

# **MESOPOTAMIAN CHRONOLOGY**

## **AN OVERVIEW OF MESOPOTAMIAN HISTORY AND SOURCE MATERIAL**

Before we look at where Mesopotamian chronology may need to be revised let's, first of all, look at an overview of Mesopotamian history and the current chronology assigned to the various dynasties. To begin with I'd like to quote from a Wikipedia article on Chronology of the Ancient Near East to discuss the source materials used in developing the chronology of Mesopotamia:

The chronology of the ancient Near East deals with the notoriously difficult task of assigning dates to various events, rulers and dynasties of the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC.

The chronology of this region is based on five sets of primary materials. They are, from the most recent to the earliest:

1. The Canon of Kings of Babylon (747 BC to 539 BC) and Persia (538 BC to 332 BC) from Ptolemy.
2. An unbroken series of Neo-Assyrian eponym lists.
3. Babylonian King Lists A and B, the Synchronistic Chronicle, the Assyrian King List, and a number of shorter lists of year names.
4. The First Dynasty of Babylon, though ambiguities and disagreements have led to four different schemes for dates between the 10th and 21st centuries.
5. The Sumerian King List.

Four different dating schemes for dates between the 10th and 21st centuries BC are in use in literature:

- \* The ultra-low chronology is 96 years later than the middle chronology, sets the fall of Babylon at the year 1499 BC and the reign of king Hammurabi 1696 BC–1654 BC.
- \* The low or short chronology sets the eighth year of Ammisaduqa at the year 1531 BC as the end of the first dynasty (with a reign of king Hammurabi 1728 BC–1686 BC).
- \* The middle chronology, which was the most commonly used chronology until recently, is 64 years (one period between identical conjunctions of Venus, Sun and Moon) earlier than the short chronology (Hammurabi 1792 BC–1750 BC).
- \* The long chronology is 120 years earlier than the short chronology (Hammurabi 1848 BC–1806 BC).

Many scholars still prefer to stick to the old, conventional middle chronology - not because it is better or worse than the others, but because it is conveniently in the middle. However, it is possible that within a couple of years, the ultra-low chronology will become the new standard, see [1].

### **Primary sources**

The chronology of this region is based on five sets of primary materials. They are, from the most recent to the earliest:

1. The Canon of Ptolemy. This is a list of the kings of Babylon and the Persian Empire, from Nabonassar down to Alexander the Great, which Claudius Ptolemy added to one of his books because of the astronomical observations connected with

this information.

2. An unbroken series of Neo-Assyrian eponym lists from the time of Ashurbanipal (r.669-c.627 BC) back to Adad-nirari II (ascended in 911). These lists assign to each year an eponymous official known as a limmu, and some bearing an important event for the previous year, are fixed with the precision of a year due to the mention of the solar eclipse of June 16, 763 BC (it must be noted, however, that opting for 763 BC date instead of 791 BC raises a problem of inconsistency with the Babylonian calendar - see Assyrian eclipse and Assyrian new year). These two sets overlap for over a hundred years, and help to supplement each other.

3. For the centuries between the previous two groups and the ones following, we depend upon a group of interrelated, yet incomplete, documents: Babylonian King Lists A and B, the Synchronistic Chronicle, the Assyrian King List, and a number of shorter lists of year names recovered from Babylon and Assyria.

4. The First Dynasty of Babylon. Not only have all of the year names for Hammurabi and his descendants survived more or less intact, but a record of astronomical observations made during the eighth regnal year of Ammisaduqa, offer another opportunity to reliably fix these floating dates. Unfortunately, due to ambiguities in the text, as well as disagreements over the interpretation of these observations, there are three possible dates for these observations, which have led to the three chronologies mentioned above.

5. The Sumerian King List. The beginning of the third dynasty of Ur (Ur-Nammu; 2047 BC short ch.) is the earliest date that may be directly calculated from dates of Assyrian or Babylonian sources. Preceding this date is the Gutian period, variously estimated to have lasted between 45 and 120 years. The preceding Akkadian period is again well-documented, leading to a year of ca. 2235 BC for the ascension of Sargon of Akkad. Yet earlier dates are subjected to increasing uncertainty.

The chronological document that reaches furthest back in Mesopotamian chronology is the Sumerian King List. I'd like to now quote from the Wikipedia on the Sumerian King List for its description of the contents on this list:

The list records the location of the "official" kingship and the rulers, with the lengths of their rule. The kingship was believed to be handed down by the gods, and could be passed from one city to another by military conquest. The list mentions only one female ruler: Kug-Baba, the tavern-keeper, who alone accounts for the third dynasty of Kish.

The list peculiarly blends from ante-diluvian, mythological kings with exceptionally long reigns, into more plausibly historical dynasties. It cannot be ruled out that most of the earliest names in the list correspond to historical rulers who later became legendary figures.

The first name on the list whose existence has been authenticated through recent archaeological discoveries, is that of Enmebaragesi of Kish, whose name is also mentioned in the Gilgamesh epics. This has led some to suggest that Gilgamesh himself was a historical king of Uruk, who ruled sometime around 2600 BC in the First Dynasty of Uruk. Additionally, Dumuzi is one of the spellings of the name of the god of nature, Tammuz, whose usual epithet was the fisherman or the shepherd.

Conspicuously absent from this list are the priest-rulers of Lagash, who are known directly from inscriptions from ca. the 25th century BC. Another early ruler in the list who is clearly historical is Lugal-Zage-Si of Uruk of the 23rd century BC, who conquered Lagash, and who was in turn conquered by Sargon of Akkad.

The list is central, for lack of a more accurate source, to the chronology of the 3rd millennium BC. However, the presence in the list of dynasties which plausibly reigned simultaneously, but in different cities, makes it impossible to trust the addition of the figures to produce a strict chronology. Taking this into account, many regnal dates have been revised in recent years, and are generally placed much later nowadays than the regnal dates given in older publications, sometimes by an entire millennium. Some have proposed re-reading the units given in more realistic numbers, such as taking the figures, given in sars (units of 3600) for the antediluvians, as instead being either decades or simply years. Uncertainty, especially as to the duration of the Gutian period, also makes dates for events predating the Third dynasty of Ur (ca. 21st century BC) with any accuracy practically impossible (see also Shulgi, Ur-Nammu).

Some of the earliest known inscriptions containing the list date from the early 3rd millennium BC; for example, the Weld-Blundell Prism is dated to 2170 BC. The later Babylonian and Assyrian king lists that were based on it still preserved the earliest portions of the list well into the 3rd century BC, when Berossus popularised the list in the Hellenic world. Over the large period of time involved, the names inevitably became corrupted, and Berossus' Greek version of the list, ironically one of the earliest to be known to modern academics, exhibits particularly odd transcriptions of the names.

### **Early Dynastic I**

Ante-diluvian kings, legendary, or earlier than ca. the 26th century BC. Their rules are measured in sars - periods of 3600 years - the next unit up after 60 in Sumerian counting ( $3600 = 60 \times 60$ ), and in ners - units of 600.

"After the kingship descended from heaven, the kingship was in Eridu(g). In Eridu(g), Alulim became king; he ruled for 28800 years."

Alulim of Eridu(g): 8 sars (28800 years)  
Alagar of Eridug: 10 sars (36000 years)  
En-Men-Lu-Ana of Bad-Tibira: 12 sars (43200 years)  
En-Men-Ana 1, 2  
En-Men-Gal-Ana of Bad-Tibira: 8 sars (28800 years)  
Dumuzi of Bad-Tibira, the shepherd: 10 sars (36000 years)  
En-Sipad-Zid-Ana of Larag: 8 sars (28800 years)  
En-Men-Dur-Ana of Zimbir: 5 sars and 5 ners (21000 years)  
Ubara-Tutu of Shuruppak: 5 sars and 1 ner (18600 years)  
Zin-Suddu 1

1: These two names are present on slightly over half of the versions of the Sumerian king lists, but not on others.

2: In the place of En-Men-Ana in some versions of the list is the name Kichu-Ana

### **Early Dynastic II**

ca. 26th century BC. Many rulers known from contemporary inscriptions are not found in the King Lists.

"After the flood had swept over, and the kingship had descended from heaven, the kingship was in Kish."

### **First Dynasty of Kish**

Jushur of Kish: 1200 years  
Kullassinabêl of Kish: 960 years

Nangishlishma of Kish: 670 years  
 En-Tarah-Ana of Kish: 420 years  
 Babum of Kish: 300 years  
 Puannum of Kish: 840 years  
 Kalibum of Kish: 960 years  
 Kalumum of Kish: 840 years  
 Zuqaqip of Kish: 900 years  
 Atab of Kish: 600 years  
 Mashda of Kish: 840 years  
 Arwium of Kish: 720 years  
 Etana of Kish, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven and consolidated all the foreign countries: 1500 years  
 Balih of Kish: 400 years  
 En-Me-Nuna of Kish: 660 years  
 Melem-Kish of Kish: 900 years  
 Barsal-Nuna of Kish: 1200 years  
 Zamug of Kish: 140 years  
 Tizqar of Kish: 305 years  
 Ilku of Kish: 900 years  
 Iltasadum of Kish: 1200 years  
 En-Men-Barage-Si of Kish, who conquered Elam: 900 years (this is the earliest ruler in the list who is confirmed independently from epigraphical evidence)  
 Aga of Kish: 625 years

Then Kish was defeated and the kingship was taken to E-ana.

### **First Dynasty of Uruk**

Mesh-ki-ang-gasher of E-ana, son of Utu: 324 years.

Mesh-ki-ang-gasher went into the Sea and disappeared.

Enmerkar, who built Unug: 420 years  
 Lugalbanda of Unug, the shepherd: 1200 years  
 Dumuzid of Unug, the fisherman: 100 years. Captured En-Men-Barage-Si of Kish.  
 Gilgamesh, whose father was a "phantom", lord of Kulaba: 126 years.  
 Ur-Nungal of Unug: 30 years  
 Udul-Kalama of Unug: 15 years  
 La-Ba'shum of Unug: 9 years  
 En-Nun-Tarah-Ana of Unug: 8 years  
 Mesh-He of Unug: 36 years  
 Melem-Ana of Unug: 6 years  
 Lugal-Kitun of Unug: 36 years

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Urim.

### **First dynasty of Ur**

ca. 25th century BC

Mesh-Ane-Pada of Urim: 80 years  
 Mesh-Ki-Ang-Nanna of Urim: 36 years  
 Elulu of Urim: 25 years  
 Balulu of Urim: 36 years

Then Urim was defeated and the kingship was taken to Awan.

### **Early Dynastic III**

[The 1st Dynasty of Lagash is not mentioned in the King List, though it is well known from inscriptions.]

#### Awan

Three kings of Awan, ruling for a total of 356 years.

Then Awan was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kish.

#### Second Dynasty Kish

Susuda of Kish: 201 years  
Dadasig of Kish: 81 years  
Mamagal of Kish, the boatman: 360 years  
Kalbum of Kish: 195 years  
Tuge of Kish: 360 years  
Men-Nuna of Kish: 180 years  
? of Kish: 290 years  
Lugalngu of Kish: 360 years

Then Kish was defeated and the kingship was taken to Hamazi.

#### Hamazi

Hadanish of Hamazi: 360 years

Then Hamazi was defeated and the kingship was taken to Unug.

#### Second Dynasty of Uruk

En-Shakansha-Ana of Unug: 60 years  
Lugal-Ure (or Lugal-Kinishe-Dudu) of Unug: 120 years  
Argandea of Unug: 7 years

Then Unug was defeated and the kingship was taken to Urim.

#### Second Dynasty of Ur

Nani of Urim: 120 years  
Mesh-Ki-Ang-Nanna of Urim: 48 years  
? of Urim: 2 years

Then Urim was defeated and the kingship was taken to Adab.

#### Adab

Lugal-Anne-Mundu of Adab: 90 years

Then Adab was defeated and the kingship was taken to Mari.

#### Mari

Anbu of Mari: 30 years  
Anba of Mari: 17 years  
Bazi of Mari: 30 years  
Zizi of Mari: 20 years  
Limer of Mari, the gudu priest: 30 years  
Sharrum-Iter of Mari: 9 years

Then Mari was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kish.

### **Third Dynasty of Kish**

Kug-Baba of Kish, the woman tavern-keeper, who made firm the foundations of Kish: 100 years

(the only woman in the King Lists)

Then Kish was defeated and the kingship was taken to Akshak.

### **Akshak**

Unzi of Akshak: 30 years  
Undalulu of Akshak: 6 years  
Urur of Akshak: 6 years  
Puzur-Nirah of Akshak: 20 years  
Ishu-II of Akshak: 24 years  
Shu-Sin of Akshak: 7 years

Then Akshak was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kish.

### **Fourth Dynasty of Kish**

Puzur-Sin of Kish: 25 years  
Ur-Zababa of Kish: 400 (6?) years  
Zimudar of Kish: 30 years  
Ussi-Watar of Kish: 7 years  
Eshtar-Muti of Kish: 11 years  
Ishme-Shamash of Kish: 11 years  
Shu-Ilishu of Kish: 15 years  
Nanniya of Kish, the jeweller: 7 years.

Then Kish was defeated and the kingship was taken to Unug.

### **Third Dynasty of Uruk**

Lugal-Zage-Si of Unug: 25 years

(2259 BC–2235 BC short chronology) defeated Lagash.

### **Akkad**

Sargon, whose father was a gardener, the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, the king (first emperor) of Agade, who built Agade: 40 years

(ca. 2235 BC short chronology)

Rimush, younger son of Sargon: 9 years  
Man-Ishtishu, older son of Sargon: 15 years  
Naram-Sin, son of Man-Ishtishu: 56 years  
Shar-Kali-Sharri, son of Naram-Sin: 25 years

Then who was king? Who was the king?

Irgigi, Imi, Nanum, Ilulu: four of them ruled for only 3 years  
Dudu: 21 years  
Shu-Durul, son of Dudu: 15 years

Then Agade was defeated and the kingship was taken to Unug.

## **Fourth Dynasty of Uruk**

(Possibly rulers of lower Mesopotamia contemporary with the dynasty of Akkad)

Ur-Ningin of Unug: 7 years  
Ur-Gigir of Unug: 6 years  
Kuda of Unug: 6 years  
Puzur-Ili of Unug: 5 years  
Ur-Utu (or Lugal-Melem) of Unug: 25 years

Unug was defeated and the kingship was taken to the army of Gutium.

## **Gutian period**

In the army of Gutium, at first no king was famous; they were their own kings and ruled thus for 3 years

Inkishush of Gutium: 6 years  
Zarlagab of Gutium: 6 years  
Shulme (or Yarlagash) of Gutium: 6 years  
Silulumesh (or Silulu) of Gutium: 6 years  
Inimabakesh (or Duga) of Gutium: 5 years  
Igeshaush (or Ilu-An) of Gutium: 6 years  
Yarlagab of Gutium: 3 years  
Ibate of Gutium: 3 years  
Yarla of Gutium: 3 years  
Kurum of Gutium: 1 year  
Apil-Kin of Gutium: 3 years  
La-Erabum of Gutium: 2 years  
Irarum of Gutium: 2 years  
Ibranum of Gutium: 1 year  
Hablum of Gutium: 2 years  
Puzur-Sin of Gutium: 7 years  
Yarlaganda of Gutium: 7 years  
? of Gutium: 7 years  
Tiriga of Gutium: 40 days

## **Uruk**

Utu-hegal of Unug: conflicting dates (427 years / 26 years / 7 years)

drives out the Gutians

## **Third dynasty of Ur**

"Sumerian Renaissance"

Ur-Nammu of Urim: 18 years

ruled ca. 2065 BC–2047 BC short chronology.

Shulgi: 46 years

ruled ca. 2047 BC–1999 BC short chronology.

Amar-Sina of Urim: 9 years  
Shu-Sin of Urim: 9 years  
Ibbi-Sin of Urim: 24 years

Then Urim was defeated. The very foundation of Sumer was torn out (?). The kingship was taken to Isin.

### **Dynasty of Isin**

Independent Amorite states in lower Mesopotamia. The dynasty ends at ca. 1730 BC short chronology.

Ishbi-Erra of Isin: 33 years  
Shu-ilishu of Isin: 20 years  
Iddin-Dagan of Isin: 20 years  
Ishme-Dagan of Isin: 20 years  
Lipit-Eshtar of Isin 11 years  
Ur-Ninurta of Isin (the son of Ishkur, may he have years of abundance, a good reign, and a sweet life): 28 years  
Bur-Sin of Isin: 5 years  
Lipit-Enlil of Isin: 5 years  
Erra-Imitti of Isin: 8 years  
Enlil-Bani of Isin: 24 years (the king's gardener, to celebrate the New Year was named 'king for a day' then sacrificed, the king died during the celebration. Enlil-Bani remained on the throne.)  
Zambiya of Isin: 3 years  
Iter-Pisha of Isin: 4 years  
Ur-Dul-Kuga of Isin: 4 years  
Suen-magir of Isin: 11 years  
Damiq-ilicu of Isin: 23 years

There are 11 cities, cities in which the kingship was exercised. A total of 134 kings, who altogether ruled for 28876 + X years.

Let's now return to the article on the Chronology of the Ancient Near East for an overview of the dates given for the latter kings of the Sumerian King List through to the dates assigned to dynastic kings up to the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon:

We start our list of Babylonian kings with a significant ruler of Erech called Lugalzagesi, placing him from 2411 BC to 2376 BC. He was a contemporary of Urukagina king of Lagash (reigned 2407-2399 BC) and Sargon (2399-2343 BC) king of Akkad.

After Sargon, the next king was Rimush(...). His contemporary in Ur was Ka-kug or Ka-ku (2376-2341 BC). The son and successor of Rimush was Manishtusu (2334-2329 BC), whose Assyrian viceroy was Abazu, son of Nuabu.

In this period the rulers of Kish were Simudarra or Simudar (2399-2369), a contemporary of Sargon. After him Usi-watar (2369-2362), Eshtarmuti (2362-2351), Ishme-shamash (2351-2340), and Nannia (2340-2243) reigned in Kish.

In **Akkad**, after Manishtusu, the following kings reigned:

2329-2282 Naram-sin  
2282-2257 Shar-kali-sharri

He was contemporary with the first Gutian king, Erridupizir, and he later defeated Sarlagab, another king of Gutium.



2257-???? Igigi, Nanum, and Imi, pretenders  
????-2254 Elulu, a pretender, maybe King Elul(u)mesh of Gutium.  
2254-2233 Dudu  
2233-2218 Shu-durul

Shu-durul was the last ruler. (Agade/Akkad was defeated by Erech. Then Erech dominated until 2194, then eight Median-Elamite usurper tyrants ruled for 224 years, according to Berossus, from 2194 to 1970 BC. Some of them are listed here.)

#### Erech:

2219-2212 Ur-nigin(ak)  
2212-2206 Ur-gigir(ak)  
2206-2200 Kudda or Gudea  
2200-2195 Puzur-ili  
2195 (?) Lugal-melam (?)  
2195-2189 Ur-utu(k)  
2189-2179 Utu-khegal or Utu-khengal

He was a contemporary of Tirigan, the last king of the Guti.

During this period the **Gutian** or Guti kings flourished as follow:

2280-2277 Erridupizir, the first ruler.  
2277-2274 Imta  
2274-2268 Inkishush  
2268-2265 Sarlagab  
2265-2259 Shulme'  
2259-2253 Elulmesh or Elulu-mesh  
2253-2248 Inimabakesh  
2248-2242 Igeshaush  
2242-2227 Iarlangab or Iarlagab  
2227-2224 Ibate  
2224-2221 Iarlangab  
2221-2220 Kurum  
2220-2217 Habil-kin  
2217-2215 La'erabum  
2215-2213 Irarum  
2213-2212 Ibranium  
2212-2210 Hablum  
2210-2203 Puzur-sin  
2203-2196 Iarlaganda  
2196-2189 Si'u or Si'um  
2189-2189 Tirigan

Tirigan reigned only for 40 days, according to Jacobsen. His chronological table (1934: 208 ff.) has placed the accession of Ur-Nammu (Third Dynasty of Ur) ten years after the end of Utu-khegal's reign. His fall may or may not have coincided with his lost battle against Erech. This famous battle took place on the day of an eclipse of the moon, on the 14th day of the month Duzu or Tammuz, from the first watch to the middle watch. See Carl Schoch (1927: B6-B8), and Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1934: 203). This is the first eclipse record in the Near East that is identifiable with high probability. It took place on August 13, 2189 BC, with a magnitude of 120% which is remarkable.

After the defeat of Gutium, the **Third Dynasty of Ur** was flourishing:

2179-2161 Ur-Nammu or Ur-Engur  
2161-2113 Shulgi

A double (solar and lunar) eclipse took place 23 years after Shulgi's accession to the throne. Prof. Jacob Klein of Bar-Ilan University in his book *Three Sulgi hymns* (1981: 59 and 81) tells that the first 23 years of his reign was peaceful, and that the sun was eclipsed on the horizon, just like the moon on the sky, during the first battles of Sulgi. (Most historians do not feel confident about their own astronomical proficiency, therefore the extreme importance of this double eclipse record remained unnoticed. Another difficulty is that the reading has a questionmark.) Z.A. Simon adds that the lunar eclipse is mentioned first in the poem, because the worship of Sin (The moon) was predominant for them, and that the record is poetic, not that of an astronomer. This rare phenomenon occurred on May 9, 2138 BC (solar eclipse), with a magnitude of 34%. The lunar eclipse took place on May 24, 2138 BC.

2113-2104 Amar-Sin or Bur-Sin. His viceroy in Assyria was Zariqum.  
2104-2095 Shu-Sin

An eclipse of the moon observed in the month Simanu (Sivan) may be placed near the end of Shu-sin's reign, called patricide eclipse in the literature. The eclipse "drew through" and "equalized" the first watch, meaning that has coincided with it, then touched the second watch. Peter J. Huber and later others have studied several eclipse options that would satisfy the conditions of the detailed descriptions, see e.g. [2].

2095-2070 Ibbi-Sin

Ibbi-Sin's reign lasted for 24 or 26 years (S. Langdon and John K. Fotheringham, *The Venus tablets of Ammisaduqa*, 1928). An eclipse of the moon caused terror shortly before his fall, in the month Adaru or Adar. The real eclipse had a magnitude of 153%. (Schoch describes this eclipse as well, proposing a different candidate.)

A few years before the fall of Ibbi-Sin, another city started to flourish: Isin. Its first ruler had emerged several years earlier. The kings of **Isin** are as follow:

2083-2050 Ishbi-erra  
2050-2040 Shu-ilishu  
2040-2019 Iddin-dagan  
2019-2000 Ishme-dagan  
2000-1989 Lipit-Ishtar  
1989-1961 Un-ninurta  
1961-1940 Bur-sin or Amar-sin  
1940-1935 Lipit-enlil  
1935-1927 Erra-imitti or Ura-imitti  
1927-1927 Tabbaya  
1927-1903 Enlil-bani  
1903-1900 Zambiya  
1900-1896 Iter-pisha  
1896-1892 Ur-dulkugga  
1892-1881 Sin-magir  
1881-1858 Damiq-ilishu

The First Dynasty of Babylon was almost contemporary with Isin. Their chronology is debated, because there is a King List A and a Babylonian King List B. Hereby we follow the regnal years of List A, because those are widely used, although we believe that the other list is better, at least for one or two reigns out of the first six. (The reigns in List B are longer, in general. Unfortunately, it is not available for the editor.)

#### **First Babylonian Dynasty:**

1959-1945 Su-abu or Suum-abum

1945-1909 Sumula-ilum  
1909-1895 Sabium or Sabum  
1895-1877 Apil-Sin  
1877-1857 Sin-muballit  
1857-1814 Hammurabi

His other name was Hammurapi-ilu, meaning Hammurapi the god or perhaps Hammurapi is god.

1814-1776 Samsu-Iluna  
1776-1748 Abi-eshuh or Abieshu  
1748-1711 Ammi-ditana  
1711-1690 Ammi-zaduga or Ammisaduqa

His Venus tablets of Ammisaduqa (i.e., several ancient versions on clay tablets) are famous, and several books had been published about them. Several dates have been offered but the old dates of many sourcebooks seems to be outdated and incorrect. There are further difficulties: the 21 years span of the detailed observations of the planet Venus may or may not coincide with the reign of this king, because his name is not mentioned, only the Year of the Golden Throne. A few sources, some printed almost a century ago, claim that the original text mentions an occultation of the Venus by the moon. It seems to me a misinterpretation because in the original texts in the book of Erica Reiner and D. Pingree, *The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa* there is no such sentence.

1690-1659 Samsu-Ditana

A text about the fall of Babylon by the Hittites of Mursilis I at the end of Samsuditana's reign tells about a twin eclipse, which is crucial for a correct Babylonian chronology. (The reading of the word Babylon is uncertain but why should a Babylonian tablet refer to another city?). The pair of lunar and solar eclipses occurred in the month Shimanu (Sivan).

Following the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Mesopotamia was controlled by the mysterious **Kassites**. The Wikipedia article on the Kassites has this to say about them which is a little reminiscent of the Hyksos and how they came to rule Egypt, a point that Velikovsky made in relation to them:

The original homeland of the Kassites is obscure, but appears to have been located in the Zagros Mountains in Luristan [1] [2]. Their first historical appearance occurred in the 18th century BC when they attacked Babylonia in the 9th year of the reign of Samsu-Iluna (reigned 1749 BC - 1712 BC), the son of Hammurabi.

Samsu-Iluna repelled them, but they subsequently gained control of northern Babylonia sometime after the fall of Babylon to the Hittites in 1595 BC, and conquered the southern part of the kingdom by about 1475 BC. The Hittites had carried off the idol of Marduk, but the Kassite rulers regained possession, returned Marduk to Babylon, and made him the equal of the Kassite Shuqamuna.

The circumstances of their rise to power are unknown, due to a lack of documentation from this so-called "Dark Age" period of widespread dislocation. No inscription or document in the Kassite language has been preserved, an absence that cannot be purely accidental, suggesting a severe retraction of literacy in official circles. Babylon under Kassite rulers, who renamed the city Karanduniash, re-emerged as a political and military power in the Ancient Near East. A newly built capital city Dur-Kurigalzu was named to honour Kurigalzu I (ca. 1400 — ca. 1375). His successors Kadashman-Enlil I (c. 1375-c. 1360) and Burnaburiash II (c. 1360-c. 1333) were in

correspondence with the Egyptian rulers Amenhotep III and Akhenaton (Amenhotep IV) (see Amarna letters).

Their success was built upon the relative political stability that the Kassite monarchs achieved. They ruled Babylonia practically without interruption for over four hundred years— the longest rule by any dynasty in Babylonian history. Even after a minor revolt in 1333 BC and a seven-year Assyrian hiatus in the 13th century BC, the ruling Kassite family managed to regain the throne.

Following the Kassites was the mighty Neo-Assyrian empire which began about the time that we have fairly secure fixed dates for the Assyrian Kings thanks to the eponym lists.

The reign of Adad-Nirari II beginning in 912/11 BC marks the start of the New or Neo-Assyrian Empire. This is soon after the time of the division of the United Kingdom of Israel into two nations (the northern kingdom of Israel and southern kingdom of Judah). David and Solomon's great empire had reached as far as the Euphrates. Adad-Nirari II is number 99 on the Assyrian king list.

The earlier 98 kings are divided into the Old and Middle Assyrian periods. It starts with 17 kings who dwelt in tents, much like the patriarch Abraham. Kings numbered 35 to 37 include Sargon I, Puzur-Assur II and Naram-Sin. These kings are quite likely those of the Akkadian Empire started by Sargon.

The reign of Assur-uballit I, number 73 on the Assyrian King List (conventionally dated to mid 14<sup>th</sup> century BC), marks the re-awakening of Assyria during the Middle Assyrian period. It shines for a century or two under a few great sovereigns such as Shalmanesar I and Tukulti-Ninurta I and then falls into obscurity.

In southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) Nebuchadnezzar I (conventionally dated late 12<sup>th</sup> century BC) restored Babylon's greatness, freeing the city from the Kassites which is usually dated to 1157 BC. His namesake Nebuchadnezzar II would take Babylon's greatness to its zenith creating the Neo-Babylonian empire that conquered the nation of Judah.

Below is the Assyrian King List (<http://www.livius.org/k/kinglist/assyrian.html>):

The Assyrian King List:

[1-17] Tudija, Adamu, Janqi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ušpija, Apiašal.

-----  
Total: 17 kings who lived in tents.[1]

-----  
[18-26] Aminu was the son of Ilu-kabkabu, Ila-kabkabi of Yazkur-el, Jazkur-ilu of Yakmeni, Jakmeni of Yakmesi, Jakmesi of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer of Hayani, Hajanu of Samani, Samanu of Hale, Hale of Apiašal, Apiašal of Ušpia.

-----  
Total: 10 kings who were ancestors.[2]

-----  
[27-32] Sulili son of Aminu, Kikkija, Akija, Puzur-Aššur [I], Šalim-ahum, Ilušuma.  
Total: 6 kings named on bricks.[3] whose number of limmu-officials is unknown.

-----  
[33] Erišum [I], son of Ilušuma, [...] ruled for 30/40 years.  
-----

[34] Ikunum, son of Erishu, ruled for [...] years.  
-----

[35] Sargon [I], son of Ikunu, ruled for [...] years.[4]  
-----

[36] Puzur-Aššur [II], son of Sargon, ruled for [...] years.  
-----

[37] Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Aššur, ruled for N+4 years.  
-----

[38] Erišum [II], son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [...] years.  
-----

[39] Šamši-Adad[I], son[5] of Ila-kabkabi, went to Karduniaš in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Šamši-Adad went up from Karduniaš. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar, Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erišum, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. (1813-1781)  
-----

[40] Išme-Dagan [I], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 40 years.  
-----

[41] Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody,[6] who had no title to the throne, ruled for 6 years.  
-----

[42-47] In the time of Aššur-dugul, son of a nobody, Aššur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-salulu, and Adasi, six sons of nobodies, ruled at the beginning of his brief reign.  
-----

[48] Belu-bani, son of Adasi, ruled for 10 years.  
-----

[49] Libaja, son of Belu-Bani, ruled for 17 years.  
-----

[50] Šarma-Adad [I], son of Libaja, ruled for 12 years.  
-----

[51] Iptar-Sin, son of Šarma-Adad, ruled for 12 years.  
-----

[52] Bazaja, son of Iptar-Sin, ruled for 28 years.  
-----

[53] Lullaja, son of a nobody, ruled for 6 years.  
-----

[54] Šu-Ninua, son of Bazaja, ruled for 14 years.  
-----

[55] Šarma-Adad [II], son of Šu-Ninua, ruled for 3 years.  
-----

[56] Erišum [III], son of Šu-Ninua, ruled for 13 years.  
-----

[57] Šamši-Adad [II], son of Erišum, ruled for 6 years.  
-----

[58] Išme-Dagan [II], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 16 years.  
-----

[59] Šamši-Adad [III], son of [another] Išme-Dagan, brother of Šarma-Adad [II], son of Šu-Ninua, ruled for 16 years.  
-----

[60] Aššur-nirari [I], son of Išme-Dagan, ruled for 26 years.  
-----

[61] Puzur-Aššur [III], son of Aššur-nirari, ruled for 24/14 years.  
-----

[62] Enlil-nasir [I], son of Puzur-Aššur, ruled for 13 years.  
-----

[63] Nur-ili, son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 12 years.  
-----

- [64] Aššur-šaduni, son of Nur-ili, ruled for 1 month.  
-----
- [65] Aššur-rabi [I], son of Enlil-nasir, ousted him, seized the throne and ruled for [...] years.  
-----
- [66] Aššur-nadin-ahhe [I], son of Aššur-rabi, ruled for [...] years.  
-----
- [67] Enlil-nasir [II], his brother, ousted him and ruled for 6 years (1420-1415).[7]  
-----
- [68] Aššur-nirari [II], son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 7 years (1414-1408).  
-----
- [69] Aššur-bêl-nišešu, son of Aššur-nirari, ruled for 9 years (1407-1399).  
-----
- [70] Aššur-rem-nišešu, son of Aššur-bêl-nišešu, ruled for 8 years (1398-1391).  
-----
- [71] Aššur-nadin-ahhe [II], son of Aššur-rem-nišešu, ruled for 10 years (1390-1381).  
-----
- [72] Eriba-Adad [I], son of Aššur-bêl-nišešu, ruled for 27 years (1380-1354).  
-----
- [73] Aššur-uballit [I], son of Eriba-Adad, ruled for 36 years (1353-1318).  
-----
- [74] Enlil-nirari, son of Aššur-uballit, ruled for 10 years (1317-1308).  
-----
- [75] Arik-den-ili, son of Enlil-nirari, ruled for 12 years (1307-1296).  
-----
- [76] Adad-nirari [I], son of Arik-den-ili, ruled for 32 years (1295-1264).  
-----
- [77] Šalmaneser [I], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 30 years (1263-1234).  
-----
- [78] Tukulti-ninurta [I], son of Šalmaneser, ruled for 37 years (1233-1197).  
-----
- [79] During the lifetime of Tukulti-ninurta, Aššur-nadin-apli, his son, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1196-1193).  
-----
- [80] Aššur-nirari [III], son of Aššur-nadin-apli, ruled for 6 years (1192-1187).  
-----
- [81] Enlil-kudurri-usur, son of Tukulti-ninurta, ruled for 5 years (1186-1182).  
-----
- [82] Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ila-Hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Karduniaš. He came up from Karduniaš, seized the throne and ruled for 3 years (1181-1179).  
-----
- [83] Aššur-dan [I], son of Aššur-nadin-apli, ruled for 46 years (1178-1133).  
-----
- [84] Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, son of Aššur-dan, briefly.[8]  
-----
- [85] Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought him and took him to Karduniaš. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly, then died.  
-----
- [86] Aššur-reš-iši [I], son of Mutakkil-Nusku, ruled for 18 years (1132-1115).  
-----
- [87] Tiglath-pileser [I], son of Aššur-reš-iši, ruled for 39 years (1114-1076).  
-----
- [88] Ašarid-apil-Ekur, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 2 years (1075-1074).  
-----
- [89] Aššur-bêl-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 18 years (1073-1056).  
-----
- [90] Eriba-Adad [II], son of Aššur-bêl-kala, ruled for 2 years (1055-1054).  
-----

[91] Šamši-Adad [IV], son of Tiglath-pileser, came up from Karduniaš. He ousted Eriba-Adad, son of Aššur-bêl-kala, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1053-1050).

-----  
[92] Aššurnasirpal [I], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 19 years (1049-1031).

-----  
[93] Šalmaneser [II], son of Aššurnasirpal, ruled for 12 years (1030-1019).

-----  
[94] Aššur-nirari [IV], son of Šalmaneser, ruled for 6 years (1018-1013).

-----  
[95] Aššur-rabi [II], son of Aššurnasirpal, ruled for 41 years (1012-972).

-----  
[96] Aššur-reš-iši [II], son of Aššur-rabi, ruled for 5 years (971-967).

-----  
[97] Tiglath-pileser [II], son of Aššur-reš-iši, ruled for 32 years (966-935).

-----  
[98] Aššur-dan [II], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 23 years (934-912).

-----  
[99] Adad-nirari [II], son of Aššur-dan, ruled for 21 years (911-891).

-----  
[100] Tukulti-Ninurta [II], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 7 years (890-884).

-----  
[101] Aššurnasirpal [II], son of Tukulti-Ninurta, ruled for 25 years (883-859).

-----  
[102] Šalmaneser [III], son of Aššurnasirpal, ruled for 35 years (858-824).

-----  
[103] Šamši-Adad [V], son of Šalmaneser, ruled for 13 years (823-811).

-----  
[104] Adad-nirari [III], son of Šamši-Adad, ruled for 28 years (810-783).

-----  
[105] Šalmaneser [IV], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (782-773).

-----  
[106] Aššur-dan [III], son of Šalmaneser, ruled for 18 years (772-755).

-----  
[107] Aššur-nirari [V], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (754-745).

-----  
[108] Tiglath-pileser [III], son of Aššur-nirari, ruled for 18 years (744-727).[9]

-----  
[109] Šalmaneser [V], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 5 years (726-722).

-----  
Aššur copy. Hand of Kandalanu, scribe of the temple of Arbela. 20 Lulubû, eponymy of Adad-bela-ka'in, governor of Aššur, during his second eponymy.[10]

Note 1:

Probably, the author of the Assyrian King List wanted to create the impression that these rulers, with their rhyming, invented names, were nomad kings.

Note 2:

It is not clear what is meant with 'ancestors'; nor is it understood why the sequence of kings is reverted. Perhaps, we must read 'my predecessors', but this raises the question who is their descendant. Note the calculating error: the writer has mentioned ten kings, but one of them, Apiašal son of Ušpia, has already been mentioned among the seventeen who lived in tents.

Note 3:

Bricks with inscriptions of some of these rulers are indeed known.

Note 4:

Sargon and Naram-Sin are also the names of kings of Akkad who probably ruled in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries BCE. However, the two men mentioned in this list appear to be more recent.

Note 5:

If this Ila-kabkabi is identical to the king mentioned before, the word 'son' must be read as 'descendant'.

Note 6:

'Son of a nobody' means that someone seized power, although he did not belong to the royal dynasty. It appears that Aššur-dugul's reign was contested not only by the six kings mentioned in the next section, but also by Mut-Aškur, Rimu-xxx, and Asinum.

Note 7:

This appears to be the correct date. The implication is that Aššur-nadin-apli ruled four years (the tablets mention 3 and 4) and Ninurta-apil-Ekur three (the tablets mention 3 and 13).

Note 8:

It is difficult to establish the length of the two 'brief' reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku, which makes all the dates offered above hard to verify. However, we know for certain that Aššur-uballit I, who was dated to 1353-1318, exchanged letters with his Egyptian colleague Akhenaten (1353-1336). The error can not be very large (five years?).

Note 9:

From the Assyrian Eponym List, it is known that Tiglath-pileser III became king in April/May 745.

Note 10:

Another tablet, written by a different scribe, contains another colophon:

Written and checked with the original. Tablet of Bêl-šuma-iddin, Aššur's exorcist. May Šamaš take away the man who steals this tablet.

The next king, Sargon II (721-705) came to power after a coup d'état, which may have been the immediate cause for making this king list. The remaining kings were:

[110] Sargon II	721-705
[111] Sennacherib	704-681
[112] Esarhaddon	680-669
[113] Aššurbanipal	668-631
[114] Aššur-etel-ilani	?
[115] Sin-šumu-lišir	?
[116] Sin-šar-iškun	?-612
[117] Aššur-uballit II	611-609

The Canon of Kings by Claudius Ptolemy starts with the Babylonian king Nabonassar in 747 BC, a date significant in Velikovsky's "Worlds in Collision" marking the date of the great earthquake of Uzziah, which he suggested marked the first of two great near-passings of the planet Mars. The latter occurring 60 years later (4 x 15 years – period between favourable oppositions of Mars) in the reign of King Hezekiah (687 BC).



The early Babylonian kings on the canon were vassals of the Assyrian empire before Assyria fell in 612 BC. Below are the list of kings contained on the canon. The following is from the Wikipedia article on the Canon of Kings:

The Canon of Kings was a dated list of kings used by ancient astronomers as a convenient means to date astronomical phenomena, such as eclipses. The Canon was preserved by the astronomer Claudius Ptolemy, and is thus sometimes called Ptolemy's Canon. It is one of the most important bases for our knowledge of ancient chronology.

The Canon derives originally from Babylonian sources. Thus, it lists Kings of Babylon from 747 BC until the fall of Babylon to the Persians in 539 BC, and then Persian kings from 538 to 332 BC. At this point, the Canon was taken up by Greek astronomers in Alexandria, and lists the Macedonian kings from 331 to 305 BC, the Ptolemies from 304 BC to 30 BC, and the Roman Emperors from 29 BC to 160 AD.

The Canon only deals in whole years. Thus, monarchs who reigned for less than one year are not listed, and only one monarch is listed in any year with multiple monarchs. Usually, the overlapping year is given to the monarch who died in that year, but not always. Note that both periods where no king is listed represent times when Sennacherib, King of Assyria, held effective control over Babylon. His name is not listed because of the hatred the Babylonians held for him due to his destruction of the city in 689 BC.

The Canon is generally considered by historians to be extremely accurate. The dates have been confirmed to be essentially accurate whenever they are checked against independent sources. Thus, the vast majority of historians and archaeologists view Babylonian chronology back to 747 BC as settled...

#### **Babylonian Kings, 747-539 BC**

Nabonassar (Nabonassáros): 747-734 BC  
Nabu-nadin-zer (Nadíos): 733-732 BC  
Nabu-mukin-zeri (Khinzêr) and Pulu (Póros): 731-727 BC  
Ululas (Iloulaíos): 726-722 BC  
Marduk-apla-iddina II (Mardokempádos): 721-710 BC  
Sargon II (Arkeanós): 709-705 BC  
no kings: 704-703 BC  
Bel-ibni (Bilíbos): 702-700 BC  
Ashur-nadin-shumi (Aparanadíós): 699-694 BC  
Nergal-Ushezib (Rhegebélos): 693 BC  
Mushezib-Marduk (Mesêsimordákos): 692-689 BC  
no kings: 688-681 BC  
Esarhaddon (Asaradínos): 680-668 BC  
Shamash-shum-ukin (Saosdoukhínos): 667-648 BC  
Kandalanu (Kinêladános): 647-626 BC  
Nabopolassar (Nabopolassáros): 625-605 BC  
Nebuchadrezzar II (Nabokolassáros): 604-562 BC  
Amel-Marduk (Illoaroudámos): 561-560 BC  
Neriglissar (Nêrigasolassáros): 559-556 BC  
Nabonidus (Nabonadíós): 555-539 BC

#### **Persian Kings, 538-332 BC**

Cyrus: 538-530 BC  
Cambyses: 529-522 BC  
Darius I: 521-486 BC  
Xerxes I: 485-465 BC

Artaxerxes I: 464-424 BC  
Darius II: 423-405 BC  
Artaxerxes II: 404-359 BC  
Artaxerxes III (Ochus): 358-338 BC  
Arses (Arogus): 337-336 BC  
Darius III: 335-332 BC

#### **Macedonian Kings, 331-305 BC**

Alexander the Great: 331-324 BC  
Philip III: 323-317 BC  
Alexander IV: 316-305 BC

#### **Ptolemies of Egypt, 304-30 BC**

Ptolemy I Soter (Ptolemy Lagus): 304-285 BC  
Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Philadelphus): 284-247 BC  
Ptolemy III Euergetes (Euergetes): 246-222 BC  
Ptolemy IV Philopator (Philopator): 221-205 BC  
Ptolemy V Epiphanes (Epiphanes): 204-181 BC  
Ptolemy VI Philometor (Philometor): 180-146 BC  
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Physcon): 145-117 BC  
Ptolemy IX Soter II (Soter): 116-81 BC  
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus (Auletes): 80-52 BC  
Cleopatra Thea Philopator (Cleopatra): 51-30 BC

#### **Roman Emperors, 29 BC-AD 160**

Augustus: 29 BC-AD 14  
Tiberius: 15-36  
Gaius: 37-40  
Claudius: 41-54  
Nero: 55-68  
Vespasian: 69-78  
Titus: 79-81  
Domitian: 82-96  
Nerva: 97  
Trajan: 98-116  
Hadrian: 117-137  
Aelius Antoninus: 138-160

### **SYNCHRONISMS USED IN PLOTTING MESOPOTAMIAN CHRONOLOGY**

Now that we have looked at the chronological data of king reigns available to us let us now look at what synchronisms are available to assist us in revising Mesopotamian chronology in light of both what the Biblical record tells us and as well as other chronological revisions for regions such as Egypt that we have already looked at.

The following is from Wikipedia's article on Chronology of the Ancient Near East:

#### **Synchronisms between Assur and Babylon**

The chronology of Babylon and Assur can be aligned by the list of wars and treaties between the two cities from the time of king Ashurbanipal. Hittite chronology is

dependent on Assyria and Egypt. For times earlier than 1500 BC, various systems based on the Venus tablets of Ammisaduqa have been proposed. The death of Shamshi-Adad I of Assur in the 17th year of the reign of Hammurabi (1712 BC short ch.) is another synchronism which is helpful. The Palace at Acemhöyük burned to the ground, allowing for Dendochronological dating of the seal impression of Shamshi-Adad I found in the ruins. While the stratigraphy of the connection between the burnt beams and the seal impression is not 100% clear, it does support the short chronology.

The entries of the Synchronistic Chronicle, mentioned above, record which Assyrian king was ruling during which Babylonian king's reign, and vice versa.

### **Synchronisms between Mesopotamia and Egypt**

It is possible that mutual influences existed between the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia since very early times. Some authorities believed that Mesopotamian influence affected predynastic Upper Egypt (also known as the Mesopotamian Stimulation) between 34th–31st centuries BC. As of this date, the evidence is not conclusive. On the other hand Iron age Hama (Hamath) shows strong Egyptian influence.

The Amarna letters provide the earliest known synchronisms between ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. They provide clear evidence that the New Kingdom kings Amenhotep III and Akhenaten were contemporaries of Kadashman-Enlil I and Burnaburiash II of Babylon, Ashur-uballit I of Assyria, and Suppiluliumas I of the Hittite empire.

Other synchronisms between Mesopotamia and Egypt are indirect, depending on synchronisms between Egypt and the Hittite empire. For example, because Ramesses II signed a peace treaty with Hattusili III in Ramesses' 21st regnal year, and letters from Hattusili III to Kadashman-Turgu and Adad-nirari I of Assyria exist, one can argue that the reign of Ramesses overlapped the reigns of Kadashman-Turgu and Adad-nirari I.

Direct synchronisms between Egypt and Assyria return in the Third Intermediate Period of Egypt (Dynasty 25), when Assyrian armies attacked and conquered Egypt.

### **Synchronisms between Mesopotamia and the Hittite Empire**

The sack of Babylon by the Hittite king Mursilis I, which ended the reign of Samsu-Ditana, provides an anchor for the earliest dates in Hittite history.

The Battle of Nihriya links Tudhaliya IV and Adad-nirari I as contemporaries.

The correspondence of the Hittite kings Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV with the Assyrian chancellor Babu-ahu-iddina conclusively proves that they were the contemporaries of Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I, not their later namesakes.

### **Babylon and Assyria**

The Chaldean king Nabonidus (reigned from 556 BC), who was more of an antiquarian than a politician, and spent his time in excavating the older temples of his country and ascertaining the names of their builders, tells us that Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon of Akkad, lived 3200 years before himself, i.e. around 3750 BC. It is generally accepted by the archaeological consensus this date is much too early. As the reign of King Nabonidus ended by the accession of Cyrus in Babylonia around 539 or 538 BC, the "years" may have been given by actual modern half years.

The Jewish chronology and the Old Testament has the same situation with the same dilemma. Their "years" may have been commenced both by the first day of Nisanu

(Nisan) and that of Tashritu (Tishri) in their remote histories. Therefore, it is likely that the correct interval is not 3200 but 1600. It is probably a rounded figure. One must be careful with the several intervals between rulers and events cited by the above mentioned unearthed documents. We cannot prove that a totally reliable chronological list was available for all the scribes, and they may not have been versed historians. They may have been pressed to give a figure but not enough time for a thorough research. Many of the figures contradict to each other, etc.

The next article I would like to quote from is from the SIS Chronology and Catastrophism Workshop 1992 No.2 which shows the synchronisms and relative order of dynasties that can be confirmed by those synchronisms. Much of this is aimed at refuting the severely reduced chronology of Gunnar Heinsohn built on purely stratigraphic grounds:

### **A Chronology for Mesopotamia (contra Heinsohn) by A. H. Rees**

Following in the footsteps of my 'Egyptian Monumental Evidence' [1], it was felt that it was time to remind interested parties about certain items of long-standing, authenticated, unambiguous and easily available evidence relating to Mesopotamia and neighbouring areas. This being evidence that would appear to strongly deny not only Gunnar Heinsohn's late placement of Hammurabi's Babylon dynasty, and other related ones [2], but also the similar proposals of other researchers such as Sweeney [3], Lasken [4], Sieff [5], etc.

A critique [6] of some 28 pages and a further fourteen supporting charts were produced in 1991 and involved seven sections or studies. The format was suitable for limited private circulation. The undernoted details can be considered as a summary of some of the more significant of those studies together with the conclusions reached. The table presented herein is a synthesis of twelve of the above-mentioned charts. However, as a result of continuing collaborative research and various exchanges of information, it has been deduced that the structures of the various Assyrian king lists cannot be effectively amended to produce a significant and viable reduction in the dates for any of the listed kings, from those calculated by conventional Assyriologists. Hence this figure has some differences from the dates contained in the original charts. It should be viewed as a demonstration model only.

With regard to Egypt, Wegelaar and Kurt's astronomical proposals [7] are used to lower the 11th/12th dynastic dates by about 250 years. The year 1534/3, according to them was the date when a new 365 day calendar was introduced into Egypt. Hence the start of Manetho's [8]/Bar-Hebraeus's [9] Hyksos 17th Dynasty and the rule of Saites in that year. This results in those 17th Dynasty Hyksos making their exodus from Egypt during the rule of both Phshonu and Ahmose I. The 18th Dynasty dates are reduced by about 230 years with the start of Amenhotep's rule (i.e. King Amemphis or Amophis) [10] being synchronised with the era of Menophre [11] (?Meno-fre i.e. Memphis). The remainder of the 18th Dynasty dates and those of the following 19th-23rd are derived from Jeremy Goldberg's chronological thesis [12].

Similarly, the Middle and Late Assyrian/Babylonian dates in columns IV to VII are also derived from Goldberg [13]. However, the earlier Babylonian dates for Hammurabi as shown in column V are based on the conventional astronomical calculation of Weir [14]. Consequently, while the dates in columns I-III for Egypt, Khatti and Carchemish are reduced by 200 plus years, those for Assyria (column IV); Ur III and Babylon (column V); Isin and Sealand (column VI); Akkad, Larsa, and the Kassites (columns VII); and Mari and Elam (in columns VIII and IX) are more or less conventional in the

presentation, the only differences being caused, in the main, by Goldberg's revised synchronism thesis.

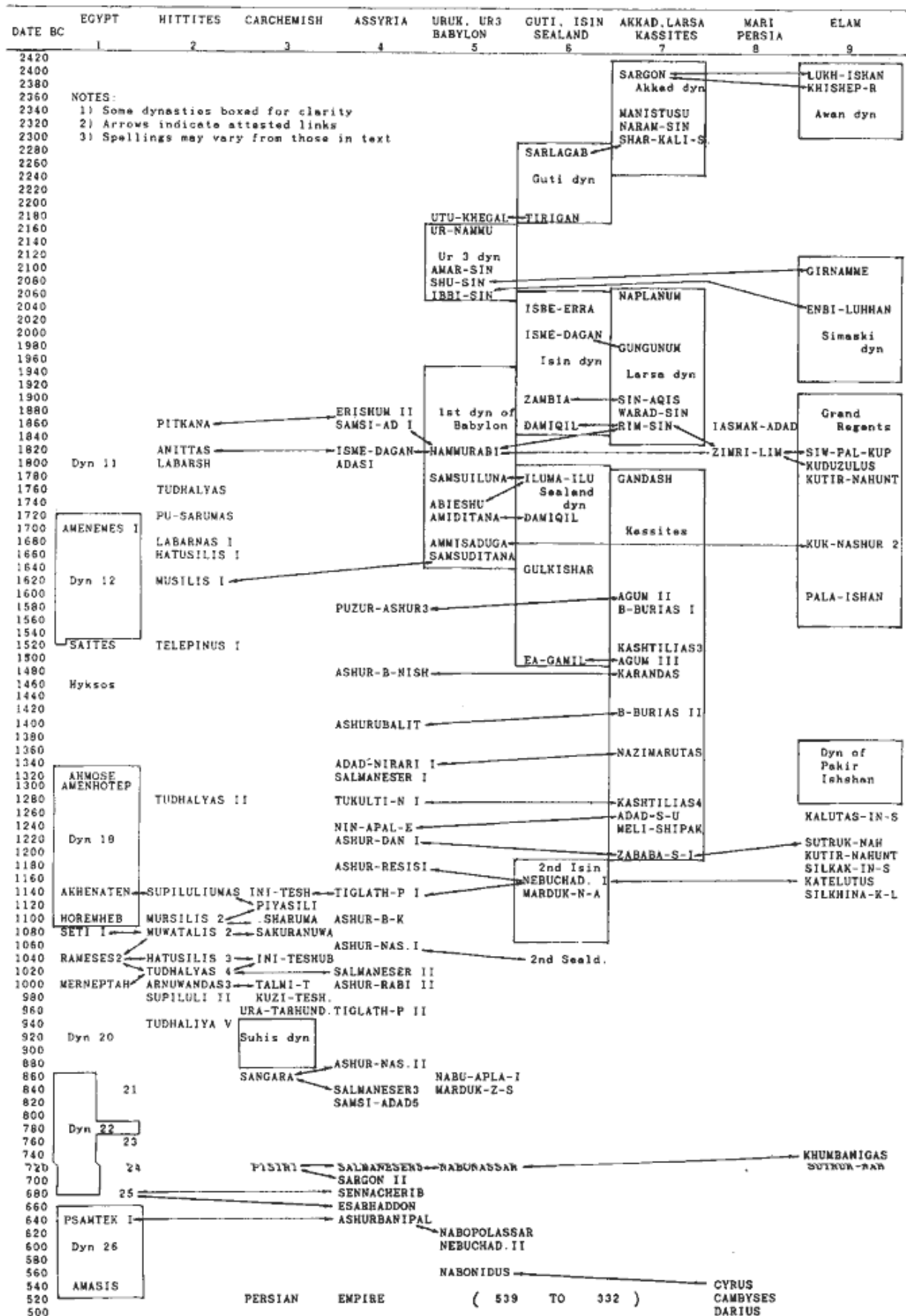
Revised chronology for Egypt and Mesopotamia: Rees

NOTES:

Some dynasties boxed for clarity.

Arrows indicate attested links.

Spellings may vary from those in text.



### **Study I (Babylon)**

This re-introduced the criticism of Lester J. Mitcham [15] as regards the stratigraphy of Babylon. It showed that an early or low stratum contained artifacts of Hammurabi's dynasty. But much higher than that, and hence much later in time, was a layer containing artifacts from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar and Nabonidus. One stratum higher than this contained remains belonging to the Persian domination period. These quite unambiguous details illustrate how Heinssohn's proposals, whereby Hammurabi was the same as the Persian King Darius 'the Great' (who ruled after Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus), is apparently clearly denied by the stratigraphy of Babylon.

With regard to this study, so far as the dynasty of Hammurabi was concerned, in October 1991 Heinssohn was of the opinion [16] that the stratigraphy at Babylon had been poorly established and that conventional interpretations of it had been based on incorrect information. He felt that the content of his papers on related stylistic matters, technical developments, stratigraphical anomalies were more significant. However, his misgivings plus the various anomalies he highlights seem to be insufficient to resolve the problem Study 1 poses for him.

### **Study II (Elam)**

This study relates to a number of Elamite dynasties which, in our present chart, can be seen in the extreme right-hand column no. IX. Therein are shown kings from six dynasties of Elamites in succession - those of Awan; Simaski; the Grand-Regent rulers of Susa; of Pakir Ishshan of Anshan & Susa; of Kallutus-In-Susinak also of Anshan & Susa; and finally the first two kings of the Susian dynasty of Khumbanigash. Within the 5th and penultimate of these six dynasties can be seen a block of six kings. The fourth of them was called Silkak-In-Susinak. He has provided us with a list of, or table of, his ancestors and predecessors [17]. Apart from this, we have another king list called 'The Susian King list' [18].

The first Elamite dynasty found in this second list was that of Awan but it did not list all the kings of that dynasty. However, due to a number of contemporary and later documents we know the names of about a dozen monarchs including Lukh-Ishshan and his son Khishep-Ratep. Of these two kings we have documents proving that the first of them was a contemporary of the first half of the rule of Sargon of Akkad, and that the son succeeded his father and ruled for at least the second half of Sargon's rule.

This dynastic list continued with the dynasty of Simaski while Silkak-In-Susinak's list commenced with Simaski. Similarly it did not show all the kings names though once again we know of the balance of the kings, including Girnamme and Enbiluhhan. Of these two kings, Girnamme is a proven documentary contemporary of the Ur III king Shu Sin [19], while Enbi-Luhhan is a contemporary of the last Ur III king Ib-bi-Sin [20].

After the Simaski dynasty, within the ancestral lists of Silkak-In-Susinak, we find the dynasty of the Grand-Regent rulers of Susa. Again not all the rulers were shown, but again we know all the names from the numerous legal and commercial documents belonging to the dynasty. Hence we not only have a clear picture of the triumvirate system of rule, but also a sufficiency of filial details for the successions and lengths of rule for each of the three offices. Two of the Grand-Regents were called Siwe-Palar-Kuppak and Kuduzulush. Their names are also found on documents from within the upper layers of the destroyed palace of Zimri-lim of Mari [21]. Hence they were either contemporaries or near contemporaries of Zimri-lim and his father, and of Shamsi-Adad I and his family, and of their contemporaries Hammurabi and his immediate family. The internal documentation of this Elamite dynasty allows us to be quite sure that it was the Kuk-Nashur shown who was the contemporary of year 1 of Babylonian King Ammisaduqua [22].

Silkak-In-Susinak's list then gives us the names of the dynasty of Pakir-Ishshan, a dynasty known to have immediately preceded his own. His list names Pakir-Ishshan and five others, with the order of succession agreeing with other contemporary documents. The dynasty of six kings to which Silkak-In-Susinak himself belonged is quite well documented regarding filial ties, succession, probable reign lengths and their civil and military achievements. Furthermore, we are in possession of monumental records which, despite being fragmentary, tell us that Sutruk-Nahhunte was the contemporary of the Babylonian kings Zababa-Shuma-Iddina and Enlil-Nadin-Ahhe, both of whom ruled after Meli-Shipak as shown in column VII. Likewise they show him to be a contemporary of the Assyrian king Ashur-Dan I. These documents also show that the last years of Kallutas-In-Susinak coincided with the early part of the rule of Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar [23].

The final dynasty of Khumbanigash is a proven documentary contemporary of various late Assyrian and Babylonian kings as shown in the chart. The second king who was the son of Khumbanigash erected a chapel [24] on which he referred to both his father and to Silkhina-Khamru-Lakamar the last known king of the preceding dynasty of Silkak-In-Susinak.

Hence, because we also have a number of other Elamite inscriptions that relate the activities of former Elamite kings of preceding dynasties, we have no hesitation in claiming that the order of succession of at least the last four dynasties shown, is correct. The antiquity of the first three of the dynasties shown in the chart is well illustrated by the late Assyrian King Ashurbanipal (668-625 BC) who made reference [25] to the 6th Grand Regent ruler called Kutir-Nahhunte and to his military exploits in Babylon. He claimed that this particular Kutir-Nahhunte ruled many centuries before him. This claim is reinforced by Silkak-In-Susinak who also referred [26] to that particular Kutir-Nahhunte and the same military exploits. We are absolutely sure that it was the Grand Regent ruler shown in our chart they were referring to because the name of his Prince of Susa, Temti-Agum, was contained within the records in the same context.

Therefore, we firstly conclude that the said dynasty of Grand Regent rulers lived and ruled before the time of Silkak-In-Susinak, and likewise, so did their various contemporaries including Hammurabi, for how else could he have made reference to them? And again, because Ashurbanipal referred to them as living *many centuries before his time*, then Heinsohn's thesis is dramatically denied, for he claims that the dynasty of Hammurabi, and consequently his contemporaries the Grand Regent rulers, lived *after* the time of Ashurbanipal - indeed fully 150 years later.

### **Study III (Sealand)**

The dynasty of Sealand is shown in column VI following those of Gutium and Isin. There is monumental evidence to show that its first king called Iluma-Ilu was a contemporary of both Samsuiluna (the son of Hammurabi) and of Abieshu (the grandson of Hammurabi) [27]. And again, there is monumental evidence to show that Sealand King Damiqilishu was at least a near contemporary of Ammiditana, the next Babylonian king [28]. Finally we know that the last king of this Sealand dynasty, a king called Ea-Gamil, was defeated firstly by Ulamburiash, and then by Agum III [29], who were brother and son respectively of Kashtiliash III, of the Kassite dynasty shown in column VII. This Agum III was, in turn, the grandson of Agum II (who can hardly be anyone else than Agum 'Kakrime' [translated 'second']) who received from the Hittites the statue of Marduk which had been taken away from Babylon after their defeat of the city - this statue being returned 24 years after that conquest. Hence Agum II 'Kakrime' is well synchronised to not long after the end of Samsuditana's defeat by 'the men of Khatti'.

The antiquity of this Sealand dynasty is well illustrated by the Neo-Babylonian scribe who claimed that the 6th listed king called Gulkishar, also shown in our chart, ruled many centuries before Nebuchadnezzar I, who in turn, according to Sennacherib's



records ruled a number of centuries before him. It is an undeniable conclusion, that this Neo-Babylonian scribe, who wrote *before* the Persian conquest occurred and who was referring to a king of a dynasty that was contemporary with that of Hammurabi, could hardly be referring to a ruler belonging to the scribe's future, *after* the Persian conquest. Likewise, if Gulkishar lived and ruled many centuries before Nebuchadnezzar I and even more centuries before Sennacherib, then Hammurabi who was a predecessor to the founder member of Gulkishar's dynasty, must have lived in even greater antiquity - *not* two centuries *after* Sennacherib as Heinsohn would have us believe.

#### Study IV (Hittites)

The Egyptian 18th and 19th Dynasty kings are attested documentary contemporaries of certain Kings of Khatti listed in column II, e.g. the Amarna letters indicate that Akhenaten was a contemporary of Suppiluliumas (I). Then we have specific and undeniable evidence that Muwatallis, the grandson of Suppiluliumas I, was a contemporary of both Seti I and year 5 of Ramesses II. Again we know that as late as his year 34, Ramesses II was a contemporary of Hattusilis III, the brother of Muwatallis. Hence we know from this that Tudhalyas IV the son of Hattusilis III, was a contemporary of both the late reign of Ramesses II and of the rule of his son Merenptah, - a factor confirmed by indirect monumentally attested synchronisms. We know that following Tudhalyas IV, were his two sons Arnuwandas III and Suppiluliumas II. These being contemporaries of the end of the 19th dynasty.

Now, as regards the earlier rulers of Khatti, we know from the treaty of Aleppo which Mursilis II (the son of Suppiluliumas I) made with his nephew Talmi-Sharruma, that the father and predecessor on the throne of Suppiluliumas was Hattusilis II and that he in turn was preceded by a king Tudhalyas III. A number of contemporary records show that as well as this Tudhalyas, there were apparently two other like-named kings [30], i.e. Tudhalyas 'Tukuntas' and Tudhalyas 'the younger', one of which was quite clearly the king known as Tudhalyas II, the founder member of the dynasty and the father of Arnuwandas I. A sacrificial list [31] of the time of Suppiluliumas I's rule lists the kings and queens who preceded Tudhalyas to the throne (those of earlier dynasties), e.g. it listed Alluwamnash the son of Telepinus I, Hantilis II, Zidantas II and Huzziah II, these being successors to Alluwamnash and attested by their own monuments. We also know of at least two other so-called 'non-canonicals' - Muwatallis I and Tawursilis - who belong to this period [32],[33].

We know details of the dynasty that preceded Telepinus I for within his edict of succession [34] he named them, seven in all, starting with Labarnash I, Hattusilis I and Mursilis I. He also described the various methods of succession involved such as murder etc. However, it is Mursilis I who we are interested in. Telepinus described how this king attacked and ravaged Babylon, carrying away its treasures. This devastation by Mursilis is confirmed by a contemporary, though fragmented text (KBo 3;54) [35]. In our chart this rule is synchronised with the end of Samsuditana's reign and of the end of Hammurabi's dynasty. This is because the so-called 'Babylonian Chronicle' stated that - "...in the time of Samsuditana, the men of Khatti marched against the land of Accad" [36]

It might be remembered from the previous study that the statue of Marduk which had been carried off by the Hittites was returned to the Kassite king Agum II-'Kakrime' after 24 years. Now it must be pointed out here, that in order for Heinsohn's scheme to even look remotely feasible, the defeat of Samsuditana would have to have occurred at the end of the Persian period, i.e. 160 or so years after the death of his equation Hammurabi/Darius, i.e. about the same time as the Macedonians did the same thing. So does Heinsohn now equate the men of Khatti with the men of Macedon? This would also mean that the Babylonian Chronicle would have had to be composed *after* the victories of the Greeks, some 200 years after the end of Neo-Babylonian rule when it is normally considered to have been written.

Prior to the rule of Labarnash I there were two kings, Tudhalyas I and his son Pu-Sharruma who are known from a sacrificial list. Before their rule were three more archaic kings, Pithkana, Anitta and Labarsh [37] and they are synchronised with Assyrian kings Erishum II, Shamsi-Adad I and Ishme-Dagan I. This is because of indirect monumental records from the time of Iasmak-Adad of Mari and from commercial transactions made by contemporary Assyrian merchants in Anatolia. Hence these three Hittite kings were contemporaries also of Hammurabi and his family.

Our chart therefore shows kings from a number of Hittite dynasties in a quite well established sequence, derived from written records. Likewise almost all the orders of succession of the various royal Hittite families are also known. So it can truly be claimed that if Heinsohn wishes to equate Hammurabi with Darius I, then he must also remove Hammurabi's Hittite contemporaries, the archaic kings Pithkana, Anitta, and Labarsh into the same Persian period, together with their archaic art and script. He will also need to realign the end of Kultepe, for in its strata was found an inscribed artifact bearing the name of Anitta [38]. But Kultepe's end is normally placed 1,400 years earlier than Heinsohn would wish.

Heinsohn also equates Ammisaduqua, the penultimate king of Hammurabi's dynasty, with Artaxerxes II 358-338 BC. Therefore he must also place the archaic Hittite contemporaries of this king in the same period of time. Labarnash I, Hattusilis I and Mursilis I, together with their murderous successors, will need to be relocated. Do we now assume that Mursilis I was Alexander the Great and that his father Hattusilis I was Philip of Macedon? That would bring about a most curious stylistic problem for Heinsohn due to his placements and equations which are as follows:

Mursilis II = Nabopolassar 625-605 BC  
Hattusilis III = Nebuchadnezzar II 604-562 BC  
Tudhalyas IV = Nabonidas 555-539 BC

These were all so-called 'Empire Hittites' with a developed, non-archaic style of art and writing. This progressed style in Heinsohn's scheme would then be placed as preceding the archaic styles of Pithkana through to Mursilis I.

Heinsohn also says that Akhenaten = Necho II (609-594 BC), but Akhenaten was contemporary with Suppiluliumas (Amarna Letters). This Suppiluliumas could not be Suppiluliumas I, father of Mursilis II, because he was before 625 BC on Heinsohn's system and similarly he could not have been Suppiluliumas II, son of Tudhalyas IV, because he was him after 539 BC. So neither of the two Suppiluliumas's will put Akhenaten in the right time to be Necho II.

Presumably this difficulty has been brought about by the very curious equations which Heinsohn's chronology has forced onto him - of firstly Thutmose III = Psammetichus I (664-610 BC) and Akhenaten = Necho (609-594 BC). Psammetichus and Necho are attested as father and son but Thutmose III of the 18th Dynasty is separated from Akhenaten by three generations of kings, i.e. by Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III. Their lengths of reigns and filial ties are well attested to make such Heinsohnian equations border on the bizarre. Further examples could be given.

### **Study VII [39] (Isin, Larsa, Ur III and Akkad)**

It has already been noted how Sargon of Akkad was a contemporary of the dynasty of Awan, and how at least two kings of Ur III were contemporaries of the dynasty of Simaski. These are all documentarily proven contemporaries. Furthermore it was related how those two Elamite dynasties were included in that order in the Susian King List. The antiquity of the dynasty of Akkad, before the time of Silkak-In-Susinak, is reinforced by the fact that his father Sutruk-Nahhunte captured and carried off

relics of the Akkad kings Manistusu and Naram-Sin. Silkak-In-Susinak was, of course, a proven near contemporary of Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar I.

The stratigraphy of Ashur [40] confirmed the archaic positions of the Ur-III and Akkad dynasties; e.g. relics of Manistusu were found at Ashur two levels lower down and thus earlier than, relics of the time of Amar-Sin of Ur-III. In turn his layer was three levels lower down and hence earlier than relics belonging to the reign of Adad-Nirari I of Assyria. Now, just above the foundations of Adad-Nirari's palace at Ashur [41] (a palace incidentally which was still in use in the time of Tiglath Pileser I) were to be found artifacts bearing cartouches of late 18th Dynasty kings who we know chronologically preceded the time of 19th Dynasty Ramesses II. This latter king left relics at Megiddo a number of layers lower down and hence earlier than 25th dynasty King Shabaka who is monumentally dated to no later than 680 BC. Ergo, Heinsohn's late placement of the kings of Ur-III and Akkad as being in the same general period of time as Shabaka are demonstrably wrong both by monumental records and by archaeological strata.

Yet there is more proof about the antiquity of Ur-III as being before the time of Hammurabi's dynasty. For even if one wished to ignore the order in which Silkak-In-Susinak made his dynastic lists, or the various other supporting items of contemporary evidence which supports that order, then still he must consider the evidence of the independent Isin and Isin/Ur-III king lists. These were compiled during the rules of Hammurabi and his son Samsuiluna. These lists showed the kings of Isin right back to Ishbe-Erra and his attested contemporary, Ibbi-Sin the last king of Ur-III.

Then note how Warad-Sin, the penultimate king of Larsa appointed his sister Enaned to be the High-Priestess of the Moon at Ur [42]. During her second brother's rule at Larsa, i.e. Rim-Sin, she rebuilt and restored her 'convent' at Ur. This was done with funds given to her by Rim-Sin from the booty he collected after his year 29 victory over Damiqilishu the last Isin King. Rim-Sin in turn was defeated after a 61 year rule, by Hammurabi in his year 34.

Let us therefore now test Heinsohn's chronological hypothesis that Hammurabi = Darius 'The Great'. We can do this easily having the above date formulas plus the factor that Enaned inscribed some clay cones in Rim-Sin's year 29 to commemorate his victory. These ancient records were later found by and perused with 'great satisfaction' by Nabonidus, the last Neo-Babylonian king. Heinsohn says that Hammurabi = Darius who ruled 521-486 BC.

Therefore he most assuredly cannot escape the fact that Hammurabi/Darius's year 34 was in 488 BC. That was the year when he defeated Rim-Sin of Larsa. So, he also cannot escape the fact that this occurred in Rim-Sin's 62nd year after 61 years on the throne of Larsa. Hence we know, on Heinsohn's chronology, that Rim-Sin could only have defeated Damiqilishu of Isin in 521/520 BC. Thus it was in that year that Rim-Sin's sister inscribed the said clay cones. Now we know that Nabonidus ruled during the years 555-539 BC, so at some point during those years he found these inscribed clay cones and perused them with great interest. Most curious is it not that he did this some 18-44 years before the clay cones were made and inscribed? An apparent impossibility - hence Heinsohn's chronology is also impossible.

### **Conclusions**

There are a number of very basic conclusions that can be drawn from the pages of this paper and its original. However, before considering any of them it might be worth noting the premises which have been used in the selection of the various items of evidence.

For example, whenever a person, whether nomarch, priest or layperson writes a chronicle, or history, or a simple list of ancestors/predecessors, the premise is that all of the people or events referred to belonged either to the time the record was made,

or prior to that time. There can be absolutely no doubt at all that the events or people described therein had no relevance to events or people in the author's future, unless the statement was prophetic and evidenced as such.

Another premise is that whenever we have a monumental inscription that shows two or more persons or dynasties to be contemporaries, then any chronology or evidence involving one of them must also apply to the others. A further premise is that if records show that a person was responsible for the building of a palace, temple, house, or just a simple wall, then the said construction work did not take place before or after that person's lifetime. Or, if a person wrote that he entered, or passed by, or fought near a city that was named after a person, or that a specific person built, then he could not possibly have done this before that city was in existence.

So, the items of evidence selected for the studies were based on very simple yet irrefutable chronological premises. Heinsohn, Lasken or Sweeney cannot misinterpret them, nor can they claim ambiguity, nor that stylistic/sequential/stratigraphical evidence is more significant and must take priority of interpretation. The types of monumental or literary evidence described here are virtually unassailable in their entirety and it would take an opposing documentary record to challenge them or to prove that a written error (deliberate or otherwise) was involved.

The following conclusions can be made:

The dynasties of Akkad and Awan ruled before the 3rd dynasty of Ur and of Simaski, which dynasties ruled before those of Isin and Larsa. Then again, these latter two dynasties were partially before the contemporary dynasties of Khatti, Shamsi Adad I, of Hammurabi, of Zimri-lim, and of the Grand-Regent rulers at Susa.

Then we can say with certainty that all of these preceeded either partially or totally the dynasty of Labarnash I in Khatti, of Sealand I, of the Kassite Kings at Babylon, and their contemporaries - the Middle Assyrians.

We know that there then came about the Tudhalyas II dynasty of Khatti, contemporary with the Egyptian 18th and 19th dynasties and of the two Elamite dynasties of Pakir-Ishshan and of Kallutus-In-Susinak; all of these still contemporary with the Middle Assyrian period.

Following all of these we know that there came the later Egyptian Dynasties 20-26, contemporary with the late Assyrians and the Neo-Babylonians and the last of the Neo-Elamite dynasties. Following all of these came the Persian empire and finally the Macedonians.

Now, what can we be certain of as regards the stratigraphical evidence? - Not a lot really, for unlike monumental, inscriptional and literary evidence which are capable of forming limited absolute chronologies; stratigraphy can only chronologically tell us that the remains and relics found on a particular site, and which were found in lower levels, were deposited there earlier than those remains found in its higher levels. And even then it depends upon a theoretical analysis as to whether there has been an intrusive burial, or whether the layers have been wind-stripped, or wind-deposited, or have been distorted by natural catastrophes or by man, or whether the placements of artifacts are the result of time displacement due to large scale tomb robbery. Stratigraphy can only afford us with a theoretical and relative or sequential chronology for the specific site involved.

Thus it is that in this paper and its original, the stratigraphical details have only been added as supplementary information or as peripheral confirmation of the conclusions reached by using documentary and monumental sources.

Almost entirely, the chronology of Heinsohn (and that of Lasken or Sweeney) is based upon disciplines which are only capable of either indicating cultural affinities, or

of indicating relative chronological placements. None of these disciplines can provide even a very limited absolute chronology without the assistance of the inscribed monumental records and documentary evidence of which there is little presented within his thesis.

Therefore the final conclusion here is that Heinsohn's (and others') arguments might appear to be logical and fluently presented, yet they are invalidated: not because of what they contain but because of what was left out. The final conclusion is in the form of a recommendation to Heinsohn, Lasken, Sweeney and those others who are attempting to produce 'extreme' reductions to Oriental dates of antiquity. They should reconsider the anomalistic evidence that first started them on their quests and then formulate a new set of questions within the boundaries that unambiguous monumental evidence allow. It is a truth that when one has a problem, one cannot easily find the right answer if one asks the wrong questions.

If we look at Rees' chart in light of what we have already covered in revising Egyptian chronology we will note that on his chart the Middle Kingdom of Egypt is line with what Velikovsky has advocated coming to its end in the mid 1400's BC.

Rees', though, has a substantially shortened period for the Hyksos compared to Velikovsky. He has the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty starting around 1340 BC putting Akhenaten 200 years later around 1140 BC.

The flaw with this is that the enormous booty that Thutmose III obtained from Palestine would have occurred in the 1200's BC during the time of the Judges when no such Temple with that enormous level of booty existed in the land.

The amazing synchronism between Thutmose III and Shishak of the Biblical record forces us to place the time of the el-Amarna correspondence in the mid 800's BC. Among the correspondents include Kadashman-Enlil and Burnaburiash, both described as kings of Babylon in the letters.

Two consecutive Kassite kings bear these names and are dated to the mid 1300's by the short conventional chronology, some 500 years earlier than the time of the el-Amarna correspondence according to Velikovsky. The end of the last Kassite king is conventionally (short chronology) dated to 1155 BC.

Rees' retains the conventional short chronology dates for the Kassite dynasty so he has the Kassite dynasty ending about the same time as where he places Akhenaten and the el-Amarna correspondence.

The dates for Kassite kings bearing the same name as the el-Amarna correspondents noted above are as follows:

Kadashman-Enlil I	ca. 1374—1360 BC (short)
Burnaburiash II	ca. 1359—1333 BC (short)
Kadashman-Enlil II	ca. 1263—1255 BC (short)

The two consecutive ones normally attributed as the correspondents are 200 years before Rees' placement of the el-Amarna correspondence and the second

Kadashman-Enlil is 100 years before his placement of the el-Amarna correspondence.

Consequently, either deliberately or by oversight, Rees rejects the connection between the Kassite kings and those bearing the same name in the el-Amarna correspondence.

That said, Velikovsky does the same thing rejecting this connection between the Kassite kings and those bearing the same name in the el-Amarna correspondence. We know he did so deliberately as he states the Burnaburiash of the el-Amarna correspondence is probably “the alter ego of Shalmaneser the Assyrian” (p. 307). Velikovsky’s date for the el-Amarna correspondence is not 200 years but 500 years before the Kassite kings bearing those names.

Multiple kings shared the same name and in the correspondence there is no reference to which of the kings bearing the same name who is the correspondent. Not only that, we know that the same king often had multiple names adding more to the potential confusion.

Many of these names for the kings are quite generic and these two names from the el-Amarna correspondence are a good case in point. Burnaburiash means “servant of the Lord of the lands”. Kadashman-Enlil means “he believes in Enlil”.

I believe that Velikovsky’s dating for the el-Amarna correspondence in the mid 800’s BC is on very solid ground thanks to the amazing synchronism of Shishak with Thutmose III that forms the foundation for the dating by Velikovsky of Egypt’s New Kingdom.

Consequently, either the dating for the Kassite dynasty needs to be moved forward about 700 years or we would have to reject the two noted Kassite kings as being the el-Amarna correspondents. I believe the latter is the more likely of the two options and this is given some support by the fact that those el-Amarna correspondents refer to themselves not as Kassites but king of Babylon.

Velikovsky wrote little on Mesopotamian chronology but he did leave us with a couple of articles that I would like to quote here.

The first article focuses on establishing a correct date for Hammurabi who ruled during the middle of the First Dynasty of Babylon and gave the famous law code known as the Hammurabi Code.

The second article deals with correctly identifying the Mesopotamian figure, Assurballit, who was a correspondent in the El-Amarna letters.

First of all, let’s look at what Velikovsky has to say about identifying the correct time frame for Hammurabi:

### **Hammurabi and the Revised Chronology**

King Hammurabi is the best known of the early monarchs of ancient times due to his famous law code, found inscribed on stone. This great lawgiver of ancient Babylon belonged to the First Babylonian Dynasty which came to an end, under circumstances shrouded in mystery, some three or four generations after Hammurabi. For the next several centuries, the land was in the domain of a people known as the Kassites. They left few examples of art and hardly any literary works—theirs was an age comparable to and contemporaneous with that of the Hyksos in Egypt, and various surmises were made as to the identity of the two peoples. A cartouche of the Hyksos king Khyan was even found in Babylonia<sup>1</sup> and another in Anatolia,<sup>2</sup> a possible indication of the extent of the power and influence wielded by the Hyksos.

Until a few decades ago, the reign of Hammurabi was dated to around the year 2100 before the present era. This dating was originally prompted by information contained in an inscription of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, who reigned in the sixth century until the conquest of his land by Cyrus. Whereas his son and co-ruler, Belshazzar, occupied himself with the administration of the land, Nabonidus indulged in an avocation: he showed a marked interest in archaeology, and excavated the foundations of ancient temples, looking for old inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

In the foundations of a temple at Larsa, Nabonidus found a plaque of King Burnaburiash. This king is known to us from the el-Amarna correspondence in which he participated. On that plaque Burnaburiash wrote that he had rebuilt the temple erected seven hundred years before by King Hammurabi. The el-Amarna letters, according to conventional chronology, were written about -1400. Thus, if Burnaburiash lived then, Hammurabi must have lived about -2100.

When Egyptologists found it necessary to reduce the el-Amarna Age by a quarter of a century, the time of Hammurabi was adjusted accordingly, and placed in the twenty-first century before the present era. It was also observed: "The period of the First Dynasty of Babylon has always been a landmark in early history, because by it the chronology of Babylonia can be fixed, with a reasonable margin of error."<sup>4</sup> The period of Hammurabi also served as a landmark for the histories of the Middle East from Elam to Syria, and was used as a guide for the chronological tables of other nations.

Since the dates for Hammurabi were established originally on the evidence of the plaque of King Burnaburiash found by Nabonidus—which indicated that King Hammurabi had reigned seven hundred years earlier—the revision of ancient history outlined in Ages in Chaos would set a much later date for Hammurabi, for it places the el-Amarna correspondence and King Burnaburiash in the ninth, not the fourteenth, century. Burnaburiash wrote long letters to Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, bore himself in a haughty manner and demanded presents in gold, jewels, and ivory. In the same collection of letters, however, there are many which we have identified as originating from Ahab of Samaria and Jehoshaphat of Jerusalem, and from their governors.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, seven hundred years before this correspondence would bring us to the sixteenth century, not the twenty-first. Also, the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty—in circumstances recalling the end of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt—would point to some date close to -1500, or even several decades later.

A connecting link was actually found between the First Babylonian Dynasty and the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, the great dynasty of the Middle Kingdom. At Platanos on Crete, a seal of the Hammurabi type was discovered in a tomb together with Middle Minoan pottery of a kind associated at other sites with objects of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> more exactly, of its earlier part.<sup>7</sup> This is regarded as proof that these two dynasties were contemporaneous.

In the last several decades, however, a series of new discoveries have made a drastic reduction of the time of Hammurabi imperative. Chief among the factors that demand a radical change in the chronology of early Babylonia and that of the entire

Middle Eastern complex—a chronology that for a long time was regarded as unassailable—are the finds of Mari, Nuzi, and Khorsabad. At Mari on the central Euphrates, among other rich material, a cuneiform tablet was found which established that Hammurabi of Babylonia and King Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria were contemporaries. An oath was sworn by the life of these two kings in the tenth year of Hammurabi. The finds at Mari “proved conclusively that Hammurabi came to the throne in Babylonia after the accession of Shamshi-Adad I in Assyria”.<sup>8</sup>

Shamshi-Adad I could not have reigned in the twenty-first century since there exist lists of Assyrian kings which enable us to compute regnal dates. Being compilations of later times, it is admitted by modern research that “the figures in king lists are not infrequently erroneous”.<sup>9</sup> But in 1932 a fuller and better-preserved list of Assyrian king names was found at Khorsabad, capital of Sargon II. Published ten years later, in 1942, it contains the names of one hundred and seven Assyrian kings with the number of years of their reigns. Shamshi-Adad I, who is the thirty-first on the list, but the first of the kings whose regnal years are given in figures, reigned much later than the time originally allotted to Hammurabi whose contemporary he was.

The Khorsabad list ends in the tenth year of Assur-Nerari V, which is computed to have been -745; at that time the list was composed or copied. By adding to the last year the sum of the regnal years, as given in the list of the kings from Shamshi-Adad to Assur-Nerari, the first year of Shamshi-Adad is calculated to have been -1726 and his last year -1694. These could be the earliest dates; with a less liberal approach, the time of Shamshi-Adad needs to be relegated to an even later date.

The result expressed in the above figures required a revolutionary alteration in Babylonian chronology, for it reduced the time of Hammurabi from the twenty-first century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The realization that the dating of Hammurabi must be brought forward by three and a half centuries created “a puzzling chronological discrepancy”,<sup>10</sup> which could only be resolved by making Hammurabi later than Amenemhet I of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The process of scaling down the time of Hammurabi is an exciting spectacle. Sidney Smith and W. F. Albright competed in this scaling down; as soon as one of them offered a more recent date, the other offered a still more recent one, and so it went until Albright arrived at -1728 to -1686 for Hammurabi, and S. Smith—by placing Shamshi-Adad from -1726 to -1694—appeared to start Hammurabi at -1716.<sup>11</sup>

If Hammurabi reigned at the time allotted to him by the finds at Mari and Khorsabad—but according to the finds at Platanos was a contemporary of the Egyptian kings of the early Twelfth Dynasty—then that dynasty must have started at a time when, according to the accepted chronology, it had already come to its end. In conventionally-written history, by -1680 not only the Twelfth Dynasty, but also the Thirteenth, or the last of the Middle Kingdom, had expired. On the accepted timetable, the Hyksos (Dynasties 14 to 17) ruled from that year for one century, until, in -1580, the Eighteenth Dynasty initiated the era of the New Kingdom.

We have previously discussed the difficulties that followed from leaving only one hundred years for the Hyksos period.<sup>12</sup> The great change in scenery between the end of the Middle Kingdom and the New Kingdom made Flinders Petrie claim that an additional period of 1461 years (one Sothic period) must be placed between the two eras; but this view did not prevail. Nor were retained as valid the historical sources (Josephus-Manetho) that allotted 511 years for the Hyksos period; nor was the consideration of cultural changes, as advocated by H. R. Hall—who pleaded for four or five centuries for the Hyksos period—given a chance.

When the end of the Twelfth Dynasty was brought down to -1680, there was no time left for the Thirteenth; and with only one century for the Hyksos, the bottom of the Middle Kingdom had apparently reached a level below which it could not be reasonably or securely dropped. This also constituted a barrier against any further



reduction of Hammurabi's time. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to eliminate the Hyksos period altogether: of the five hundred and eleven years of Hyksos rule, as given by Manetho and preserved by Josephus, not a single year was left.<sup>13</sup> This proposed elimination of the Hyksos period, though made by a qualified scholar, was received with mixed reactions. But even this elimination did not bring the scales of the balance to rest.

Even without a further reduction of Hammurabi's time, the scaling down of his date by Albright and Smith was sufficient to call for a general lowering of the dates assigned to all west Asian and Aegean material.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, three to four centuries were subtracted from all west Asian and Aegean chronology of the period corresponding to the Middle Kingdom in Egypt. Only the beginning of the New Kingdom was not moved from -1580, for it was regarded as "absolutely certain" and "mathematically certain".<sup>15</sup>

Yet the finds in Mesopotamia required a further lowering of the dates of the First Babylonian Dynasty. In one case of Middle East chronology before the New Kingdom—the date of the so-called Cappadocian tablets—a full six hundred years was excised. On tablets from Araphkha and Nuzi, seal impressions of the First Babylonian Dynasty were found. These tablets dated from the fifteenth century, "which points to a much later date than currently accepted".

If Hammurabi lived in the sixteenth century and the First Babylonian Dynasty ruled until the beginning of the fifteenth century, then many dates of early history must be revised even more drastically. But the Middle Kingdom in Egypt could not be lowered below -1580 because such a shift would make a portion of the Middle Kingdom contemporary with the New Kingdom.

In my reconstruction of ancient history, the beginning of the New Kingdom is shown to correspond with the later part of Saul's reign, in the second half of the eleventh century. The Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty) ended not in -1720 or -1680 but shortly after -1500. The Hyksos period regains its place in history: it continued for over four hundred years and corresponds in Biblical history to the time of the Wandering in the Desert, the Conquest of Canaan, the Judges, and to a part of Saul's reign.

The Assyrian king lists lend support to our reconstruction by exposing the need to lower the dates of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty. With Hammurabi belonging to the sixteenth century, the time of Burnaburiash is in the ninth century. This is also the period to which we ascribed the el-Amarna correspondence; and not the Assyrian and Babylonian material, but the Biblical and Egyptian evidence compelled us to move the beginning of the New Kingdom from -1580 to ca. -1040, and the time of el-Amarna to ca. -860 until -840 or -830.

The archaeological facts discussed above lead to the conclusion that the First Babylonian Dynasty reigned from the eighteenth century to the very beginning of the fifteenth and was contemporaneous with the Egyptian Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties—the Middle Kingdom. The time of the Kassites in Mesopotamia corresponds more precisely to the time of the Hyksos in Egypt and Syria. The fall of this Amalekite (Hyksos) Empire brought down their power "from Havila [in Mesopotamia] to Shur, over against Egypt" (I Samuel 15:7).

The discoveries at Platanos, Nuzi, Mari, and Khorsabad demand that the Middle Kingdom in Egypt be brought down to the fifteenth century, and though they involve archaeological material of an epoch preceding the period discussed in Ages in Chaos, they give strong support to the reconstruction presented therein

## References

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
11. Cf. A. Ungnad, "Die Venustafeln und das Neunte Jahr Samsuilunas", *Mitt. altorient. Ges.*, XIII, Heft 3, 1940.
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13. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, op. cit.
14. H. R. Hall, "Egyptian Chronology" in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (First ed.), Vol. I, p. 170; J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (2nd ed.), p. 22.

## **ASSURUBALLIT**

There are two letters in the el-Amarna collection signed by Assuruballit. These letters, though rather unimportant, are given much attention by the chronologists, not for their content, but for the name of their author. Assuruballit is not an unusual name, but the existence of an Assuruballit in the fourteenth century would link the Assyrian king lists with the Egyptian dynasties of the New Kingdom. Thus, the letters play an important role in conventional chronology, being the sole link in the space of many centuries between the Egyptian and Assyrian histories.

In Assyria were found king lists in which the names of the kings and the number of years of their reigns are given, and nothing more. The extant versions of the lists are of a later origin, since they give the succession until the end period of the Assyrian Kingdom.

If in the Assyrian lists there is a king who wrote letters to a pharaoh known by name, then a first and single link in the space of many centuries could be established between Egypt and Assyria. And, actually, efforts were made to synchronize Egyptian and Assyrian histories starting with Assuruballit I, who is called upon to hold together the two histories which otherwise appear to have no contact—and a great strain it is: This link was destined to carry the load of many centuries of disjointed histories, not only of these two lands but, more than that, of the entire history of the ancient East for the second half of the second millennium before the present era.

Probably such efforts would not have been made to accommodate this matter if it were not for the fact that in the period before Shalmaneser III, who mentions a tribute from Mizri (the name of the pharaoh is not mentioned), the Assyrian annals are silent on Egypt; and Egyptian annals, aside from the tribute paid to Thutmose III by Assur, interpreted as Assur (the name of the king is not mentioned), are silent on Assyria.

### **ASSURUBALLIT WAS NOT AN UNUSUAL NAME**

I will offer here a few observations that may erode the link. In the first place, Assuruballit is not an unusual name among the Assyrian kings. Actually, the very last king of Assyria, who continued to resist the Chaldeans and the Medes from his hideout in Harran, upon the destruction of Nineveh in ca. -612, also bore the name of Assuruballit. His number in the succession of monarchs is 117, whereas that of Assuruballit of the fourteenth century is no. 73: Shalmaneser III (-858 to -824) has the 102nd place.<sup>(2)</sup> A linking of two histories, the Egyptian and the Assyrian, is rather arbitrary if it is founded on nothing else than on the provenance of one name.

### **ERIBA-ADAD VS. ASSUR-NADIN-AHE**

In the list of Assyrian kings, Assuruballit is the son of Eriba-Adad. But Assuruballit of the letters was, as he himself attests in one of the letters, son of Assur-nadin-ahe.

The idea of Schnabel and Weber that Assur-nadin-ahe, called “Abu” by Assuruballit, was “not father but forefather”, is a strained argument, because—according to the king lists—Assuruballit was neither a son, nor a grandson, nor a descendant of Assur-nadin-ahe. Assur-nadin-ahe II was a cousin of Assuruballit and he had no offspring on the throne.<sup>(3)</sup>

On this problem Luckenbill had wondered:

“In the second of the two letters Assur-uballit . . . refers to “the time when Assur-nadin-ahe, his father, wrote to Egypt.” The word “father” may here have the meaning “ancestor”, as often in the Assyrian texts, but even so our difficulties are not all cleared up. In the texts given below, Assur-uballit does not include Assur-nadin-ahe among his ancestors, although he carries his line back six generations...

“On a clay table, having the common Assyrian amulet form, we have Assur-uballit's account of the rebuilding of the palace in the new city (text, KAH, II, No. 27).

“...Assur-uballit, priest of Assur, son of Eriba-Adad; Eriba-Adad, priest of Assur, son of Assur-bel-nisheshu; Assur-bel-nisheshu . . . son of Assur-nirari; Assur-nirari . . . he is the son of Assur-rabi, Assur-rabi . . . son of Enlil-nasir; Enlil-nasir . . . son of Puzur Assur.(4)

“And, in Section 60, Lukenbill brings another such list by Assuruballit of his ancestors where again there is no mention of Assur-nadin-ahe.

“Assur-uballit, viceroy of Assur, son of Iriba-Adad; Iriba-Adad, viceroy of Assur, son of Assur-bel-nisheshu; Assur-bel-nisheshu, viceroy of Assur, son of Assur-nirari; Assur-nirari . . .(5)”

### **DO ASSURUBALLIT'S AND AKHNATON'S DATES COINCIDE?**

Then the computations made on the king lists showed a discrepancy of several decades between the reign of Assuruballit and the time allotted to Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, his supposed correspondents.(6) When the el-Amarna letters were found in 1881 they were ascribed to the fourteenth century because they were partly addressed to Amenhotep III and Akhnaton. Since these kings, by the conventional chronology, were placed in the 14th century, the Assyrian king Assuruballit was looked for in the then available king lists. Thus, the desire to find the names mentioned in his letters in the king lists was already there. This required quite a bit of stretching.

In 1917 Weidner admitted:

“The dates we have established for the Assyrian and Babylonian kings do not fit those established by Egyptian historians for the dates of the Egyptian kings.”(7)

In order to make the reign of Assuruballit and the time of these pharaohs contemporaneous, it was necessary to shift both chronologies, the Egyptian and the Assyrian. The Amarna Period, in order to meet the the earlier found king lists,(8) was moved back into the 15th century. For, as Professor Mahler brought out, the leveling of these histories required the placing of Amenhotep III at the end of the fifteenth century and Akhnaton in the years -1403 to -1391 —far too high by the standards of the next generation of chronologists. What had first led to raising the age of Amenhotep III and Akhnaton into the Fifteenth century, then required lowering it. (Due to “Poebel's publication of the contents of the Khorsabad List in 1942/43, which proved that all previous chronologies were too high”, the age of the Assyrian kings of the period had to be reduced by 64 years.(9)) However, to lower the age of Akhnaton enough, in order to make him a contemporary of Assuruballit, was impossible because conventional Egyptian chronology is built on the premise that Ramses I started to reign in -1322 and after Akhnaton and before Ramses I, Tutankhamen, Smenkhkare, Aye, and Haremhab must have reigned.

About this M. B. Rowton wrote:

“The Mesopotamian evidence discussed in this article indicates 1356 for the accession of Assuruballit 1. . . . Egyptologists believe that the lowest possible date for the death of Akhnaton is 1358. . . a discrepancy of only two years may not seem very significant. But closer examination reveals that the discrepancy is considerably greater . . . Moreover if the Menophres theory is accepted that the Sothic cycle began in the first year of Seti I, the date 1358 for the death of Akhnaton does not allow for a sufficient interval between Akhnaton and Seti. . . . But if this discrepancy is a matter of ten years or more we are no longer entitled to regard it as insignificant.”(10)

The difference in years would be greater if the reign of Assuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad were not already brought as close as possible to the reign of Amenhotep IV, the uncertainty in the duration of some reigns of later Assyrian kings being exploited to make the most of it, with all ruling years being regarded as full years—though kings, like other mortals, die on every day of the year—which in a long list may make a difference of a few decades. Also, no allowance was left for co-regencies or common occupation of the throne, of father and son, a possibility which is always taken into account by chronologists.

Presently, Akhnaton is placed between 1375 and 1358 and Assuruballit between 1362 and 1327. This enables the Assyrian king Assuruballit I to write letters to the Egyptian king Akhnaton.

However, as late as 1974, Ronald D. Long was making the same point as Rowton:

“Mesopotamian chronology . . . does not coordinate with the eighteenth dynasty chronology which is dependent on the era of Menophreos dating. Assuruballit I and Akhnaton were contemporaries, yet if the era’s dating is maintained their contemporaneity is non-existent.”(11)

### **THE CIRCULAR EVIDENCE**

Since great stress has been put on the reliance of the chronology of the ancient world on the Assyrian king lists, a lesson needs to be drawn. The case of Hammurabi and the entire First Babylonian dynasty being lowered in age by four hundred years, because of a correlation with Egyptian material of the Middle Kingdom,(12) exemplifies the dependence of cuneiform chronology on the Egyptian time-table.(13) This is appropriate to remember during any effort to fortify the accepted Egyptian chronology by evidence coming from the Babylonian or Assyrian king lists.

The following quotes emphasize the direct dependence of Assyrian and Babylonian chronologies on that of Egypt:

Sidney Smith in *Alalakh and Chronology* wrote:

“...an approximate dating, subject to a very small margin of error, is possible for the period from 1450 on the basis of Egyptian chronology, which can be fixed within narrow limits.”(14)

Or, as J. D. Weir wrote:

“...objects of Egyptian origin had been unearthed at various levels of the site. These discoveries made it possible to synchronise the development of the town of Alalakh, with the main periods of Egyptian history. So Egyptian chronology could now be used as a guide to Babylonian dating. The result of this link-up was a provisional date of  $\pm$  1600 for the end of the First Babylonian dynasty.”(15)

In the chapter “Astronomy and Chronology”,(16) I showed on what unfirm foundations the chronology of Egypt has been erected and how chronologies of countries that do not possess an absolute chronology of their own are built on the chronology of Egypt by the strength of archaeologically discovered contacts.

### **A SHORT SUMMARY**

- Assuruballit was a common name, still in use 750 years later.
- Assuruballit of the list was the son of Eriba-Adad; Assuruballit of the letters was the son of Assur-nadin-ahhe.

- The time of Assuruballit of the king lists was not exactly the time of Akhnaton; and efforts to synchronize them were made at the cost of inner contradictions in the Egyptian chronology (which is based on the Sothis-Menophres theory).
- Assyrian chronology is itself dependent on Egyptian chronology and therefore cannot be used as proof of its validity.

Thus, if there is no other synchronization of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt with the Assyrian kings, the case of Assuruballit cannot present an invincible argument.(17)

## ONE VS. MANY LINKS

But if it were only a matter of evaluating my dating of the el-Amarna letters contra the conventional dating, we would use names alone. The list of identified persons in the el-Amarna letters in chapters of the Scriptures of the time of the middle of the ninth century, as presented in Ages in Chaos, is imposing. Among those names mentioned in both the letters and in the books of Kings and Chronicles are such unusual ones as Jehozabad, Adaja, Ben Zichri, Biridri, and many more. And is it little that, from five generals of king Jehoshaphat named by the Scriptures, four of them signed their letter by the very same names and one is referred to by his name?

Captains of Jehoshaphat	el-Amarna correspondents
Adnah (II Chr. 17:14)	Addudani (EA 292)
Son of Zichri (II Chr. 17:16)	Son of Zuchru (EA 334, 335)
Jehozabab (II Chr. 17:18)	Iahzibada (EA 275)
Adaia (II Chr. 23:1)	Addaia (EA 285, 287, 289)

Not only personal names, but dozens of parallels are found between the texts of those tablets and the scriptural narrative in the books of Kings and Chronicles, and also between them and the Assyrian texts of the ninth century. Events—down to the smallest details—were illuminated in the chapters dealing with el-Amarna: actions, wars, sieges, a seven-year famine, and geographical names were compared.

Although the el-Amarna correspondence covers only a few decades at the most, the many details that could be and have been brought to comparison lend an unshakeable support to the reconstruction of the larger period covering the time from the end of the Middle Kingdom to the time of the Ptolemies in Egypt, a span of twelve hundred years. Therefore, a single name, even were it to appear in the king lists and in the letters, would not amount to much without any support from the entire sum of evidence.

## WHO THEN WAS ASSURUBALLIT, THE CORRESPONDENT OF AKHNATON?

Was Assuruballit I, son of Eriba-Adad of the 14th century, the king who wrote to Akhnaton?

In the Assyrian sources there is no reference to any contact of the king Assuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad, enhotep III or Akhnaton, and nothing that would substantiate the claim that he was the author of two letters in the el-Amarna collection.

All her history long, Assyria was an important kingdom in the ancient world. Assuruballit, son of Eriba-Adad of the king list, is regarded as one of the greatest kings of ancient Assyria,(18) and his grandson Adad-Nirari was proud to be an offspring of this great king. The letters of Assuruballit in the el-Amarna collection do not convey the impression of their author being an important suzerain. It is worthwhile to compare the meek way of writing of Assuruballit, and the self-assured way of Buraburiash. And letters of other kings on the Near Eastern scene, extensive as they are, make it by contrast little probable that Assuruballit was an important king. But

decisive is the fact that the author of very extensive letters, Burraburiash, clearly refers to his "Assyrian subjects" .

Assuruballit, son of Assur-nadin-ahe, could have been a provincial prince, or a pretender to the crown of Assyria. In a later age we find a prince Assuruballit installed by his brother Assurbanipal as the governor of the Harran province. Assuruballit could have been a provincial pretender in the days of Burraburiash; and Burraburiash actually complained to the pharaoh Akhnaton for entering into direct relations with some Assyrian potentates, despite the fact that he, Burraburiash, is the lord of Assyria.

Letter 9: Burraburiash to Amenophis IV

31 - Now as to the Assyrians, my subjects

32 - have I not written thee? So is the situation!

33 - Why have they come into the land?

34 - If thou lovest me, they should not carry on any business.

35 - Let them accomplish nothing.(19)

### THE IVORY OF SHALMANESER

In Ages in Chaos, in chapters VI-VIII, it is claimed that Shalmaneser III, was a contemporary of Kings Amenhotep III and Akhnaton, and that Burraburiash must have been the Babylonian name of Shalmaneser III, who had actually occupied Babylon. To the reader of these lines, if unfamiliar with Ages in Chaos (and he should judge the discussion only upon its reading), it is not superfluous to report that the kings of Mesopotamia regularly applied to themselves different names in Assyria and in Babylonia. In the el-Amarna correspondence, he signed his Babylonian name (used more in the sense of a title) also on the tablet in which he referred to his Assyrian subjects (letter no. 9).

Our identifying Shalmaneser III as Burraburiash of the letters and as a contemporary and correspondent of Akhnaton(20) could receive direct archaeological verification. In the section "The Age of Ivory", I quoted from the letters of Burraburiash in which he demanded as presents, more in the nature of a tribute, ivory objects of art, "looking like plants and land and water animals", and from letters of Akhnaton in which he enumerated the very many objects of ivory art, vases, and carved likenesses of animals of land and water and of paints that were sent by him to Burraburiash.

Calakh (Nimrud) was the headquarters of Shalmaneser: what could we wish for more than that ivory objects made in Egypt in the time of Akhnaton should be found there. This also happened.

The excavation project at Nimrud on the Tigris in Iraq was initiated by M. E. L. Mallowan (1959) and continued by David Gates. Recent excavations there have been carried on in Fort Shalmaneser III that served as headquarters from the ninth to the end of the eighth century before the present era.

The reader of The New York Times of November 26, 1961,(21) must have been surprised to find a news story titled "Ancient Swindle is Dug Up in Iraq" . The report carried news of the finds of the British School of Archaeology's Nimrud Expedition:

"When archaeologists dug into the ancient Assyrian city of Nimrud in Iraq earlier this year, they were surprised to find not Assyrian but "Egyptian" carvings. . .

"The explanation given . . . by David Oates, director of the British School of Archaeology's Nimrud Expedition, is that the archaeologists had dug into an ancient Assyrian antique shop. The "Egyptian" carvings had been cut by local craftsmen . . . to satisfy their rich clients' demands for foreign "antiquities".

There could be no question that this was Shalmaneser's loot or collection, for in one of the storage rooms was found his statue and an inscription attests to the king's approval of the portrait as "a very good likeness of himself" .

"Although the cut-away skirts worn by the bearers are typically Assyrian, the carvings are of a style that antedates by hundreds of years the period in which they were made. If found elsewhere, they would have been identified as Egyptian . . . they are considered to be "manufactured antiquities", designed to satisfy a rich man's taste for antiques."

The quantity of ivory found was so great that, in three seasons, the excavating team did not empty the first of the three storage rooms. The excavators strained their wits to understand why so much ivory work reflecting Egyptian styles of over five hundred years earlier should fill, of all places, the military headquarters of Shalmaneser III. Mallowan and his representative archaeologist on the site, David Oates, could not come up with anything better than the theory that, in the military headquarters of Shalmaneser, a factory for manufacturing fake antiques had been established.

No better explanation was in sight. Neither did the late Agatha Christie (the spouse of Mallowan), who took an intense interest in the archaeological work of her husband, know of a better solution to the mystery. Yet, the first volume of *Ages in Chaos*, with its el-Amarna chapters, had been on the shelves since 1952.

In complete accord with our historical scheme, Egyptian art of Akhnaton was found in the headquarters of Shalmaneser III. I could not say, "as we expected", because this was too much to expect. From the point of view of the reconstruction, we could only wish that these objects would be found in Assyria, but we could hardly expect that they would be found almost intact in the fort of Shalmaneser III. Again it is too much to expect, but maybe there will still be found, in the same compound or in a room of archives to be discovered in Nimrud, original el-Amarna letters.

## References

1. [This article was put together from several different versions written by I. Velikovsky at very different times; from a letter to Mercer written in 1947 and up to an unfinished drafted answer to Burgstahler's article in *Pensée* IVR V (1973). Almost all the quotes were added, but at the locations that Velikovsky had indicated. Combining such different versions and adding quotes and their connecting sentences probably caused some shift in emphasis. Also, in combining such different versions, some changes seemed necessary; and I take the responsibility for such editing pitfalls.—Shulamit F. Kogan]

2. A. Poebel. "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad", *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1942-1943). [In the eponym list, as published by Daniel D. Luckenbill, an Adad-uballit appears as the limmu in -786 (in the time of Adad-Nerari III), between Shalmaneser II and Shalmaneser IV. A Nergal-uballit appears in -731. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1926), Vol. II, pp. 434, 436.]

3. Though, according to Poebel in "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad", Assur-nadin-ahe II was a cousin of Assuruballit's father, Eriba-Adad. I. J. Gelb in "Two Assyrian King Lists" brings the following list where Assur-nadin-ahe was a first cousin of Assuruballit:

JNES, Vol. XIII, no. 4, Oct. 1954, pp. 216-219:

69 Assur-bel-nisesu son of Assur-nirari

70 Assur-rim-nisesu son of Assur-bel-nisesu

71 Assur-nadin-ahe son of Assur-rim-nisesu

72 Eriba-Adad (I) son of Assur-bel-nisesu

73 Assur-uballit son of Eriba-Adad

This can be tabulated as follows:



Assur-bel-nisesu

Assur-rim-nisesu	Eriba-Adad
Assur-nadin-ahe	Assur-uballit

4. Daniel D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1926), pp. 21-22.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

6. Actually, after the el-Amarna tablets were first published, Weber and Knudtzon had disagreed where to place Assuruballit. Weber had him reigning not only in the days of Thutmose IV, but also of Seti, because Seti was the Egyptian king who waged war against Merosar son of Subbiluliuma, and Merosar simultaneously waged war against Assuruballit in Harran. But nobody could reign from the time of Thutmose IV through the reign of Seti. Therefore, Knudtzon sounded more acceptable having two kings by the name of Assuruballit, one grandson of the other; but the second was not found in the lists. It was also stressed by M. Müller and Breasted (Records) that Subbiluliuma of the el-Amarna letters could not have been the grandfather of Hattusilis, or father of Merosar, because of the same chronological difficulty: there must have been a minimum of 105 years from some point in the reign of his grandson, which is regarded as unusual.

7. Weidner, 1917, quoted in E. Mahler, *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymitanarum*, 1924.

8. The Khorsabad list was found in 1933 and the almost identical SDAS list was published in 1953.

9. F. W. Albright, "An Indirect Synchronism between Egypt and Mesopotamia, circa 1730 B. C.", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 99, Oct. 1945, p. 10.

10. M. B. Rowton, "Mesopotamian Chronology and the 'Era of Menophres,'" *Iraq* 8 (1946), p. 94.

11. Ronald W. Long, *Orientalia*, 43 (1974), pp. 261-274; *Ibid.*, *KRONOS* 11:4 (Summer, 1977), pp. 89-101 (p. 96).

12. [See I. Velikovsky, "Hammurabi and the Revised Chronology", *KRONOS* VIII: I (1982), pp. 78-84. -SK]

13. Of this, Bickerman writes: "The fixing in time of the famous Babylonian legislator, Hammurabi, on whose dating many others depend . . . illustrates the inherent difficulty of working with king-lists." *Chronology of the Ancient World*, p. 84.

14. Alalakh and Chronology (1940), p. I (emphasis added). (See also W. F. Albright, "An Indirect Synchronism Between Egypt and Mesopotamia", *BASOR*, 99 (1945), pp. 9-18, where synchronism between prince Entin of Byblus and Nefer-hetep of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt helped date Hammurabi.)

15. John D. Weir, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (1972), p. 6 (emphasis added).

16. *Written for Ages in Chaos*, Vol. II, and published as a supplement to *Peoples of the Sea* (New York, 1977).

17. Concerning the Kassite kings - Burnaburiash (Burraburiash), Karaindash, Kadashman-Harbe, and Kurigalzu—who are listed in the synchronistic tables the following excerpts can be cited:

Edward F. Campbell writes:

The synchronistic histories and king lists cannot establish the dates of Burnaburias' reign, nor those of his predecessors. But information from the letters written by them can give some clear information as to the spread of the letters in the reigns of the contemporary Egyptian kings.

It is to be remembered that this particular period lies just before the time when specific information about the Kassites begins to appear in the king lists.

(Edward F. Campbell, Jr., *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 44-47.)

Or as A. Goetze writes:

The names of the [Kassite] kings 16-23 have securely been recovered from the chronicles and contemporaneous sources like the Amarna letters . . . This leaves the places 10-15 still . . . open. To fill the gap attention should be called to three groups of Kassite kings of whom we have record but whose place in the dynasty still remains to be determined:

(a) Firstly, there is Burna-burias who, according to the "Synchronistic History" . . . concluded a treaty with Puzur-Assur of Assyria . . .

(b) Secondly, the available material forces us to posit another group of Kassite kings in which again a Burna-burias figures. . . .

(A. Goetze, "The Kassites and Near Eastern Chronology", *The Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 18 (1964), pp. 97-98.)

Obviously these names are not independent evidence. In the synchronistic table published by Van der Meer, the sequence of the four kings Burraburiash, Karaindash, Kadashman-Harbe, and Kurigalzu, is exactly repeated twice in succession, besides appearing separately in the list repeatedly. See Van der Meer, *Chronology* (1963), pp. 35-36. See also D. Courville on Kurigalzu, *The Exodus Problem and its Ramifications*, Vol. 11(1971), pp. 316-317.

18. "Assuruballit was really the first of those great men who created the Assyrian empire." S. A. Mercer, *The Tel El Amarna Tablets*, p. 820.

19. Mercer, op. cit., p. 31. See Mercer's note to the letter (no. 15) of Assuruballit: "As we learn from no. 9, Burraburiash II reminded Amenophis IV that the Assyrians, his subjects, had against his will intercourse with Egypt."

20. [See I. Velikovsky, "Hammurabi and the Revised Chronology", op. cit., p. 78-79, about the inscription found by Nabonidus, according to which Hammurabi reigned a few years before Burraburiash. Since the time of Hammurabi was reduced from the 21st to the 17th century, the time of Burraburiash should also be reduced by the same amount of time. - SK]

21. The same story can be found in *Science Digest* of March, 1962.

Velikovsky does a sufficient enough job to prove the Assuruballit of the el-Amarna correspondence was not Assuruballit I. Following on from the previous discussion regarding who the Burnaburiash was of the el-Amarna correspondence Velikovsky makes some interesting comments in this article on Assuruballit which we'll take another look at:

In the section "The Age of Ivory", I quoted from the letters of Burraburiash in which he demanded as presents, more in the nature of a tribute, ivory objects of art, "looking

like plants and land and water animals”, and from letters of Akhnaton in which he enumerated the very many objects of ivory art, vases, and carved likenesses of animals of land and water and of paints that were sent by him to Burnaburiash. Calakh (Nimrud) was the headquarters of Shalmaneser: what could we wish for more than that ivory objects made in Egypt in the time of Akhnaton should be found there. This also happened...

“When archaeologists dug into the ancient Assyrian city of Nimrud in Iraq earlier this year, they were surprised to find not Assyrian but “Egyptian” carvings”...

The quantity of ivory found was so great that, in three seasons, the excavating team did not empty the first of the three storage rooms.

This point here gives some good solid evidence for his equating Burnaburiash as the alter ego of Shalmaneser III.

Let's review the key points for Velikovsky's placement of Hammurabi shortly before 1500 BC.

In the foundations of a temple at Larsa, Nabonidus found a plaque of King Burnaburiash. This king is known to us from the el-Amarna correspondence in which he participated. On that plaque Burnaburiash wrote that he had rebuilt the temple erected seven hundred years before by King Hammurabi.

Velikovsky identifies Burnaburiash of the el-Amarna correspondence as Shalmaneser III. As multiple kings bore this name this King Burnaburiash who laid this plaque could have been any one of these.

A connecting link was actually found between the First Babylonian Dynasty and the Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt, the great dynasty of the Middle Kingdom. At Platanos on Crete, a seal of the Hammurabi type was discovered in a tomb together with Middle Minoan pottery of a kind associated at other sites with objects of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, more exactly, of its earlier part. This is regarded as proof that these two dynasties were contemporaneous.

We have good, solid evidence that we have previously covered to show that the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty of Egypt was dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century BC and if this pottery link is genuine then this would support Velikovsky's contention that Hammurabi reigned around this same time.

At Mari on the central Euphrates, among other rich material, a cuneiform tablet was found which established that Hammurabi of Babylonia and King Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria were contemporaries.... By adding to the last year the sum of the regnal years, as given in the list of the kings from Shamshi-Adad to Assur-Nerari, the first year of Shamshi-Adad is calculated to have been -1726 and his last year -1694.

There were three kings that bore the name Shamsi-Adad so it is possible that this could have been one of the latter two. Evidence will be shown later from a series of synchronisms between the Sealand dynasty with two Babylonian kings that immediately followed Hammurabi and the Sealand dynasty with several Assyrian kings that this Shamsi-Adad was Shamsi-Adad I.

This is where Velikovsky potentially hits a serious snag as there is little play in the Assyrian king lists to work with in order to reduce its chronology. There is a break of usurpers between Shamsi-Adad I and Adasi that does allow at least for the possibility of a parallel dynasty that could run much later than Adasi.

On tablets from Araphkha and Nuzi, seal impressions of the First Babylonian Dynasty were found. These tablets dated from the fifteenth century, "which points to a much later date than currently accepted".

Velikovsky did not explain how these were dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC. If ivory then possibly they were carbon-dated but it is hard to evaluate this point without more information.

Another point that Velikovsky covers elsewhere but not in this article are the mysterious Venus tablets of Ammisaduga. In "Worlds in Collision" he uses these to support his theory that Venus was on a different orbital path as it threatened the Earth at the time of the Exodus and in the centuries after. Ammisaduga would therefore have to be dated to after the Exodus. If he reigned around 1400 then Hammurabi would have ruled a century before.

Before we look at further synchronisms and I present my best educated guesses for the placements of these Mesopotamian dynasties I would like to present now Donovan Courville's views on where he places the dynasties of Mesopotamian history. In Volume 2 of his work "The Exodus Problem and Its Ramifications" he writes:

#### **THE ERA OF HAMMURABI AND RELATED PROBLEMS IN ASSYRIAN AND CHALDEAN CHRONOLOGIES**

So far in this work, attention has been largely directed toward showing that there is a chronology of Egypt which not only can be satisfactorily encompassed within the shortest possible interpretation of Scriptural chronology, but which is also internally consistent and which eliminates a large number of the difficulties now confronting historians and archaeologists. A number of these solved problems are related to the provision of the proper backgrounds for unique incidents in Biblical history such as the Exodus, the Conquest, the Oppression, the Descent, the Famine of Joseph, the fallen walls at Jericho, the final end of the walled city at Ai, the destruction of the city of Shechem by Abimelech, the origin of the city built by Omri, the conquest of Gezer by an unnamed Egyptian pharaoh, the sacking of Solomon's temple, Asa's war with the Egyptian armies, the fall of Israel to the Assyrians, the Dispersion, as well as provision of the proper background for the origin of the Philistines in Palestine. But many other problems provided solutions by the same alteration are quite unrelated to Scripture. The fact that solutions are provided to problems of both types by the same alteration in Egyptian chronology places this proposed chronological revision in a

position to compete with the popular views as one meriting the serious consideration of the scholarly world.

If this revised chronological structure is even approximately correct, it is demanded that the chronologies of Assyria and Chaldea shall also be provided a satisfactory background in terms of this revision. The case may even be stated more strongly. If this revision is even approximately correct, it may be expected also that the setting of the chronologies of Assyria and Chaldea against this revised background will result in the appearance of new and significant synchronisms. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that these demands and expectations are met, in some cases in a most surprising manner.

### I. The Problem of Dating Hammurabi

Few problems of ancient chronology have been the topic of more extensive debate among scholars than the dates to be ascribed to the Babylonian king Hammurabi and his dynasty, now known as the First Dynasty at Babylon. The dates in the 23rd century BC, attributed to this king by earlier historians, have had to be periodically reduced so that now he holds a precarious position in the late 18th century with differences of opinion still amounting to nearly a century. With Hammurabi floating about in a liquid chronology of Chaldea, it was not possible to arrive at solid concepts relative to the chronology of Assyria. The earlier dates attributed to Hammurabi had to be abandoned with the appearance of a synchronism between Hammurabi and Samsi-Adad I of Assyria, apparently fixed in the late 18th century B.C. by the more recently discovered Khorsabad king list. However, problems of no mean proportions remain as enigmas.

### II. The Problem of the Kassite Dynasty

With the end of the Kassite dynasty necessarily fixed to the approximate date 1180 BC there is a notable deficiency in time after the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon (variously dated from c. 1600 to c. 1535 BC) for the subsequent history of the Kassite dynasty is assigned a duration of 576 years by the Babylonian king list A, yet no such period of time is available for the dynasty after 1600 BC. Attempts to set the reigns of the known Kassite kings within the reduced period available while retaining the known synchronisms otherwise, have not been altogether satisfactory. An alternate proposal, which has not been generally accepted, would recognise that the Kassite dynasty overlapped the period of the First Dynasty at Babylon, back at least as early as the reign of Hammurabi.

### III. The Problem of the Antiquity of Assyria

Early historians regarded Chaldea as having an antiquity equivalent to that attributed to Egypt, going back into the 5th or 6th millennium B.C. With the compelling influence of data from radiocarbon dating, the historic era of Egypt has been severely trimmed to a proposed beginning between 3300 and 2800 B.C. Some scholars believe that the ultimate in reduction in dates for the beginning of the historic period in Egypt has been reached, while others candidly admit that even these dates cannot be considered as secure. With this reduction in the antiquity of dynastic Egypt, there has been, of necessity, a corresponding reduction in the presumed antiquity of the dynastic period in Mesopotamia, since both are recognized as having begun at approximately the same time, i.e., at the beginning of the Early Bronze age.

It is not clear from the reading of Genesis 10:8-12 whether Assyria had its beginnings at the time of Nimrod, grandson of Noah, or whether the migration of Assur from Chaldea and the building of Nineveh was at a later time. It is to be noted that an association of this Assur with the Asshurim, descendants of Abraham, is not to be eliminated per se, since the Genesis account was evidently written by Moses while he was in Midian, and in either case, he is writing of past events. The more recently discovered Khorsabad list provides the names of 24 kings for whom there is no other

extant mention. Seventeen of these are stated to have ruled from tents, indicating a beginning of organized rule in Assyria at a time when the population was sparse. This problem will be introduced again in the light of subsequent developments to be presented in this chapter.

#### IV. The Problem of the Hittites as Related to Assyrian Chronology

As noted in a previous volume, there are serious anachronisms that result from the popular dating of the beginnings of the Hittites in Anatolia about the beginning of the 19th century B.C. The dating of their demise at the hands of the Sea Peoples, dated c. 1200 B.C., leaves an incredible gap of 500 years between the end of the Hittite empire and the eventual disappearance of Hittite culture. During this "blank" interval, the Assyrian inscriptions continue to refer to the Hittites as an organized people with kings over them and with armies capable of waging war with neighboring peoples. Even the names of some of these Hittite kings are given in the Assyrian inscriptions. These data provide a strong suggestion that all is not well with the currently accepted placement of the Hittite era on the B.C. time scale.

#### V. Problems Related to the Correlation of Assyrian and Philistine Histories

According to Scripture, the Assyrians and the Philistines were competing for occupation of the diminishing territory controlled by the Israelites in the 8th century B.C. While the Philistines appear to have come out second best in this conflict with the Assyrians, it is nevertheless clear that the Philistines represented a people to be dealt with in the area south of Palestine during this period of Assyrian encroachments into Israelite territory. Yet the archaeological evidences of the Philistines in this territory are being currently dated in the time of Saul, with no indication of their presence in this area in the era currently assigned archaeologically to the 8th century and later.

#### VI. Anachronisms Between Assyrian and Egyptian Chronologies

The severe anachronisms that result from the proposed identification of Shishak of Scripture with Sheshonk I of Dynasty XXII have been discussed in detail and need not be reviewed here. These and numerous other anachronisms were eliminated with the recognition that Dynasty XXII was indeed Assyrian in origin, as indicated by the Assyrian origin of the names of the kings. The dynasty belongs in the 7th century B.C., when the Assyrian armies are known to have been on Egyptian soil.

Note: From this point in the discussions of this chapter, reference to individual kings will be made by such a designation as No.112A, which is to be taken as reference to the king number 112 in Table A.

#### VII. The Solid Basis on Which Late Assyrian Chronology Rests

The chronology for the later period of Assyrian history (933 B.C. and later) has remained essentially fixed for the last half-century and more. The kings of this era are well known by name, and the lengths of the individual reigns are fixed with a high degree of accuracy and certainty. The chronological structure is established by the Canon of Ptolemy, the Assyrian Canon, and the extant Eponym lists of the kings. The Assyrian kings followed the practice of naming each year of reign after the king himself, or after one of his important officials, or after some significant incident in the year of his reign. These eponym lists thus provide a check on the number of years of reign to be credited to each king. The correctness of the deductions from these various sources is further confirmed by the record of the Great Eclipse, which can be dated with reasonable certainty in the year 763 B.C. This eclipse is stated to have occurred in the 10th year of the reign of Assur-dan (No. 106A), whose reign may be thus synchronized with the B.C. time scale as having belonged to the years 772-755 B.C. The dates of the other reigns may then be calculated from the date for Assur-dan III by means of data on the lengths of the reigns of the individual kings. The kings

of this phase of Assyrian history are given as Table A. These dates are here accepted without reservation.

**TABLE A**

**The Assyrian Kings from 933 B. C.**

98.*	Assur-dan II	934-912 B.C.	108.	Tiglath-pileser III	744-727
99.	Adad-nerari II	911-891	109.	Shalmaneser V	726-722
100.	Tukulti-Ninurta II	890-884	110.	Sargon II	721-705
101.	Assur-nasir-pal	883-859	111.	Sennacherib	704-681
102.	Shalmaneser III	858-824	112.	Esarhaddon	680-669
103.	Shamsi-Adad V	823-811	113.	Assur-bani-pal	668-633
104.	Adad-nerari III	810-783	114.	Assur-etil-ilana	632-629
105.	Shalmaneser IV	782-773	115.	Sin-sumu-liser	?
106.	Assur-dan III	772-755	116.	Sin-arra-iskun	623-612
107.	Assur-nerari V	754-745	117.	Assur-uballit II	611-

\*The numbers preceding the names of the kings are the numbers of the kings which preceded the king according to the more complete king list discovered at Khorsabad. The Roman numerals following the names are of modern creation and represent the accepted order of reign of several kings who had the same name.

**VIII. The Early Development of the Conventional Chronology of Assyria Prior to 933 B.C.**

An approximate chronology of Assyria for the era prior to 933 B.C. was developed by early Assyriologists by allowing some set reign length as an average for the reigns not otherwise known, but which were known, or believed, to have followed in sequence. The resulting structure was then adjusted to meet two time intervals referred to by Sennacherib (No. 111A) and to meet a presumed synchronism between Assur-uballit (No. 73B) and the Amarna Letters. Sennacherib stated that a period of 418 years had elapsed between Tiglathpileser I (No. 87B) and his own time, and that 600 years had elapsed from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (No. 78B) to his own time.

Early historians tended to place explicit confidence in the validity of such statements as representing true elapsed time, and the developing chronology was securely bound to them. Based on the assumption that the Apiru of the Amarna Letters were the invading Hebrews, and that the Assur-uballit of these letters was the 14th century Assyrian king by this name, the proponents of the XVIIIth Dynasty theory of the Exodus assumed a date for Assur-uballit c.1400 B.C. to agree with an Exodus dated in 1445 B.C. However, calculations based on the Khorsabad list yields dates for this Assur-uballit which are too late (1362-1327) to agree with any phase of the Conquest within the lifetime of Joshua. A more careful scrutiny of these letters has convinced most scholars that they do not picture an invasion, the disturbances mentioned rising from the actions of certain rebellious groups within the territory. Any identification of the Apiru with the Hebrews must be so severely qualified as to provide no support for an XVIIIth Dynasty setting of the Exodus.

The dating of Assur-uballit does not permit the interpretation of Sennacherib's 600-year period as elapsed time, except as a rough approximation. This situation should provide the necessary clue for deducing that these time periods of the ancients are not to be taken as necessary expressions of elapsed time, except as this can be otherwise confirmed. A chronology is not necessarily correct simply because one or more of these time periods can be fitted into the proposed structure.

While many of the dates previously attributed to the early Assyrian kings have since been found to be in gross error, king lists had nevertheless been devised which have shown a surprising agreement with the sequence provided by the Khorsabad list.

Such a list was compiled by Meissner many years ago. That part of the list encompassing the period from 933 B.C. back to King Adasi (No. 47B), and corrected by the Khorsabad list, is provided as Table B. The more familiar names of certain kings as given in Scripture are retained. The renderings given by Poebel are favored in cases of wide discrepancy. The dates are calculated from the reign lengths as given in the Khorsabad list. These calculations indicate a date for Adasi in 1648 B.C., a date to which reference will be made in a later connection, relating it to a new synchronism which appears with the subsequent developments. While the careful comparison of the data in this list with other available data led Poebel to recognize a few minor discrepancies, these dates back to Adasi are here accepted within the limitations recognized.

**TABLE B**  
Assyrian Kings from Adasi to Assur Dan II  
(Synthesized from Synchronistic Chronicle, Meissner's list, and  
Corrected to the Khorsabad List)

47. Adasi	1648B.C.	73. Assur-uballit (I)	1362-1327
48. Bel-bani	1647-1638	74. Enlil-nirari	1326-1317
49. Shabai (Labaiiu)	1637-1621	75. Arik-den-ili	1316-1305
50. Sharma-Adad	1620-1609	76. Adad-nirari (I)	1304-1273
51. Gimil-Sin (En-tar-Sin)	1608-1597	77. Shalmaneser (I)	1272-1243
52. Zimzai (Bazzaiiu)	1596-1569	78. Tukulti-Urta (I)	1242-1206
53. Lullai	1568-1563	79. Assur-nadinapli	1205-1203
54. Shi-Ninua (Su-Ninua)	1562-1549	80. Assur-nirari (III)	1202-1197
55. Sharma-Adad (II)	1548-1546	81. Enlil-kudur-usur	1196-1192
56. Erishu (III)	1545-1533	82. Urta-apal-Ekur (I)	1191-1179
57. Shamsi-Adad (II)	1532-1527	83. Assur-dan (I)	1178-1133
58. Isme-Dagan (II)	1526-1511	84. Urta-tukulti-Assur	-1133
59. Shamshi-Adad (III)	1510-1495	85. Mutakkil-Nusku	1133
60. Assur-nirari	1494-1469	86. Assur-resh-ishi (I)	1132-1115
61. Puzur-Assur (III)	1468-1455	87. Tiglath-pileser (I)	1114-1076
62. Enlil-nasir (I)	1454-1442	88. Urta-apal ekur (II)	1075-1074
63. Nur-ili	1441-1430	89. Assur-bel-kala (I)	1073-1056
64. Assur-saduni	1430	90. Eriba-Adad (II)	1055-1054
65. Assur-rabi (I)	1430	91. Shamshi-Adad (IV)	1053-1050
66. Assur-nadin-ahhe	1430	92. Assur-nasir-appli	1049-1031
67. Enlil-nasir (I)	1430	93. Shalmaneser (II)	1030-1019
68. Assur-nirari (II)	1423-1417	94. Assur-nirari (IV)	1018-1015
69. Assur-bel-nishehu	1416-1408	95. Assur-rabi (II)	1012-972
70. Assur-rim-nishehu	1407-1400	96. Assur-resh-ishi	971-967
71. Assur-nadin-ahi (II)	1399-1390	97. Tiglathpileser (II)	966-935
72. Eriba-Adad I	1389-1363		

## IX. The Khorsabad King List

This list of Assyrian kings was discovered at Khorsabad in the course of investigations conducted during the season 1932-33 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The responsibility for the publication of the detailed report was assigned to A. Poebel; the report appeared in the Journal of Near Eastern Studies of July 1942. The list includes the names of forty-six kings before that of Adasi (No. 47B). The first 17 of these are said to have ruled from tents, leading us back into an era which would appear to have been characterized by a sparse and non-sedentary population. This suggests that these names belong indeed to the very beginnings of Assyrian history, a point of later significance in attempting to establish its origin in terms of Biblical history.

## X. Synchronizing Assyrian and Hittite Chronologies

In a previous volume the basis was outlined for setting the Exodus in the reign of Koncharis, a late king of Dynasty XIII, some 34 years after the close of Dynasty XII. Evidently, at the end of Dynasty XII, one of the more powerful princes of Dynasty XII took over the throne without difficulty and after two reigns, the incident of the Exodus occurred. This incident was set coincident with the invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos. Some 40 years later, the Israelites conquered the territory of Palestine under Joshua. Among the displaced peoples were the Hittites. The Hittites were driven out of Palestine at that time but were permitted to find a new home for themselves. This



they did by migrating northward into the territory now known as Anatolia in Asia Minor where the home of the Hittites has been discovered archaeologically. However, the Hittites of archaeology were an Indo-European race, coming into this territory from the west and not from Palestine to the south. The Hittites of archaeology should then be recognized as this race which absorbed the culture and the name of the Hittites, who had been driven out of Palestine at the time of the Conquest.

The writer contends that the failure of modern scholars to recognize this relationship between the Hittites of archaeology and the Hittites of Scripture from the time of the Conquest represents a fundamental error that has prevented the attainment of a consistent solution to the problems in the chronology of Mesopotamia. It is the recognition of this situation that stands as the key to the solution to the problems here defined.

We do not know how long the Hittites from Palestine lived in Asia Minor prior to their absorption by the European race. The establishment of the length of the period is not critical to the developing chronological structure. Whether we regard this incident as having occurred rather immediately after the banishment from Palestine, or after a period of 50 years or more, this only alters the average length of reign to be assigned to the first seven of the Hittite kings, these reign lengths not being known. At this point in the line of Hittite kings, a synchronism is available for tying together the chronologies of the Hittite and Assyrian lines of kings through the medium of the Chaldean kings. The evidence is interpreted by the writer to indicate that this period, between the expulsion of the Hittites from Palestine and the subsequent absorption by this western race, was not in excess of 50 years.

Current views on Hittite chronology place the beginnings of this people in Asia Minor at about the opening of the 19th century. This dating, as an approximation, was based on the number of kings in the known line of Hittite rulers and the well-established synchronism between the Hittite king, Muwatallis (No. 25C), and Rameses II, dated 1293-1227. The Hittites were thus given a period of about seven centuries. With Egyptian chronology set too far back on the time scale by a multiplicity of centuries, the period assigned to the Hittites was thus also set back too far by a similar period of time. While the anachronisms with Assyrian history that resulted from this setting must have been recognized by early scholars, the difficulties evidently appeared minor compared with the difficulties that would result from moving the date for Rameses II forward on the time scale by a plurality of centuries. Individual scholars were thus left with their own ingenuity to find a way around these anachronisms in whatever manner seemed least incredible. These anachronisms have been previously introduced.

Evidence is now introduced in support of the view that the Hittites of archaeology are not the Hittites of the Conquest era, and that the people now known as the Hittites belong to the post-Conquest era. Among the Assyrian references to Hittite kings is one by Tiglath-pileser (No. 87B; 1114-1076 BC.) which states that he invaded the territory of the Hittites at a time when the reigning king had the name Ilu-Teshup. The date is nearly a century later than the date currently attributed to the absorption of the last of the city states by the Assyrians.

TABLE C\*

## The Kings of the Hittites

King No.	Name	Conventional Dates (approx)	Synchronisms	Revised Dates
1.	Pitkhanus			1400
2.	Anittas	1900 B.C.		
3.	Tudhaliyas	1740-1710		
4.	Pusarrumas	1710-1680		
5.	Labarnas	1680-1650		
6.	Hattusilus	1650-1620		
7.	Mursilis I	1620-1590	Conquers Babylon	1265
8.	Hantilis I	1590-1560		
9.	Zidantas I	1560-1550		
10.	Ammunas	1550-1530		
11.	Huzziyas	1530-1525		
12.	Telipinus	1525-1500	Conquered by Tiglath-pileser	1110
13.	Alluwannas	1500-1490		
14.	Hantilis II	1490-1480		
15.	Zidantas II	1480-1470		
16.	Huzaiyas II	1470-1460		
17.	Tudhaliyas II	1460-1440		
18.	Anuwandas I	1440-1420		
19.	Hattusilis II	1420-1400		
20.	Tudhaliyas III	1400-1385		
21.	Arnuwandis II	1385-1375		
22.	Suppiluliumas I	1375-1335	War with Shalmaneser III	825
23.	Arnuwandis III	1335-1334		
24.	Mursilis II	1334-1306		
25.	Muwatallis	1306-1282	Battle with Rameses II	786
26.	Urti Teshub	1282-1275		
27.	Hattusilis II <sup>†</sup>	1275-1250	Daughter marries Rameses II	
28.	Taddaliyas ✓	1250-1220		
29.	Arnuwandas II	1220-1190		
30.	Suppiluliumas II	1190-	Hittite empire ends with the invasion by the Sea Peoples	700

\*The king list and the conventional dates are from Ceram, *Secret of the Hittites*. These lengths of reigns, as approximations, are deduced from the meager evidences of accomplishment. The dates are based on the currently accepted dates in Egyptian chronology for Rameses II, and the accepted dates for the First Dynasty at Babylon.

It is thus of considerable interest to see what happens to this anachronism, and to the entire chronology of the peoples of Mesopotamia, when the Hittites are given an origin in Asia Minor following the conquest under Joshua.

While we do not know the lengths of the reigns of the individual Hittite kings, we do know their names and the order of their reigns for the most part. By allowing an average reign of 16-20 years, as is commonly done for estimating the period encompassed by a consecutive line of kings otherwise, there is room for 12-15 kings to the point of this conquest of the Hittites by Tiglath-pileser. If our reasoning has been correct, we should expect to find, at this approximate point, evidence in the Hittite inscriptions to confirm this invasion. As we examine the list of Hittite kings (Table C), we come to the name Telipinus (No.12C). The name has a strange resemblance to that of Ilu-Teshup, who was reigning at the time of the conquest by Tiglath-pileser, the difference in the names being in the order of the consonant sounds, such deviation of order not being uncommon in the transliteration of names.

The identification of Telipinus with Ilu-Teshup is neatly confirmed by the Hittite inscriptions. In the reign of Telipinus, the Old Kingdom of the Hittites came to its end, only to be revived after an obscure period involving the reigns of several ephemeral kings. Gurney commented on the situation thus:

Telipinus is usually regarded as the last king of the Old Kingdom. From the middle of his reign, the historical sources fail and the names of his immediate successors cannot be stated with certainty. This obscure period fills the interval between Telipinus and Tudhaliyas II [Nos. 12-17C], the founder of a new dynasty and first king of the empire.

It was thus Tiglath-pileser I who was responsible for bringing to an end the Old Kingdom of the Hittites. Current views, of course, did not permit association of this disaster with the inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, whose reign was dated a full century after the date attributed to the end of the empire.

A second Assyrian reference provides still further confirmation of the correctness of the necessary movement of Hittite chronology forward by half a millennium or more. Shalmanasser III (No.102A; 858-824 BC) warred against a coalition of kings, one of whom was a Hittite king by the name Supilulme, a name which cannot be mistaken for the Suppiluliumas (No. 22C) of the Hittite list, but currently dated c.1375 BC, rather than in the 9th century. These later dates in the 9th century fall in the Amarna period by the chronological revision here proposed. In later sections of this chapter, it will be shown that the Amarna period does not belong to the 14th century, but rather to the era of Shalmaneser III in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. The problems that rise from the presence of the name Assur-uballit and the names of certain Kassite kings in the Amarna Letters are also considered in a later section.

#### XI. Synchronizing Chaldean Chronology with Hittite Chronology

With Hittite chronology set approximately, it is now possible to set also in approximate manner the date for the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon. This dynasty came to its end at the result of a bold conquest by the Hittite king, Mursilis I (No.7C). Mursilis was murdered shortly after his return from this engagement: hence we may, for practical purposes, synchronize the end of the reign of Mursilis with the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon. This synchronism is mentioned in both the Hittite and Assyrian inscriptions and is universally recognized by scholars. By virtue of the movement of the Hittite chronology forward on the time scale in agreement with Bible history, the chronology of the First Dynasty at Babylon must also be moved forward in a similar manner.

Assuming that a period of about 50 years elapsed between the migration of the Biblical Hittites into Asia Minor and their absorption by the new race has been done in the chart of Figure 5, and allowing the commonly accepted range of 16 to 20 years as an average for a series of reigns within a dynasty the end of the reign of Mursilis I may be synchronized with the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon at c.1230 BC, a date which at this point is recognized as approximate. This date is confirmed as an approximation on the basis of synchronisms to be noted later. The First Dynasty at Babylon had a duration of 305 years, based on the summation of the reigns as given in Table D. However it is known from the eponym list of Hammurabi that his reign was 43 years. While there may have been a factual basis for the figure 55, use of the shorter period gives a more exact figure for the period of the dynasty, which then may be calculated to have begun c.1411-1368 B.C. The reign of Hammurabi then falls in the period c. 1411-1368 BC, the reign, for the most part, falling after the beginning of the Conquest.

#### XII. Synchronizing the Early Assyrian Chronology with that of the First Dynasty of Babylon

As noted in a previous section of this chapter, the line of Assyrian kings can be traced, by means of the Khorsabad list, back to a king by the name of Adasi, who, from the lengths of the reigns provided, is given a date 1648 BC., which date is here accepted within the minor possible deviations noted by Poebel. Adasi is preceded in the list by the names of forty-six kings, twenty-four of which are not known from any other source, and the first seventeen of which are stated to have ruled from tents,

taking us back to an era of Assyrian history when the occupation of Assyria was represented by nomadic tribes.

**TABLE D**

Kings of the First Dynasty at Babylon\*

King	Length of Reigns	Currently Assigned Dates	Revised Dates
1. Sumuabu	15 years	Assigned	1570-1555
2. Sumulail	35 years	dates	
3. Sabu, his son	14 years	vary	
4. Apil-Sin, his son	18 years	with	
5. Sumubalit, his son	30 years	dates	
6. Hammurabi, his son	55 years	assigned	1455-1400
7. Samsuiluna, his son	35 years	to	
8. Ebishum, his son	25 years	Hammurabi.	
9. Ammiditana	25 years	Most now	
10. Ammisaduga	22 years	in 18th	
11. Samsuditana	31 years	century B.C.	1296-1265

\*According to the Babylonian King List B.

The current interpretation of the Khorsabad list recognizes these forty-six kings as having ruled in sequence prior to the reign of Adasi. While the dates for most of these forty-six kings are unknown, an estimate, based on average reign length, leads to a probable period of over half a millennium for the last thirty of the kings, even assuming that the others who ruled from tents were but contemporary rulers of small groups or tribes.

With this concept the writer deviates from popular opinion. While this list of forty-six kings undoubtedly had its beginning earlier than the reign of Adasi, the later kings of the list must have ruled contemporarily with the line of kings following Adasi. This follows from the recognition that the Hittite kings should be given a position in the post-Conquest era. Since the synchronism between the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon and the end of the reign of the Hittite king, Mursilis, is well-established, it follows that the kings of the First Dynasty at Babylon must be moved forward on the time scale by a time period commensurate with the movement of the Hittite kings. And since there are also two well-established synchronisms between the First Dynasty at Babylon and this line of early Assyrian kings, then this Assyrian line must be similarly moved forward on the time scale. But in moving this entire unit forward, there is no alternative to recognizing that this early Assyrian line must have been contemporary in part with the Assyrian line through Adasi (see Fig. 5).

If this concept is correct, it calls for a break in the line of Assyrian kings with the name of Adasi. There is clear evidence of such a break in the king list itself. Adasi is given a rule of zero years and was preceded by the reigns of five others, also given zero years of reign, all of whom are said to have been "sons of nobodies." An unstable situation is clearly indicated just before the year 1648 B.C., a point of major significance in the subsequent developments.

One of the synchronisms tying the early line of Assyrian kings to the First Dynasty at Babylon is that between Ilu-summa (No. 32E) of the former line with Samuabu, (1D) first king of the First Dynasty at Babylon (see Fig. 5). The other is between Samsi-Adad (No. 39E) and Hammurabi (No. 6D).<sup>1</sup> Thus, even though only a few of the Assyrian kings have known reign lengths, it is still possible to synchronize the line from Ilu-summa to Samsi-Adad with that from Samuabu to Hammurabi in an

approximate manner. There are then thirty-one kings of Assyria before Ilu-summa to account for prior to the beginning of the First Dynasty at Babylon. Even if it is allowed that the first seventeen of these ruled contemporaneously as rulers of small tribes, there are still fourteen others. Of these early kings, those numbered 16 to 27 represent a father-son sequence, a point that must be considered in providing even an approximate date for the beginnings of Assyria.

**TABLE E**

The Kings of Assyria Whose Names Precede Those of Adasi  
and his "Nobody" Predecessors<sup>\*</sup>

1. Tudia	22. Iakmesi, son of Ilu-Mer
2. Adamu	23. Iakmeni, son of Iakmesi
3. Iangi	24. Iazkur-ilu, son of Iakmeni
4. Kitlamu	25. Ilu-kapkapi, son of Iazkur-ilu
5. Harharu	26. Aminu, son of Ilu-kapkapi
6. Mandaru	27. Sulili, son of Aminu
7. Imsu	28. Kikkia
8. Harsu	29. Akia
9. Didanu	30. Puzur-Assur
10. Hanu	31. Sallim-ahhe, son of Puzur-Assur
11. Zuabu	32. Illusumma, son of Sallim-ahhe
12. Nuabu	33. Erisu, son of Illusumma
13. Abazu	34. Ikunu, son of Erisu
14. Tillu	35. Sarru-kin, son of Ikunu
15. Asarah	36. Puzur-Assur, son of Sarru-kin
16. Uspia	37. Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Assur
17. Apiasal, son of Uspia	38. Erisu, son of Naram-Sin
18. Halu, son of Apiasal	39. Samsi-Adad, son of Ilu-kapkapi
19. Samanu, son of Halu	40. Isme-Dagan, son of Samsi-Adad
20. Ha(i)ianu, son of Samanu	41. Assur-dugul, son of a "nobody"
21. Ilu-Mer, son of Ha(i)ianu	

<sup>\*</sup> Following the early king list from Khorsabad as given by Poebel.<sup>26</sup>

It might be argued that if Assyria had been ruled by a dual line of kings during this period that this situation would be clearly revealed by extant inscriptions indicating synchronisms between the two lines. Admittedly, there are no such extant references. However, this does not prove that such a situation did not exist. The fallacy of the deduction requiring such evidence is apparent from the fact that there are no known inscriptions of any kind from the kings of the line of Adasi prior to the era of Samsi-Adad (No.59B), and such meager materials for the subsequent kings as not to any such conclusion.

...As of Adasi and Belubani, so also of their successors, Libaiiu, Sarma-Adad I, Entar-Sin, Bazaiiu, Lullaiiu. Su-ninua, Sarma-Adad II, Erisu III, Samsi Adad II and Isme-Dagan 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 (1638-1511 B.C.) still is a blank for us apart from the few facts that can be gathered from the king list itself.

Thus while there is no inscriptive evidence to tie these two lines to a common period, this arrangement does indicate a continuous organized government throughout the period without necessitating the assumption of a historical blank. Evidently, it was this alternate line that represented the primary rule in Assyria during this period, the line of Adasi coming gradually to the front, but becoming predominant only after the end

of this primary line. The first really significant king of the line of Adasi was probably Assur-uballit (No.73B).

The slight folding of the late dynasty shown in Figure 5, is made to meet the evidence that the reigns of Samsi-Adad and Naram-Sin were least for some fraction of the reigns. This is possible, since Samsi-Adad is not a son of his predecessor (See Table E), his father. Ilukapkapi certainly not being the same person as the king by this name earlier in the list. Poebel regarded these two or three kings as constituting a different dynasty than that of Erisu. The manner in which the kings preceding Ilusumma of the synchronism are given their positions in the chronology will be considered in a later section of this chapter.

### XIII. Synchronising the Dynasty at Uruk with the Dynasty of Adasi

The document known as the Synchronistic Chronicle provides the name of the king of Assyria who ruled contemporary with the reigns of the kings at Uruk. The list begins with Adasi. It may be deduced from the damaged beginning of the list that his contemporary at Uruk was Damiqilishu or Damqiili of the Babylonian king list. In this latter source, there were two kings of Uruk who preceded Damqiili, and since Adasi had a reign of less than a year the first three kings at Uruk would appear to antedate the year 1648 for Adasi. The very high number of years credited to the kings suggests that these reigns must have overlapped considerably, and this is confirmed in terms of the revised chronology by the fact that the period from Adasi to Eaga, last king at Uruk, contemporary of Erishu (No. 56B), could not have exceeded a century by more than a very few years (see Figure 5).

### XIV. Synchronizing the Dynasties at Isin and at Larsa with the First Dynasty at Babylon

The end of the dynasty at Larsa can be synchronized to the early reign of Samsuiluna (No. 7D) of the First Dynasty at Babylon. Hammurabi, his predecessor, had conquered Rim Sin, last king at Larsa, evidently permitting him to rule under some unstated arrangement. On the death of Hammurabi, Rim-Sin rebelled, making a second conquest necessary by Samsuiluna.

The names and lengths of reigns of the kings at Larsa are known for the most part, permitting an approximate duration for the dynasty of 265 years. The date for the beginning of the reign of Samsuiluna was set at c.1368 B.C., based on the dating of the end of the dynasty with the end of the reign of Mursilis of the Hittites, which date was of necessity approximate. Based on the acceptance of this date as approximate, the beginning of the dynasty at Larsa belongs to the date c.1630 B.C., a date that falls in the same era as the beginning of the dynasty of Adasi.

The dynasty at Larsa and the parallel dynasty at Isin are recognized as having had their rise shortly after the fall of the third Dynasty at Ur (see Figure 5).

### XV. The Overall Deviation from Popular Views Resulting from the Redating of the Hittites

A cursory review of the section headings of this chapter will make it apparent that the overall change from popular views that results from the redating of the Hyksos to a post-Conquest period in agreement with Biblical history is the movement of a large unit of the history of antiquity forward on the time scale by a plurality of centuries. This unit includes not only the dynasties of Egypt with numbers below XXIII, but also the placement of the Hittites, the corresponding movement of the First Dynasty at Babylon, the dynasties at Isin and at Larsa, and the line of Assyrian kings in the Khorsabad list preceding the name of Adasi. When this is done, we arrive at a chronology for the related peoples of antiquity as shown in Figure 5. With this movement, there is also necessitated the similar movement of the dynasty at Ur and all the other dynasties of Chaldea preceding the dynasty of Ur, a move that involves the

entire problem of the antiquity of Assyria and Chaldea. The manner in which these early Chaldean dynasties are related to each other has never been satisfactorily elucidated, and no attempt will be made to do so here, other than to point out the necessity of assigning a beginning to the dynastic history of Chaldea not significantly different from that derived for Egypt, i.e., at the beginning of Early Bronze correlated with the incident of the Dispersion incident of Scripture, dated c. 2150 B.C.

The primary error that has been made in setting up the traditional chronological structure of the ancient world may thus be traced to the failure of scholars to recognize the misplacement of the Hittites of archaeology in the history of antiquity. It remains true that the Hittite problem entered the field some time later than the setting up of the general outlines of the traditional chronology. However, it seems astonishing that with the increasing number of anachronistic situations that have resulted with, or subsequent to the entrance of the Hittite problem, that this would not have suggested the desirability of a careful re-examination of the fundamental premises on which the structure had been erected.

The general correctness of the proposed structure pertaining to the territory of Mesopotamia may now be confirmed from a number of directions, several of which will now be introduced. A mere criticism that the final structure may require subsequent modification or that it upsets certain long-held but improved theories is an insufficient basis for its rejection. It is a structure that is not easily shaken. It is hardly to be expected that an investigation deviating so far from popular views will be without a flaw. We proceed to the review of further material in support of this altered chronological structure.

#### XVI. The Problem of the Kassite Dynasty

At the very center of the problems relative to the chronology of the peoples of Mesopotamia, is that of the Kassites and their time-relation to their contemporaries. The origin of this people is obscure, and their language does not seem to be of any assistance in the solution of the problem, since it is not related to either the Semitic or the Indo-European group. It has been suggested that the Kassites were of Hittite stock though such a relation remains speculative. A relation to the Cossaeans has also been entertained, though this does not help either, since the origin of the Cossaeans is equally obscure. In view of what must be considered a relatively sudden appearance of the Kassites in Babylonian territory and in the absence of any evidence of a conquest, it has been proposed that the Kassites did not come into this territory directly from their original home. An intermediate residence in the area of the Persian Gulf has been suggested.

The absence of any inscriptive evidence of a conquest of the territory of Babylonia by the Kassites has led to the further assumption that their presence resulted from a gradual migration into the territory.

...It is indeed unlikely that the conquest of Babylon was achieved by a definitely organized army led by a commander who proposed making himself a king of Babylon while still continuing to reign in his own country. It is rather the migration of a strong, fresh people which here confronts us. This people is called the Kasshu.

Since the Kassite kings appear as kings of Babylonia ruling from the site of the city of Babylon following the fall of the First Dynasty at Babylon, this migration and expansion must be recognized as having occurred during the period of the First Dynasty to Babylon. However, inscriptive evidence that cannot be ignored points to the conquest of Babylon to the Hittites as the cause of the demise of this dynasty and not to a conquest by the Kassites. This leaves the problems of how and why the Kassites took over from the Hittites.

Chronological problems must also be considered. The Babylonian king list gives the Kassite dynasty, with its thirty-six kings, a duration of 576 years. Since the line of



Kassite kings appears to exhaust itself in the early reign of Assur-dan (No. 83B, c. 1175 B.C.), the length of time from the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon (currently dated variously between 1600 and 1535 B.C.) to the end of the Kassite regime, does not leave room for any period approaching 576 years. Yet the known names of the Kassite kings approaches closely the stated number of thirty-six. Actually, it has long since been believed that this figure must be rejected by any possible solution to the problem.

It has become increasingly clear that the Third Dynasty [that of the Kassites] cannot have lasted nearly as long as the 576 years attributed to it by King-list A.

However, if it is allowed that the figure was obtained in the same manner as were the dynastic periods of Manetho, i.e., by summation of reigns irrespective of parallelism or overlapping, the figure may well have a basis in fact. According to the Synchronistic Chronicle, there were eight Kassite kings who began their rule within the very brief (6 year) reign of Samsi-Adad. This Samsi-Adad must be the same as king No. 57 in the Khorsabad list, since he is followed by Isme-Dagan and another king by the name of Samsi-Adad. If it is recognized that these eight kings ruled a divided territory contemporaneously and that their local rules extended past the point of a united rule by Burnaburiash by normal periods of 15-20 years, this alone could account for the major fraction of this discrepancy. There is further evidence of parallel rules by several of these kings at the end of the dynasty. Reference to Figure 5, shows that the elapsed time for the dynasty was about 400 years. Correctly interpreted, this 576 years does not require rejection.

An attempt at a solution to the chronology of this era was presented in 1940. This was shortly before the appearance of the report of Poebel on the Khorsabad list. The attempt is of particular interest, not because it settled the problems, or that its views are generally accepted, but rather because the suggested solution reveals so clearly the weaknesses in the popular dating of the XIIth Dynasty of Egypt, the era of the Hittites, in view of the noted weaknesses above, the desirability of recognizing that the dynasty of Adasi did not represent the sole rule, or even the primary rule of Assyria. To meet the difficulties rising from evidence in the Cappadocian tablets, a gap in the Assyrian records was hypothesized from the end of the reign of Isme-dagan (No.40E) to the reign of Assur-nirari (No.60), who was dated 1555, though the Khorsabad data yields a date 60 years later than this. The Kassite dynasty was given an origin in this gap. Reference to Figure 5 shows that this latter deduction was correct, but the assumed gap resulted from a failure to recognize that this is the period of the dynasty of Adasi, for which, there is a blank as far as inscriptive evidence is concerned, but it is not a blank in the chronology. This is the period of the contemporary line of kings.

The principal sources of information on the Kassites from a chronological standpoint are (1) the Babylonian king list, (2) the Synchronistic Chronicle, and (3) the Synchronous History document. Data from other sources, of course, cannot be disregarded, even though indirect. The data on the Kassites from these three sources have been synthesized in Table F to yield a near-complete list of the Kassite kings. In this synthesis, popular opinion has been disregarded in favor of the data provided relative to the stated Assyrian contemporaries of these kings. In the remaining cases, it has been possible to deduce with a high degree of probability the identity of the contemporary Assyrian king. These points are specifically, noted in the table.

It will be noted from this table that the Babylonian king list gives the names of the first five Kassite kings, at which point there is a lacuna estimated to represent about 15 lines. When the list is resumed, the names of the next five are damaged or partly damaged, though the reign lengths of four of the five are given. The Synchronistic Chronicle gives the names of the first eleven with a single omission, then follows a lacuna, considered as representing but a single missing line. However, the next name in the list is a contemporary of an Assyrian king who reigned a century and a half later. The Synchronous History document begins with a lacuna, the first king included



in the readable portion being a contemporary of Assur-bel-nisesu (No. 69B; 1416-1408 BC). The synthesized list accounts for thirtyone of the 36 kings stated to compose the dynasty. Two other names may belong in the list just prior to Karindas of the Synchronous History. The others, when found, should fit satisfactorily into this arrangement, either by insertion or parallelism.

TABLE F					
A Synthesis of the Kassite Dynasty					
Data from the BKLA*	Data from the SC*	Data from The SH*		Assyrian Contemporaries	
Gandash (16)*	Gandush			Erisu (No. 56B)	
Agum (12)	Agum I			Samsi-Adad	
Kashtiliashi (22)	Kashtiliashu			"	
Ushshi (8)	.....			"	
Abirattash	Abirattash			"	
Tazzigurumash. . .	Tazzigurumash			"	
	Harbashipak			"	
	Tiptakzi			"	
	Agum II			"	
	Burnaburiash			Isme-Dagan (No. 58B)	
				Samsi-Adad	
	Kashtiliashu			Assur-nirari	
	Ulamburiash			Puzur-Assur(No. 61B)	
	"			Enlil-nasir	
	"			Nur-ili	
	"			Assur-saduni	
				Enlil-nasir	
				Assur-nirari	
				Assurbelnisesu	
				Assurimnisesu	
				Assur-nadin-ahhe	
				Eriba-Adad (No. 72B)	
				Assur-uballit	
				"	
. . . (22+) (identity assumed) ----->				Enlil-nirari	
. . . (26) "				Arik-den-ili	
. . . (18) "----->				Adad-nirari	
Kadash. . . (. . .)				Shalmaneser (assumed)	
Kudur. . . (6)				Tukulti-Ninurta "	
Shagarakti (13)				" "	
Kashtiliash(8)	Kashtiliash			" (stated)	
Ellilnadinshumi(1.5)	Enlilnadinshumi			Assurnadinapli	
Kadashman-Harbe(1.5)	Ka . . . . .			"	
Adadnadinshumi (6)	Adad. . . . .			Assur-nirari	
"				Enlilkudurusur	
"				Ninurta-apil-ekur	
Melishipak (15)	M. . ish . pak			"	
Mardukaplaidin(13)	. . . . aplaidin			"	
Zababa. . .	Zababa. .			Samma-sum-iddin	
Enlilnadin. . .	. . . nadin. . .			Assur-dan (No. 83B)	
576 years 9 months,				"	
36 kings. . . .					

Any final solution to the Kassite problem cannot disregard the evidence that the Kassites were an organized people with armies back as far as the reign of Samsuiluna (7D, successor to Hammurabi) and in the reign of Hammurabi. The ninth year of Samsuiluna is named in his eponym list by reference to the Kassite army. Evidence has been referred to by Rogers indicating an attempted invasion of Babylonia by the Kassites in the reign of Hammurabi. Neither of these situations fits well against the background of popular opinion which places the first Kassite king after the fall of the First Dynasty at Babylon.

The assumption that the Kassite name "Karduniash" has been correctly equated with the entire territory of Babylonia is here queried. The earliest reference which suggests that Kassite kings ruled from the city of Babylon is that from the reign of Tukulti-(Nin)urta (78B).<sup>1</sup> This Assyrian king (dated 1242-1206 BC) battled with the Kassite

king, Kashtiliash (see Table F), and the battle involved the destruction of the walls of Babylon and the removal of the Babylonian god (Marduk) from the city. From this time on, the territory of the Kassites is referred to as Karduniash. Luckenbill, in his compendium of the Assyrian inscriptions, places the name Babylonia in parenthesis after each usage of the name. While this may be entirely defensible, the data do not warrant the conclusion as unequivocal that Karduniash of the previous period had reference to the same territory as that of all of Babylonia or Chaldea.

The alternate probability is that Karduniash of the earlier references is either one of several divisions of the territory of Babylonia, or that it was a separate territory to be distinguished from Babylonia. In the latter possibility, it would be quite possible that the Kassite territory was under the control of Babylonian kings. It was not at all unusual for a dominating country to allow its tributaries to be ruled under their own kings. Hence in either case, there is no valid reason for rejecting the concept that the line of early Kassite kings ruled contemporarily with the kings of the First Dynasty at Babylon. It is also possible that the Kassites during this time were an independent people and that the Babylonian kings tolerated their independent rule, because they served as a buffer between themselves and the Assyrians. Such a situation would explain the fact that the eventual difficulties of the Kassites were with the Assyrians.

That the Kassites were long able to maintain a peaceable co-existence with the Assyrians is indicated by the fact that border disputes were amicably settled as late as the reign of Assur-bel-nisesu (No. 6yB; 1416-1408 BC). This situation also indicates that, even at this late period, the pressure for room for the population was not great. It was evidently the aspirations of subsequent kings in the direction of controlling an empire that eventually led to wars of conquest. In Babylonia these aspirations matured with Hammurabi; in Assyria it appears still later.

The fact that the Kassites were able to assume control at the site of Babylon, with the fall of the First Dynasty, which had been ruling from that site, suggests that they had been on good terms with the Amorite dynasty, and the transition to the Kassite control may have been no more of a disturbance than that when the princes of the XIIIth Dynasty in Egypt assumed control at the end of Dynasty XII.

The point of importance is that, against the background provided by the revised chronological structure, there is no need to assume that the Kassites did not have kings until after the fall of the Amorite dynasty at Babylon.

#### XVII The Background to the Rise of the Several New Dynasties During the Last Half of the Seventeenth Century

The developing situation, in terms of the revised chronology shown in Figure 5, reveals that prior to the mid-seventeenth century, the organized governments in the area of Mesopotamia were limited to the IIIrd Dynasty at Ur (in Chaldea), the beginnings of the dynasty at Uruk (in Chaldea), and the beginnings of the Assyrian kings from a line just emerging from a government conducted from tents of nomadic tribes. In the year 1648, a second line of Assyrian rulers follows from the attempts at organization by a series of "nobodies" with no royal ancestry. The 3rd Dynasty at Ur comes to what must have been a near-coincident end, followed, within perhaps a decade, by the rise of the dynasties at Isin and Larsa in Chaldea, and shortly thereafter by the Amorite dynasty (First Dynasty at Babylon) and by the Kassite dynasty. These latter peoples must have begun their migrations into this area a significant period of time prior to the organization of governments with kings over them, since in neither case is there any evidence of a necessary conquest from an earlier people.

Since the territory of Chaldea had a known occupation prior to these migrations reaching back to the earliest known settlements of man, it would seem that sufficient time had elapsed to provide a vast population in this area. Yet the Amorites and the Kassites seem to be moving into an almost empty territory. The suggestion is that

some event occurred shortly before this which resulted in the decimation of a large fraction of the previous population.

When the era in question is set against the background of the situation in Egypt and in Palestine by this same chronology, an explanation for this unexpected state of affairs is provided. The Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt occurred in the year 1445 B.C. The Israelites had come into Egypt from Palestine two hundred fifteen years before this under conditions of a severe famine - a famine so severe that after two years it was necessary for Jacob to send his sons into Egypt to secure sustenance. Egypt had been spared the worst effects of the famine by the previous preparation under Joseph. The preparations involved the utmost use of every bit of cultivatable land with the storage of the excess of the production during "seven years of plenty." As part of this conservation program, a canal was dug parallel to the Nile, the remnants of which are still recognized as having had the potential of doubling the productions of crops in Egypt. To this day that canal is known as the "Canal of Joseph," and its construction is ascribed by the populace to the patriarch Joseph.

It may be deduced that at the end of the seven years of disastrous famine, most of the population of Palestine had either died of starvation or had migrated to areas much farther north. Since the effects of the famine were such as to extend from the head-waters of the Jordan to the headwaters of the Nile, some 3,000 miles farther can only be concluded that the effects of this famine disaster extended also into the area of Mesopotamia. This famine ended in the year 1655 BC. The date, by the Khorsahad list, for Adasi is 1648. He was preceded by a series of "nobodies" who had evidently made unsuccessful attempts at the reorganization of the country. The Amorites and the Kassites, organized governments within about a century. The migrations of the Amorites and the Kassites into this territory must have begun in this same period of recuperation from the effects of the famine disaster.

If, then, there is inscriptive evidence of a famine about this time in the Euphrates valley, the picture comes into clear focus. Such a famine record comes from the reign of Ibbi-Sin, last king of the IIIrd Dynasty at Ur. Whether the government represented by the dynasty at Ur survived the disaster, as did the dynasty at Uruk, only to be taken over in its weakened state by the Elamites, or whether the government was totally disintegrated by the disaster is beside the point. The chronology of Mesopotamia confirms the correctness of Bible chronology relative to the famine in the time of Joseph, and confirms the proper placement of the Hittites in the post-Conquest era.

#### XVIII. The Kassite Names in the Amarna Letters

Perhaps the strongest adhesive that has been used to hold the popular chronological structure together is the reference in the Amarna Letters to certain Kassite and Assyrian kings. This series of documents has been introduced in a previous volume, where it was promised to return to this topic after the problem of Assyrian and Chaldean chronologies had been considered.

These letters represent the correspondence of various foreign kings and persons of official prominence with Egyptian kings. The recipients of many of the letters were the kings of Egypt whose names are currently identified as Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton) of Dynasty XVIII. While other kings of Egypt had throne names the same or very similar to these certain details in the letters appear to substantiate these identifications, in spite of the difficulties involved in the transliteration of cuneiform names into Egyptian.

The throne name of Amenhetep III, which we render as Neh-maatra, was variously vocalized by the cuneiform scribes as Nimmuria, Nammuria, Nimutriya, or Mimmuria; these variations show how little exactness can be expected in cuneiform versions of names.

Most of the letters, however, are addressed only "To the King." It has been assumed that Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV were nevertheless recipients of these letters, an assumption that is not so clearly demonstrated in the content of the letters. The impersonal address suggests that some of these letters belong in the obscure period after the death of Amenhotep IV during which time even the ancient contemporaries seem to have been confused as to just who was responsible for the rule of Egypt.

The more prominent of the names in the letters that have served as the basis for dating them in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC are the Kassite names Burraburiash (Burnaburiash) and Kuri-galzu and the Assyrian name Assur-uballit. The Kassite names are assumed to belong to the kings of the same names as those of the Kassite dynasty (Table F), and the name Assur-uballit is assumed to be that of the Assyrian king of this name in the 14th century (No. 73B).

These identifications are vital as major supports for the traditional structure of the chronology of the ancient world. It is no great exaggeration to state that the total chronological deduced from the popular interpretation of archaeology rests heavily either directly or indirectly, on the assumed identifications of these names and on the assumed identification of Shishak of Scripture with Sheshonk I of Dynasty XXII. Elimination of these proposed identifications would leave this chronology hanging by an exceedingly fragile thread of evidence.

But conversely it is vital to the altered structure defended in this work to recognize that these identifications do not rest on solid evidence. It may be stated categorically that the altered chronological structure here proposed stands or falls with or validity or nonvalidity of these assumptions of identification. The fallacy of the proposed identification of Shishak of Scripture with Sheshonk I has been treated in detail in previous sections of this work. It is of interest to note that even these letters are interpreted quite differently by proponents of the XVIIIth Dynasty setting of the Exodus than by the proponent of the XIXth Dynasty setting, both groups hold to the view that the letters support their particular view. By the XVIIIth Dynasty theory, these letters belong the post-Exodus period and are interpreted to present a Canaanite view of the Conquest. By the XIXth Dynasty theory, these letters belong to the pre-Exodus period by about a century, and are interpreted in a manner which rejects the concept that the letters picture an invasion of any kind.

By the altered chronological structure here proposed, these letters do not belong to either period. They belong to the era of the mid-9th century. The Assyrian background is that in the reign of Shalmaneser III (No. 102A); the background in Biblical history is in the era of Ahab and later. This is the placement defended by Velikovsky. While some of his detailed interpretations remain to be confirmed, the general placement is correct, except possibly for a failure to recognize that some of these letters may extend into a period later than the reign of Amenhotep IV.

Our first task is to point out the insecure basis on which rest the popular identifications of Assur-uballit with the king of this name in the 14th century, and of the Kassite names in the letters with Kassite kings of the same era. As for Assur-uballit, his stated genealogy in the letters does not agree with the genealogy of the 14th century Assyrian king by this name. This discrepancy has long since been recognized and succinctly stated by Luckenbill.

Assur-uhallit (ca. 1380 B.C.) of Assyria has long been known from the Synchronous History...as the father of Muballitat-Sheru, wife of the Kassite king Burna-buriash and mother of Karahardash (Karaindash)...In the second of the two letters Assur-uballit wrote to Amenophis IV of Egypt...he refers to "the time when Assur-nadin-ahe, his father, wrote to Egypt." The word "father" may here have the meaning "ancestor" as often in the Assyrian texts, but even so our difficulties are not all cleared up. In the texts given below. Assur-uballit does not include Assur-nadin-ahe among his ancestors, although he carries his line back six generations.

With the placement of these letters in the reign of Shalmaneser III, we would identify this Assur-uballit as the prince son of Shalmaneser III, who evidently died before his father, thus never becoming a primary ruler in Assyria, but who could, nevertheless, refer to himself as a king of Assyria within the ethics of that day. The evidence for this deduction is to be found in the eponym list of Shalmaneser III. Usually the first year of the king's reign was named after himself in the eponym list. But in this case, the first name is rendered Sharru-baltu-nishe, a name that has all the earmarks of being the equivalent of Assur-uballit. Since the name precedes that of the king, the best possible explanation is the recognition of this person as the king's son and heir apparent to the throne.

As for the Kassite names in the letters, there is little question but that the names are the same as those of Burna-buriash and Kuri-galzu, Kassite kings of the 14th century. But it does not necessarily follow that they are the same persons or even refer to persons of that era. The insecurity of attempting to provide dates on the basis of names has been previously noted. A special caution is pertinent against regarding such identifications on the basis of names when such identifications lead to anachronistic situations. Names do not necessarily belong to a given era in any absolute sense. This is clearly the case here, since Kassite names continue to appear in the Assyrian inscriptions to the time of Shalmaneser III and later, with evidence that Kassites continued to hold positions of governmental responsibility.

While it is not possible to put our finger on these particular names in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, the continued appearance of Kassite names in the inscriptions does not permit an identification of these names per se with Kassite kings in the 14th century. Tiglathpileser III mentions a city by the name of Kurigalzu indicating the then current use of the name. On the other hand, there is evidence that such identification is a mistake. Kuri-galzu of the letters is the father of Burraburiash. Yet in the Kassite list, the king by this name ruled after Burraburiash - and not immediately after, but sixty years after. To avoid the implication of this anachronism, it has been supposed that there were two Kassite kings by this name. Possibly so, but this is arguing from what we do not know, and the assumption stands on no more solid ground than that which places this Kuri-galzu in the time of Shalmaneser III. While Burraburiash of the 14th century married the daughter of Assur-uballit his reign preceded that of Assur-uballit. There is also a chronological difficulty in the daughter of Akhnaton being the wife of the son of Burraburiash. Akhnaton (Amenhotep IV) had no daughters of marriageable age at that time.

The anomalies resulting from the placement of these letters in the era of the Conquest have been repeatedly pointed out. The letters do not picture an invasion. The political difficulties described resulted from the rebellious actions on the part of certain of the local governors of the area under pressure from peoples farther north, evidently to be identified with the Hittites. While such a situation is anomalous in the 9th century by popular views, it is not anomalous when the Hittites are given their proper position in the post-Conquest period.

Except for a few questionable interpretations, the area involved is to the north of Palestine - an area never occupied by the Israelites, or at best, the difficulties extend only into the very northern part of Palestine. A satisfactory basis for this involvement in northern Palestine is pictured in Scripture as existing in the mid-9th century.

In those days in the reign of Jehu, [841-814 BC] the Lord began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel.

Against this background, the difficulties resulted from the incursions of the Hittites from the north into the territory of the city states of Syria and Phoenicia. As the territory ruled by a local governor was taken or threatened, he in turn attempted to meet the situation by trying to take territory from another. The eventual squeeze resulted in incursions into Israelite territory, a situation indicated by the statement above from Scripture.

There remains the problem relative to the assumed extension of the difficulties into the area of southern Palestine and particularly those related to the cities of the Philistines. The vagueness and paucity of information provided by the letters may not yield a total or unequivocal solution to this problem. However, a few observations may be made.

In order to maintain what appears to be a logical sequence of the letters in terms of the developments described, it has been supposed that certain of the persons mentioned in the letters moved from the northern area of trouble to southern Palestine to participate in the difficulties there, only to return to the northern area later. This should be recognized as a very awkward interpretation, particularly in view of the fact that there are no unequivocal evidences of difficulty in the area in between. The identification of a site mentioned in the letters as Shechem remains highly questionable. The more rational view would recognize the possibility that these sites supposed to be in southern Palestine are also being misidentified. In view of the large difficulties of transliterating cuneiform name into English, how can we be certain that there were not cities in this northern area of which these names could apply equally or better. There were undoubtedly hundreds if not thousands of sites in this northern area whose names are not recorded in an extant inscription. How can we be certain that these names are being properly identified with sites in southern Palestine?

Perhaps the name on which the greatest dependence is placed is that transliterated as Urusalim or Burusalim and identified with Jerusalem. But even in this case, how can we be sure that there was no city in this northern area with a name that could be thus transliterated? There is a reference to a site in this general area transliterated as Ullisum, which transliteration is not further away from Urusalim than are many of the other proposed identifications.

Any relation between difficulties in the area of the Philistine cities to those to the north of Palestine remains speculative. A possible contemporaneity is possible but not unequivocal. The cessation of these letters with the death of Akhnaton appears to rest on the assumption that the city of Akhnaton was destroyed on the death of Akhnaton. If this could be proved, it would suggest that since the letters were found in the ruins of the city, they must belong to the era preceding the destruction. But this has not been proved. A continued occupation of the site for a period approaching a century after Akhnaton is not out of the question. Why should a city so recently built be destroyed simply, because Akhnaton had died. When the city was built, Akhnaton was followed there by 80 000 residents of Thebes and many others from other localities. Must we believe that with the death of Akhnaton these 80 000 deserted the city and moved back to Thebes? The closing of the Amarna period and of the Amarna correspondence with the death of Akhnaton is an unwarranted assumption. The possibility that such difficulties as may be clearly demonstrated to belong to southern Palestine may to belong to a significantly later period has not been eliminated.

#### XIX. Confirmation of the Late Dates for the Amarna Letters from Phoenician Chronology

Further confirmation for the dating of the Amarna Letters in the mid-9th century rather than in the 14th, and of their continuation significantly later than the death of Amenhotep IV, is to be seen in the chronology of the kings of Phoenicia as provided by Josephus. Josephus is citing the ancient works of Dios (History of the Phoenicians) and of Meander, who is stated to have given the principal acts of each of the Tyrian (Phoenician) kings. According to the data provided from these sources, the building of Carthage occurred in the 7th year of Pygmalion, and the construction of the temple, begun in the 4th year of Solomon according to Scripture, was coincident with the 12th year of Hiram, king of Phoenicia. We are thus provided with an exact synchronism between Phoenician and Biblical chronology. It is further stated that it was 143 years from the 12th year of Hiram to the 7th year of Pygmalion. The names of the in-

intervening kings are given with their reign lengths as follows: Hiram, 34 years; Baleazarus, 7 years; Abdastartus, 9 years; 4 usurper kings as sons of the nurse of Abdastartus, the eldest of whom reigned 12 years; Astartus, 12 years; Aseryrnus, 9 years; Pheles (usurper), 8 months; Ithobalus, 32 years; Badezorus, 6 years; Matgenus, 9 years; Pygmalion, 47 years.

The correctness of these figures is confirmed the appearance of the name Ithobalus in the list at a proper date to meet the synchronism of Scripture which states that Ahab married the daughter of this Ithobalus (Ethbaal). By the now fixed date for the 4th year of Solomon by Thiele at 967-966 B.C., it may be calculated that the reign of Pygmalion began in 831 B.C. with the founding of Carthage, dated 824 B.C. This incident resulted from the flight of Pygmalion's sister, Dido. This sister was still alive when of the immediate post-Trojan war era visited Carthage after the war. This latter synchronism stands to refute the popular view places the Trojan war in the 12th or 13th century B.C.

Calculating backward from the dates for Pygmalion, Ithobalus reigned from 878-853. These dates agree with those for Ahab by Thiele's chronology (874-853) and particularly so, since Ithobalus must have been ruling at the time of this marriage, which in turn must have been early in the reign of Ahab.

With the Amarna period moved forward on the time scale by the revision so that the reign of Amenhotep IV of the Amarna Letters falls in the era c.857-840 BC, the letters addressed to this king fall in the period prior to the reign of Pygmalion. Since most of the letters are addressed only "To the King," who is not named, and since the letters so addressed belong to the period of trouble, it is deduced that these letters belong after the death of Amenhotep and during the reign of Pygmalion, or possibly in the reign of Matgenus, his predecessor.

This deduction is provided a degree of confirmation from several directions. In Letter No. CLXX (of Petrie) addressed "To the king" it is stated that the people of Dunip had been appealing to Egypt for help for 20 years. Since the trouble may well have started even before this, it may have spanned a period of 25 years after the death of Amenhotep IV, reaching to as late as 815 B.C. Letters numbered CLXXVIII and CLXXXIII are from the king of Tyre (Phoenicia). Petrie gives these letters under the subheading, "Abimilki of Tyre in Trouble". If we are correct in our deductions, then Abimilki is the same person as Pygmalion. An examination of the two names reveals that both have the same consonant sequence BML or the equivalent PML. This is hardly a mere coincidence in view of the independent basis on which the deduction was made. The equivalence is as close as many of the other deduced equivalences for names in the letters.

## XX. The Habiru-Hebrew Problem

The Amarna Letters refer repeatedly to a people known by a name variously transliterated as Apiru, Habiru, Khapiru or Khabiru. Since the letters suggest a prolonged political disruption, and since the letters must be assigned to the 14th century by popular views on chronology, it could be expected that a first hypothesis would equate this people with the invading Israelites under Joshua. A more careful scrutiny of these letters has, however, convinced most scholars that the difficulties described are of local origin and do not picture an invasion. The picture is rather that of a group of mercenaries, who have joined with certain rebellious local groups, selling or volunteering their services to various local governors who seem to be attempting to extend their territory of occupation at the expense of their neighbors. The movement seems to be under the pressure of incursions into this territory by a people from the north who appear to be the Hittites.

The letters to the Egyptian king are in the nature of pleas by certain of the local governors for aid in the form of supplies, food, and military help - pleas that fell on "deaf ears" with no forthcoming assistance. Each writer emphasizes his own loyalty

as a subject of the Egyptian king and charges his opponents with disloyalty. The incongruities which rise from this initial identification of the Apiru with the Hebrews are now so many and so great that this equivalence is now virtually universally rejected, or at least so severely qualified as to make unthinkable any connection between the disturbances pictured in the letters and the Hebrew invasion. A number of statements to this effect by various scholars are reproduced below.

The Khabiru of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, who act in cooperation with the rebels against the Pharaoh's authority, used to be regularly identified with the Hebrews and adduced as proof that the Israelite conquest of Palestine took place in the 14th or even in the 15th century. Particularly since the first World War, however, evidence has accumulated to the effect that the word in question (1) is rather to be read Khapiru, (2) was in use all over the Orient in the second millennium B.C., and (3) designated men of any and every nationality.... But the severest blow of all was dealt to the identification of the Khabiru with the Hebrews by the discovery at Ugarit of partly parallel Accadian and Ugaritic lists of towns of the kingdom of Ugarit. For the town which is called "Khalb of the Khapiru" in Accadian is called "Khalb of the 'apirim" (not 'ibriyyim [= "Hebrews"]) or the like in Ugaritic...

Unlike the Hurri, the Habiru, in the opinion of most scholars, cannot be recognized as an ethnic group, since no characteristic names can be associated with them. Nor can they be recognized as following some definite occupation, for sometimes they are apparently professional soldiers, sometimes they are labourers, and sometimes slaves. The only common characteristic is that they are foreigners...

In the first place, it is clear that in the Amarna age we have small groups of people acting simultaneously in different parts of the country, and not the united army that the book of Joshua brings before us... Some of the letters plead for a garrison of fifty to be sent for their protection. This would scarcely suffice for defence against a force of more than half a million men of military age, and by whatever specious devices the Biblical numbers are reduced to what might seem more manageable proportions, they could not be brought down to anything against which a force of 50 men would appear adequate... Even if the Biblical numbers are dismissed as wholly unreal, and it is recognized that the company that came out of Egypt was only a small one, it is still impossible to relate the Biblical picture of a united group acting under a single leader with the pattern of the Amarna correspondence.

A number of the letters complain about the trouble from a people called Hapiru...a word connected in some way with "Hebrew"...Many scholars in the past have interpreted these letters to mean that a great invasion from the desert was taking place, an invasion to be connected in some way with the Hebrew conquest of Palestine.... Recent students of the letters, however, claim that there is within them no evidence whatever of an invasion. The Apiru are considered in the letters as "bandits" or lawless gangs, a number of them, at least, ill-paid mercenaries who were joined by an increasing number of the people from the oppressed population. In addition, the term is applied by local kings to neighboring kings and their armies who are sieging land and towns. The king of Byblos, for example... assumes that anyone who takes his land is an enemy of the Pharaoh.... It is impossible therefore, to see any evidence of a great invasion or to connect the disturbances with the Israelite entry into Palestine, because the Apiru were already within the land and were not new invaders. The letters nowhere contain reference to an invasion; the attackers labelled Apiru were the people of other city-states.

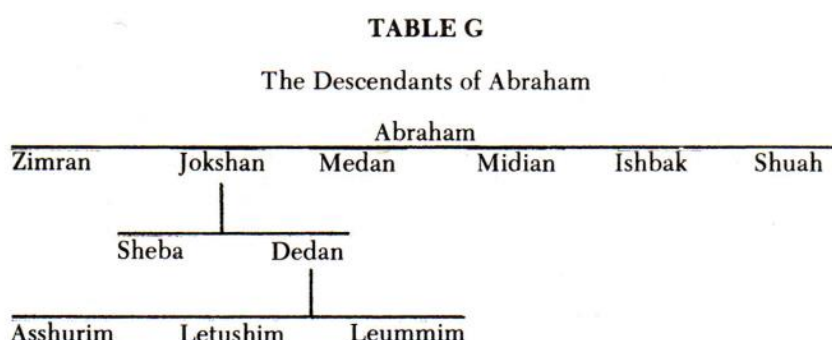
## XXI. The Problem of the Antiquity of Assyria

Based on a sequence interpretation of the Khorsabad king list, Poebel entertained the possibility that the Assyrian history began in the remote past, though less ancient than the dynastic era for Egypt and Chaldea. He also recognized as a reasonable possibility that the early names in the list did not necessarily represent a sequence.



The first seventeen of these kings are stated to have ruled from tents' indicating a time when the area was more or less nomadic.

Scripture suggests that Assyria derived its name from that of Asshur, who is stated to have migrated from Chaldea into the territory of Assyria. While Scripture is not clear in stating when this migration occurred, the statement makes sense with the context when it is assumed that this was at a notably later time than the era of Nimrod, the beginning of whose kingdom was "Babel and Erech and Accad and Calneh in the land of Shinar." It has been suggested on this basis that this Asshur may have been the progenitor of the Asshurim mentioned in the genealogy of Abraham by his second wife Keturah. Poebel entertained such a possibility. Tentatively granting such an origin, it could be expected that some of the names of the descendants of Abraham would appear in this list of seventeen kings who ruled from tents.



By comparison of the early names in the Khorsabad list (Table E) with those in the genealogy of Abraham, (Table G) we find a number of very reasonable name equivalents. There is the name Asarah (No. 15), which could be the equivalent of Asshur; there is the name Uspia (No. 16), which could be the son of Abraham given as Ishbak; there is the name Zuaba (No. 11), which could be Sheba, the grandson of Abraham; there is the name Didanu (No. 9), who could be Dedan, the grandson of Abraham, and by an equation less apparent than the preceding, but still possible, there is the name Adamu (No. 2) which could be Medan, son of Abraham, and of Mandaru (No. 6), who could be Midian, the son of Abraham.

It is possible to check the feasibility of such an origin of these early kings of the Khorsabad list in terms of the chronological data provided in Scripture. The Exodus occurred in the year 1445 B.C. Abraham entered Canaan from Chaldea 430 years before this, in the year 1875. At that time he was 75 years old, and his wife Sarai was ten years his junior. Sarai died at the age of 127. This was then sixty-two years after the entrance into Canaan or in the year 1813 B.C. Allowing 3 years for remarriage of Abraham and the birth of Jokshan, this son was born in 1810 B.C. Allowing 90 years for a great grandson to reach maturity (22 years estimated), the migration of Asshurim into Assyria was c. 1720 B.C.

The name Uspia (No. 16) begins a line of rulers in father-son sequence which continues for eleven generations. Since Ushbak, here identified with Uspia, was the son of Abraham, we must suppose that Asshur migrated into this territory with his ancestors of mature age back to the sons of Abraham. Uspia, as a son of Abraham, was then about 66 years old at the time of this migration. Aspiasal (No. 17), said to be the son of Uspia, and Halu, his son, represent these two generations. We thus have nine additional generations to recognize. Allowing these 200 years, we are taken to a date c. 1520 B.C. for the end of this line.

Since there is a break in the line at this point, (see Table G) we may suppose that the further kings to Ilusumma of the synchronism with the First Dynasty at Babylon were

contemporary with this line through the lineage of Abraham. A date for Ilusumma c. 1520 is not at all improbable by the arrangement of Figure 5 based on these premises. A recognition of an origin of these early rulers of Assyria in the immediate descendants of Abraham is thus feasible within the limits of a strict interpretation of Bible chronology, though this has not been proved. The major weight of evidence is found in the appearance of these several names in the Khorsabad list which can be reasonably equated with the names provided in Scripture for the genealogy of Abraham.

#### Figure 5 Notes:

The numbers on the chart refer to the numbers of the kings in the various accompanying tables. The kings of the two Assyrian dynasties and of the First Dynasty at Babylon are given space in proportion to their reported reign lengths. Preference has been given to the data from the eponym list of Hammurabi over the longer reign length given in the king list. The first seven of the Hittite kings, whose reigns are not known, are given an average reign of sixteen years; the time for the subsequent kings being adjusted to meet the synchronism between Telipinus and Tiglathpileser. The reign lengths of the Kassite kings (which are not known) are adjusted to meet the synchronisms with the Assyrian kings as given in the Synchronous Chronicle, the Synchronous History and the Babylonian King List A.

The slight folding of the Assyrian list is made to meet the synchronisms between Nararn-Sin and Samsi-Adad. The two kings before Damqiili in the dynasty at Uruk evidently belong to the pre-famine period, the kings from Damqiili onward being synchronizable with the kings of Assyria as shown. Names not given on the chart are considered as not pertinent to the problems dealt with, or cannot be given dates that have a significant value to these problems. A synchronism was noted many years ago by Rawlinson (R-AM, Vol. II, p. 171) between Gurguna, a king at Larsa, and Samsi-Adad of Assyria. This synchronism was of necessity abandoned with the acceptance of the Khorsabad list as a sequence, but reappears with the revision. His father, Isme-Dagan, is then probably the king at Isin who must have ruled there about the same time .

The kings of early Assyria, including those who ruled from tents and the father-son sequence from Uspia (No. 16E) to Ilu-summa must fit into the period from the second marriage of Abraham to the reign of Ilu-summa who is synchronized with Samuabu, first king of the First Dynasty at Babylon. Some parallelism of rule must be recognized.

The vertical lines represent synchronisms. The new synchronisms by the revised structure are those between the Hittites and Assyria, between the Hittites and Bible chronology between the famine of Ibbi-Sin with the famine of Joseph and the reappearance of the synchronism between Gurgana and Samsi-Adad. The structure clarifies the time positions related to contemporaneity of kings of this dynasty with the First Dynasty at Babylon. While the dynasty is made to end at the time of Assur-dan by the Babylonian king list, it is clear from the Synchronistic Chronicle that Kassite kings continued to reign with some degree of control after this.

Figure 5  
The Approximate Chronology of the Kings of Mesopotamia and the Hittites  
in Terms of the Proposed Revision

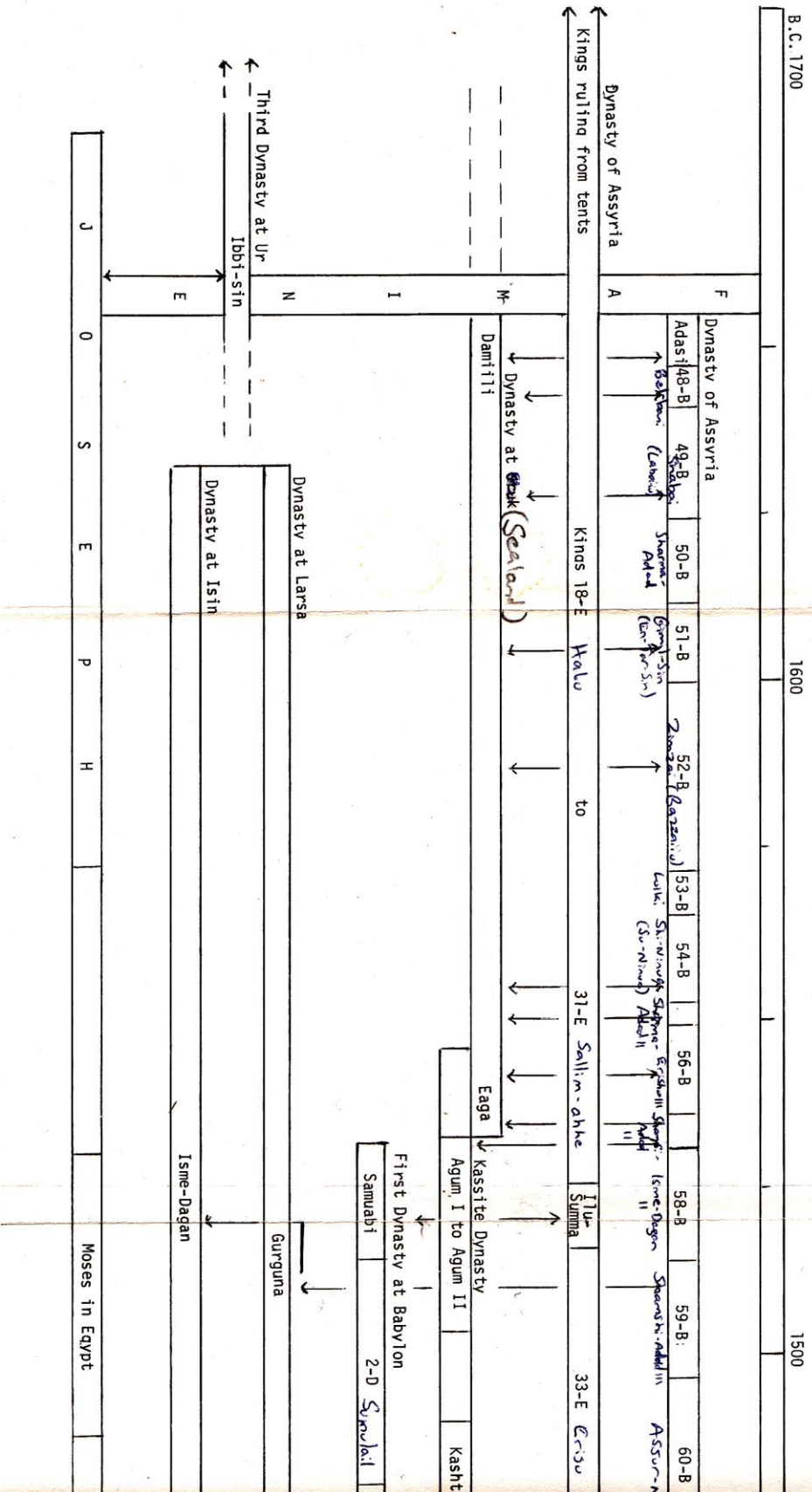
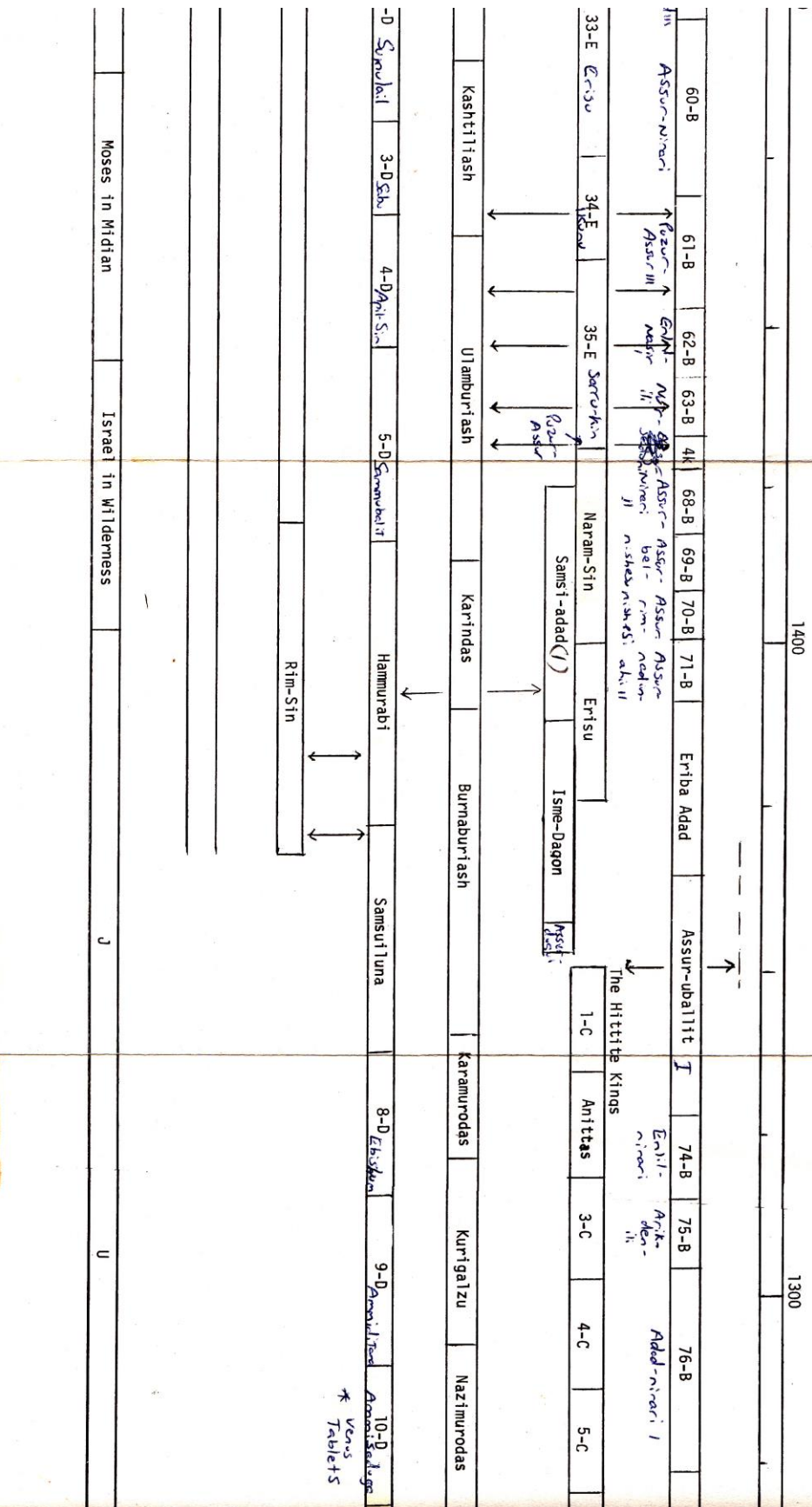


Figure 5  
The Approximate Chronology of the Kings of Mesopotamia and the Hittites  
in Terms of the Proposed Revision



1200									
1100									
Shalmaneser I	Tukulti-Ninurta I			82-B	Assur-dan	86-B	Tiglath-pileser I	Uta-shalim	
Assur- Nadin-pale	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta	Assur- Enlil- Ninurta
5-C	6-C	Murtius	8-C	9-C	10-C	11-C	Telidius		
azimurodas	18 years	Kadash-	Shagarak						
10-D	Assur- Kadash	Samsudtana							
Venus * Tablets									
D	G	E	S						

The main difference between Velikovsky's and Courville's view of Mesopotamian chronology is that Courville places Hammurabi around 1400 BC between 100 and 150 years later than Velikovsky who places him shortly before 1500 BC.

It is tempting to latch onto that earlier date for Hammurabi as this would give more time to fit in the early dynasties of Mesopotamia and give more time for the population to grow post-Flood before starting them.

Courville's placement of Hammurabi is essentially built upon his belief that the dynastic history of the Hittites begins 50 years after the conquest of the land of Canaan by the Israelites after the Exodus. The seventh Hittite king Mursilis conquered Babylon which brought an end to the First Dynasty of Babylon.

He states that the original Hittites were the ones driven out by Joshua who then migrated north to Anatolia (Turkey) while the Hittites of archaeology were an Indo-European people who migrated from the west into Turkey. He felt that the original Hittites who migrated north were then amalgamated afterwards into the invading group from the west.

Wikipedia has this to say about the two groups identified by archaeology:

Their Hittite language was a member of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family. Natively, they referred to their land as Hatti, and to their language as Nesili (the language of Nesa). The conventional name "Hittites" is due to their initial identification with the Biblical Hittites in 19th century archaeology. Despite the use of "Hatti", the Hittites should be distinguished from the Hattians, an earlier people who inhabited the same region until the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, and spoke a non-Indo-European language known as Hattic.

The Bible gives us no clue as to whether the language of the Hittites driven out at the time of the Conquest was Indo-European or non Indo-European. We don't know whether the migrants from the land of Canaan were the earlier or later people referred to above in the Wikipedia article.

How can archaeology be so definitive about the major Hittite race coming from the west? Even if this could be proved this would not rule out that race from being the same as the ones driven out by the Israelites as those in the land of Canaan may have been a colony that originated from Anatolia and then returned there after being driven out.

Courville states that there are two synchronisms tying pre-Adasi kings of Assyria with the First Dynasty of Babylon. One is the one mentioned previously between Hammurabi and Shamsi-Adad I. The other Courville states is between Ilu-Suma of Assyria and Samuabi, the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

Since Hammurabi is placed around 1400 BC by Courville and the Assyrian king list places Adasi around 1650 BC he believes there is a break between the kings before and after Adasi and that the early ones before Adasi ran parallel with the line



following Adasi. The line of early kings, according to Courville, finishes with Assur-dugul around 1350 BC.

The synchronism between Ilu-Summa of Babylon and Samuabi of Assyria is a little questionable. The text from the chronicle of early kings reads “Ilu-šumma was king of Assyria at the time of Su-abu.” Samuabi and Su-abu sound similar but this is no smoking gun.

Where Courville’s Mesopotamian chronology comes a little unstuck is with the Sealand dynasty and a key synchronism between it and the First Dynasty of Babylon. On Figure 5 of Courville’s main chart the Sealand Dynasty is referred to as the Dynasty at Uruk with two kings noted (Damiili and Eaga). He has this dynasty finishing at the same time as the beginning of the First Dynasty at Babylon.

Below is the data showing the synchronisms between the Sealand dynasty and kings of both Babylon (Ilu-umma contemporary with Hammurabi’s two successors) and Assyria. Courville recognises the multiple synchronisms with the Assyrian kings from Adasi to Erišum III. These synchronisms chronologically lock in very tightly those Assyrian kings from Adasi with those of the Sealand dynasty. Unrecognised by Courville it also locks in the Sealand dynasty starting shortly after Hammurabi’s reign, not ending before Hammurabi’s dynasty even starts.

The king list references which bear witness to the sequence of Sealand kings are summarized below:

Position	King List A <sup>[i 1]</sup>	King List B <sup>[i 2]</sup>	Purported reign <sup>[i 1]</sup>	Contemporary
1	Iluma[ii]	Ilu-ma-ilī	60 years	Samsu-iluna and Abi-ešuh (Babylon) <sup>[i 3]</sup>
2	Ittili	Itti-ili-nībī	56 years	
3	Damqili	Damqi-ilišu II	36 years	Adasi (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
4	Iški	Iškibal	15 years	Bēlu-bāni (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
5	Šušši, brother	Šušši	26 years	Lubaia (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
6	Gulki...	Gulkišar	55 years	Šarma-Adad I (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
6a		𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎵-𐎶𐎶 <sup>[i 4]</sup>	?	LIK.KUD-Šamaš (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
7	Peš-gal	Pešgaldarameš, <sup>[nb 1]</sup> his son, same	50 years	Bazaia (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
8	A-a-dāra	Ayadaragalama, <sup>[nb 2]</sup> his son, same	28 years	Lulla (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
9	Ekurul	Akurduana	26 years	Šu-ninua (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
10	Melamma	Melamkurkurra	7 years	Šarma-Adad II (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>
11	Eaga	Ea-gam[i]	9 years	Erišum III (Assyria) <sup>[i 4]</sup>

I should note here Velikovsky’s chronology hits a major snag now that we have introduced the synchronistic data for the Sealand Dynasty.

The names in this data above for the two Babylonian kings are far too similar to the names in the Babylonian king lists for these contemporary kings in this Sealand dynasty data to not be Hammurabi’s immediate successors. Add in the multiple synchronisms between the Sealand kings and the Assyrian kings from Adasi to

Erisum III there is a water-tight case for Hammurabi being approximately 100 to 150 years before Adasi.

There are two major options to reduce the length of any chronology of king lists. The first one is recognising king lists include co-regencies. This is where the lengths stated for given kings overlap because each king includes not just the time he was the sole ruler but also the time he ruled as a co-regent with his father. The second is to recognise parallel dynasties.

We know from the cross-references with the eponym lists that it wasn't the practice in the late Assyrian king lists to include the co-regency periods in the reign lengths assigned to kings so it seems highly unlikely to include them in the early and middle Assyrian reign lengths.

On the matter of possible parallel dynasties within the Assyrian king listing we also run into a major snag if we want to reduce Assyrian chronology after Adasi. Below is a listing of all the kings from Adasi to when the eponym lists kick in around 933 BC to give us a fairly exact chronology to work with. As you can see in the listing below each successive king is noted as the son of either the previous king or the second or third before the previous king. This would appear to rule out any parallel dynasties.



Adasi	circa 1720 - 1701 BC	Drove <a href="#">Babylonians</a> and <a href="#">Amorites</a> from Assyria circa 1720 BC
Bel-bani	1700 - 1691 BC (10 years)	"son of Adasi"
Libaya	1690-1674 BC (17 years)	"son of Bel-bani"
Sharma-Adad I	1673-1662 BC (12 years)	"son of Libaya"
Iptar-Sin	1661-1650 BC (12 years)	"son of Sharma-Adad (I)"
Bazaya	1649-1622 BC (28 years)	"son of Iptar-Suen"
Lullaya	(1621-1618 BC (6 years)	"son of a nobody"
Shu-Ninua	1615-1602 BC (14 years)	"son of Bazaya"
Sharma-Adad II	1601-1599 BC (3 years)	"son of Shu-Ninua"
Erishum III	1598-1586 BC (13 years)	"son of Shu-Ninua"
Shamshi-Adad II	1585-1580 BC (6 years)	"son of Erishum (III)"
Ishme-Dagan II	1579 - 1562 BC (16 years)	"son of Shamshi-Adad (II)"
Shamshi-Adad III	1562 - 1548 BC (16 years)	" son of (another) Ishme-Dagan, brother of Sharma-Adad (II), son of Shu-Ninua"
Ashur-nirari I	1547 - 1522 BC (26 years)	"son of Ishme-Dagan II"
Puzur-Ashur III	1521-1498 BC	"son of Ashur-nirari (I)"; contemporary of <a href="#">Burna-Buriash I</a> of <a href="#">Babylonia</a> <sup>[13]</sup> Fortified <a href="#">Ashur</a>
Enlil-nasir I	1497 - 1484 BC (13 years)	"son of Puzur-Ashur (III)"
Nur-ili	circa 1483 - 1471 BC (12 years)	"son Enlil-nasir (I)" Vassal of the <a href="#">Mitanni</a> Empire

Ashur-shaduni	circa 1471 BC (1 month)	"son of Nur-ili"
Ashur-rabi I	circa 1470 - 1451 BC (uncertain, damaged text)	"son of Enlil-nasir (I), ousted him (Ashur-shaduni), (and) seized the throne"
Ashur-nadin-ahhe I	circa 1450 - 1431 (uncertain, damaged text)	"son of Ashur-rabi (I)"
Enlil-nasir II	ca. 1430–1425 BC	"his (Ashur-nadin-ahhe I's) brother, ousted him"
Ashur-nirari II	ca. 1424–1418 BC	"son of Enlil-nasir (II)"
Ashur-bel-nisheshu	ca. 1417–1409 BC	"son of Ashur-nirari (II)"
Ashur-rim-nisheshu	ca. 1408–1401 BC	"son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu"
Ashur-nadin-ahhe II	ca. 1400–1391 BC	"son of Ashur-rim-nisheshu"
Middle Assyrian Period		
King name	Reigned <sup>[24][25][26]</sup>	Notes <sup>[20][21]</sup>
Eriba-Adad I	ca. 1390–1364 BC	"son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu"
Ashur-uballit I	ca. 1363–1328 BC	"son of Eriba-Adad (I)"
Enlil-nirari	ca. 1327–1318 BC	"son of Ashur-uballit"
Arik-den-ili	ca. 1317–1306 BC	"son of Enlil-nirari"
Adad-nirari I	ca. 1305–1274 BC	"son of Arik-den-ili"
Shalmaneser I	ca. 1273–1244 BC	"son of Adad-nirari (I)"
Tukulti-Ninurta I	ca. 1243–1207 BC	"son of Shalmaneser (I)"
Ashur-nadin-apli	ca. 1206–1203 BC	"during the lifetime of Tukulti-ninurta (I), Ashur-nadin-apli, his son, seized the throne"
Ashur-nirari III	ca. 1202–1197 BC	"son of Ashur-nadin-apli"
Enlil-kudurri-usur	ca. 1196–1192 BC	"son of Tukulti-Ninurta (I)"
Ninurta-apal-Ekur	ca. 1191–1180 BC	"son of Ila-Hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad (I), went to <i>Karduniash</i> . He came up from <i>Karduniash</i> (and) seized the throne."
Ashur-Dan I	ca. 1179–1133 BC	"son of Ashur-nadin-apli"
Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur	ca. 1133 BC	"son of Ashur-dan (I), briefly"
Mutakkil-nusku	ca. 1133 BC	"his (Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur's) brother, fought him and took him to <i>Karduniash</i> . Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly, then died."
Ashur-resh-ishi I	ca. 1133–1115 BC	"son of Mutakkil-Nusku"
Tiglath-Pileser I	ca. 1115–1076 BC	"son of Ashur-resh-ishi (I)"
Asharid-apal-Ekur	ca. 1076–1074 BC	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I)"
Ashur-bel-kala	ca. 1074–1056 BC	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I)"
Eriba-Adad II	ca. 1056–1054 BC	"son of Ashur-bel-kala"
Shamshi-Adad IV	ca. 1054–1050 BC	"son of Tiglath-pileser (I), came up from <i>Karduniash</i> . He ousted Eriba-Adad (II), son of Ashur-bel-kala, (and) seized the throne"
Ashur-nasir-pal I	ca. 1050–1031 BC	"son of Shamshi-Adad (IV)"
Shalmaneser II	ca. 1031–1019 BC	"son of Ashur-nasir-pal (I)"
Ashur-nirari IV	ca. 1019–1013 BC	"son of Shalmaneser (II)"
Ashur-rabi II	ca. 1013–972 BC	"son of Ashur-nasir-pal (I)"
Ashur-resh-ishi II	ca. 972–967 BC	"son of Ashur-rabi (II)"
Tiglath-Pileser II	ca. 967–935 BC	"son of Ashur-resh-ishi (II)"
Ashur-Dan II	ca. 935–912 BC	"son of Tiglath-Pileser (II)"

The above table is from the Wikipedia article “List of Assyrian Kings”. Its notes on the Old Assyrian Kingdom have this to say:

Damage to the tablets in all three extant King Lists before Enlil-nasir II (ca. 1420–1415 BC (short)) prevents the calculation of approximate regnal dates from Erishum I to this point. Additionally, three kings attested elsewhere from this period are not included in the standard King List. The remainder of the King List then has an unbroken chain of regnal lengths from Enlil-nasir II on. Disparities between the different versions of the King List for the reigns of Ashur-nadin-apli (ca. 1196–1194 BC (short)) and Ninurta-apal-Ekur (ca. 1182–1180 BC (short)) contribute to the debate over the chronology of the ancient Near East. Georges Roux and A. Leo Oppenheim provide dates in their King Lists, but these are open to debate.

There is very little, if any, room to reduce the chronology of the Assyrian kings from Adasi on.

We have certain evidence to support Velikovsky’s placement of Hammurabi shortly before 1500 BC but we have equally strong, perhaps stronger, evidence to support the conventional placement of Hammurabi 300 years earlier around 1850 BC.

If we accept a date of between 1720 and 1650 BC for the date of Adasi due to the relative accuracy of the Assyrian king lists then the Sealand dynasty data locks us into assigning an earlier date for Hammurabi of approximately between 1850 and 1780 BC.

We will come back to this issue when I give my own personal conclusions as to where I believe the early Mesopotamian dynasties should be placed.

Before then, I would like to present David Rohl’s revised Mesopotamian chronology as explained in his book “Legend: The Genesis of Civilisation”. He writes the following:

## THE NEW CHRONOLOGY OF EARLY MESOPOTAMIA

The easiest way to understand the New Chronology timeline for early Mesopotamia is to constantly refer to the charts as we progress backwards through time. These charts provide the key synchronisms and astronomical anchor points which tie reigns and dynasties to each other. As you will see, very little is actually ‘floating’ and the margins (at least in the period back to Ur I are fairly tight.

So, let us begin the exercise by establishing our starting point - the first regnal year of king Ammisaduga of the Babylon I Dynasty.

### The period from Sargon I to the end of Babylon I

In A Test of Time Volume One, I explained the ‘Venus Solution’ - how Ammisaduga can be fixed in time by means of astronomical retrocalculation. Rather than go through all that again, I will simply summarise the conclusions here.’

(a) A series of documents - astronomical observations of the rising and setting of the planet Venus and a collection of twenty-five contracts made on the thirtieth day of the lunar month during particular years in King Ammisaduga’s reign - give astronomers an

excellent opportunity to compare these ancient observations/calendar dates with actual astronomical events as calculated by computer astronomy programs.

(b) The alternative dates on offer from the various historical chronologies are called 'Venus Solutions' (VS). The 'High' conventional date for Year 1 of Ammisaduga is 1702 BC. The 'Middle' conventional date is 1646 BC. And the 'Low' date is 1582 BC. The New Chronology date, on the other hand, is even lower at 1419 BC.

(c) There is a test we can do to decide which is the correct date on astronomical grounds. The thirty-day lunar months recorded in the twenty-five contracts fall in a sequence. If a contract which dates to Day 30 is found - through retrocalculation - to fall on a twenty-nine-day lunar month, then it must be regarded as a 'miss' and go against a particular Venus Solution. To get an exact match a 'one hundred percent correct' Venus Solution must produce twenty-five correspondences ('hits') between the recorded observations and the retrocalculations. The higher the number of hits, the stronger the case for a Venus Solution being chronologically correct.

(d) The 'High' VS has twenty out of twenty-five hits (5 misses). The 'Middle' VS scores just fourteen hits (11 misses). The 'Low' VS fares little better with eighteen hits (7 misses). But the New Chronology gets an amazing twenty-three hits (2 misses) - a ninety per cent accuracy rate. The remaining two misses may have been caused by cloud cover which prevented an accurate observation by the ancient astronomers who, having failed to observe the new crescent moon, ascribed thirty days to the previous month by mistake.

(e) This makes Venus Solution 1419 BC by far the most likely historical date for the first year of King Ammisaduga of Babylon.

Having demonstrated the strength of the New Chronology date for Year 1 of Ammisaduga, we can now retrocalculate the start of the Babylon I Dynasty to 1667 BC, using the regnal dates supplied in the Babylonian King List A.

Contemporary records from the reign of Hammurabi (four reigns before Ammisaduga) inform us that the king of Babylon defeated Rim-sin of Larsa and brought an end to the Larsa Dynasty. This secures the end-date for Larsa at 1536 BC. Using the Sumerian King List we can then arrive at a date for the beginning of the Larsa royal line at 1798 BC.

Contemporary with the dynasty of Larsa was a line of kings based at their capital of Isin. The Isin Dynasty came to an end with the capture of their city by Sinmuballit, the predecessor of Hammurabi in Babylon. Because the dates for Babylon I are fixed by the 1419 BC Venus Solution and the Babylonian King List, it is a simple matter to determine that Isin fell in 1569 BC. Again, using the Sumerian King List, we arrive at a start-date for the Isin Dynasty of 1805 BC.

The first king of Isin was Ishbierra and ancient documents record that he was a contemporary of the last ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur - Ibbisin. An omen tablet mentions a lunar eclipse on the 14th day of Addaru (mid-March to mid-April). The omen heralds the end of the Ur III Dynasty.

The prediction is given for the king of the world. The destruction of Ur; the destruction of the city walls will occur; the heaping up of barley; the devastation of the city and its environs.

Astronomical retrocalculation, using computer programmes specifically designed for the purpose, reveals that a lunar eclipse did take place above the city of Ur on the 19th of April in 1793 BC. This astronomical date is entirely consistent with the date we have determined for Ibbi-sin through his contemporaneity with Ishbierra of Isin. So we may fix the last year of Ibbi-sin and therefore the end of the Ur III Dynasty to 1793 BC.

I should just briefly explain that the omen tablets are based on real observations and historical events. They are later texts which the soothsayer-priests compiled from original data held in their temple archives. This enabled them to predict a political event if the astronomical event which originally preceded its first occurrence should recur sometime in the future. In other words, if astronomical event X were to happen again, then political event Y attached to that celestial event was bound to occur again just as it had done the

first time around. You can understand why the baru-priests - the specialists in omen interpretation and so knowledgeable about past events - were such an important influence on political decisions in Mesopotamia. They held the secret knowledge of the cycles of history which were attached, they believed, to the cycles of the heavenly bodies.

The Sumerian King List gives a total dynasty length for Ur III of 108 years. Thus Ur III began in 1900 BC. The end of the reign of King Shulgi, another king of Ur III, is presaged by another lunar eclipse omen.

If an eclipse occurs on the 14th day of Simanu (mid May to mid June) ... The prediction is given for Ur and the king of Ur. The King of Ur will experience famine; there will be many deaths; the king of Ur, his son will wrong his father ... he will die in the place of mourning of his father; the son of the king will seize the throne.

Scholars have understood this omen as referring to the end of Shulgi when just such events are recorded. We can confirm we are correct in our chronology because the lunar eclipse of the omen text did indeed happen on the 31st of July 1835 BC. This is exactly the last year of Shulgi retrocalculated from our end date for Ur III of 1793 BC.

We can now link the beginning of Ur III with the end of a line of rulers from Uruk. Utuhegal, the sole ruler of Uruk V according to the Sumerian King List, records that Ur-nammu was governor of Ur (i.e. city ruler) during his short reign at Uruk. This makes the two rulers contemporary. Utuhegal's reign must have fallen in the period from 1900 to 1883 BC when we have determined Ur-nammu was ruling in Ur. But we can be much more accurate than that because we have another lunar eclipse omen to call upon.

If an eclipse (of the moon) occurs on the 14th day of Duzu (mid June to mid July) ... The prediction is given for the king of the Gutians; there will be a downfall of Gutu in battle; the land will be totally laid waste.

This text enables us to kill two birds with one stone. Not only does it pin down the reign of Utuhegal, the vanquisher of Tirigan, the last ruler of the dynasty of Gutium, but it also gives us the end-date of the Gutium royal line. Amazingly, an ancient text survives which suggests that a celestial portent did occur on the night before the great battle between Utuhegal's army and the forces of Tirigan. The astronomical retrocalculation gives us the very lunar eclipse we are looking for. It occurred on the 28th of June 1889 BC - the date when the hegemony of the Gutu was broken by the last king of Uruk.

According to the SKI, the Gutium Dynasty endured for ninety-one years and so we can place its start in 1982 BC. Likewise the Uruk IV Dynasty, which preceded Utuhegal, is accorded thirty years by the SKI, and its beginning can therefore be established at around 1922 BC.

There are two synchronisms between the Gutium Dynasty and the famous dynasty of Sargon I, which is variously referred to as the Dynasty of Agade, the Sargonic Dynasty or the Agadean Dynasty. I will refer to it as the Dynasty of Agade (the name of Sargon's capital city in Sumerian). The first synchronism falls in the period following the death of King Sharkalisharri of Agade when there was a power struggle for the throne of Agade. At this point in the SKI, we find the cryptic remark:

Who was king? Who was not king? Was Igigi king? Was Nanum king? Was Imi king? Was Elulu king? Their tetrad was king and reigned for three years! [Col. vii, Lines 1-7]

Only one of these political combatants for the throne is known to us. He is Elulu, the king of the Gutu, listed in the Gutium Dynasty as Elulumesh. The three-year interregnum when several rulers vied for control of Agade can thus be placed in the years 1958 to 1956 BC. This New Chronology date for the period of chaos following the death of Sharkalisharri is confirmed by yet another astronomical omen text.

If an eclipse occurs on the 14th day of Nisannu (mid April to mid-May) ... [The prediction is given] for Agade; [the king] of Agade will die, but his people will be well; the reign of Agade will fall into anarchy, (but) its future will be good.

After the anarchy, immediately following the death of Sharkalisharri, the Dynasty of Agade did indeed recover with the accession of King Dudu who reigned for twenty-one years. The lunar eclipse which presaged the death of Sharkalisharri was that which occurred on the 27th of March 1959 **BC** - precisely the year which we have determined preceded the first year of anarchy in 1958 BC.

The SKI, informs us that the Dynasty of Agade lasted for 181 years. Thus, with the data from the astronomical retrocalculations, we can work out that it came to an end in 1920 BC and began in 2100 BC. So the pivotal reign of Sargon I, which marked the end of the Sumerian era and heralded in the new age of the Agadean Period, can be set at 2100 BC. The conventional dates for the start of the Dynasty of Agade are High - 2370 BC, Middle - 2334 BC and Low - 2300 BC. The New Chronology date is therefore two centuries lower than the lowest conventional date at this point.

### The Early Dynastic Period

Prior to his accession Sargon was the cup-bearer to King Urzababa of Kish in the latter's 37th year. The last five rulers of the Kish IV Dynasty were thus contemporary with the reigns of Sargon, Rimush and Manishtushu in Agade. With Urzababa's Year 37 falling just prior to the Sargon's accession we can place Year 1 of Urzababa in about 2138 BC and the start of Kish IV in 2163 BC.


Another dynasty - Uruk III - can also be tied to the reign of Sargon I. In Sargon's 13th year he defeats Lugalzagesi of Uruk III bringing an end to the latter's 25-year reign. Lugalzagesi was the only ruler of the dynasty, so Uruk III began in 2112 BC and Uruk II ended in 2113 BC. The last ruler of Uruk II was Lugalkisalsi who was also the second king of the Ur II Dynasty. Given that his reigns were probably concurrent, we can estimate the start of Ur II in around 2171 BC.

We have now reached the era when dating is much more difficult because we have no astronomical checks which we can call upon and the king-list regnal data is often damaged. Dates from now on therefore become approximations.

Lugalzagesi's rise to kingship in Uruk is as a direct result of his defeat of Urukagina, the last ruler of Lagash. During the latter part of Urukagina's reign Lugalzagesi was actually the En ('lord') of Umma when Lugalkisalsi was ruling in Uruk and Ur. The end of the Lagash dynasty coincided with the defeat of Urukagina in 2112 BC and began (very approximately) in 2341 BC.

The end of Uruk II falls in the year before the accession of Lugalzagesi which we have determined as 2112 BC. Uruk II thus began in around 2221 BC. This takes us back to the end of Uruk I- the dynasty of Meskiagkasher, Enmerkar and Gilgamesh - but here we also reach the era of the fantastical reign-lengths. The reigns of the last seven rulers of the dynasty are all normal (30, 15, 9, 8, 36, 6 and 36 years from Urlugal to Lugalkitun) but, then, before Urlugal we find Gilgamesh with 128 years, Dumuzi with 100 years, Lugalbanda with 1200 years, Enmerkar with 420 years and Meskiagkasher with 324 years. All this makes the chronology of Uruk I very difficult to determine. Ur I, on the other hand, ends in 2172 BC and begins in around 2348 BC which becomes the earliest historical date in the New Chronology of Mesopotamia when it marks the start of the Early Dynastic III Period.

## The New Chronology from Ur I to Uruk III

3000 BC	<b>Uruk I</b> Meskiagkasher		<b>Kish I</b> Begins after the flood in 3100 BC with King Etana
2900 BC	Enmerkar		
2800 BC	Lugalbanda		
2588 BC	Dumuzi		
2487 BC	Gilgamesh		
2348 BC	Uruk II Enshakushanna		<b>Kish II</b> Su[...]
2221 BC	<b>Uruk III</b> Lugalzagesi	<b>Lagash</b> Gurshar	<b>Ur I</b> Mesanepada
2100 BC	<b>Agade</b> Sargon I	Lugalanda Urukagina	<b>Ur II</b> Lugalkinshedudu
			<b>Kish III &amp; IV</b> Kubaba Puzursin Urababa

## The New Chronology from Agade to Babylon I

2100 BC	<b>Agade</b> Sargon Rimush Naramsin Sharkalisharri		
1959 BC	Interregnum Shudurul	<b>Gutium</b> Imta Sarlagab Elulumesh	Sarlagab temp. Sharkalisharri. Lunar eclipse (Mar. 27) of 1959 BC. Elulu[mesh] in Agade.
1900 BC	<b>Ur III</b> Urnammu	<b>Uruk IV</b> Umigin Urutu	
1889 BC	Shulgi	<b>Uruk V</b> Utuhegal	
1835 BC	Bursin		
1793 BC	Ibbisin		
	Lunar eclipse (July 31) of 1835 BC – end of Shulgi.		
	<b>Larsa</b> Naplanum Gungunum	<b>Isin</b> Ishbiirra	Ishbiirra temp. Ibbisin. Lunar eclipse (Apr. 19) of 1793 BC.
1667 BC	<b>Babylon I</b> Sumuabub	Urninurta	Joseph in Egypt from 1683 BC.
1569 BC	Sinmuballit		
1536 BC	Hammurabi		
1419 BC	Ammiditana		
1362 BC	Ammisaduga		
	Samsuditana		
		Damikiishu	Sinmuballit captures Isin in 1569 BC.
			Hammurabi defeats Rimsin in 1536 BC.
			Israelite Exodus from Egypt in 1447 BC.
			Venus Solution Year 1 Ammisaduga = 1419 BC.
			Double solar (Feb. 25) and lunar (Mar. 12) eclipse of 1362 BC.

Rather than accept the dating provided by the Assyrian king lists and cross-links with Babylon via the Sealand dynasty data, David Rohl reaches his date for Hammurabi by using astronomical retrocalculation and the data of the Venus tablets of Ammisaduga. From them he arrives at a date of 1419 BC for the beginning of Ammisaduga's reign and subsequently comes up with a date of 1536 BC for when Hammurabi defeats Rimsin of Larsa.

There is a strange irony in the fact that Rohl's dates for Ammisaduga and Hammurabi actually match those of Velikovsky's.

Velikovsky contends that the data of the Ammisaduga Venus tablet show Venus on a highly eccentric and irregular orbit supporting his belief that Venus was the agent of many of the plagues of Egypt before a later near-collision with the planet Mars and other electric effects gradually brought Venus into a stable orbit later on. Logic would suggest that tracking Venus' orbit would be a high priority soon after the Exodus catastrophe if Venus was the agent used to bring it about.

David Rohl assumes that Venus was on the same orbital path as it always has been and uses astronomical retrocalculation with that assumption and essentially comes up with the same date.

I am personally more persuaded by Velikovsky's Venus scenario as described in his book "Worlds in Collision" and if that is correct then most astronomical retrocalculation would generally yield incorrect results prior to the last of the near-collisions described in "Worlds in Collision" that took place in 687 BC.

For Venus, even after this date, it would continue to gradually be moving into a more circular orbit due to electric principles discussed by those who have developed the Electric Universe model.

If this is true then not much faith could be put in the dates derived for the various eclipse data that David Rohl makes reference to derive some of his dates.

Additionally, he has same issue mentioned previously as Velikovsky has with the Assyrian king list data and the Sealand dynasty synchronisms that lock in Hammurabi's date relative to Adasi.

So should we accept Rohl's and Velikovsky's placement for Hammurabi or should we accept the conventional chronology which places him 200-300 years earlier?

The synchronisms that David Rohl mentions shows that there are anywhere between 500 to 700 years between Sargon the Great and Hammurabi.

If we accept the conventional chronology date for Hammurabi and even add the minimum of 500 years to it then we come up with a date of 2300 BC for the date of Sargon the Great which is the same time for Noah's flood. We would need a bare minimum of 200 years for the earth's population to grow sufficiently before we could feel comfortable placing Sargon the Great at such a point in time.



On that evidence I therefore find it near impossible to believe that Hammurabi and therefore Sargon the Great could be placed that far back in time.

The Sealand dynasty data linking Adasi and Hammurabi appears unshakeable and the Assyrian king list data also seems to show a high degree of relative accuracy yet because of the other synchronisms prior to Hammurabi placing Sargon the Great too far back in time I feel compelled to suggest that there is some error/s in the Assyrian king list data that call for too earlier a placement for Adasi.

My placements of the early Mesopotamian dynasties are based on that point as much as it pains me to contradict what seems such highly reliable data.

My starting point, therefore, is to accept Velikovsky's and Rohl's date for Hammurabi shortly before 1500 BC with Ammisiduga dated to around or shortly before 1400 BC following the Exodus catastrophe.

A key synchronism in my chronology chart is my placement of Abraham during the time of the Gutium dynasty.

The Bible names the kings of the East that Abraham fought as:

Amraphel, king of Shin'ar  
Ariokh king of Ellasar  
Khedorla'omer king of Elam  
Tidhal king of Go'im

A tablet was found which told of a battle where the king of Elam, Kudur-laghamar, led an alliance of rulers that included one named Eri-aku and another named Tud-ghula.

All scholars agreed that Kudur-laghamar was a perfect Elamite royal name, the prefix Kudur ("Servant") having been a component in the names of several Elamite kings, and Laghamar being the Elamite epithet-name for a certain deity. Kudur-laghamar appears to be Khedorla'omer. Genesis does not say who led the alliance even though it names Amraphel first. This tablet mentions the leader was the Elamite king.

Eri-aku matches Ariokh and Ellasar is probably either the city of Larsa or Assur. Tud-ghula matches Tidhal. Go'im is Hebrew for nations. These nations/tribes presumably were likely to have been from Asia Minor though the word Go'im does bear some similarity to the Gutium. While these kings on this tablet make a match with the record of the Bible they have yet to be identified with rulers on Mesopotamia's king lists.

Of the major Elamite dynasties the one closest to Abraham is the Gutian dynasty that overran the Akkadian empire. There is some scope to compress the Isin and Larsa dynasties by 50-100 years (assuming reign lengths include co-regency periods). If we do this then the Gutian dynasty becomes contemporary with Abraham and they make a perfect fit to be the architects of this battle. The Gutians were the only early Elamite dynasty to be actually base themselves in Mesopotamia.

If we identify the Gutians as the leaders of the battle against the cities of the Jordan Valley who rebelled from paying tribute then the Bible implies that they had more of a civilised empire than history gives them credit for. As conquerors of the mighty Akkadian empire they inherited the colonies and power base of the Akkadians. The Gutian empire may have stretched into Asia Minor as well as west to the Jordan Valley.

Velikovsky places the fall of Ur III about this same time co-incident with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and there is some evidence to suggest such natural catastrophe was involved with the fall of Ur III. That said, Ur III fell over 100 years after the Gutium dynasty fell. I am personally more inclined to believe the Gutium and not Ur III was the correct time to place Abraham due to the Kudur-laghamar tablet and also it allows for a much later placement of Sargon the Great further away from the time of the Flood.

Going backwards in time from Hammurabi I note the key features in my placement of the early Mesopotamia dynasties:

- Synchronism between Rimsin of Larsa and Hammurabi of Babylon who defeated him.
- Synchronism between Damiliqilishu, last king of Isin and Rimsin of Larsa who defeated him.
- Compression of contemporary dynasties of Larsa and Isin by 50-100 years.
- Synchronism between Ish-Birra of Isin and Ib-bi-Sin of Ur III.
- Synchronism between Ur-Nammu of Ur III and Utuhegal of Uruk IV.
- Synchronism between Utuhegal of Uruk IV and Tirigan, last king of Gutium dynasty.
- Synchronism between Abraham and Kudur-laghamar (believed to be a Gutium king though no definitive clues to suggest which one).
- Synchronism between Elulumesh of Gutium dynasty and late Akkadian dynasty when there was confusion over multiple contenders for the throne.
- Compression of Akkadian dynasty by 100 years.
- Synchronism between Dubuhu-Abu of Ebla and Sargon.
- Synchronism between Ebrium of Ebla and Tudiya, first king of Assyria.
- The above two synchronisms support my contention that Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad are one and the same as their namesakes in the very early Assyria king lists (numbered 35 and 37). I contend that there is a large break

of 400 years between the earliest kings of Assyria (1 to 38) and the remaining kings of the Old Assyrian Kingdom from king 39, Shamsi-Adad I, recognised as a contemporary of Hammurabi.

- Synchronism between Sargon of Akkad and Lugalzagesi of Uruk III.
- Synchronism between Sargon of Akkad and Urzababa of Kish.
- Damuzi is recognised as the same as Tammuz. Assuming he is the same as Tammuz, son of Nimrod I speculate that Lugalbandar of Uruk I maybe Nimrod and Enmerkar (Mercury) of Uruk I maybe Cush.
- Kish I kings are likely to be unidentified early post and pre-flood patriarchs with their exaggerated reign lengths.
- Tentatively I have placed the Tower of Babel incident approximately 2150 BC though gut feeling is it could be as late as around 2050 BC.

Going forward from Hammurabi the key features are:

- Synchronism between Hammurabi of Babylon and Shamsi-Adad I of Assyria.
- Synchronism between Iluma-ilu of Sealand and Samsuiliana of Babylon.
- Synchronism between Damiqil of Sealand and Adasi of Assyria.
- Synchronism between Samsuditana of Babylon and Mursilis I of the Hittites.
- Synchronism between Eaga of Sealand and Erishu III of Assyria.
- Synchronism between Eaga of Sealand and Agum III of Kassites.
- I suggest that Kashtiliash may have been the Cushan-Rishathaim of Mesopotamia who conquered Israel early in the period of the Judges.

Wikipedia says the following about the Kassites:

The circumstances of their rise to power are unknown, due to a lack of documentation from this so-called "Dark Age" period of widespread dislocation. No inscription or document in the Kassite language has been preserved, an absence that cannot be purely accidental, suggesting a severe retraction of literacy in official circles...

The Book of Judges in the Hebrew Bible contains a reference to what appears to be a Kassite ruler, who is named as Cushan-Rishathaim and described as ruler of 'Aram Naharaim'. 'Cushan' is interpreted by Biblical scholars to mean 'Kassite' and 'Aram Naharaim' to mean northwest Mesopotamia. According to Judges, Cushan-Rishathaim conquered Israel shortly after the death of Joshua and held it for eight years...

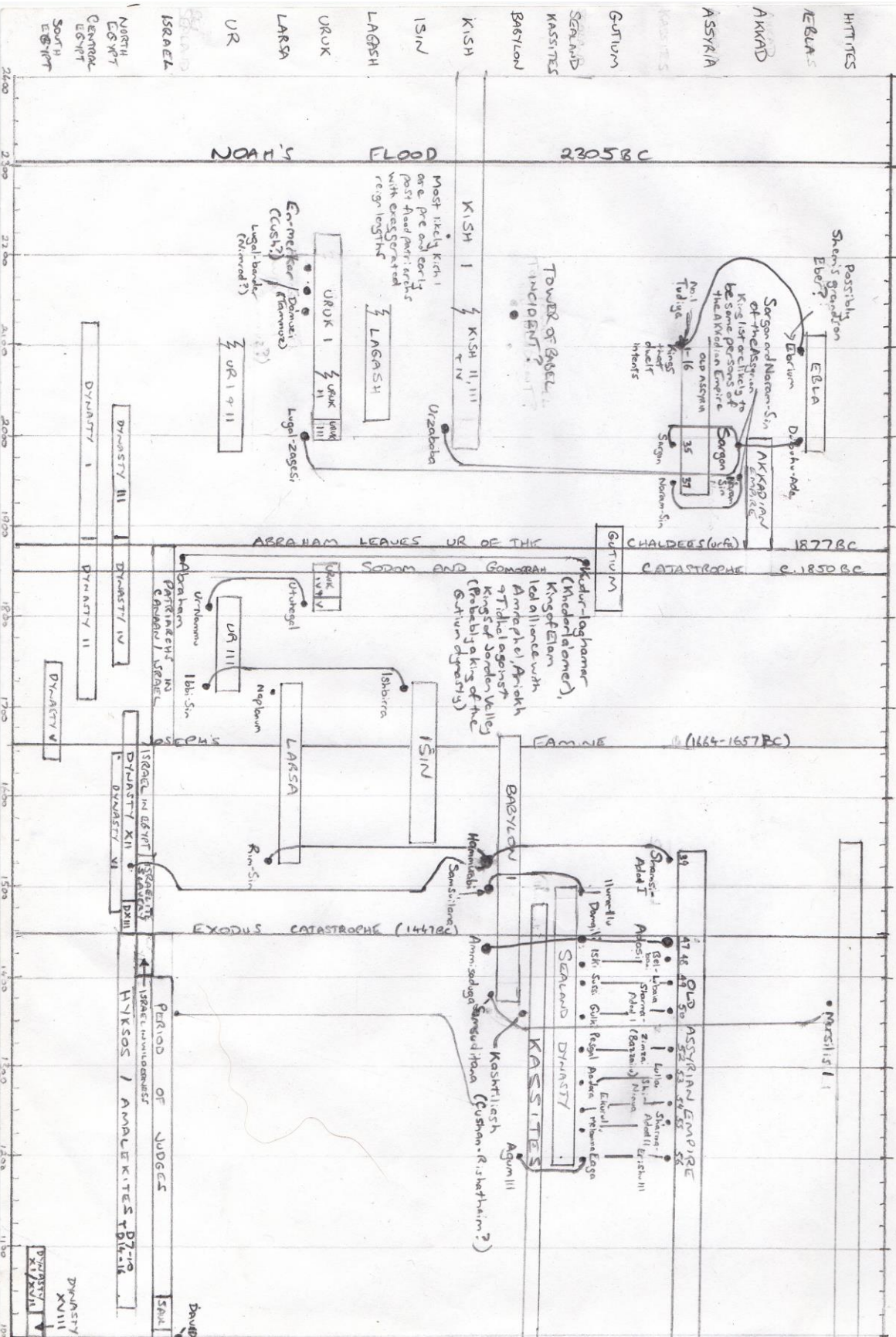
Herodotus was almost certainly referring to Kassites when he described "Asiatic Ethiopians" in the Persian army that invaded Greece in 492 BC. Herodotus was presumably repeating an account that had originally used the name "Cush", or something similar, to describe the Kassites; "Cush" was also a name for Ethiopia. A similar confusion of Kassites with Ethiopians is evident in various ancient Greek accounts of the Trojan war hero Memnon, who was sometimes described as a "Cissian" and founder of Susa, and other times as Ethiopian. According to Herodotus, the "Asiatic Ethiopians" lived not in Cissia, but to the north, bordering on "Paricanians" who in turn bordered on the Medes.

During the later Achaemenid period, the Kassites, referred to as "Kossaei", lived in the mountains to the east of Media and were one of several 'predatory' mountain tribes that regularly extracted 'gifts' from the Achaemenid Persians, according to a citation of Nearchus by Strabo (13.3.6).

The eastern Cushites would probably be Indian in appearance. The western Cushites are Ethiopians and, according to the research Craig White in his work "In Search of...The Origin of Nations", the Indians are the eastern branch of Cush so I would imagine Cushan-Rishathaim was a Kassite and was Indian in appearance.

On the next page is my chart showing my own placement of the early Mesopotamian dynasties.

Bc	2400
a300	2200
2200	2100
2000	1900
1800	1700
1600	1500
1400	1300
1200	1100
1000	



The kings of the Old Assyrian king lists sometime not long after Adasi and the Exodus catastrophe were likely vassals under the Kassites, who were not unlike the Hyksos in Egypt. The Middle Assyrian kings at some stage down the track re-asserted Assyrian domination.

King David had to deal with a conspiracy of nations that included Assyria which he defeated and this may have been the turning point that later saw the mighty Assyrians start to dominate again following the break-up of Solomon's mighty empire. In his book "The Lost Tribes of Israel...Found!" Steven Collins makes the following comments about this contest for control of the Middle East at the time:

The Phoenician-Israelite alliance united the world's greatest commercial and naval power with the immense land power of David's army, and the alliance very likely assumed a superpower status in the ancient world.

An indication of just how feared and respected this alliance was is in the fact that Assyria's warlike empire went into eclipse (in terms of westward expansion) from approximately 1093 B.C. until the middle of the Ninth Century B.C. One encyclopedic source refers to the time between 1100 B.C. and 900 B.C. as a period of Assyrian "confusion" between two warlike and expansionary phases. This time period coincides with the reigns of Kings David and Solomon over the united kingdom of Israel and its vassal nations. Halley's Bible Handbook also comments on the fact of Israel's supremacy in the ancient world at that time, and the relative weakness of Assyria, Babylon and Egypt.

Assyria's quiescence was due to the fact it came to respect Israel's military might too much to challenge it. Interestingly, the Bible gives one instance where the Mesopotamian powers (which included Assyria) came into a major armed conflict with King David's military and were soundly defeated.

The Bible states in 1 Chronicles 19:6-7 that the Ammonites hired a very large number of soldiers from Mesopotamian nations and Syria to fight King David's army. The Biblical passage shows the Ammonites hired an army of 32,000 chariots and additional warriors for this battle. The Israelite power prevailed, and the Mesopotamian warriors returned to their home nations considerably bloodied, but there is much more there than first meets the eye.

Assyria and the Mesopotamian powers were undoubtedly aware of the meteoric rise of King David's kingdom, and looked at him as a potential rival. As old-line military powers, they probably wanted to test David's power. Why else would a tributary people of David (the Ammonites), have committed a flagrant act of war against David's ambassador (I Chron. 19:1-5) unless they knew they were acting as a front for a large military power which supported the action? As the Bible shows, the Ammonites knew they had 32,000 chariots and a large number of Syrian and Mesopotamian warriors backing them. (As a comparison of how this force represented a national commitment on the part of the Mesopotamians, King Solomon is never listed as having more than 1,400 chariots during the zenith of his global influence (I Kings 10:24-26). Since Ammon was paying tribute to King David (I Chron. 18:11) it hardly had the resources to hire virtually whole national armies from Mesopotamia.

Obviously, the other nations wanted to challenge Israel in considerable force, and Ammon's revolt was the pretext to arrange a conflict. That the Bible uses the blanket term "Mesopotamia" to describe where this vast army came from indicates the foreign troops were a joint expeditionary force of the Mesopotamian nations (such as Assyria and Babylon). Interestingly, Syria and the Mesopotamian powers had enough respect for King David and Israel that they did not declare war openly, but allowed their

national armies to fight as "mercenaries" of a small nation. In this manner, they could go home if things went badly and say that they as nations were not technically at war with David.

As evidence of how the nations were actually arranging a test of David's military strength, the Bible states the Kings of the Mesopotamian powers and Syria came with their armies to observe the battle (1 Chron. 19:9). With 32,000 chariots this may have represented the combined chariot forces of Assyria, Babylon and their allied nations. This battle for supremacy of the Mid-east (the seat of world powers at the time) was fought in two massive stages. The initial stage of the battle is described in 1 Chronicles 9:8-15. Israel's standing army met the combined forces of Ammon, Syria and the Mesopotamian nations and defeated them in a two-front battle. The Mesopotamian powers are not mentioned in the second stage of the battle, so it is possible they retreated to their own lands after the first stage of the battle.

In the second stage of the battle recorded in 1 Chronicles 9:16-19, the Syrians and Israelites mobilized their entire national military resources and clashed (no more pretence of being Ammonite mercenaries on the part of the Syrians now). After suffering 47,000 dead, including their commander, the Syrians did not choose to fight to the bitter end. When "they saw they were put to the worse", Syria yielded and became a vassal nation of King David.

What began as a test of Israel's strength on the part of Syria and the Mesopotamian powers, resulted in Syria's loss of national sovereignty, and the Mesopotamian nations being put to flight. This battle occurred about 990 B.C., and must have been one of the greatest battles of that ancient world!

The rise of the Neo-Assyrian kingdom that struck terror into the hearts of its neighbours started to occur after the division of Israel into two kingdoms following the death of Solomon. For the next couple of hundred years it continued its expansion as a great power and eventually carried away the northern kingdom of Israel following their rebellion against God's ways.

The last part of this section on Mesopotamian chronology will be some charts showing the placements of the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian kings and synchronised with the kings of Israel and Judah and events of the Bible but before we go into that we need to investigate the ultra-radical chronologies of Emmett Sweeney and Gunnar Heinsohn.

### **Critique of Emmett Sweeney's Mesopotamian Chronology**

One of Gunnar Heinsohn's main supporters is Emmett Sweeney. In Sweeney's book "Ramessides, Medes and Persians" he covers in details many of the alter-ego equations noted in the previous article.

Emmett Sweeney's Mesopotamian chronology is built upon an apparently legitimate anachronism found in the stratigraphy of Mesopotamia where sites in both the north and south appear to be completely absent of any layer of Persian material despite orthodox history stating that the Persian empire reigned some 200 years over much of Mesopotamia.

The novel solution advocated by both he and Gunnar Heinsohn, who was the one who first seriously highlighted the absent Persian stratigraphic layers, is to equate the Persian kings with the kings of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires.

Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria is equated with Cyrus the Great of Persia right through to Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon being equated with Darius III, the last king of Persia.

Is this the correct solution to deal with the stratigraphic anachronism or is there another way to reconcile the history books with what archaeologists have discovered in Mesopotamia?

We will come back to the stratigraphic anachronism highlighted by Sweeney later followed by comparisons of his alter-ego equations but first we will look at some general comparisons between the three empires of Assyria, Babylon and Persia.

Having looked at the pros and cons we will go through here, my conclusion is that Sweeney has traded one anachronism for a large number of anachronisms to make his novel solution work.

What I am about to quote here is from an unnamed friend of a friend of mine, Adam Stuart, who passed this onto me in which the author critiques Sweeney's chronology by comparing the three great empires of Assyria, Babylon and Persia:

[Adam introducing this material]: To begin with, I will list key Near Eastern dates that my friend listed as introductory material:

Neo-Assyrian empire: c. 850 - 612 BCE  
Neo-Babylonian empire: 612 - 539 BCE  
Achaemenid Persian empire: 539 - 330 BCE  
Hellenistic, Ptolemaic, & Seleucid empires: 330 - 30 BCE

Conquest of Israel by Shalmaneser V & Sargon II = 721 BCE  
Neo-Assyrians crush revolt of Babylon = 709 BCE  
Neo-Assyrians besiege Jerusalem = 701 BCE (2 Kings 18-20)  
Neo-Assyrians destroy Thebes (No-Amon) in Egypt = 660 BCE  
Babylonians successfully rebel = 626 BCE  
Neo-Babylonian/Persian/Elamite coalition formed = sometime between 619 and 612 BCE  
Neo-Assyrian empire destroyed = 612 BCE

First neo-Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem = 597 BCE  
Neo-Babylonians destroy Jerusalem and deport leadership = 586 BCE (2 Kings 25)  
Neo-Babylonian empire destroyed by Persians/Medes/Elamites = 539 BCE

Decree of Cyrus letting exiles return to Jerusalem = 538 BCE (one verse given is 2 Chronicles 36)

Cyrus II (the Great) = 559 - 529 BCE  
Cambyses II = 529 - 522 BCE  
Darius I = 521 - 486 BCE  
Xerxes I = 486 - 465 BCE  
Artaxerxes = 465 - 425 BCE

[Adam - Here are some main points based on my friend's e-mail]:

1. Identity



(a) Ethnic - The Persians/Medes were/are and Indo-European people. The Assyrians/Babylonians were Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia [Adam - Not sure due to missing text, but it looks as though there might be a point here that the Assyrians/Babylonians were basically Eastern Semitic peoples, sometimes called Akkadians].

(b) Linguistic - The languages are quite different. Persian/Median is Indo-European...close to Sanskrit and more distantly to European languages Latin and Greek.

The situation in the Persian imperial period is complicated because of multiple languages. The royal archives and decrees are written in a combination of Old Persian in cuneiform, Babylonian, and Elamite in cuneiform. Later, the Old Persian was dropped in favor of Aramaic written in the Aramaic/neo-Hebrew alphabet. Aramaic became by the later 500s BCE the lingua franca of the Near East.

In the earlier Achaemenid times (550s-470s), there is never use of neo-Assyrian in the Persian documents. Neo-Babylonian was used by the scribes of the city of Babylon until the first century CE (rise of Parthian empire), with some borrowings from Persian and neo-Babylonian. Neo-Babylonian is used elsewhere for official Persian inscriptions, but only in bilingual or trilingual cases, with Persian and Elamite, or Persian and Aramaic.

It's worse than this, actually. The neo-Assyrian records never make use of any Persian loan words. The neo-Babylonian records of Cyrus also never make use of any Persian loan words. The Persians were evidently illiterate until Cyrus' time. They tried cuneiform for a while, but Persian is not adapted to it. So they switched to the Aramaic/neo-Hebrew alphabet, which is not associated in any way with neo-Assyrian records.

#### (c) Religion

Here the distinction is very sharp. The neo-Assyrians and neo-Babylonians worshipped a late version of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Central to this was the venerable worship of Bel-Marduk in the temple of Esagila next to the city of Babylon. The neo-Assyrians acknowledged the importance of Babylon and Bel-Marduk even when they put their own gods Asshur and Shamash first. The Babylonians were extremely into astrology, and the Assyrians picked it up from them.

The Persians/Medians originally worshipped a pantheon pretty much the same as the Hindu pantheon (Indra, Varuna, etc.) of the Rig [Veda]. Zarathustra came around 600 BCE or a little earlier and introduced worship of a theology of Good and Evil, with worship of the main god, Ahura Mazda. Zarathustra tried to get rid of the pantheon's daevas completely, something his later followers didn't quit. But the polytheism that remained was definitely Indo-Aryan, not Assyrian or Babylonian. The Persians also practiced no astrology. There is no mention in neo-Assyrian or neo-Babylonian sources of Zarathustra or his teaching.

There is no correspondence between the Persian and neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian religions.

## 2. Sequence of Empires

### (a) Neo-Assyrian

This empire began to conquer neighboring countries in the mid-800's. The first controlled synchronized date (853 BC) in conventional biblical chronology (not based on Egyptian assumptions) comes from synchronizing the battle of Karkar on the Orontes River, with Shalmaneser III winning against a coalition of Israel, Damascus, and other western Semitic ("Canaanite") kingdoms.

This empire is called neo-Assyrian because it was linguistically and religiously Assyrian. But unlike the old Assyrians, it had its capitals, not at Asshur, but at Kalah and then Nineveh. Sargon II started a new capital at Dur-Sharrukin, but never finished it.

This empire was destroyed by a coalition of the neo-Babylonians, Persians, Medes, and Elamites in 612 BCE. The last neo-Assyrian king (Assurballit II) (612-609 BCE) hung on in Haran for a few years. After that the Assyrians as a distinct nation completely disappear from history. The survivors would have assimilated into the Babylonian-speaking population, because the cultures/languages/religions were very close. How can the Persians/Achaemenids be, on the one hand, neo-Assyrians and on the other, destroyers of that very empire? This makes no sense at all.

The neo-Babylonians made a big deal about the coalition in their cuneiform records, and Nebuchadnezzar married a Median princess in 616 BCE to cement it. This was a special event, because religious ideas now had to be harmonized. (Nothing like this was needed between the Medes and the Persians, who had the same religions). The Persians for their part identified Ahura-Mazda with Bel-Marduk, but the need for this was unique and new for them. For the neo-Babylonians, the restoration of Bel-Marduk over Asshur and Shamash was the religious angle taken here. This doesn't make sense if the neo-Assyrians are earlier Persians and the neo-Babylonians are later Persians.

The peoples subjected to the neo-Assyrians were overjoyed by the destruction of this empire, and they are never confused with Persians/Medians anywhere. The neo-Assyrians were systematically cruel to their subject populations: savage punishments to rebels, deportations of conquered populations, forced repopulation of conquered territory by aliens, with Asshur proclaimed as the supreme god.

#### (b) Neo-Babylonian

This empire ruled from the city of Babylon, like the original Babylon (dynasty of Hamurapi). This empire, as well as its culture and religion, science, astrology, etc., are often called "Chaldean" in biblical and classical sources. No mystery there. The term "Chaldean" refers to the non-imperial aspects in general, not just the neo-Babylonian empire 612-539 BCE per se.

This empire was destroyed by a coalition of the Persians, Medes, and Elamites in 539 BCE. (Actually, the peoples in the empire just stopped fighting and welcomed Cyrus in.) If the later Persians/Achaemenids are neo-Babylonians, how could that very same people be the destroyers of itself? This makes no sense either.

There seem to be indications by ancient authors that the Chaldeans were a tribe or tribes with fairly well-defined territory in Southern Mesopotamia (see Ginethal's Pillars of the Past, such as pages 258-259). From reading that I have done I lean towards the view that Chaldean objects have been widely mislabelled Sumerian. It is strange that classical authors knew almost nothing about the literate Sumerians who, based on archaeology, left lots of pottery and artifacts and had a huge cultural influence on numerous aspects of Mesopotamian civilization. Yet ancient authors knew of the Chaldeans in the same area. I think that scholars need to pay attention to ideas of Ginethal and Sweeney and Heinsohn regarding the Chaldeans and so-called Sumerians, even if Sweeney is not correct regarding his proposed identifications of Persian rulers with neo-Assyrians and neo-Babylonians.

[The e-mail from which this information comes from then criticizes the idea that there is a huge gap between the old Babylonian and Hellenistic periods (over 1000 years by the conventional chronology), indicating that for some sites this may be true but that for the city of Babylon it is false. The e-mail argues that the city of Babylon was

occupied continuously from neo-Assyrian (800's BCE) to Parthian (100's CE) times. It argues that the city of Babylon, its priests, scribes, temples, businessmen, etc. were active over a 900-year period that is well-documented, during which Babylon was mostly ruled by foreigners. The e-mail indicates that there are records of these rulers, and that the "presence of foreign rulers (neo-Assyrian, Persian, and Hellenistic) is thoroughly documented".

Yet, I would add, there does seem to be some research indicating that the Achaemenid Persian empire seems to have had little impact on Babylonia (archaeologically?). Is this because the Achaemenids did not construct new permanent cities in Mesopotamia and because Persian is not adapted to cuneiform, so they would not have left many cuneiform tablets behind? See pages 266-268 of Pillars of the Past. - Adam]

(c) Persian [Achaemenid]

The Persians and the Medes (Parsa and Mada/Meda) are explicitly mentioned on neo-Assyrian tablets from 850 BCE onward as paying tribute and homage to the neo-Assyrian emperors. They later payed tribute to the neo-Babylonians. Persian pre-literate legendary history has the same. How can this be if Sweeney is right?

BTW, the neo-Assyrians and neo-Babylonians had horse-drawn chariots, but no cavalry. The Medes and Persians, being a horse-based culture, had cavalry and revolutionized warfare in the Near East.

Their capitals were at Ecbatana (northern Iranian highlands) and Susa = Shushan (extreme southeast Iran = Elam), with a permanent military encampment at Pasargade (Parsagard in central Iran). Later Darius and Xerxes built Persepolis in central Iran.

Their empire was destroyed by Alexander in 330 BCE. Alexander's troops looted and burned Persepolis. None of the classical sources ever refers to this event as a conquest of the neo-Babylonian/Chaldean empire.

[The e-mail from which this information comes from then also argues that none of the above empires, including also the Hellenistic (Alexander/Seleucid) empire, had the same capitals:

Neo-Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian	Persian	Hellenistic
Kalah Nineveh (Dur-Sharrukin) (Haran)	Babylon *	Parsagard** Ecbatana*** Shushan/Susa + Persepolis ++	Alexandria Seleucia

\* Also served as the administrative capital of the later Persian empire. But the identity of foreign rulers of Babylon (neo-Assyrian, Persian, Hellenistic) is always clear.

\*\*Original Persian capital, actually a permanent military base for an originally nomadic horse-based people.

\*\*\*Capital of the Medes and the summer capital of the Persian empire.

+Winter capital of the Persian court, the setting of the Book of Ester.

++New capital of Darius and Xerxes.]

This alone should be enough to tell you that Sweeney's proposal can't be right. While many sites were occupied, destroyed, and then never re-occupied, certain sites, especially the city of Babylon, were occupied continuously for a long time.

[Based on some earlier text that I skipped, Dur-Sharrukin was a new capital that Sargon II started but never finished; and Haran was a place where the last neo-Assyrian king Assuruballit II (612-609 BCE) hung on for a few years before the Assyrians as a distinct nation disappeared from history - Adam].

#### NOTE ON CONQUERED PEOPLES

The treatment of conquered peoples is strikingly different in the Persian case. The neo-Assyrians were systematically cruel and brutal. The neo-Babylonians were capriciously cruel and occasionally brutal.

The Persians let their subject peoples go home and restore their religious sites, so long as they did not revolt. They conscientiously practiced religious toleration of subject peoples for the first time known in history, and in this they were followed by the Greek rulers (with one known exception = Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Chanukah fame) and, generally speaking, the Romans.

The biblical sources confirm this picture of neo-Assyrians, neo-Babylonians, and Persians in detail. Furthermore, the neo-Assyrians (but not the other two) have records of conquering Israel and besieging Jerusalem; the neo-Babylonians (but not the other two) have records of conquering Jerusalem and later supporting the Judean leadership in exile; while the Persians (but not the other two) have records of letting the Judeans go back and nothing about conquering or besieging anything in Judea. These records match the biblical account, often to dates, turns of phrase, and borrowings of Persian words.

The first alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Tiglath-Pileser III** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Cyrus the Great** of Persia.

There are a couple of similarities between these two rulers. Firstly there is a certain similarity in their looks. Assisting Sweeney in his theory is the fact that the Neo-Assyrian and Persian rulers often had long curly beards. We see this style also with some of the Neo-Babylonian rulers. Both these rulers also had a reign length of around 18 years in length when you include Cyrus' reign before the conquest of Babylon.

The Bible records that Tiglath-Pileser III as the Assyrian king who began the deportation of the northern kingdom of Israel (1 Chronicles 5:26) deporting the tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasseh.

The Bible says that Israel was deported by Assyria first and then over 100 years later the southern kingdom of Judah was deported by Nebuchadnezzar of the Babylonian empire and then 70 years later Cyrus freed the Jews to go back to the land of Israel and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

The two rulers are mentioned in the Bible but are set two centuries apart – one being a conqueror of Israel, the other being the liberator of the Jews.

Sweeney admits that the two cannot be the same rulers if the Cyrus of the Bible was the same Cyrus the Great of Persia. He has a novel workaround for this. He quotes Iranian scholars who say that they hold Cyrus' name in contempt and that he is

identified with the Macedonian destroyers of Iran and her culture. He says this Cyrus of Iran tradition (and he asserts the Cyrus of the Bible) was Alexander the Great.

It is true that the character of Dhul-Qarnayn in the Koran has been identified as either Cyrus the Great and by others Alexander the Great. Whether this Koran character was real or fictional is debatable and the Koran was not written until nearly a millennium later.

The context of the scriptures clearly shows that the Cyrus of the Bible is intended to be understood as Cyrus the Great of the Persian empire. The events of Cyrus in the book of Ezra are clearly set chronologically before the events that speak of actions of the other Persian rulers in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther.

It is truly clutching at straws to say that the Cyrus of the Bible was Alexander the Great and that Alexander the Great was the one who liberated the Jews which the Greek records say nothing about.

Sweeney makes out that the Cyrus of the book of Ezra was intended to be Alexander the Great while the Cyrus spoken of by Isaiah was Cyrus the Great who he believes was one and the same as Tiglath-Pileser III. He quotes Isaiah 45:1 which speaks of Cyrus conquering Babylon, a feat that Tiglath-Pileser III also did as he expanded the Assyrian empire.

The flaw of this idea can be pointed out by looking at the previous verse in the book of Isaiah which says:

[God] says of Cyrus, *He is* My shepherd, and shall do all My pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, You shall be built; and to the temple, Your foundation shall be laid (Isaiah 44:28).

Here Isaiah clearly speaks of the decree by Cyrus the Great who allowed the Jews to go back and rebuild Jerusalem. The Cyrus who did this action could not possibly be the same ruler (Tiglath-Pileser III) who began the deportation of Israel before the Jews even went into captivity into Babylon.

Those who do not treat the Bible as the Word of God that it is will look for ways to discredit or downplay the Bible and God's ability to predict the future centuries in advance. In fact, the prophecy of Cyrus is one of the best examples of God's ability to predict the future even naming the liberator of the Jews by name before both Israel and later the Jews were taken into captivity. I quote the following from the section on Fulfilled Prophecy in Lesson 2 of my Young Adults Bible Study entitled "Is the Bible True?":

The prophet Isaiah was a prophet in the last days of the Kingdom of Israel before they were taken away captive by the Assyrians in 722 BC. God gave the following prophecy through him which came to pass to the letter nearly 200 years later:

"Thus says the Lord to His anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have held—To subdue nations before him and loose the armor of kings, to open before him the

double doors, so that the gates will not be shut: 'I will go before you and make the crooked places straight; I will break in pieces the gates of bronze and cut the bars of iron. I will give you the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places, that you may know that I, the Lord, who call *you* by your name, *am* the God of Israel" (Isaiah 45:1-3).

The large city of Babylon, with its massive high double walls, appeared impregnable from the outside. When Cyrus' Medo-Persian army encamped around the city, the Babylonians only laughed as they could survive a siege for years.

Unknown to the Babylonians, Cyrus' army were able to divert most of the water of the Euphrates River which flowed under the walls through the city. Cyrus had also gotten a spy into the city to open "the double doors" mentioned in Isaiah's prophecy. With the river level lowered and the gates opened the army was able to invade the city and conquer Babylon in 539 BC.

Josephus wrote that Cyrus was so impressed with the prophecy when the Jewish leaders showed it to him that he allowed the Jews who were captive in Babylon to go back and rebuild Jerusalem (Ezra 1:1-3) fulfilling another part of Isaiah's prophecy: "Who says of Cyrus, '*He is My shepherd, and he shall perform all My pleasure, saying to Jerusalem, 'You shall be built,' and to the temple, 'Your foundation shall be laid'*" (Isaiah 44:28).

Even the ingenious means of how Cyrus was able to conquer the Babylonian empire in the days of Nabonidus was predicted by God through Isaiah two centuries in advance.

Even though this specific means of conquering Babylon is not mentioned in Tiglath-Pileser III's conquest of Babylon some of the surrounding details of the conquest do bear some similarities as pointed out by Sweeney however Babylon has been conquered many times during its history so this is not definitive proof.

The Bible speaks of Darius the Mede who received the kingdom when the Babylonian empire fell (Daniel 5:30-31). Many Biblical scholars believe that Darius the Mede was Gubaru, the governor of Babylon under Cyrus the Great. Gubaru, governor of Babylon under Cyrus the Great, was King Darius in the famous story of Daniel being thrown into the lion's den.

Then Nabonidus Chronicle of the last king of Babylon records that Gubaru (Gobryas) conquered Babylon with Cyrus' army before Cyrus shortly later came into the city. Cyrus here is plainly linked to the fall of the Babylonian empire.

Daniel was a Jew, not one of the Ten Tribes of the northern kingdom of Israel who were deported by Sargon II.

Sweeney mentions one of Tiglath-Pileser III's titles as "the king of Tilmun (India) and Meluhha (Egypt/Ethiopia)" and those areas were partly within the Persian Empire of Cyrus. Are Tilmun and Meluhha to be equated with India and Egypt?

In A.H. Sayce's "Records of the Past of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia" he says that Tilmun was an island in the Persian Gulf and most likely Bahrain. This identification is supported by the fact we have an inscription of

Sennacherib who speaks of transporting goods to Tilmun by boat. Tilmun was also known as city in the days of Hammurabi.

D. Potts in "The Road to Meluhha" mentions three possibilities for its location. One was a place in NE Arabia mentioned by Esarhaddon, a place in NW Assyria mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser II and a place NE of Assyria attacked by Adad-Nirari II. Nothing is mentioned of Egypt or Ethiopia.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Shalmaneser V** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Cambyses** of Persia.

We read the following in 2 Kings 17 about the conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel:

2Ki 17:1 In the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah, Hoshea the son of Elah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, nine years.

2Ki 17:2 And he did evil in the sight of Jehovah, but not like the kings of Israel who were before him.

2Ki 17:3 Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against him. And Hoshea became his servant and gave him taxes.

2Ki 17:4 And the king of Assyria found treachery in Hoshea, for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and had brought no taxes to the king of Assyria, as before, year by year. And the king of Assyria shut him up and bound him in prison.

2Ki 17:5 And the king of Assyria went up into all the land. And he went up to Samaria and besieged it three years.

2Ki 17:6 In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria. And he placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

Most scholars believe that Shalmaneser V began the siege of Samaria and that he died in 722 BC during the time of the 3 year siege and that the king of Assyria who completed the capture of Samaria and the deportation of the northern kingdom of Israel was his successor, Sargon II, who usurped the throne of Assyria.

After the initial decree by Cyrus the Great that allowed the Jews to return to the land of Israel and begin work on the Temple in Jerusalem, enemies of the Jews conspire to stop the work. They write to a king known as Artaxerxes in Ezra 4 and succeed in having the work on the Temple stopped for a time.

Bible scholars are in agreement that this refers to an earlier king than the three Persian kings known by the name Artaxerxes (a generic title meaning mighty king) as later events speak of Darius and Xerxes who reigned before the three other Artaxerxes. They agree that this king in Ezra 4 was likely to have been Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus the Great of Persia as he was the ONLY king between Cyrus who commissioned the rebuilding of the Temple and Darius I who later reversed the order to stop the construction and allowed the Jews to complete the Temple.

If this is so, then the equation of Cambyses with Shalmanasser V makes no sense. The Kingdom of Israel has not been conquered in Shalmanasser's time while Cambyses stops the restarting of the Temple after the decree from Cyrus to free the Jews and allow them to restart the Temple.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Sargon II** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Darius I** of Persia.

The two points Sweeney points out as parallels to support this alter-ego equation was that both were usurpers and both put down rebellions in Babylon. Neither of these are uncommon events in ancient Middle Eastern history.

Sargon II was the king of Assyria who completed the siege and capture of Samaria and the deportation of the northern kingdom of Israel who were relocated to various parts of Media.

Darius, on the other hand, is described in the Bible as the Persian king who allowed the Jews to complete the completion of the Temple. How could the king who completed the deportation of the Israelite kingdom be the same king who allowed the Jews to complete the Temple?

The International Standard Bible Dictionary says the following about Darius I:

Upon the death of Cambyses, son and successor to Cyrus, Smerdis the Magian usurped the kingdom and was dethroned by seven Persian nobles from among whom Darius was selected to be king. After many rebellions and wars he succeeded in establishing himself firmly upon the throne (Ant., XI, i). He reorganized and enlarged the Persian empire.

He is best known to general history from his conflict with Greece culminating at Marathon, and for his re-digging of the Suez Canal.

In sacred history he stands forth as the king who enabled the Jews under Joshua and Zerubbabel [in Zechariah and Haggai's day] to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem.

Dr Floyd Jones in his book "The Chronology of the Old Testament" presents a good case that Darius I was the king who chose Esther, the Jewess, to be his queen.

In the book of Esther Ahasuerus (Greek form is Artaxerxes, a generic title meaning "mighty king") dethroned Queen Vashti for a disrespectful act and after having the best women in the empire brought before him chose Esther, a Jewess, as his queen in the third year of his reign (Esther 1). The attempted extermination of the Jews by Haman is thwarted after Esther's brave intercession to the king which all happened in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of his reign (Esther 3:7-8). Following these events after the 12<sup>th</sup> year we read that the king laid tribute to the land and the isles of the sea (Esther 10:1).

Floyd Jones notes that Diodorus Siculus relates that after Darius I subdued all the islands of the Aegean Sea that they were all lost again by Xerxes by his 6<sup>th</sup> year and not regained so this indicates that Xerxes was not Ahasuerus, the husband of



Esther. Esther 1:14 speaks of the seven princes of Persia echoing the story of the seven nobles who dethroned Smerdis following the death of Cambyses and from which Darius I was made king. His palace was at Shushan (Esther 1:2) which was only chosen as a royal residence from Darius I on.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Sennacherib** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Xerxes** of Persia.

The similarities cited by Sweeney include the following: similar reign lengths (Sennacherib 24, Xerxes 21), both defeated two rebellions in Babylon, they suppressed the Babylonian dieties in favour of their supreme God (Sennacherib – Ashur, Xerxes – Ahura Mazda and both of them were murdered in a palace conspiracy involving two or three sons.

The two personages, admittedly, are the most alike in biographical details and character.

Xerxes reigned for twenty-one years (486-465 BC). He invaded Greece with an army, it is said, of more than 2,000,000 soldiers, only 5,000 of whom returned with him. Leonidas, with his famous 300 Spartans, arrested his progress at the Pass of Thermopylae, and then he was defeated disastrously by Themistocles at Salamis.

Xerxes reign and war against Greece is prophesied in Daniel 11:2 where we read:

Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia [Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I].  
And the fourth [Xerxes] shall be far richer than all of them. And by his strength,  
through his riches, he shall stir up all against the kingdom of Greece.

The prophecy then skips past the reigns of Artaxerxes I and the remaining Persian kings to the time of Alexander the Great when the Greeks would have their vengeance on Persia.

Sweeney points out that Sennacherib, like Xerxes, defeated Greeks (Ionians) in hard fought hand-to-hand struggle. This battle that Sennacherib fought was in Cilicia in SE Turkey, not on mainland Greece where Xerxes fought with the Spartans so this is one key difference between the two. If Sennacherib fought the Greeks in such a massive and epic contest like Xerxes fought then it is quite unusual that this is not recorded in Assyrian records. While Xerxes' campaign was ultimately unsuccessful there was the conquest against the Spartans that would have at least been spoken about.

Both Xerxes and Sennacherib defeated two rebellions in Babylon and they suppressed the Babylonian dieties in favour of their supreme God (Sennacherib – Ashur, Xerxes – Ahura Mazda). Ahura Mazda was the supreme creator of Zoroastrianism and created the lesser dieties. Ashur was one of many gods of the Assyrian pantheon and appears to have been the deified Sargon I. That said, in fairness to Sweeney, the iconography of the two is virtually identical with both riding in the winged disc. One only needs to look them both up on Wikipedia to see that.

2 Kings 18-19 (and parallel passage II Chronicles 32:1-23) details Sennacherib's attack on Judah and capital Jerusalem. Hezekiah had rebelled against the Assyrians, so they had captured all of the towns in Judah.

Hezekiah realized his error and sent great tribute to Sennacherib, undoubtedly the tribute mentioned in the Taylor prism. But the Assyrians nevertheless marched toward Jerusalem. Sennacherib sent his supreme commander with an army to besiege Jerusalem while he himself went to fight with the Egyptians.

The supreme commander met with Hezekiah's officials and threatened them to surrender; while hailing insults so the people of the city could hear, blaspheming Judah and particularly God. When the King Hezekiah heard of this, he tore his clothes (as was the custom of the day for displaying deep anguish) and prayed to God in the Temple.

Isaiah the prophet told the king that God would take care of the whole matter and that he would return to his own land. That night, the angel of the Lord killed the entire Assyrian camp consisting of 185,000 troops.

Sennacherib soon returned to Nineveh in disgrace. Some years later, while Sennacherib was worshiping in the temple of his god Nisroch, two of his sons killed him and fled and his other son Esarhaddon reigned in his place.

The Bible shows Sennacherib conquering much of Judah but neither deports Jews nor is able to conquer Jerusalem. Assyrian records (The Taylor Prism) concur saying he locked up Hezekiah like a caged bird but nothing mentioned of a conquest of Jerusalem. Sennacherib has not conquered the Jewish kingdom which still has several decades of life before the Babylonians destroy Jerusalem.

The Bible shows the events of Xerxes life are after the conquest and deportation of the Jews.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Esarhaddon** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Artaxerxes I** of Persia.

Esarhaddon is mentioned three times in the Bible. There are two identical verses (2 Kings 19:37, Isaiah 37:38) which say the following:

And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.

The other reference is the story of the resistance to the building of the Temple in Ezra 4 (which scholars generally believe to have occurred in the reign of Cambyses) the enemies of the Jews in verse 2 mention that their people were originally brought to the land of Israel (to replace the deported Israelites) in the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria.

Following this story are events in the reign of Darius I where the Temple construction is restarted and later finished. After these events we read about Artaxerxes I at least two kings after Esarhaddon is mentioned in a retrospective sense about an event that occurred a long time earlier.

Artaxerxes I is the Persian king in the story of Nehemiah who found favour with the king who allowed him to lead another group of exiles back to Jerusalem to rebuild its walls.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Ashurbanipal** of the Neo-Assyrian empire with **Darius II** of Persia.

Many Biblical scholars believe that Ashurbanipal is the great and noble Osnapper mentioned in Ezra 4:9 who the adversaries of the Jewish exiles say in their letter to the Persian king say took captive many cities and settled their ancestors in the cities of Samaria. As noted above the Ezra 4:2 also indicates that this Assyrian king may have also been Esarhaddon.

Darius II is mentioned in the Bible once. Darius the Persian (Nehemiah 12:22) is mentioned as king late in the story of Nehemiah. His reign is about when the prophet Malachi prophesied and wrote the last book of the Old Testament. The Bible is silent during the last century (second half/decadent stage) of the Persian empire when the lesser Archaemenid kings ruled which was followed by Greek empire and then the Roman empire.

Darius' reign is only half that of Ashurbanipal. It is true that the decay of both the Assyrian and Persian empires began towards the end of their reigns and both lost control of Egypt near the end of them. These co-incidences aren't enough to prove these rulers were one and the same. The biographical data on these kings is fairly minimal.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Nabopolassar** of the Neo-Babylonian empire with **Artaxerxes II** of Persia.

The Wikipedia says the following about Nabopolassar:

Nabopolassar was the first king (ruled 625-605 BC) of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. He rose into revolt against the Assyrian Empire (which had ruled Babylon for the previous 200 years) in 626 BC, after the last significant Assyrian king, Assur-bani-pal, died in 627 BC.

The weakened Assyrians couldn't resist his power and that of the Medes, who combined to sack the Assyrian capital of Nineveh in 612 BC, at the Battle of Nineveh. Nabopolassar was left in control of Nineveh and destroyed the remnants of the Assyrian Empire in 605 BC. Nabopolassar waged war against Egypt from 610 BC until his death.

In 610 BC, Nabopolassar took the Assyrian city of Harran, where Assyrian forces had retreated after the fall of Nineveh. Later that year, his son Nebuchadnezzar succeeded him to the throne of Babylonia and won the Battle of Carchemish, fought against Pharaoh Necho of Egypt, shortly before Nabopolassar died.

The Wikipedia mentioned that Nabopolassar waged war against Egypt from 610 BC until his death. He was most likely the king of Assyria (since he now had conquered the land of Assyria it with the help of the Medes and Scythians) mentioned in 2 Kings 23:29 who Pharaoh Necho went up to fight near the Euphrates. Josiah, king of Judah, meddled in the affairs between these two superpowers when he opposed Necho as he was passing through Megiddo and Josiah lost his life by a stray arrow.

The Assyrians had the support of the Egyptians in the battle for Nineveh in 612 BC when the Assyrian empire fell to the Babylonians under Nabopolassar supported by the Medes and Scythians.

The Persian empires suddenly switch from being alter-egos of the Assyrian kings and now supposedly become the alter-egos of the Babylonians according to Sweeney.

Persia had lost control of Egypt around the time that Artaxerxes II became king in 404 BC and Egypt would enjoy independent rule under the 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> dynasties until 343 BC near the end of the next king of Persia, Artaxerxes III.

Some time into the reign of Nectanebo I (identified as the alter-ego of Ramses III by Velikovsky) who started to reign in 380 BC Artaxerxes II attempted to reconquer Egypt but was defeated by the Egyptians in a famous battle in the Nile Delta.

Nabopolassar's record with the Egyptians is better than Artaxerxes II's. He conquers Assyria who have the Egyptians as allies in Nineveh but does not fight them in their own land.

The next alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Nebuchadnezzar** of the Neo-Babylonian empire with **Artaxerxes III** of Persia.

Nebuchadnezzar reigned from 605-562 BC. He is mentioned in the Book of Daniel, and he constructed the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. He conquered Judah and Jerusalem, and sent the Jews into exile. According to Velikovsky he concluded a peace treaty with Egypt and identified this as the same one between Ramses II and the Hittites and no definitive record of a conquest exists.

Artaxerxes III was a powerful king, who late in his reign brought the rebels states of Syria back into the Persian empire and also reconquered Egypt four years before his death in 339 BC. There is some similarities in the Egyptians pharaohs that were defeated by Nebuchadnezzar and Artaxerxes III who were Necho II and Nectanebo I but different enough to indicate two different foes that they faced.

If Artaxerxes III was the alter-ego of Nebuchadnezzar then surely there would be some record clearly suggesting he conquered Judah and destroyed the Temple but there is no such record implying this.

The last alter-ego equation of Sweeney's is equating **Nabonidus** of the Neo-Babylonian empire with **Darius III** of Persia.

About the fall of Babylon the Chronicle of Nabonidus states:

In the month of Tašrītu, when Cyrus attacked the army of Akkad in Opis on the Tigris, the inhabitants of Akkad revolted, but he [Cyrus] massacred the inhabitants. The fifteenth day [12 October], Sippar was seized without battle. Nabonidus fled. The sixteenth day, Gobryas [litt: Ugbaru], the governor of Gutium, and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Afterwards, Nabonidus was arrested in Babylon when he returned there.

Notice that Nabonidus was not in Babylon when the city of Babylon fell. The International Standard Bible Dictionary has this to say about Belshazzar:

The Babylonian monuments speak a number of times of a Bel-shar-usur who was the "firstborn son, the offspring of the heart of" Nabunaid [Nabonidus], the last king of the Babylonian empire, that had been founded by Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, at the time of the death of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, in 626 B.C. There is no doubt that this Belshazzar is the same as the Belshazzar of Daniel. It is not necessary to suppose that Belshazzar was at any time king of the Babylonian empire in the sense that Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunaid were.

According to Easton's Bible Dictionary:

The absence of the name of Belshazzar on the monuments was long regarded as an argument against the genuineness of the Book of Daniel. In 1854 Sir Henry Rawlinson found an inscription of Nabonidus which referred to his eldest son.

The Bible's remarkable knack of being found historically accurate was not only added to by this discovery but also by a minor detail in the story of the handwriting on the wall. In Daniel 5:29 after Daniel interprets the meaning of the writing we read:

Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed Daniel with purple, and put a chain of gold about his neck, and made proclamation concerning him, that he should be the **third ruler** in the kingdom.

Why the third ruler in the kingdom? Simple. Belshazzar was the second ruler in the land because his father was the first ruler so he could not make him the second ruler of Babylon. The Bible plainly says that the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire was at the hands of the Medes and the Persians (Daniel 5:28). Again this all reinforces that the Biblical Cyrus was Cyrus the Great not Alexander the Great and that the Neo-Babylonian and late Medo-Persian kings were not one and the same.

Notice also that the Chronicle of Nabonidus, who Sweeney equates with Darius III, stated that Cyrus was the one who conquered Babylon. According to all historical records Darius III was defeated by Alexander the Great.

The Seder Olam was compiled by Rabbi Yose ben Halafta in the second century AD and is the basis for the Jewish chronology. The year 2010 will be, according to the Jewish chronology, the year 5761 since the creation of mankind, around 210 years short of the Bible chronology we looked at earlier.

The Jewish chronology misses 60 years from misunderstanding how old Terah was when he begat Abraham. The Jewish chronology reckons Terah as being 70 years old when Abraham was born. Genesis 11:26 tells us that "Terah lived 70 years and begot Abraham, Nahor and Haran." This gives the impression that Terah was 70 years old when he begat Abraham though we are plainly told that Abraham was 75 years old when Terah died at 205 (Genesis 11:32, Acts 7:4). It obviously had to be one of the brothers of Abraham who born when Terah was 70 years old.

The remaining difference of around 150 years comes from shortening the Kingdom of Persia from over 200 years to a little over 50 years. The kings after Darius II are completely left out. Darius II is correctly equated to Darius the Persian but incorrectly noted as the king Darius who Alexander the Great defeated. The kings of the decadent phase of the Persian empire - Artaxerxes II, III and IV are all left out as well as Darius III. In addition, the existing kings' reign lengths are compressed.

The years attributed to the Persian kings by the Jewish chronology are as follows:

Darius the Mede - 1 year  
Cyrus - 3 years  
Artaxerxes/Cambyses - 1/2 year  
Ahasuerus (Xerxes?) – 14 years  
Darius the Persian – 35 years

According to orthodox Persian chronology Artaxerxes I reigned 40 years and then Darius II reigned 18 years.

Artaxerxes I is left out in the Jewish chronology and half his reign is added to Darius the Persian's reign despite the fact that we are plainly told that there were two decrees in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> years of Artaxerxes I's reign involving beautifying the Temple and rebuilding the city and wall given to Nehemiah. These events are ascribed to Darius the Persian in the Jewish chronology so one would assume that the Jewish chronology sees the Artaxerxes of these decrees as an alternate name for Darius the Persian.

The effect of this shortened chronology conceals the fact that the 70 weeks prophecy of Daniel 9:24-27 points to Jesus Christ being the Messiah and also points the prophecy to Simon Bar Kokhba who led the second Jewish revolt in 132 AD.

Can this removal of the latter Persian kings be justified? Some christian scholars have also advocated the removal these latter Persian kings in order to make the decree of Cyrus the Great rather than one of the two in Artaxerxes I's reign be the starting point of the 70 weeks prophecy that is interpreted to say that there is 483 years between the decree and coming of the Messiah.

The last Persian king mentioned in the Bible is Darius II and the King of the North v King of the South prophecy jumps from Xerxes to Alexander the Great so can this removal of the latter Persian kings be justified historically?

In his article "Bible Chronology and Prophecy" William Dankenbring writes:

To support a 456 B.C. date for Cyrus, some 80-year gap theorists claim that the reigns of Darius II (19 years) and Artaxerxes II (46 years) and Artaxerxes III (21 years) should be cut out of the historical record as "FABRICATIONS." This would account for 86 years. But there is a slight problem with this suggestion. Archaeology disproves this idea, because the ROYAL TOMBS of these kings which supposedly "never existed" HAVE BEEN DISCOVERED!

"...in 1931 the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago began excavation of Persepolis ... Cut into the hill behind the platform on which Persepolis was built are the TOMBS OF ARTAXERXES II, ARTAXERXES III AND DARIUS III. At NaqshiRustam, only three miles from Persepolis, the end of a steep, narrow ridge of rock comes to an abrupt end in the plain. High up in the face of the cliff are the rock cut tombs of Darius I, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I and DARIUS II" (Collier's Encyclopedia, vol.15, p.567-568, article 'Persian Architecture: Achaemenid Period 553-330 B.C.').

Further archaeological evidence proves these kings existed. The remains of a palace of Artaxerxes III have been discovered at Persepolis. An inscription of Artaxerxes III himself on the walls of that palace reads:

"Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth: I (am) the son of Artaxerxes (II) the king; Artaxerxes (was) the son of Darius (II) the king; Darius (was) the son of Artaxerxes (I) the king; Artaxerxes (was) the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes (was) the son of Darius (I) the king; Darius was the son of Hystaspes by name. Hystaspes (was) the son of Arsames by name, the Achaemenid."

In addition to that, the latter century/decadent phase of the Persian empire is the perfect backdrop for the period of Egyptian independence where they broke away for a time from the Persian empire. This included the time of Nectanebo I's rule who Velikovsky equates with Ramses III, who started off in the Delta where he defeated the Persians but also reigned to southern Egypt where he built the temple of Medinet Habu.

There is no context for this in the time of the more powerful early kings of the Persian empire spoken of in the Bible but the latter Persian empire is the perfect context for these events.

Sweeney's chronology is built heavily on alter-ego identifications. While accepting Velikovsky's alter-ego equations (19<sup>th</sup>/26<sup>th</sup> dynasties and 20<sup>th</sup>/30<sup>th</sup> dynasties) he adds twice as many of his own.

I have always felt uneasy with Velikovsky's use of alter-ego identifications. While I tentatively believe he has done enough to prove his alter-ego identifications this type of evidence was always Velikovsky's weakest link in the evidence for his revised chronology and should only be put forth when you are absolutely sure.

While there are co-incidences between the biographical data of some rulers it only requires one clearly proved difference between two individuals to rule out such an alter-ego identification regardless of the similarities between them, hence how vulnerable this type of evidence is. Sweeney has gone way over and above with his use of alter-ego identifications which makes his chronology very vulnerable.

Sweeney's best chance for a correct alter-ego identification is with Sennacherib/Xerxes. He has presented some very good similarities with this one though the absence of any fighting against Greece in Greece in Sennacherib's records points against it.

Despite getting pretty close with that one, the remaining identifications as we have noted above are quite weak and by making those identifications he has created more problems with some of the many differences we've noted above than the problems he has solved.

I'd like to quote again two of the key points from the critique of my friend Adam's friend, comparing the Persians with the Assyrians and Babylonians to show the consistency in the historical records of the Jews and these empires that point against the equation of the Persians with the Assyrians and Babylonians as proposed by Sweeney:

The treatment of conquered peoples is strikingly different in the Persian case. The neo-Assyrians were systematically cruel and brutal. The neo-Babylonians were capriciously cruel and occasionally brutal. The Persians let their subject peoples go home and restore their religious sites, so long as they did not revolt...The biblical sources confirm this picture of neo-Assyrians, neo-Babylonians, and Persians in detail.

Furthermore, the neo-Assyrians (but not the other two) have records of conquering Israel and besieging Jerusalem; the neo-Babylonians (but not the other two) have records of conquering Jerusalem and later supporting the Judean leadership in exile; while the Persians (but not the other two) have records of letting the Judeans go back and nothing about conquering or besieging anything in Judea. These records match the biblical account, often to dates, turns of phrase, and borrowings of Persian words.

Given this historical consistency between the records of these peoples it is foolish to reject or "re-interpret" historical records like these in the way Sweeney has because of the apparent absence of any stratigraphical layer for Persia in Mesopotamian archaeology.

That said, how do we explain the apparent anachronism of the lack of Persian strata in Mesopotamia over which the Persian empire controlled for about 200 years?

It should be pointed out that in the stratigraphical evidence that Sweeney presents there is also no Babylonian strata in the northern Mesopotamian sites even though the Babylonian empire ruled over that area for 100 years after Nineveh fell.



The Babylonians lived a lot closer to Assyria than the Persians and their empire and control over Assyria lasted nearly a century yet they left no strata in Assyria as well. They certainly did in Babylon as the Persians did in their own country.

Let's also look at a modern day example. The Russians controlled Eastern Europe for some 50 years after World War II during the time of the Cold War. Would archaeologists in a few hundred years time find any Russian layer or archaeological evidence to prove that the Russians controlled Eastern Europe for 50 years or would they be completely reliant on historical records?

The fact of the matter is that conquering peoples do not always leave archaeological layers proving their existence in a region if they merely held those regions as vassal states rather than colonised the region themselves as proven by the lack of Babylonian strata when the Babylonians ruled Assyria.

In light of my comments above let's take another look at what Sweeney writes about the stratigraphic puzzle found in Mesopotamia:

Thus for example in Lower Mesopotamia, which classical authors designated as the home of the Chaldaeans, a new and mysterious nation, whose language bore no relationship to any other known, was discovered. Scholars labelled these people "Sumerians", after the ancient name of the region. Of the Chaldaeans, whom they had expected to find, there was hardly a trace.

The Sumerians, it was found, were actually the oldest literate nation; for in the deepest strata of the Lower Mesopotamian sites, archaeologists discovered mankind's first transitional pictographic/syllabic script, written in the Sumerian tongue.

In the strata above the Early Dynastic Sumerians, as they came to be called, scholars found evidence of yet another previously unknown race; the Akkadians. This nation, which used a Semitic language, was found to have built a great empire that eventually encompassed the whole of Mesopotamia. Indeed Akkadian kings claimed to have subdued lands outside Mesopotamia, and it soon became clear that archaeology had stumbled upon the world's first great military power. The Akkadian kings claimed to have conquered the ancient land of Assyria, and one of them, Sharrukin, bore a name strangely reminiscent of the Assyrian king Sargon, well known from the Hebrew Scriptures.

After a few generations, the Akkadian empire crumbled, and the non-Semitic Sumerians regained their independence. In the cities of Lower Mesopotamia, scholars found eloquent testimony to the high level of civilisation now attained by these "Neo-Sumerians." There was clear proof of an accurate and standardised system of weights and measures, as well as an established form of currency. This was astounding, because scholars had expected no such thing until the 7th century BC, whilst the Neo-Sumerians, for reasons we shall touch on presently, had already been placed much earlier. But then everything about the Neo-Sumerians looked incredibly advanced. Their buildings, for example, were found to have employed the arch, an architectural feature supposedly unknown till the 7th century; indeed until the time of the Chaldaean Neo-Babylonians.

Now there were one or two voices who initially did try to link the Sumerians with the Chaldaeans, and the Akkadians with the Assyrians, for the sequence of Early Sumerians, followed by Semitic Akkadians, followed by Neo-Sumerians, seemed to correspond with the sequence of Mesopotamian history as described by the Classical authors, which went from Early Chaldaeans, to Semitic Assyrians, to Neo-Chaldaeans. This was further suggested by the fact that the only ancient people

discovered in Lower Mesopotamia, which the ancients described as the home of the Chaldaeans, were the Sumerians.

Archaeology steadfastly refused to reveal the existence of any other people who could be identified with the Chaldaeans. But attempts to link the Sumerians and Chaldaeans were quickly discarded, because such an identification also implied the equation of the Akkadians with the Assyrians, and this could not be correct, since archaeologists were already excavating material from the Assyrian period far above the levels of Akkadian and Sumerian occupation.

The remains of this Assyrian culture, later to be designated Neo-Assyrian, left no doubt that this was the epoch of the mighty Assyrian Empire known to us through the classical and biblical authors. Amongst the records of the Neo-Assyrian kings were found the cuneiform versions of well-known names such as Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. Scholars were jubilant at the discovery of these men, and the Hebrew Scriptures, which were our main source of information about them, seemed to be completely vindicated.

It was therefore agreed that the Akkadians and Sumerians, both of whom came stratigraphically long before the Neo-Assyrians, were indeed races unknown to classical antiquity. The discovery of these peoples was hailed as one of the great triumphs of modern scholarship.

But together with these triumphs, there was much disappointment. The absence of the Chaldaeans, in the very place they should by all accounts have occupied was bad enough. But it soon emerged that an even greater disappointment was in store. For the Persians, who were known to have occupied Mesopotamia for two centuries, appeared to have left virtually no evidence of their stay in the region at all. This was an incredible state of affairs. How could it be that the Persians, whose two centuries of rule in the region marked one of the most vibrant periods of Mesopotamian history, did not appear in the archaeological record?

Asking themselves this question, scholars desperately sought for Achaemenid material in site after site. But to no avail. The expected Persian material was to be found in neither Lower nor Upper Mesopotamia. The stratigraphies of the latter two areas generally contained significant differences; but in this they consistently agreed. The Persians were absent. A typical Assyrian stratigraphy (as for example at Tell Hamadiyah, Munbaqa, Barak, Balawat, and Nimrud) looks thus:

Hellenists (after 330 BC)  
Middle and Neo-Assyrians (1350-610 BC)  
Mitanni (1550-1350 BC)  
Akkadians (2300-2200 BC)  
Early Dynastic Sumerians (until c.2300 BC)

In face of such difficulty, it was eventually suggested that the destruction of Assyria by the Medes and Chaldaeans in the years following 610 BC had been so total that the area was not reoccupied. Assyria, it was conjectured, must have been a wasteland during the Persian epoch. However, it had to be admitted that such a solution seemed to be Herodotus, who informed us that the satrapy of Assyria was the wealthiest in the empire, contributing more in taxes than any other region.

If the absence of the Persians in northern Mesopotamia was problematic, it was a complete enigma in the south. No claim could be made that Babylonia and Chaldaea was a wasteland in this age, for Babylon was well-known to have been the second city of the Achaemenid Empire - a fact that the Classical authors never tired of repeating. Indeed, towards the end it seems even to have superseded Persepolis and Susa. Yet, here again, no evidence of Persian occupancy could be found. A typical Lower Mesopotamian stratigraphy (as for example at Bismaya, Der, Mashkan Shapir, and al-Ubaid) looks thus:

Hellenists (after 330 BC)  
Old Babylonians (2000-1800 BC)  
Neo-Sumerians (2200-2000 BC)  
Akkadians (2300-2200 BC)  
Early Dynastic Sumerians (to c.2300 BC)

If the hiatus (period of non-occupation) observed in northern Mesopotamia between Neo-(or sometimes Middle) Assyrians and Hellenists caused surprise, the hiatus observed in southern Mesopotamia, between Old Babylonians and Hellenists caused utter consternation. The gap in the north was measured in centuries; in the south it was measured in millennia. Material to fill the centuries between the Old Babylonians (dated to the early second millennium) and the Hellenists (after 330 BC.) was repeatedly sought, but could nowhere be found. Unable to explain the absence of the Persians, as well as the other kingdoms and cultures intervening, scholars eventually gave up trying. The problem was declared to be "intractable", and left at that.

Thus the archaeologists, whose histories of the ancient world are housed in the great libraries of the world, disclosed to us the existence, in Mesopotamia, of peoples and kingdoms unknown to the Classical authors, but failed completely to add anything to our knowledge of the ancient peoples mentioned by those same authors. Only the Assyrians, it is held, are equally well represented in the archaeological and literary sources. Thus, our knowledge of the previously unknown Sumerians and Akkadians comes entirely from the materials excavated by the archaeologists, whilst our knowledge of the Chaldaean and Persian epochs comes entirely from the Classical authors.

For close to a century now scholarship has, by and large, been content with this state of affairs. Over the past few years however this and related problems have been highlighted by Professor Heinsohn, of Bremen University, who has advocated some radical solutions involving what can only be described as major surgery to our whole Mesopotamian historiography.

**According to Heinsohn, the Sumerians and Akkadians were indeed the Chaldaeans and Assyrians of the ancient authors; and it is no coincidence that the sequence of Early Sumerians - Akkadians - Neo-Sumerians matched so well the sequence known to us from the Classical sources; Early Chaldaeans - Assyrians - Neo-Chaldaeans.**

However, having made these equations, Heinsohn was still presented with the problem of the Neo-Assyrians who, after all, come well above the Akkadians stratigraphically. Observation of the Assyrian sites revealed the presence of Neo-Assyrian remains in the last pre-Hellenic layers - in other words in just the place we should have expected to find the Persians.

Thus Dr. Heinsohn was compelled to identify these Neo-Assyrians with the Achaemenids, who otherwise were completely underrepresented. This conclusion was further strengthened by the fact that the Mitanni, whom Dr Heinsohn had already equated with the Medes, always appeared in the stratum directly preceding the Neo-(or sometimes Middle) Assyrians.

Such a conclusion of course has far-reaching consequences. Most immediately, it means that the Neo-Assyrians mentioned in Biblical sources, such as Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, were not Assyrians but Persians, and therefore could not possibly be the same as the Assyrian kings overthrown by the Medes and Chaldaeans, known to us from classical literature.

I believe that there is some truth to the equations Heinsohn and Sweeney make equating the Sumerians with the Chaldeans. Sumer and Akkad were names applied

to southern and northern Mesopotamian regions as late as the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian empires. We know this from the Cylinder Seal of Cyrus of the Persian empire who said:

I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, **king of Sumer and Akkad**

The Greeks obviously colonised Mesopotamia leaving remains of their occupation and, if Sweeney and Heinsohn's stratigraphic information is correct, it would appear as if the Persians did not leave remains of any occupation simply ruling Mesopotamia as a vassal state.

The fictional character Sherlock Holmes is quoted as saying "If you eliminate the impossible whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth".

As we have seen, the impossible is that the Neo-Assyrians were the same as the Persians. The two possibilities we are left with are that either Heinsohn has misrepresented the information about the lack of the Persian layer OR, as improbable as it might be, the Persians did not leave behind any evidence of their occupation that archaeologists have yet uncovered.

A.H. Rees in his article quoted previously "A Chronology for Mesopotamia (contra Heinsohn)" gives some evidence for the former possibility where he writes:

This re-introduced the criticism of Lester J. Mitcham as regards the stratigraphy of Babylon. It showed that an early or low stratum contained artifacts of Hammurabi's dynasty. But much higher than that, and hence much later in time, was a layer containing artifacts from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II, Neriglissar and Nabonidus. One stratum higher than this contained remains belonging to the Persian domination period. These quite unambiguous details illustrate how Heinsohn's proposals, whereby Hammurabi was the same as the Persian King Darius 'the Great' (who ruled after Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus), is apparently clearly denied by the stratigraphy of Babylon.

With regard to this study, so far as the dynasty of Hammurabi was concerned, in October 1991 Heinsohn was of the opinion that the stratigraphy at Babylon had been poorly established and that conventional interpretations of it had been based on incorrect information. He felt that the content of his papers on related stylistic matters, technical developments, stratigraphical anomalies were more significant. However, his misgivings plus the various anomalies he highlights seem to be insufficient to resolve the problem Study 1 poses for him.

Regardless of whether Heinsohn has got his stratigraphic facts correct or not, there is far too much evidence against his rather bizarre equation of the Neo-Assyrians kings with the Persian kings.