku, after having (only?) 'held' the throne, died."<sup>259</sup>

It is remarkable that the statement on the expulsion of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr from Assyria is not followed by the statement that Mutakkil-Nusku "seized" the throne, since such a statement is quite customary in our list in the case of a king having dethroned his predecessor. Nor does the statement continue with the usual phrase ("for so much time) *šarru-ta êpus-uš*," but instead of both phrases it uses the expression *kussâ ukta*(')il, "he had held the throne," which by means of its syntactical *t* (the *t* of previousness)<sup>260</sup> is temporally subordinated to the following statement, "he died." Since the king list does not mention the death of any other Assyrian king, it is obvious that the death of Mutakkil-Nusku must have appeared to the author of the king-list statement remarkable enough to warrant an express reference to it. The explanation must, of course, be sought in the syntactically subordinated phrase *ukta*(')il. Since the omission of the statement that he exercised kingship as well as of the

<sup>259</sup> *DUB-pi-šû* = *Mu-tak-kil-Nusku gi-kussâ uk-ta-il šada-a e-mid*. Note the Assyrian uncontracted form *ukta*(?)il, II 2 of *k y l*.

<sup>260</sup> See my *Studies in Akkadian Grammar*, p. 30, n. 1.

statement that he seized the throne or placed himself on it doubtless indicates that the author of the statement on Mutakkil-Nusku had some reason for not making those statements—in other words, since he believed the actual events did not warrant them—it seems quite likely that the "holding" of the throne which the text reports is not the full equivalent of the usually reported "seizing" of the throne, but that it represents only one single action of the ceremony or legal process of "seizing" the throne. If this conclusion is correct, the passage would tell us that Mutakkil-Nusku either died before the ceremony of seizing the throne was completed or that during that ceremony he was struck by some ailment which in a short time may have led to his death. That Mutakkil-Nusku was not a young man at that time, and that therefore he might easily have succumbed perhaps to a "stroke," is most likely in view of the fact that his father Aššûr-dân I ruled the long time of 46 years and that, according to the express statement of his great-grandson Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, Aššûr-dân attained a very advanced age.<sup>261</sup> Note, furthermore, that Mutakkil-Nusku's son, Aššûr-rêša-iši I, at the former's death at once took over the government and that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, Aššûr-rêša-iši's son, ascended the throne only 18 years later. But no matter whether the foregoing speculations are correct or not, it was a tragic end of Mutakkil-Nusku's career, since his rule over Assyria lasted not even to the end of the year in which he triumphed over his brother Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr. This, of course, is the reason why his grandson, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, in 1 R 9-16, column 7, lines 45-48, reports in glorification of his grandfather only that "the great lord Aššûr fol-

<sup>261</sup> Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, 1 R 9-16, col. 7, ll. 51-54: *ša . . . ša . . . še-bu-ta u la-bi-ru-ta il-li-ku*.

lowing the desire of his heart called him to shepherdship over the land of Aššûr."

The extreme shortness of Mutakkil-Nusku's reign refutes, of course, the almost general assumption that this king was the recipient of the letter 4 R 34, No. 2.<sup>262</sup> Since, however, the time when the letter was written cannot be too far removed from the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr's flight to Babylonia, it may be regarded as quite certain that the Assyrian recipient was Mutakkil-Nusku's son Aššûr-rêša-iši, who, according to our Khorsabad list, ruled 18 years.

Mutakkil-Nusku, too, has come in for his share of unfavorable characterization. Weidner in *MVaG XX*, No. 4 (1917), 80, says of him: "Er scheint . . . nur kurze Zeit regiert zu haben<sup>263</sup> und ein ziemlich unbedeutender Herrscher gewesen zu sein." That Landsberger (*AOf X*, 143) is inclined to assume that Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr was sent from Babylonia to hold Mutakkil-Nusku in tutelage has already been mentioned.<sup>264</sup> Here, too, the extreme shortness of Mutakkil-Nusku's reign makes it obvious that these speculations are entirely out of place.

Concerning the kings from Aššûr-rêša-iši I (86), son of Mutakkil-Nusku, down to Aššûr-nerâri V (107), the Khorsabad list hardly offers an opportunity for special

<sup>262</sup> Forrer, *RIA I*, 277-79; Weidner, *AOf X* (1935), 6. Landsberger, *AOf X*, 143, thinks of Mutakkil-Nusku as recipient of the letter in preference to the aged Aššûr-dân I, who—if he instead of Mutakkil-Nusku was the recipient—"dann im Gefolge der in unserem Brief angedrohten Aktion seine Absetzung erfahren hätte." Neither the letter nor, as far as I know, any inscription contains a hint that Aššûr-dân was deposed. Moreover, such a dethronement or at least the seizing of the throne by his successor would certainly have been reported in the king-list statement on Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr, Aššûr-dân's son. Cf. the statement on Aššûr-nâdin-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

<sup>263</sup> In his list of kings (*ibid.*, p. 110), however, Weidner gives him 12 years of reign. In *AOf III* (1924-25), 77, he reduces his reign to 9 years and in *AOf IV* (1926-27) and *X* (1935) to three years.

<sup>264</sup> See above, p. 63.

remarks such as planned for this preliminary report, excepting of course the statements on the length of several reigns not preserved in the Nassouhi list. As stated above, however, these numbers cannot be discussed here. Only *en passant*, because of the great differences between the numbers given by our list and those hitherto operated with,<sup>265</sup> it may be mentioned that our list gives to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I (87) 39 years instead of the assumed 27; to Šamši-Adad IV (91) 4 years instead of 20; to Aššûr-rabi II (95) 41 years instead of 30; and to Aššûr-rêša-iši II (96) 5 instead of 15.

Because certain principles important for the correct understanding of the *limmu* lists are involved, we must, however, briefly discuss the rather small differences in the regnal years attributed by the Khorsabad list—in contradistinction to the assumptions of modern scholars—to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97) [32 years instead of 33],<sup>266</sup> to Tukulti-Ninurta II (100) [7 years instead of 6], to Šamši-Adad V (103) [13 years instead of 14], and to Aššûr-nerâri V (107) [10 years instead of 8]. Although our Khorsabad list stops with Aššûr-nerâri V, we shall—for reasons that will presently reveal themselves—include in our discussion the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V's immediate successor, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III (108) [chronologically correct, 18 years instead of the usually counted 19 years].

As regards Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97), the *limmu* list KAVI No. 21 ff. in column 5 actually gives 33 [years] as the total of the *limmu*'s of his *limmu* period, counted from his own *limmu* (No. 51, col. 5) to the last *limmu* (included) be-

<sup>265</sup> As examples, Weidner's numbers in *AOf IV*, 77, will be quoted.

<sup>266</sup> Weidner, in *AOf IV* (1927), 17. The deviating numbers for the other kings are those assumed by Forrer, in *MVaG XX*, Heft 3 (1916), 26 ff. and by Weidner, *loc. cit.*



fore the *limmu* of King Aššûr-dân II (No. 52, col. 5). But it is an obvious fact that the *limmu* period of a king, as it is indicated in the various *limmu* lists by horizontal dividing lines (and in KAVI No. 21 ff., moreover, by a summary),<sup>267</sup> is not necessarily identical with the official reign of the king. This unmistakably is shown by the observation that beginning with Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III some *limmu* lists place the dividing line which marks the beginning of the *limmu* period before the year of the king's accession to the throne, while others place it before the first official year of the king, and still others before the king's *limmu*, which, as we shall see, was never identical with the king's first year of reign. Provided that one of these different methods is used regularly and, in the case of the last mentioned method, that the *limmu* of a king and that of his successor coincide with the same official year of their respective reigns, the *limmu* period will naturally be of the same length as that of the king's reign, but in all those cases in which this condition is not fulfilled the *limmu* period and the reign will be of different length. This can be conveniently illustrated by the fact that KAVI No. 21 ff. in column 8 (toward its end) counts only 4 years (723-720 B.C.) for the *limmu* period of Šulmānu-ašarēd V (109), while his official regnal years number 5 (726-722 B.C.), the difference, of course, being due to the fact that Sulmānu-ašarēd's *limmu* year is identical with his official 4th year of reign, while the *limmu* of his successor, Šarrukīn, is identical with the 3d year of this king's reign. It is obvious, therefore, that the statement of the Khorsabad list that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II ruled 32 years need in no way be at variance with the state-

<sup>267</sup> A conveniently usable transliteration of each *limmu* list with its dividing lines is given by Ungnad in RIA II, 418 ff. The various texts are synoptically arranged.

ment of KAVI, No. 21 ff., that his *limmu* period comprised 33 years. Possibly the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (as indicated in KAVI, No. 22) exceeds his official reign (as indicated in the Khorsabad list) by one year, because the first *limmu* of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and the *limmu* of his successor Aššûr-dân II did not occur in the same year of their respective reigns, the *limmu* of Aššûr-dân apparently occurring one year later. For instance, if in accordance with the prevailing custom Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II's first *limmu* year coincided with his official second year, Aššûr-dân II might have taken the *limmu* office only in his third regnal year. In support of this conclusion we can, it seems, even adduce the fact that in the 30th year of the Tukulti-apil-Ešarra *limmu* period, as reckoned by KAVI, No. 21 ff.—this year being identical with the king's 31st regnal year—Tukulti-apil-Ešarra to all appearances held the *limmu* office for the second time,<sup>268</sup> and since, according to our conclusions, Aššûr-dân II ascended the throne already in the following year (31st year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's *limmu* period, 32d year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's reign), the king or the royal fiscus may well have taken the stand that, after the royal house had borne the great expenses for the *limmu* office only three years before, it would be necessary to postpone the new king's *limmu* for one year beyond the customary date. Unfortunately, however, the single *limmu*'s of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II and Aššûr-dân II are not completely preserved in KAVI, No. 21 ff., and of the latter king not even the summary of his *limmu* years is preserved. Since we therefore are not in a position to check the correctness of the above assumption, a final decision must be

<sup>268</sup> Of the name of the *limmu* official of that year KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 5, lowest fragment, has preserved only  $\checkmark$  Tukulti (=IZKIM)-apil[-. . .].

postponed. Although Nassouhi's copy of Assur A indicates traces of the number 3 as last part of the number for Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's years of reign, the photographs permit only the recognition of the last vertical unit wedge but do not show with any certainty fitting traces of the two first verticals of 3.<sup>269</sup>

In this connection it may be mentioned that KAVI, No. 21 ff., column 6, according to Schroeder's copy, sums up the *limmu* years of Aššûr-nâsir-apli II (101) as 24 years. This—provided Schroeder's copy is correct—is, of course, owing to a mistake of the ancient copyist, since according to Canon II<sup>270</sup>+Canon I<sup>271</sup> the period beginning with the *limmu* of Aššûr-nâsir-apli and ending with the *limmu* of Šarru-ur-nišē—this is the last *limmu* before the summary of KAVI, No. 21 ff.—numbers 25 *limmu*'s, the error probably lying in a contraction of the 22d and 23d *limmu*. Judging from this observation, one cannot entirely disregard the possibility that the total "33 years" given in KAVI, No. 21 ff., for the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II (97) may likewise be owing to a mistake. In this case, however, it would have consisted in erroneously counting a certain *limmu* twice. If, on the other hand, the 32 years of the Khorsabad list should turn out to be a mistake for 33, all years of the king-list chronology prior to 966 would, of course, have to be raised by one year.

Although the *limmu* list commonly called Canon II, to date the only list covering the *limmu* period of Tukulti-Ninurta II (100), enumerates only 6 *limmu*'s as constituting that *limmu* period—namely, the *limmu*'s of Tukulti-Ninurta, Taklāk-ana-bēlija, Abu-ilāja, Ilu-

<sup>269</sup> Should the 3 have been suggested by KAVI, No. 21 ff.? One would be grateful to Nassouhi for a renewed examination of the number.

<sup>270</sup> K 4388 (2 R 68, No. 2).

<sup>271</sup> K 4329 (2 R 68, No. 1).

milki, Iarī, and Aššûr-šezibanni—the Khorsabad list ascribes to Tukulti-Ninurta 7 years of reign. To be sure, since as just pointed out reign and *limmu* period need not be of the same length, one could very well explain the discrepancy in the number of years by the assumption that Tukulti-Ninurta took the *limmu* office not, as was the custom with most kings, in his second but in his third official year of reign, while his successor Aššûr-nâsir-apli again complied with the established custom and took the office in his second regnal year. In this case the year of Tukulti-Ninurta's accession to the throne would, of course, be identical with the last *limmu* but two of the *limmu* period of his predecessor Adad-nerāri II (99).

However, the following solution of the problem is much more probable. After having described in his tablet inscription, Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti Ninip II*, the last events of the *limmu* year of Abu-ilāja (obv. 1-10)<sup>272</sup> and the campaigns and other events of the *limmu* year of Ilumilki (obv. 11-40), in the rest of the inscription Tukulti-Ninurta describes at great length the events of the next *limmu* year (obv. 41—rev. 64).<sup>273</sup> This *limmu*, however, is designated not, as we might expect on the basis of Canon II, as that of Iarī but as the *limmu* of Na'd(i)-ilu,<sup>274</sup> the exact date given in obverse, line 41, at the beginning of this section of the report being Nisān 25 and the inscription itself being dated in Arahsamna 9 of the same *limmu*. Since Scheil's publication of the inscription the explanation of this fact has universally been that Iarī and Na'd(i)-ilu

<sup>272</sup> This *limmu* is not mentioned on Scheil's tablet, since this tablet begins in the middle of the report on the events of the *limmu* year of Abu-ilāja. See following note.

<sup>273</sup> The tablet published by Scheil is, of course, the continuation of another tablet relating the events from Tukulti-Ninurta's accession year to the middle of the *limmu* of Abu-ilāja.

<sup>274</sup> Na'd-ilu, Na'd-ilu.



were *limmu* officials of the same year, Scheil even hinting that since the first part of the sign *ja* at the beginning of the sign group *Ia-ri-i*, i.e., the sign *i*, is used as ideogram for *na'du*, one of the names might be a wrong reading (or different writing?) of the other name, unless the eponym successively bore two names (*op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.). But in view of the fact now known from the Khorsabad list that Tukulti-Ninurta ruled 7 and not 6 years, it is of course a much simpler and likelier explanation that Canon II has erroneously omitted the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu and that this *limmu* followed immediately that of Abu-milki, while the *limmu* of Iarî represented the year after the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu. In other words, the *limmu* of Na'id-ilu represents the 5th *limmu* of Tukulti-Ninurta's *limmu* period, that of Iarî the 6th *limmu*, and that of Aššûr-šezibanni the 7th *limmu*. This solution recommends itself not only because it solves both problems—the difference in the numbers and the Na'd(i)-ilu - Iarî problem — by a single assumption, while with the usual assumption each problem requires a separate solution, but especially because it is in harmony with the impression concerning the *limmu* of Na'd(i)-ilu one would get from Tukulti-Ninurta's inscription without being influenced by Canon II.

But, probable as this solution is, it cannot yet be regarded as definitively proved. A great help to achieve this aim would derive from a final establishment of the order of the *limmu*'s of Tukulti-Ninurta's predecessor Adad-nerâri II, of some of which only the beginnings or the ends of the names are preserved. For this would give us the possibility of determining not only the length of Adad-nerâri's *limmu* period but also the length of the *limmu* period of Tukulti-Ninurta. It is not possible here to take up this complicated problem, but note at least that Ungnad's

estimate (in RIA II, 48) of the length of Adad-nerâri's *limmu* period as 23 years is incompatible with the statement of our Khorsabad list that Adad-nerâri II's reign lasted 21 years and that of Tukulti-Ninurta II 7 years. For even under the assumption that Tukulti-Ninurta's *limmu* is identical with his 3d regnal year, Adad-nerâri's *limmu* year would still correspond to his first regnal year, a correspondence for which we have no parallel elsewhere. Weidner's assumption (RIA I, 31) that the *limmu* period of Adad-nerâri comprised 22 years, on the other hand, would be quite unobjectionable, if it is assumed that the *limmu* of Tukulti-Ninurta II corresponds to his 3d regnal year, since then Adad-nerâri II's *limmu* would represent his second year of reign; but in this case it would actually be necessary to assume that the *limmu*'s of Na'd(i)-ilu and Iarî were identical.

We now turn to Aššûr-nerâri V (101), the last king of the Khorsabad list. The *limmu* list KAVI, No. 21 ff., reckons this king's *limmu* period from the king's own *limmu* (753 B.C.) to that of Bêlu-dân (744 B.C.), the last *limmu* before that of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, and the scribe expressly sums up these ten *limmu*'s in the subscription as "10 years." According to our king list the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V likewise lasted 10 years. Now we know from the eponym chronicle K 51 that Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III ascended the throne in the second month of the year 745 B.C., and since this year began under the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V, it represented, of course, Aššûr-nerâri's last, i.e., his tenth year. Consequently, the official first year of Aššûr-nerâri V was the year 754, the preceding year 755 being, of course, the year of his accession to the throne. According to the king-list statement, therefore, the *limmu* year of King Aššûr-nerâri V, i.e., the year 753, corresponds to

Aššûr-nerâri's second year of reign, while his first year of reign is identical with the last *limmu* before Aššûr-nerâri's own *limmu*, i.e., that of Ninurta-šezibanni. The year in which Aššûr-nerâri ascended the throne and the year in which his predecessor Aššûr-dân III died, finally, is identical with the *limmu* year of Iqîšu, the second *limmu* year before that of Aššûr-nerâri. In other words, the official reign of Aššûr-nerâri V—to state it explicitly—comprised the 10-year period from 754 (*limmu* of Ninurta-šezibanni) to 745 (*limmu* of Nabû-bêla-ušur).

Instead of the 10 years attested by the Khorsabad list, all modern scholars have ascribed to Aššûr-nerâri V only 8 years of reign. Their assumption was chiefly based on the fact that the eponym chronicles, which they credited with being very reliable with regard to the indication of the regnal periods, place their division lines before 753 and after 746, including therefore the 8 years 753-746, believed to be the official regnal period of Aššûr-nerâri V. It will be observed that in the chronological system of these scholars the actual last of Aššûr-nerâri's 10 years of reign, i.e., the year 745, in which Aššûr-nerâri V died and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra became king, is reckoned as the first year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, while the actual official first year of Aššûr-nerâri V is believed to be the last year of his predecessor Aššûr-dân III.

The assignment of Aššûr-nerâri's last year to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra may be regarded as of minor consequence, since it was made with full recognition of the fact that the first 42 (or 41) days of the year designated as Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's first year still belonged to the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V,<sup>275</sup> that designation representing

<sup>275</sup> Note, e.g., that Forrer in his "Zeittafel" (MVA G XX, Heft 3, pp. 26 ff.) for the year 745 lists as "Hauptereignis": "13.II. besteigt T(ukulti-apil-Ešarra) den Thron."

in truth merely an unusual solution of the problem whether that year should be called after Aššûr-nerâri, who ruled only a month and 12 days at its beginning, or after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra, who ruled in it for by far its greatest part. This solution, moreover, seemed to be justified by the fact that in his inscriptions Tukulti-apil-Ešarra himself, in opposition to the up-to-then customary designation of the new king's accession year as the *rêš šarrûtišu* year, considered his accession year as his first year of reign. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that for chronological purposes the use of two different methods of counting the regnal years is a rather precarious matter, since it is liable to cause misunderstandings, to meet which constant indications as to which method is used would be necessary. For the sake of uniformity modern chronology should, of course, count the years of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra in the same manner in which the years of all previous reigns are counted, namely, by designating the first full calendar year of his reign and not his accession year as his first year. The fact that our Khorsabad list gives Aššûr-nerâri V 10 years of reign, the last of which represents Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's accession year, as well as the fact that Canon IV places the division line marking the beginning of the *limmu* period of Sin-ahhê-eriba before 704, i.e., the year after Sin-ahhê-eriba's accession year, and probably also before 744, the year after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III's accession year, clearly shows that not all Assyrian chronologers adopted the counting method used by Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and his chancellor.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>276</sup> On the other hand, after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra had set the precedent, the eponym chronicles and some of the *limmu* lists placed the *limmu* period dividing-line likewise before the accession years of Sulmânu-ašarêd V, Šarrukin II, Sin-ahhê-eriba, and Aššûr-ahâ-iddina, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's successors, evidently in the endeavor to follow a consistent course. How far they would go in this endeavor is well illustrated by



Actually wrong, however, is the dating of Aššūr-nerāri V's first year in 753 and of his accession year in 754, since this means a real deviation from the actual dates by one year. This error is the more serious as it happens to involve also the dates for the reigns of Aššūr-nerāri V's predecessors, at least as far back as Šamši-Adad V, all of these reigns being likewise placed one year too late.<sup>277</sup> As may conveniently be seen from Forrer's synchronistic table in MVaG XX, Heft 3, 28-31, his datings make the first year of each of the kings Adad-nerāri III (104), Šulmānu-ašarēd IV (105), Aššūr-dān III (106), and Aššūr-nerāri V (107) correspond to the king's own *limmu* year. Obviously, however, it is very unlikely that a new king took upon himself the duties of the *limmu* office in his first official year of reign. As far as we know to date, the main duty of a

the application of the new method to Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's reign, although this king's accession to the throne occurred at the end of the year, on the 28th of Adar. The double datings of Meek, AJSL XXXV, 137 (K2856): . . . . ., *limmu* of Mitunu (700 B.C.) = 6th year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, and Johns, ADD, No. 230: Ajjāru 8, *limmu* of Manzarne (684 B.C.) = 22d year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, and No. 447: Ajjāru 1, 23d year of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba = *limmu* of Mannu-ki-Adad (683 B.C.), show that the method of counting the years of the king from his accession year was in actual use, at least with certain officials, even a considerable time after Tukulti-apil-Ešarra. Since the months mentioned in the dates just referred to precede Abu, the month in which Sin-aḫḫē-eriba had ascended the throne, it is of course impossible to take the regnal years of the double datings as the king's actual years of reign, which begin with the date of his accession to the throne. Note, that slightly more numerous double datings from Sin-aḫḫē-eriba's reign (3 R 2, No. 19 = 698 B.C.; *ibid.*, No. 20 = 694 B.C.; Johns, ADD, No. 30 = 684 B.C., and No. 447 = 683 B.C., all of them transliterated by Ungnad in RIA II, 410) as well as all known double datings from Šarrukin's and Aššūr-aḫa-iddina's reigns (see *ibid.*, pp. 415 f.), follow the usual method of counting the regnal years of a king, i.e., from the first calendar year after the king's accession to the throne. Also Forrer, Weidner, and others, in counting the regnal years of Sin-aḫḫē-eriba, follow this method, thereby simply disregarding the inscriptional evidence concerning the existence of a different method of counting the regnal years of that king.

<sup>277</sup> In the case of Šamši-Adad V only the end date of his reign is affected.

holder of this office was to care for the needs of the temples of Aššūr and other deities, and fulfilment of this duty necessarily involved quite extraordinary expenses, for which provisions had to be made a considerable time in advance. Naturally one had to reckon with the possibility that the accession to the throne of a new king might take place in the last months of the year and in such a case practically no time at all was left for those preparations, quite apart from the fact that the change of government itself with all its consequences would usually claim the whole attention of the new ruler. It may be noted that even Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III (108), although he ascended the throne as early as the 13th day of the second month, held the *limmu* office not in the immediately following year, but in the year after that, i.e., in the second year after his accession year. Šulmānu-ašarēd V (109) even postponed his *limmu* to his 4th year of reign, Šarrukin II (110) to his 3d year, and Sin-aḫḫē-eriba (111) to the 18th calendar year after his accession to the throne, while Aššūr-aḫa-iddina (112) in his whole 12-year reign did not hold the *limmu* office at all. Of Aššūr-bāni-apli (113), finally, we know that he did not hold the office at least in the first half of his long reign. We also know from the inscriptions of Aššūr-nāšir-apli II (101) and Šulmānu-ašarēd III (112) that the *limmu* of either of the two kings coincided not with his first but with his second regnal year, the situation with which we are confronted, therefore, being this: Both before and after the period of the four kings 104-107, during which the king's own *limmu* is supposed to represent the first regnal year of the king, we have kings who held the *limmu* office in their second regnal year (101, 102, and 108), a fact which would seem to make it very probable that each of the kings who reigned

between them likewise held that office in his second year of reign.<sup>278</sup> Forrer's contrary argument<sup>279</sup> that the identity of the king's *limmu* with his first regnal year is proved for each of the kings from Adad-nerāri IV (104) to Aššūr-nerāri V (107) by the fact that the section dividing-line is uniformly placed before the *limmu* year of those kings in every *limmu* list, is actually without any foundation, since the *limmu* lists place that division line indiscriminately before the *limmu* of every king prior to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, even before that of Šamši-Adad V (103), although Forrer<sup>280</sup> and Ungnad<sup>281</sup> erroneously assume that in the eponym chronicle Rm. 2, 97, it is placed before the *limmu* of Bēlu-bunnaija (823 B.C.), which immediately precedes that of Šamši-Adad V (822).<sup>282</sup> The only conclusion that can be drawn from these observations is that the dividing-line as such indicates not the

<sup>278</sup> This conclusion was already drawn by G. Smith in *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 206, and by E. Schrader in *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 312-30 (esp. pp. 328 ff.).

<sup>279</sup> MVaG XX (1915), Heft 3, 15.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> RIA II, 433.

<sup>282</sup> The reason for this error is that Forrer considered obv., l. 10, of Rm. 2, 97 (Bezold, PSBA XI (1889), 287 and Pl. III): [. . .] *a na mātu-ē* | *DINGIR GAL ištū ḏe-ri it-tal-ka* (events of 831 B.C.), as belonging to and being the continuation of l. 9: [. . .] *ša ḏi-kak-zi | a-na mātu-ē* (832 B.C.) with a faulty repetition of *a-na mātu-ē* in l. 10. The eponym chronicle reports three expeditions to Que, namely, one in 833 (*limmu* of Iaḫālu), one in 832 (*limmu* of Ulūlajju), and one in 831 (*limmu* of Šar-pati-bēli). Forrer's conception of the passage is adopted also by Ungnad in RIA II, 433, where the year numbers 831 to 816 should be reduced by one unit, with the missing number in l. 10 to be supplied as 831.

Lacking conclusive force are also Forrer's further arguments (MVaG XX, Heft 3, 16) that the annotation to 810, "in the land," makes it unlikely that 810 was the first year of Adad-nerāri III and that the fact that the eponym chronicle reports an expedition to Itu'a both for 783 and 782, makes it improbable that 782 was the first year of Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, Forrer's idea evidently being that the new king would hardly have undertaken in his first year an expedition to the same country against which his predecessor campaigned in his last year. (Forrer ascribes these arguments—as far as I can see, incorrectly—to Schrader.)

beginning or the end of a king's reign but the beginning or the end of a *limmu* period, i.e.—at least in the time before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III—the period from a king's *limmu* to the next king's *limmu*.<sup>283</sup> With this being their purpose the division lines before the *limmu*'s of Adad-nerāri III, Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, Aššūr-dān III, and Aššūr-nerāri V are, of course, irrelevant for the question with which *limmu* year their first year of reign is identical—except that the facts known about the beginning of the reigns of Adad-nerāri II, Šulmānu-ašarēd III, and Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III make it likely that also in all other cases before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III the king's first year corresponds to the *limmu* immediately preceding the king's *limmu*.

Final proof for the last point is furnished by the statements of the Khorsabad king list on the length of the kings' reigns during the period in question. If we synchronize the 35 years given in the list to Šulmānu-ašarēd III, the 13 years of Šamši-Adad V, the 28 years of Adad-nerāri III, the 10 of Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, the 18 of Aššūr-dān III, and the 10 of Aššūr-nerāri V with the years of the *limmu* lists—starting with the first regnal year of Šulmānu-ašarēd III, which is known with all desirable certainty to correspond to the *limmu* of Šarru-ur-niše (858 B.C.), the last before Šulmānu-ašarēd's *limmu*—the first year of each of the succeeding kings down to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III in every case corresponds to the *limmu* before the king's own

<sup>283</sup> Identity of the *limmu* period of a king with his reign—at least before Tukulti-apil-Ešarra and doubtless excepting Aššūr-nāšir-apli II and Šulmānu-ašarēd III—is still assumed by Ungnad in RIA II; cf. his remark on p. 414 (under 17) that KAVI, No. 21-24, which at the end of each *limmu* period adds the total of the *limmu*'s composing the period, "unterscheidet sich von den anderen Listen dadurch, dass bei jedem Herrscher die Zahl der Regierungsjahre angegeben wird."



*limmu*.<sup>254</sup> As especially important, however, it may be noted that in order to achieve the transition from the period in which concededly the first year of the king coincides with the last *limmu* before the king's own *limmu*,<sup>255</sup> to the period for which identity of the king's first year with the king's *limmu* year is assumed,<sup>256</sup> Forrer finds himself compelled to assume a 14-year reign for Šamši-Adad V. The Khorsabad list, however, states that this king ruled 13 years. Since Šamši-Adad's *limmu* period likewise lasted 13 years, a change in the correspondence of the king's *limmu* year with the king's second regnal year after Šamši-Adad V's reign is, of course, entirely out of the question.

With these facts established, the reigns of Adad-nerâri III, Šulmânu-ašarêd IV, Aššûr-dân III, and Aššûr-nerâri V, as they are commonly assumed, must without exception be set one year earlier. This fact is naturally of great historical importance, since by that advance the events reported in the eponym chronicles for the year hitherto considered the last of the king concerned now necessarily must fall into the first official year of his successor. This is the more important because to date we have no inscriptions of the kings in question from statements of which we could establish whether the years in question belonged to the reign of the preceding king or the following.

Very interesting is the observation that in the Khorsabad list statement on Aššûr-nerâri V the number 10 indicating his

<sup>254</sup> First year of Šamši-Adad V = *limmu* of Bêlu-bunnajja, 823 B.C.; first year of Adad-nerâri III = *limmu* of Bêlu-qâti-šabat, 810; first year of Šulmânu-ašarêd IV = *limmu* of Ilu-ma-le, 782; first year of Aššûr-dân III = *limmu* of Aššûr-bêla-ušur, 772; first year of Aššûr-nerâri V = *limmu* of Ninurta-šezibanni, 754; first year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III = *limmu* of Bêlu-dân, 744.

<sup>255</sup> This period ends, according to Forrer, with Šamši-Adad V (103).

<sup>256</sup> This period begins, according to Forrer, with Adad-nerâri III (104).

regnal years is written over an erased number, which from the wedge remnants and their position still can be recognized as an 8. This obviously shows that the Aššûr original, from which the scribe of the Khorsabad tablet copied his list, concluded with the reign of a king before Adad-nerâri V, so that the scribe of our tablet wishing to bring his list up to date, had to supply the missing reign of Aššûr-nerâri V from a *limmu* list. The list used by him for this purpose was evidently one of those in which the *limmu* period of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra was counted from his accession year, leaving therefore only a *limmu* period of 8 years for Aššûr-nerâri V. Inadvertently the scribe inserted in his statement on Aššûr-nerâri V these 8 years as the total of the king's regnal years but, noticing his mistake in time, he changed the 8 to a 10.

#### VI. THE TOTAL OF RULERS ACCORDING TO OUR KING LIST AND SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST A

The kings enumerated in the Khorsabad king list total 107, the last ruler, as mentioned before, being Aššûr-nerâri V (754-745 B.C.). Of the kings from Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, his successor, to the end of the Assyrian empire, the sixth, Aššûr-bâni-apli (668-633[-x]), was therefore—according to the king-list tradition—the 113th ruler of Aššûr.

While the Nassouhi list and the Khorsabad list do not themselves state the number of kings enumerated by them, the Synchronistic King List A adds at the end of its enumeration the following summary:

82 kings of Aššûr from Êrišu, son of Ilušumma, to Aššûr-bâni-apli, son of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina

98 kings of Akkad from Sumulail to Kandil-anu

This statement agrees comparatively well with the king list, for since according

to this list Ilušumma, Êrišu I's father, is the 32d king of Aššûr, Aššûr-bâni-apli, the 113th king of Aššûr, is the 81st king since Êrišu I, the difference between the two totals being just one single unit. This close agreement is a welcome further corroboration of the conclusion drawn from many other observations, namely, that all historical knowledge in the later periods of Assyria is based on a uniform tradition embodied in and transmitted by the *limmu* chronicles, the *limmu* lists, and the king lists, all of which by an ever progressing process of text shortening have developed out of the original Assyrian annals, i.e., the records kept by an official historiographer on the political and other noteworthy events of each year, each of these annual reports beginning with, or somehow using in its introductory remarks, the well-known *ina limme* X (Y, Z, etc.).

Small as the difference in the totals by just one unit is, one nevertheless ponders how it could arise. But since we do not have the complete text of the Synchronistic King List, and since therefore a definite answer is impossible for the present, we can hardly do more than surmise what the reason possibly might have been. For instance, the higher number of the Synchronistic King List may quite well be owing to a simple counting error. But if the reason was a more substantial one, i.e., if the scribe actually counted an additional ruler, one could think, for example, of the possibility that he started the counting of the Assyrian rulers erroneously not with Êrišu I but with Ilušumma, although in the list, according to its subscription, the latter was mentioned merely as the father of Êrišu I. There is, however, nothing that could be adduced in favor of this explanation. Another plausible explanation would seem to be that in his summary the scribe counted

in an opposing king whose reign was officially ignored. For example, one could think of Aššûr-dannin-apla,<sup>257</sup> son of Šulmânu-ašarêd III, who revolted against his father and apparently maintained himself through the six years 826-821, bearing in the eponym chronicles the remark *si-ḫu*, "revolt," until he was defeated finally by his brother Šamši-Adad V.<sup>258</sup> Note especially that one of the cities which sided with him was the city of Aššûr, a fact that could well have given him the opportunity of proclaiming himself king of Aššûr. Though ignored in the king list, Aššûr-dannin-apla was doubtless mentioned in the original annals similarly as he is mentioned in Šamši-Adad V's inscription I R 29 ff. In case Babylonia had taken a hand in the affairs of that time he would likewise appear in the synchronistic histories, and therefore he might also have been mentioned in the Synchronistic King List, which originally, as we have seen, was an index to the synchronistic histories. But whether the Synchronistic King List actually mentioned him or some other pretender to the throne it is entirely impossible to say. In point of fact, it is not very likely, since at the time when the original index was changed into a synchronistic king list the latter will naturally have been shaped entirely after the pattern of the simple Assyrian king list.

The eponym chronicles furthermore report that the city of Aššûr was in revolt in the *limmu*'s of Bur-Sa.gale and Tâb-bêlu, i.e., in the years 763-762 B.C., which represent the 10th and 11th years of Aššûr-dân III (106), whose official reign comprised the years 772-755 B.C. Most probably this revolt again was headed by

<sup>257</sup> I decided on this transliteration because I believe that the meaning of the name is: "O Aššûr, strengthen the heir!" (or "my heir," if the last component originally was *apli*, "my heir").

<sup>258</sup> Šamši-Adad, I R 29 ff., col. 1, ll. 39-53.



a usurper who, since he was in possession of Aššūr, proclaimed himself king of Aššūr. In point of fact, this assumption seems to receive some support from the fact that the eponym chronicle K 51 places a dividing-line before the *limmu* of Bur-<sup>3</sup>Sa.gal.e. Since it is the purpose of the dividing-lines to denote the *limmu* periods of the various kings, the dividing-line in K 51 in the middle of Aššūr-dân III's reign must appear as very strange. It therefore seems a plausible theory that originally it was intended to designate the change of government at Aššūr. Possibly it was taken over from an eponym chronicle written and kept at Aššūr, where the reign of the usurper naturally could not be overlooked, since the city was under his rule. But as regards the problem whether the unknown usurper may have been the one additional ruler of the Synchronistic King List A total, no more definite decision can be arrived at than in the case of Aššūr-dannin-apla, since here, too, we have no information concerning participation of Babylonia in the presumable struggle between Aššūr-dân and the presumable anti-king at Aššūr.

Not to be left unmentioned is, finally, Sammuramat, wife of King Šamši-Adad V, and mother of King Adad-nerâri III, whom Weidner since 1921<sup>289</sup>—under the influence of Unger's publication of the Saba'a stele of Adad-nerâri III<sup>290</sup>—actually lists, in his various lists of kings, as a ruler with 4 years of reign,<sup>291</sup> to be deducted, of course, from the 28 years of her son Adad-nerâri III, to

<sup>289</sup> MVaG XXVI, Heft 2 (1921, preface 1920) p. 66.

<sup>290</sup> Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III aus Saba'a und Semiramis* (1916).

<sup>291</sup> In MVaG XXVI, *loc. cit.*: 811–808; in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1925), p. 452, and later: 809–806. Unger (*op. cit.*, p. 19) gives Sammuramat 5 years (811–806). Similarly Weissbach in RIA I (1932), 299: the first five years of Adad-nerâri III (810–782).

whom Weidner therefore ascribes only 24 years.<sup>292</sup> To be sure, if the speculations about Sammuramat and her son Adad-nerâri III are correct—i.e., if Adad-nerâri III became king when he was a child, if Sammuramat was the real ruler during his minority, and if the actual government devolved on Adad-nerâri only in the fifth year after the death of Šamši-Adad V—Sammuramat could quite well have been mentioned in an extensive synchronistic history and consequently in the Synchronistic King List, provided, of course, she played a part in Babylonian history. To do so she would indeed have had ample opportunity, as will be seen from the following calculation.

Since the first 3 years of Šamši-Adad V were still taken up with the suppression of Aššūr-dannin-apla's revolt, the expedition against Marduk-balaṣu-iqbi of Babylonia, which Šamši-Adad designates as his fourth campaign, could not have taken place before the 7th year of Šamši-Adad. Moreover, the campaign, in the course of which Bau-aḥa-iddina was captured, as well as the expedition to Kaldu which was simply the continuation of the expedition against Bau-aḥa-iddina, must have occurred at a still later time. To all appearances it took place only in the 12th year of Šamši-Adad V, since for that year the eponym chronicle reports an expedition to Kaldu. Since Šamši-Adad V died in the next year (811 B.C.), it is evident that the ensuing 12(?)—year domination over Babylonia—which is indicated in the chronicle, King, CEBK II, pp. 147 ff., rev., l. 7, with the remark: 12(?)<sup>293</sup> *šanâti šarru ina*

<sup>292</sup> AOF IV (1927), 17.

<sup>293</sup> The number is not so certain as it seems according to King's copy. In addition to the destruction of the uppermost surface layer of the tablet just at this point the number seems to be written either over an erasure or over a small object (piece of straw?) originally sticking in the clay surface. In its present condition the number could quite as well be read 33, 35, or 10 (written over an erased 30).

*mâti lâ . . .*,<sup>294</sup> “for 12(?) years no king . . . in the land (= Babylonia)” —lasted well into the reign of Adad-nerâri III. In her role as regent of Assyria, Sammuramat could well have taken a hand in the political affairs of Babylonia. However, it should be kept in mind that the assumptions on which this speculation rests are by no means proved. For there is no conclusive evidence that Sammuramat ruled as regent or even as queen in her own name. The fact that the governor Bêlutarši-ilima of Kalḥu set up two Nabû statues in a temple of that city “for the life of Adad-nerâri, king of Assyria, his lord, and for the life of Sammuramat, the MUNUS-É-GAL, his lady,” and also “for his own life,” proves only that Sammuramat commanded sufficient influence at the court to let it appear permissible and advisable for the governor of Kalḥu to mention her in addition to the king in his dedicatory inscription to Nabû.<sup>295</sup> The fact, furthermore, that a *limmu* stele of Sammuramat has been found among the king stelae at Aššūr proves with certainty, of course, only that the king's mother had or controlled such a considerable income that she could pay out of it the expenses or rather part of the expenses for the sustenance of the Aššūr temple, etc. Note especially that Sammuramat is not named in any of the *limmu* lists and that under ordinary circumstances this would indicate that during her activity as *limmu*

<sup>294</sup> King's copy shows a clear NU.GAL, but on the original the traces of the second sign do not seem to indicate a GAL.

<sup>295</sup> Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 20, is of the opinion that the inscriptions on the Nabû stelae might be dated as late as 787 B.C., because the eponym chronicle states that in that year “the god Nabû moved into the new temple.” But since the chronicle reports that in the preceding year, 788, the foundations of the Nabû temple of Nineveh were laid, the statement for 787 refers, of course, not to a Nabû temple at Kalḥu but to a temple at Nineveh.

official she was not the main eponym, i.e., the president of the *limmu* collegium, but only a simple member of it. One might, of course, argue that the stele was set up because she was the guardian of her son Adad-nerâri III at the time of the latter's *limmu* in 809 B.C., the official 2d year of Adad-nerâri. But in view of the fact that the *limmu* lists name that *limmu* after Adad-nerâri, it would seem probable that this *limmu* was documented not by a stele of the king's mother but by a stele of the king himself, the decisive point evidently being that the outlay for the temples in that year came from the king's fortune and not from the fortune of the king's mother. Moreover, if Sammuramat's stele had been erected only because she was the guardian of Adad-nerâri during his *limmu* year, one might expect that this would somehow have been indicated in the stele inscription; that is, the inscription should at least show the form: “Adad-nerâri, king of Aššūr, and Sammuramat, mother of Adad-nerâri,” instead of: “Sammuramat, mother of Adad-nerâri.” The inscription evidently shows Sammuramat as holder of the *limmu* office in her own right. Since it is not probable that Sammuramat held that office at the same time as her son—this would have meant a double contribution by the royal house—her *limmu* year might therefore be put in any other year of Adad-nerâri's reign, but probably in a year some time after her son's *limmu*.

Furthermore, from the passage I R 35, No. 1, lines 2–5, in which Adad-nerâri calls himself the *šarru šá ina šehêri-šû Aššur* <sup>3</sup>*šar*, <sup>4</sup>*Ĝ-gi-gi ut-tu-šû-ma mal-kut* <sup>4</sup>*la šá-nan ú-mal-lu-ú* <sup>5</sup>*qa-tuš-šû*, it need by no means be concluded that Adad-nerâri became king when he was a child, for the fact that the god Aššūr chose him to be the future king could, of course, have happened many years before the death of his



father and his own accession to the throne.<sup>296</sup>

As regards the passage on the Saba'a stele, finally, it may be recalled that, as I have shown in OLZ XXXI (1928), column 700, the phrase in the Šarrukīn of Akkad inscription (UPUM V, No. 34 +) UPUM XV, No. 41, column 23, compartments 48'-53': *in ša<sub>10</sub>-an-tim ša<sub>10</sub>-lī-iš-tim ša-ti<sup>d</sup>en-lil šar-ru-tám i-dī-nu-šum*, means: "in the third year since Enlil had given him the kingship." Correspondingly, the phrase in line 11 of the inscription on the Saba'a stele of Adad-nerāri III, *ina MU-5-KAM ina kussē šarru-ti rabi-iš ú-ši-bu-ma*—which, if one does not want to emend the text, can be read only *ina ḥamušti šanat ina kussē šarru-ti rabi-iš ú-ši-bu-ma*—means not "(als) ich mich im 5. Jahre auf den Thron (meiner) Majestät erhaben setzte" (Unger); nor "in (my) fifth year, when I took my seat on the royal throne in might" (Luckenbill), but "in the fifth year since I majestically took my seat on the royal throne."<sup>297</sup> In other words, the

<sup>296</sup> Note e.g., that according to Aššūr-bāni-apli's statement, Rassam Cylinder, 5 R 1-10, col. 1, ll. 3-5, "Aššūr and Sin already in the distant past by name had noted him for kingship and in the womb of his mother had (expressly) formed him for the shepherdship over Assyria."

<sup>297</sup> For the reading of the phrase compare the Old Akkadian date formulas, e.g., Thureau-Dangin, RTC, No. 144 +106 (+86): *in ištīpat šanat | dNa-ra-am-dSin | uš-ši bit dEn-lil | in Nippurimki | à bit dInnana in USLAN-ABki | iš-ku-nu*, "in the first year since Narām-Sin laid the foundations of the temple of Enlil in Nippur and of the temple of Innana in USLAN-AB." For the time of Adad-nerāri III, the adding of the relative clause immediately (i.e., without *ša*) to its regens, which makes it necessary to put *šattu* in the construct state, is rather remarkable, since in nonpoetical inscriptions of the later periods this construction is found comparatively rarely—excepting, of course, the cases in which a substantive, or a substantive preceded by a preposition, has developed into a kind of conjunction—and usually it occurs only in more or less stereotyped expressions. However, the phrases expressing the idea "the *n*th year since" might well belong to that category of expressions, at least in the vernacular language. On the other hand, in view of the many errors found in the inscription of the Saba'a stele, it would appear quite as well possible that the sculptor inadvertently omitted a *ša*, the intended text then offering the phrase in the more usual

passage does not indicate that Aššūr-nerāri ascended the throne in his fifth year of reign<sup>298</sup> or in any other fifth year, but it contains a simple reference to his fifth regnal year<sup>299</sup> as the year of the event related immediately after it. The passage therefore furnishes no indication whatsoever for a supposed four-year regency of Sammuramat, unless one should feel inclined to assume that the expedition to Syria and Damascus which is described in

form: *ina ḥamušti šatti šá ina kussē šarrāti rabiš úšibu*.

By the way, it may be pointed out that the *KAM* in *MU-5-KAM*, *U-5-KAM*, etc., is not a determinative for ordinals or numerals in general and that for this reason such transliterations as *šattu 5<sup>kam</sup>*, *ámu 5<sup>kam</sup>*, etc., should disappear from Assyriological publications. As should be well known by this time, the real character of the so-called "ideogram" in the Akkadian system of writing is that it renders an Akkadian word or phrase with the sign or sign group with which the corresponding Sumerian word or phrase is written. Since *mu-5-kam*, *u-5-kam*, etc., are the Sumerian equivalents of the Akkadian expressions for "fifth year," "fifth day," etc., it is evident that the whole sign group *MU-5-KAM*, as well as the whole sign group *U-5-KAM*, represents one single "ideogram." For the Akkadian reading, e.g., of *U-5-KAM* as referring to a day of the month cf., e.g., the names *Mār-ēšā* (written *DUMU-ēš-ra-a* or *DUMU-U-20-KAM*) and *Mār-šelāšā* (written *DUMU-30-KAM*). For other Akkadian renderings of *U-5-KAM* cf. the equation of *u-1-kam* to *u-10-kam* with *u-mu-ak-kal*, *šī-nu-ú* (< *šinám* < *šin-áme*, etc.), *še-lal(-ti)-šū-nu*, *ir-bit u-mu*, *ḥa-mil-ti*, etc., in Hilprecht, BE XX 1, No. 44 (more complete: Pinches, PSBA XXVI [February, 1904], 51-56).

<sup>298</sup> Unger's and Luckenbill's translations are actually in themselves contradictory. According to the established usage the reign of a king begins with the ceremony of seating himself—or, in case it was a very small child, of being seated—on the throne. Since according to the limmu lists (king lists, etc.) the year 810 was the first regnal year of Adad-nerāri, he must of course already have ascended the throne in 811, and could not five years later ascend the throne a second time. (Cf. Luckenbill, ARAB, I, § 732: "the king's accession to the throne in his fifth year.") Unger (*op. cit.*, p. 19) assumes that Adad-nerāri, although having inherited the throne at the death of his father and having been king since that time, "wegen seiner Jugend erst 'im 5. Jahre' die Regierung selbst übernahm;" but *ina kussē šarrāti úšib* is the equivalent of "he became king," and not of "he himself assumed the functions and the power of the king (after having been king for some time without actually ruling)."

<sup>299</sup> The fifth year (*mu = šattu*) since Adad-nerāri's accession to the throne is, of course, the equivalent of the king's fifth regnal year (*palū*).

the Saba'a inscription is identical with the expedition *a-na eli tam-tim*, "to the shore of the sea," which is reported in the eponym chronicle for the year 802. In this case the year 806 would be the first year of Adad-nerāri, and the first four years of Adad-nerāri (810-807) could then be ascribed to Sammuramat. It may be noted, however, that on the stone slab from Kalḫu, I R 35, No. 1, Adad-nerāri III divides his campaigns into two groups. The first comprises the expeditions against Ellipi, Ḥarḫar, Araziaš, Mesu, the Medes, Gizilbunda, Munna, Parsua, Alabria, Abdadana, Na'iri, and Andiu—these might be described as campaigns east of the Euphrates<sup>300</sup>—while the second group comprises the expeditions against Ḥatti, Amurru, Tyre, Sidon, (Bīt)Ḥumri, Udu-mu, and Palaštu—these might be described as the expeditions against lands west of the Euphrates.<sup>301</sup> Note that the summary report on the conquest of the countries just enumerated is followed by a special statement on an expedition against Damascus, which probably took place on the return from Palaštu, and which ended with the payment of a large tribute by King Mari'u.

It is evident that the conquests reported in lines 11-18 of the Saba'a stele are identical with the second of the two groups of conquests referred to on the stone slab, even though the Saba'a stele instead of singly enumerating the various conquered countries only summarily re-

<sup>300</sup> The inscription actually describes this complex of conquered lands as reaching from Mount Siluna of the East to the Great Sea of the East. One would of course expect this description to be continued with "and from there to the Euphrates." The present text gives only the geographical position of the two countries mentioned first and last in this group.

<sup>301</sup> This group of conquests actually is described in the inscription as reaching from the Euphrates to the Great Sea of the West. One would of course expect a more specific statement indicating to which point of the Mediterranean both in the north and in the south his conquests extended.

ports the subjection of "the kings of the wide [land of Ḥatti]"—this term, of course, used here in the sense of Syria plus Palestine. Especially it may be noted that also in the inscription of the Saba'a stele the summary report on the conquest of the western countries is followed by a special report on the payment of an enormous tribute by Mari'u of Damascus. Since both the Kalḫu and the Saba'a inscriptions mention the exact amount of the tribute paid by Mari'u, while in the case of the other countries no amount is stated, it is obvious that reporting the payment of the tribute by King Mari'u was the main object of the Kalḫu slab inscription as well as the Saba'a stele.

Now it will be observed that the conquests enumerated in the first group of the slab inscription correspond to the expeditions reported in the eponym chronicle for the years 809 to 806, namely, the expeditions to Media (809), Gūzāna (808), and the land of the Manneans (807 and 806). It is equally obvious that the conquests enumerated in the second group of the slab inscription correspond to the expeditions reported in the eponym chronicle for the years 805 to 802, namely, the expeditions to the country Arpadda (805), to the city Ḥazāzu (804), to the city Ba'lu (803), and *ana eli tām-tim*, "to the shore of the sea" (802). Both Arpad and Ḥazazu are situated in northern Syria<sup>302</sup> which in the slab inscription is referred to as Ḥatti; Ba'lu apparently is a city in the land designated in the slab inscription as Amurru<sup>303</sup> while the coast of the sea is to be understood as corresponding to Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia of the slab inscription.

From these observations it is quite

<sup>302</sup> For Ḥazāzu see Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 56.

<sup>303</sup> For a suggestion that Ba'lu possibly is Ba'albek see RIA I, 327.



obvious that in the inscription of the Saba'a stele the temporal clause, "in the fifth year of my accession to the throne," refers not merely to the expedition of Adad-nerâri's ninth year (i.e., 802), which reached as its farthest points the countries Udumu and Palaštu, but to the whole group of campaigns reported for the years 805-802 in the eponym chronicle, but considered or at least referred to by the author of the Saba'a inscription as one single expedition to Philistia. To be sure, the year 805 B.C., in which according to the eponym chronicle occurred the expedition to Arpad, the first event of this collective expedition to Philistia, is not the fifth, but the sixth official year of Adad-nerâri III. It will be observed, however, that the historical report of the Saba'a inscription begins with the statement that in his fifth year Adad-nerâri ordered his army to march to Philistia, and it is of course quite possible that this order was given already at the end of the year 806, although the expedition itself started only in the beginning of 805. It is even possible—and indeed very probable—that the expedition against the countries beyond the Euphrates started from Assyria in the second half of 806 and that this fact, although of course mentioned in the official annals, is not mentioned in the eponym chronicle for the simple reason that in this chronicle the content of the annals is reduced to such a degree that for each year, even though in some years two different campaigns against two quite different countries were undertaken, only one single campaign is recorded, namely, that which seemed most important. In 806 this apparently was the second campaign against the Manneans, which evidently started in the early months of the year, and in favor of which the campaign in the west, undertaken later in the year and perhaps only with advance forces, as a con-

sequence of that principle had to be disregarded.

With this result of our examination of the Saba'a stele passage vanishes the last theoretical possibility of proving conclusively from the extant inscriptions the theory of Sammuramat's regency during Adad-nerâri III's first regnal years, and with that also vanishes the possibility of proving, or even showing as probable, that Sammuramat was the supernumerary ruler of the summary of Synchronistic King List A.

#### VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the foregoing communications plus the chronological list added at the end of this report, practically the complete factual content of the new king list is communicated. As far as that is concerned, the final publication will bring nothing new. It will be more or less the application of the information gained from the new king list to a much larger field of problems that will constitute the main difference of the final publication from this preliminary report. That there are many such problems will have been realized, I believe, from my presentation of the comparatively few problems treated in the above communications. In these, I have restricted my efforts to a rather narrow field, my aim having been simply the elucidation of what the king-list text itself tells us and how this compares with immediately or closely parallel information from other Assyrian sources. The very important task of harmonizing the chronological information derived from the king list with the Babylonian chronological tradition, the known synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian kings, Egyptian datings, the synchronisms between Babylonian or Assyrian kings with Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty rulers, etc.,

have been left completely untouched. These problems and their solution will, of course, represent one of the main features of the final publication. This latter—if it is not too boresome to mention it here—will give a complete list of those synchronisms, with indication of the source material and, where necessary, with annotations. It will also contain a year-by-year synopsis of the Assyrian and Babylonian chronology based on the synchronisms and the reigns of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings; a table of the intervals between certain rulers as stated in the inscriptions; lists and an analysis of the *limmu* period schemes of the various *limmu* lists and their relation to the regnal periods; the genealogies of the Assyrian kings in the form of pedigrees as well as a table of the genealogies found in

the inscriptions of the various kings; lists of chronological data in historical texts, business documents, and so forth.

Considering the enormous output, in the past, of theories concerning the Assyrian kings and their chronology—by far the greater part of which has proved untenable in the light of later discoveries and most of which, as we can see now, might well have been avoided by refraining from premature speculations—I believe I will be pardoned when, in conclusion, I give expression to the hope that the communication in this report of the whole Assyrian king-list chronology will not result in a flood of published first thoughts concerning the co-ordination of Babylonian and Assyrian chronology and other subjects which are not touched in this preliminary report.

#### THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION\*

	Official Reign	<i>Limmu</i> Period
1. ʾudia		
2. Adamu		
3. ʾangi		
4. kir-lâmu		
5. ʾarḫaru		
6. Mandaru		
7. Imšu		
8. ʾarṣu		
9. Didânu		
10. ʾanû		
11. Zuabu		
12. Nuabu		
13. Abâzu		
14. ʾil-lû		
15. Aṣarâḫ		
16. Uṣpia		
17. Apiašal, son of Uṣpia		
18. ʾalû, <sup>1</sup> son of Apiašal		
19. Samânu, son of ʾalû <sup>1</sup>		
20. ʾa(i)jânu, son of Samânu		
21. Ilu-Mer, son of ʾa(i)jânu		
22. ʾakmesi, son of Ilu-Mer		
23. ʾakmeni, son of ʾakmesi		

\* With corrections and additions from contemporary sources. The notes accompanying this list appear at the end of the list.



## THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—Continued

	Official Reign	Limmu Period
24. Iazkur-ilu, son of Iakmeni		
25. Ilu-kapkapi, son of Iazkur-ilu		
26. Aminu, son of Ilu-kapkapi		
27. Sulili, son of Aminu		
28. Kikkia		
29. Akia		
30. Puzur-Aššūr I		
31. Šallim-aḥḥê, <sup>2</sup> son of Puzur-Aššūr I		
32. Ilušumma, son of Šallim-aḥḥê		-1853
33. Êrišu I, son of Ilušumma	40	1852-1813
34. Ikûnu, son of Êrišu I		1812-
35. Šarru-kîn, son of Ikûnu		
36. Puzur-Aššūr II, son of Šarru-kîn I		
37. Narâm-Šîn, son of Puzur-Aššūr II		
38. Êrišu II, son of Narâm-Šîn		-1727
39. Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapi	33	1726-1694
40. Išme-Dagân, son of Šamši-Adad I	40	1693-1654
41. Aššūr-dugul, son of a "nobody"	6	1653-1648
42. Aššūr-apla-idi, son of a nobody	0	1648
43. Nâšir-Šîn, son of a nobody	0	1648
44. Šîn-namir, son of a nobody	0	1648
45. Ipqi-Ištar, son of a nobody	0	1648
46. Adad-šalûlu, son of a nobody	0	1648
47. Adasi, son of a nobody	0	1648
48. Bêlu-bâni, son of Adasi	10	1647-1638
49. Libajju	17	1637-1621
50. Šarma-Adad I	12	1620-1609
51. ÊN-TAR-Šîn, son of Šarma-Adad I	12	1608-1597
52. Bazzajju, son of Bêlu-bâni	28	1596-1569
53. Lullajju, son of a nobody	6	1568-1563
54. šû-Nînua, son of Bazajju	14	1562-1549
55. Šarma-Adad II, son of šû-Nînua	3	1548-1546
56. Êrišu III, son of šû-Nînua	13	1545-1533
57. Šamši-Adad II, son of Êrišu III	6	1532-1527
58. Išme-Dagân II, son of Šamši-Adad II	16	1526-1511
59. Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagân, son of šû-Nînua	16	1510-1495
60. Aššūr-nerâri I, son of Išme-Dagân II	26	1494-1469
61. Puzur-Aššūr III, son of Aššūr-nerâri I	14 <sup>3</sup>	1468-1455
62. Enlil-nâšir I, son of Puzur-Aššūr III	13	1454-1442
63. Nûr-ili, son of Enlil-nâšir I	12	1441-1430
64. Aššūr-šadûni, son of Nûr-ili	0 <sup>4</sup>	1430
65. Aššūr-rabi I, son of Enlil-nâšir I	0	1430
66. Aššūr-nâdin-aḥḥê I, son of Aššūr-rabi I <sup>5</sup>	0	1430
67. Enlil-nâšir II, son of Aššūr-rabi <sup>6</sup>	6	1429-1424

## THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—Continued

	Official Reign	Limmu Period
68. Aššūr-nerâri II, son of Aššūr-rabi I <sup>7</sup>	7	1423-1417
69. Aššūr-bêl-nišêšu, son of Adad-nerâri II	9	1416-1408
70. Aššūr-rîm-nišêšu, son of Adad-nerâri II <sup>8</sup>	8	1407-1400
71. Aššūr-nâdin-aḥḥê, II, son of Aššūr-rîm-nišêšu	10	1399-1390
72. Erîba-Adad I, son of Aššūr-bêl-nišêšu	27	1389-1363
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I, son of Erîba-Adad I	36	1362-1327
74. Enlil-nerâri, son of Aššūr-uballiṭ I	10	1326-1317
75. Arik-dên-ili, son of Enlil-nerâri	12	1316-1305
76. Adad-nerâri I, son of Arik-dên-ili <sup>9</sup>	32	1304-1273
77. Šulmânu-ašarêd I, son of Adad-nerâri I	30	1272-1243
78. Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Šulmânu-ašarêd I	37	1242-1206
79. Aššūr-nâdin-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I	3 <sup>10</sup>	1205-1203
80. Aššūr-nerâri III, son of Aššūr-nâšir-apli <sup>11</sup>	6	1202-1197
81. Enlil-kudurra-ušur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I	5	1196-1192
82. Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Nabû-dân	13 <sup>12</sup>	1191-1179
83. Aššūr-dân I, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur	46	1178-1133
84. Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, son of Aššūr-dân I	0	1133
85. Mutakkil-Nusku, son of Aššūr-dân I	0	1133
86. Aššūr-rêša-iši I, son of Mutakkil-Nusku	18	1132-1115
87. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, son of Aššūr-rêša-iši I	39	1114-1076
88. Ašarêd-apil-Ekur, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	2	1075-1074
89. Aššūr-bêl-kala, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	18	1073-1056
90. Erîba-Adad II, son of Aššūr-bêl-kala	2	1055-1054
91. Šamši-Adad IV, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	4	1053-1050
92. Aššūr-nâšir-apil I, son of Šamši-Adad IV	19	1049-1031
93. Šulmânu-ašarêd II, son of Aššūr-nâšir-apil I	12	1030-1019
94. Aššūr-nerâri IV, son of Šulmânu-ašarêd II	6	1018-1013
95. Aššūr-rabi II, son of Aššūr-nâšir-apil I	41	1012-972
96. Aššūr-rêša-iši II, son of Aššūr-rabi II	5	971-967
		2 <sup>13</sup> 1074-1073
		1072-
		- 1049
		19 <sup>14</sup> 1048-1030
		12 <sup>14</sup> 1029-1018
		6 <sup>14</sup> 1017-1012
		1011-



## THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—Continued

	Official Reign		Limmu Period	
97. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II, son of Aššūr-rēša-iši II	32	966-935 <sup>15</sup>	33 <sup>16</sup>	965-933 <sup>16</sup>
98. Aššūr-dān II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II	23	934-912		
99. Adad-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-dān II	21	911-891		-890
100. Tukulti-Ninurta II, son of Adad-nerāri II	7	890-884	7 <sup>17</sup>	889-883
101. Aššūr-nāšir-apli II, son of Tukulti-Ninurta II	25	883-859	25 <sup>18</sup>	882-858
102. Šulmānu-ašarēd III, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apli II	35	858-824	35 <sup>19</sup>	857-823
103. Šamši-Adad V, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd III	13	823-811	13	822-810
104. Adad-nerāri III, son of Šamši-Adad V	28	810-783	28 <sup>20</sup>	809-782
105. Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, son of Adad-nerāri III	10	782-773	10	781-772
106. Aššūr-dān III, son of Adad-nerāri III	18	772-755	18	771-754
107. Aššūr-nerāri V, son of Adad-nerāri III	10	754-745 <sup>21</sup>	10 <sup>22</sup>	753-744 <sup>22</sup>
108. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, son of Adad-nerāri III	18 <sup>23</sup>	744-727 <sup>23</sup>	20 <sup>24</sup>	743-724 <sup>24</sup>
109. Šulmānu-ašarēd V, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III	5	726-722	4 <sup>25</sup>	723-720 <sup>25</sup>
110. Šarrukīn II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III <sup>26</sup>	17	721-705	32 <sup>27</sup>	719-688 <sup>27</sup>
111. Šin-aḫḫē-erība, son of Šarrukīn II	24 <sup>28</sup>	704-681	38+x <sup>29</sup>	687-650-x <sup>29</sup>
112. Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, son of Šin-aḫḫē-erība	12	680-669	—	—
113. Aššūr-bāni-apli, son of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina	36(+x) <sup>30</sup>	668-633(-x) <sup>30</sup>	—	—
114. Aššūr-etel-ilāni, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli <sup>31</sup>	4(+y) <sup>32</sup>	632(-x)-629(-x-y)		
115. Šin-šumu-lišir <sup>33</sup>	0(+z?) <sup>34</sup>			
116. Šin-šarra-iškun, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli	7+x+5 <sup>35</sup>	(x+) <sup>36</sup> 623-612 <sup>36</sup>		
117. Aššūr-uballiṭ II <sup>37</sup>	4 <sup>37</sup> (+y?)	611-608 <sup>37</sup> (-y) <sup>37, 38</sup>		

## NOTES TO LIST OF KINGS

- King list (Khorsabad): Ḫalē (apparently genitive form).
- Inscriptions: Ša-ilm-a-ḫu-um.
- Preserved only in Nassouhi list.
- King list: 1 month.
- Probable, but the Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē's genealogy, has only *mār māš-šur*. . . .
- The Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Enlil-nāšir II's genealogy, has *aḫḫē-šū*, "his (=Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I's) brother." On Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I's father, see preceding note.
- So according to inscriptions of Aššūr-rim-nišešu, Eriba-Adad I, and Aššūr-uballiṭ I. The Khorsabad list erroneously makes Aššūr-nerāri II the son (instead of the brother) of his predecessor Enlil-nāšir.

8. So according to Aššūr-rim-nišešu's own inscription. King list erroneously: "son (instead of brother) of Aššūr-bēl-nišešu."

9. So according to Adad-nerāri I's own inscriptions and the Nassouhi list. Khorsabad list erroneously: "brother of Arik-dēn-ili."

10. Nassouhi list: 4.

11. Nassouhi list: son of Aššūr-nādin-apli.

12. So Nassouhi list; Khorsabad list: 3.

13. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 3 (period summary).

14. *Ibid.*, col. 4 (period summary).

15. End of Nassouhi list.

16. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 5 (period summary).

17. Concluded from inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta plus Canon II; Canon II (evidently by mistake omitting one *limmu*): 6.

18. So according to Canons I plus II; KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 6 (period summary), probably omitting one *limmu*: 24.

19. Rm. 580 omits the 6th *limmu*. Canon I divides Šulmānu-ašarēd III's *limmu* period into a first period of 30 years (857-828) and a second of 5 years (827-823).

20. Canon III, owing to the insertion of a supernumerary *limmu*, probably enumerated 29 *limmu*'s.

21. End of Khorsabad list.

22. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary), Canon III and Canon II. Canon I and the eponym chronicles: 8 (753-746).

23. So according to the old traditional system of counting the regnal years. According to Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's own counting (including his accession year): 19 (745-727).

24. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8; Canon III; and apparently Canon II. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 18 (745-728).

25. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary) and Canon III. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 5 (727-723).

26. So according to the fayence plaque of Šarrukīn, published by Unger in *Publications des Musées d'Antiquités de Stamboul IX*.

27. So evidently KAVI, No. 21 ff., cols. 8 and 9 (period summary) and Canon III. Canon I (and evidently also Canon II and the eponym chronicles): 17 (722-706). Canon IV probably 17 (723-707).

28. According to another system found in several business documents with double datings: 25 (705-681) or rather 24 (705-682).

29. Canon I and evidently Canon II and 82-5-22, 121:24 (705-682); Canon IV: probably 24 (704-681).

30. To date, the latest tablets from Aššūr-bāni-apli's reign—as far as I know—are Krückmann, NRV (1933), No. 132, dated: *Nippurki arā Ulūlu u-17-KAM MU-36-KAM MAN-ŠAR-bāni-apli šar kiššati*, and No. 13, dated: *Nippurki arā . . . u- . . . -KAM MU-36-KAM MAN-ŠAR-bāni-apli šar . . .*. Other tablets from Nippur dated in the 26th (Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 1), the 31st (Contenau, TC XII, No. 5), the 32[+ . . .] (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, No. 36) and the 34(?)th year (*ibid.*, No. 37). The utmost limit for *x* would be 5 years (see n. 35).

31. According to KAVI, No. 182, col. 4, l. 7, immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli.

32. To date, the latest tablet from Aššūr-etel-ilāni's reign is Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 5, dated: *Nippurki Araḫamna u-1-KAM MU-4-KAM Aššūr (=AN-ŠAR)-etel (=NIR-GAL)-ilāni, šar māt Aš-šurki*. Other tablets from Nippur are dated in the 2d (Clay, *op. cit.*, Nos. 4 and 6) and the 3d year (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, Nos. 104 and 38; cf. also No. 35, l. 11, for which see n. 34). The utmost limit for *y* would be 5 years (see n. 35). Unfortunately BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated in the accession year of Sin-šumu-lišir omits the month in the date and therefore can give us no hint—by means of a comparison with BE VIII 1, No. 5, which is dated in the first day of the 8th month of Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year—as to whether this year could have been the last year of Aššūr-etel-ilāni. Nor is it possible to calculate a sufficiently definite date from the fact that in the contract delivery of sheep in the month of Ulūlu is stipulated. Possibly the contract was made in the year preceding that in which delivery was to be made; in this case the contract could have been made in any of the seven months from Ulūlu to Adar of the year in which Sin-šumu-lišir ascended the throne. Note that TC XII, No. 14, is dated in the 11th month of Sin-šarra-iškun's accession year, and that, if Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year actually should be his last, and furthermore should be identical with Sin-šarra-iškun's accession year, the reign of Sin-šumu-lišir, as it is attested to date, could well have covered part of the time between the 8th and the 11th month.

33. To date, the only evidence for Sin-šumu-lišir as king of Aššūr is the New York Metropolitan Museum tablet, Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated (with omission of the month): *Nippurki 15U-13-KAM MU-SAG-NAM-LUGAL-LA 14 Šin-šumu-lišir (=dXXX-MU-SI-SÁ) ša māš-šurki*. His position between Aššūr-etel-ilāni and Sin-šarra-iškun (both sons of Aššūr-bāni-apli) follows from the simple deliberation that if he belongs in this period there is no other place for him than between the two kings just referred to. The donation documents of Aššūr-etel-ilāni, Johns, ADD, Nos. 649 and 650, show that a Sin-šumu-lišir (=xxx-mu-si-sá and dxxx-mu-giš)—who by his paternal care for the young prince as well as by his political and military activity (perhaps he was even instrumental in bringing about the king's accession to the throne) had deserved well of Aššūr-etel-ilāni and for this reason had acquired his special favor—at that time was an eminent personage in Assyria. It is therefore extremely likely that this Sin-šumu-lišir and the king Sin-šumu-lišir are identical. For this reason—as well as because according to the synchronistic king list KAVI, No. 182, Aššūr-etel-ilāni was the immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli—he can have become king of Assyria only after Aššūr-etel-ilāni. On the other hand no king of Assyria could have been recognized as ruler in the Babylonian city Nippur after Sin-šarra-iškun, since in the last year of this king's reign (612) Nineveh and Assyria proper were conquered and since in that year the seat









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