

7. CHRONICLES

Sources

Sumerian:

- **Tummal Chronicle** (or Tummal inscription⁵¹⁵): from Kiš I to Ur III dynasty (Ur-Nammu, Amar-Sîn, Ibbi-Sîn); of limited use for chronology⁵¹⁶

Akkadian:

- **Dynastic Chronicle = ABC no. 18**: from the antediluvian period to the 8th cent.; of limited chronological use (→ **BKL**)
- **Weidner Chronicle = ABC no. 19**: from the Early Dynastic period to the Babylon I dynasty (Sumu-laël); of propagandistic nature, the information given cannot be trusted
- **MEC (→ Eponyms)**⁵¹⁷
- **Chronicle of the Early Kings (= King Chronicle) = ABC no. 20**: from Sargon of Akkad to the Kassite period (Agum III); valuable for the historian, but verification impossible due to the lack of texts from this period
- **Synchronistic History = ABC no. 21**: from Puzur-Aššur III until the reign of Adad-nirārī III; Assyrian propaganda, therefore must be used with caution; see Chronicle P
- **Chronicle P = ABC no. 22**: Kassite period: 14th–12th cent. BC; more reliable than the Synchronistic History
- **Eclectic Chronicle = ABC no. 24**: from Isin II dynasty (before Marduk-šāpik-zēri) until a period later than Šalmaneser V.
- **(Chronicle of Market Prices = ABC no. 23**: from Babylon I dynasty [before Hammu-rāpi] until the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun)⁵¹⁸

- **Chronicle BM 27796 = ABC no. 25 (hypothetically)**: from the Kassite dynasty (reign of Adad-šuma-ušur) to the Isin II dynasty (reign of Adad-apla-iddina)

General

EDZARD (1980–1983) 85–86; GLASSNER, *ChrMés* (and 2004 = English translation of *ChrMés*); GRAYSON, *ABC* and (1980–1983) 86–88; WALKER (1982) 398–417; <http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html> (Aug. 2007)

Selected further studies

BRINKMAN (1962) 84–85, MSKH and (1995) 667–670; GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 47 and table; GRAYSON (1980) 171–182; HALLO (1983) 13–14; KRECHER – MÜLLER (1975) 24, 28–30; RENGIER (1996) 9–60; SCHMIDTKE (1952) 20–29; VAN SETERS (1997) 79–92; WILCKE (1988) 130–133

General Features and Historical Relevance

GRAYSON, *ABC* 4 defines chronographic texts, which include KLS and chronicles, as those which are essentially composed along chronological lines.⁵¹⁹ Chronicles are prose narrations of events arranged in chronological order⁵²⁰, sorted by rulers or years: “... Allem Anschein nach sind solche Chroniken aus fortlaufenden und dann tradierten Aufzeichnungen von Zeitgenossen hervorgegangen ...”⁵²¹ A distinction among types of chronographic texts is essential, but it is not always possible to categorize a text. For instance chronicles and KLS are closely interrelated and sometimes cannot be differentiated from each other (like the Dynastic Chronicle). The beginning of the AKL simply lists one ruler after another (and therefore is a clearly distinguishable chronographic

⁵¹⁵ See for instance BRINKMAN (1995) 667 for its doubtful classification as a chronicle.

⁵¹⁶ For the various tablets of the Tummal Chronicle see OELSNER, in: *FS Wilcke* (2003) 209–224 (including new collations).

⁵¹⁷ The MEC is not necessarily considered a chronicle: BRINKMAN (1995) 667.

⁵¹⁸ This ‘chronicle’ is irrelevant to chronology (VAN SETERS [1997] 90) and will therefore not be further discussed.

⁵¹⁹ GLASSNER (2004) 37: “Lists and chronicles certainly belonged to the same chronographic genre, since their authors were motivated by the same concern for chronological order...”

⁵²⁰ See a special case, the MEC, where at least one important event is chronicled for each eponym year (BIROT [1985] 219–242: “Assyrian Chronicles”).

⁵²¹ KRECHER – MÜLLER (1975) 29.

text); but the narrative sections in it belong to the chronicle genre (GRAYSON, ABC 4): “Thus the Assyrian King List illustrates quite well the fact that it is impossible to study chronicles in isolation from king lists.”⁵²²

The study of these texts in terms of ancient literary patterns (GRAYSON, ABC 5–6 and 193–201) helps to elucidate their origin and actual purpose. First it is important to note the state of preservation, the size and shape of the tablet. Large tablets usually contain colophons and in some cases they are part of a series (Babylonian Chronicle series⁵²³). They contain “catch lines” and formed an integral part of a library. By contrast small tablets, shaped like business documents, were usually composed for private use (the Eclectic Chronicles [ABC nos. 23–24] and Chronicle BM 27796). GLASSNER (2004) 38 referred to chronicles as “a kind of handbook that reduced history to a series of facts.”

Since date-lists and the late chronicles have identical patterns, it may be that by the time the year-names were being replaced by dating according to regnal years (around 1500 BC or later), scribes continued to compile such texts, although the original purpose for them no longer existed. However, this is nothing more than a hypothesis, since no texts are known from the transitional period and the text-group “chronicles” has no uniform pattern.⁵²⁴ Four literary patterns or formulae can be distinguished:

- A) “The year when ...”; “X (number of years) were/are the years of the king” (ABC nos. 1–17)
- B) “The king ruled for X years” (Dynastic Chronicle: therefore also considered as a KL → **BKL**)
- C) Royal name followed by narrative (Tummal Chronicle, Weidner Chronicle, King Chronicle, Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1)⁵²⁵
- D) Synchronistic pattern: two contemporary rulers of different countries are put side by side

(Chronicle P, Synchronistic History, Eclectic Chronicle)⁵²⁶

The various types of chronographic texts have connections with one another (for details see GRAYSON [1980] 172–177), though their origin and function differ (VAN SETERS [1997] 80, GLASSNER [2004] 38–39); thus one can distinguish between KLs and chronicles. As GRAYSON pointed out, chronicles (among other texts) also served as a source for the compilation of the **AKL** and for (Assyrian) **royal inscriptions**.⁵²⁷ Chronicles may also have been used for keeping track of synchronisms throughout history to bridge periods of political instability (e.g., **DUB-pi-šu**-periods; RÖLLIG (1969) 274–275 distinguishes between chronicles and texts written chronicle-style). Still, it is purely hypothetical that chronicles were the forerunners of the **AKL**. It is more likely that **ELs** served as the primary source material for KLs (→ **KEL**).⁵²⁸

“Mixed” texts (different formulation and emphasis)

The classification of historiographical texts is widely debated.⁵²⁹ Basically, chronicles are narratives of political or religious events in chronological order (→ above). GLASSNER (*ChrMés*) defines chronicles as prose texts written in the third person that briefly note selected events by date. However BRINKMAN (1995) 668 pointed out that all these characteristics can be found in royal annals as well (e.g., the Black Obelisk of Šalmaneser III). On the other hand, it has been noted that royal inscriptions might have served as source material for chronicles (such as for the Synchronistic History). Some chronicles like the (Assyrian) Synchronistic History and the (Babylonian) Chronicle P, contain epic-like sections with direct speech and thus do not conform to the rest of the chronicle tradition.⁵³⁰ GRAYSON, ABC 194–195 noted that the distinction between date-lists and chronicles is that the characteristic formula of chronicles is “**year – x – narration**” whereas that of date-lists is “**year – narration**” or “**x – year-name of the**

⁵²² See LANDSBERGER (1954) 34–36 for the chronological parts of the **AKL** involving Šamši-Adad’s I seizure of the throne.

⁵²³ Its main source material was the astronomical diaries (see also the Chronicle of Market Prices, ABC no. 23). See for instance VAN SETERS (1997) 80ff. with literature.

⁵²⁴ Other factors may have played some role, such as the use of these tablets for divination, or simple cultural/religious conservatism (GRAYSON, ABC 5).

⁵²⁵ Note that most texts of this group also report on the earlier periods.

⁵²⁶ Note also the **Synchronistic KL**.

⁵²⁷ (1980–1983) 86 and (1980) 164–170; see RÖLLIG (1969) 90 who also pointed out Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions with historical excursus.

⁵²⁸ In his elaborate 1969 study, RÖLLIG argued against **ELs** as sources for the **AKL** (pp. 88–92).

⁵²⁹ See DREWS, *Iraq 37* (1975) 39–56 (especially on Babylonian chronicles). For a general view on the historiographic value of chronicles see also VAN SETERS (1997) 91–92.

⁵³⁰ On the relationship between the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P see VAN SETERS (1997) 86–87.

king". These formulae suggest a close connection between the two types; but chronicles certainly must have drawn on more sources than date-lists because they were written for specific purposes or aimed at specific topics such as building activities (Tummal Chronicle), the burial places of kings (Dynastic Chronicle), the provision of fish for the Marduk-cult (Weidner Chronicle), the history of Assyro-Babylonian relations (Synchronistic History, Chronicle BM 27796, King Chronicle), events relating to Babylonian history (Chronicle P, BM 27796, King Chronicle) and commercial quotations in astronomical diaries (Chronicle of Market Prices). Various formulae are used depending on the chronicles' purpose. These different patterns of narrative may have been derived from such other sources⁵³¹ as omen texts,⁵³² astronomical diaries,⁵³³ date-lists,⁵³⁴ other chronicles,⁵³⁵ royal inscriptions, annals, literary texts, etc.⁵³⁶ As GLASSNER (2004) 45 stated: "The question of sources is practically insoluble". (See id., pp. 46–48 on the various historiographical writings of Assyria and Babylonia which could have served as source material for some chronicles).

Not all the texts designated as "chronicle" by GRAYSON, ABC or GLASSNER, *ChrMés* are universally agreed to be such. GALTER (2000) 29–33 objected to the designation "chronicle" for the Synchronistic History on the basis of its use of language, in which he saw connections to royal inscriptions, treaties and epics (**Tukulti-Ninurta epic**).⁵³⁷ In particular the Synchronistic History's closing sentence he believed to have been copied from a *narû*-inscription,⁵³⁸ a type of literary text (p. 33). Galter regarded the Weidner Chronicle and Chronicle P as literary letters.⁵³⁹ The early part of the King Chronicle clearly contains source material from omens, as does the Weidner Chronicle. On the other hand the Dynastic Chronicle, which starts with the antediluvian dynasties,⁵⁴⁰ shows very close parallels in form and style to the SKL (GRAYSON [1980] 177–180).⁵⁴¹ GRAYSON observed that none of the chronicles which cover particularly long

periods of time contains typologically uniform entries. Their purpose of compilation therefore often remains unknown. The debate on the classification of Mesopotamian chronicles and texts dealing with chronology will certainly continue. Due to the varying nature of chronicles as well as the diversity of topics and periods treated, different times of redaction are proposed (for a detailed description and study of chronicles see GRAYSON, ABC 29ff. and [1980–1983] 86ff.). Most of them date to the 1st millennium BC.⁵⁴²

- **King Chronicle:** unknown (preserved on two late Babylonian tablets)
- **Dynastic Chronicle:** unknown (8th cent.?, preserved tablet from the Aššurbanipal library in Nineveh)
- **Weidner Chronicle:** 7th/6th cent. BC (KRECHER – MÜLLER [1975] 25): three copies preserved, one Neo-Assyrian and two Neo-Babylonian; earliest redaction perhaps done during the late Kassite period/early Isin II dynasty or Babylon I dynasty
- **Eclectic Chronicle:** 1st millennium BC
- **Synchronistic History:** 1st millennium BC (from the Aššurbanipal library in Nineveh; Adad-nīrārī III: see GALTER [2000] 34)
- **Chronicle P:** 1st millennium BC (according to GRAYSON, ABC 56 original might be dated to 1157 BC)
- **Middle Assyrian chronicles (fragments):** 14th/12th cent. BC (KRECHER – MÜLLER [1975] 29)
- **Tummal Chronicle:** Isin I dynasty

Synchronistic Ties and Relations

Babylonian chronology is ultimately based on synchronisms with Assyrian rulers, which are mainly provided by the Synchronistic KL, Assyrian royal annals and chronicles. Basic information on synchronisms between Assyria, Babylonia and (to a limited extent) Elam can be drawn from the Synchronistic History, Chronicle P (including Elamite kings) and Chronicle BM 27796.⁵⁴³ However, within the chroni-

⁵³¹ GALTER (2000) 31.

⁵³² FINKELSTEIN, *PAPS* 107 (1963) 470.

⁵³³ GRAYSON, ABC 13–14; VAN SETERS (1997) 81; On astronomical diaries see HUNGER – SACHS, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, Wien 1988, 1989, 1996 and 2001.

⁵³⁴ For example, the Babylonian Chronicle series: GRAYSON (1980) 173.

⁵³⁵ For example, the Weidner Chronicle obviously provided source material for the King Chronicle.

⁵³⁶ KRECHER – MÜLLER (1975) 29–30.

⁵³⁷ See also GRAYSON (1980) 181.

⁵³⁸ See KRECHER – MÜLLER (1975) 20–21, PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, *WO* 30 (1999) 67–90 and SLANSKI (2000) 95–114.

⁵³⁹ See AL-RAWI, *Iraq* 52 (1990) 1–13 on the tablet IM 124470.

⁵⁴⁰ See FINKEL, *JCS* 32 (1980) 65–72.

⁵⁴¹ BRINKMAN (1993–1997) 6 designated the Dynastic Chronicle as a KL. The Dynastic Chronicle is closely related to the SKL, but differs by the additional statement that "the king was buried in ...". → **BKL**

⁵⁴² See VAN SETERS (1997) 79–92. For a different view on the dependency of the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P from that of GRAYSON see pp. 86–87.

⁵⁴³ SCHMIDTKE (1952) 21ff. discussed some of the most important synchronisms for chronology.

cles no exact reference point in time for the synchronisms is provided (→ **General** sub **1.2.**).⁵⁴⁴ This makes the construction of an absolute chronology on the basis of the chronicles cited above nearly impossible, although refinements are sometimes possible (e.g. Ninurta-apil-Ekur). In combination with annals, an approach towards a closer chronological framework can be accomplished. The annals also often correct false statements in the chronicles (see Chronicle P). → **General** sub **1.6.2.**

Specific synchronisms are cited in the ancient sources:

Puzur-Aššur III & Burna-Buriaš I
(Synchronistic History)

Aššur-bēl-nišēšu & Kara-indaš
(Synchronistic History, see GRAYSON, ABC 222)

Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē II & Kurigalzu I
(?; → sub Chronicle P)

Erība-Adad I & Kurigalzu I
(?; → sub Chronicle P)

Aššur-uballiṭ I & Burna-Buriaš II
(Synchronistic History)

Aššur-uballiṭ I & Karakindaš
(Synchronistic History, see GRAYSON, ABC 211 and 222 sub Karaḥardaš)

Aššur-uballiṭ I & Nazi-Bugaš
(Synchronistic History, Chronicle P)

Aššur-uballiṭ I & Kurigalzu II
(Synchronistic History, Chronicle P, see GRAYSON, ABC 223)

Enlil-nīrārī & Kurigalzu II
(Synchronistic History, Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1: see GRAYSON, ABC 66)

Adad-nīrārī I & Kadašman-Turgu
(→ sub Chronicle P)

Adad-nīrārī I & Nazi-Maruttaš
(Synchronistic History, Chronicle P [restored])

Tukultī-Ninurta I & Kaštiliašu IV
(Synchronistic History, Chronicle P, Synchronistic KL [restored] see GRAYSON, ABC 222, 249)

Tukultī-Ninurta I & Adad-šuma-ušur
(→ sub Chronicle P)

Enlil-kudurrī-ušur & Adad-šuma-ušur
(→ sub Synchronistic History and Chronicle P)

Ninurta-apil-Ekur & Adad-šuma-ušur
(Synchronistic History, Synchronistic KL [restored])

Aššur-dān I & Zababa-šuma-ušur
(Synchronistic History, Synchronistic KL [restored])

Aššur-rēša-iši I & Nebuchadnezar I
(Synchronistic History, Synchronistic KL)

Tiglath-pileser I & Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē
(Synchronistic History, Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4 [see GRAYSON, ABC 67], Synchronistic KL)

Aššur-bēl-kala & Marduk-šāpik-zēri
(Synchronistic History, Eclectic Chronicle, Synchronistic KL [restored])

Aššur-bēl-kala & Adad-apla-iddina
(Synchronistic History, Synchronistic KL [restored])

Ulam-Buriaš & Ea-gāmil (& Kaštiliašu III?)
(King Chronicle, Synchronistic KL [?: see GRAYSON, ABC 249])

Iluma-AN & Samsuiluna
(King Chronicle)

Iluma-AN & Abī-ešuḥ
(King Chronicle)

Burna-Buriaš II & Muballiṭat-Šerua
(→ Chronicle P)

Enlil-nādin-šumi & Kidin-Hutran III
(Chronicle P)

Adad-šuma-iddina & Kidin-Hutran III
(Chronicle P)

Value for Absolute Chronology

The largest group of extant chronicles is the **Babylonian Chronicle series (ABC nos. 1–13)** containing about 15 texts and fragments, which report on the period between 747 and 539 BC (year of the Persian conquest). It relates the military and political affairs of the Babylonian kings according to their regnal years. Fragments of an earlier Assyrian chronicle come from the library of Tiglath-pileser I (**Tiglath-pileser Chronicle**: see ABC 66–67 and 184–189 sub “**Assyrian Chronicle Fragments**”⁵⁴⁵), but are too few to tell us whether or not something similar as the Babylonian Chronicle series existed in Assyria as well. They contain less precise datings and differ considerably in character from the Babylonian chronicles. When using chronicles for historical or chronological purposes, one should always consider the chronicles’ date, origin and purpose.

⁵⁴⁴ Only the Babylonian Chronicle series provides us with dates, including day, month and year.

⁵⁴⁵ See GLASSNER, Chr Més 174–178 (chronicle fragments of Enlil-nīrārī [no. 74], Arik-dēn-ili [no. 75], Tukultī-Ninurta I [no. 78], Aššur-rēša-iši I [no. 85] and Tiglath-pileser I [no. 87]).

7.1. Synchronistic History



Figure 4 GRAYSON, ABC no. 21, pl. XXIII

The primary and unique source for chronicle tradition in Assyria is the **Synchronistic History** (ABC no. 21, pl. XXIII) (Fig. 4),⁵⁴⁶ three versions of which were found in Aššurbanipal's library in Nineveh. It is assumed that the sources for this text must have been quite comprehensive because virtually all known contacts between Assyria and Babylonia in the time between Puzur-Aššur III and Adad-nīrārī III (810–783) are mentioned here. The propagandistic nature of this text is indicated best by its account of the border conflicts between the two powers, which emphasizes the border offences by the Babylonians in favor of the Assyrians. Thus, the text is written from a pro-Assyrian perspective. It includes 20 episodes (separated on the tablets by horizontal lines) of border contracts breached by Babylonia and subsequently resolved to the Assyrians' benefit. Close parallels for this text may be found in inscriptions of various Assyrian kings (VAN SETERS [1997] 84; → above for further sources discussed by GALTER [2000] 31ff.).

⁵⁴⁶ See GALTER (2000) 29–37. The text can also be found in GLASSNER, *ChrMés* 170–174 and id. (2004) 176–183 sub “Synchronistic Chronicle”. The Synchronistic History was translated by HECKER in TUAT N.F. 2 (2005) 42–45. On p. 42 Hecker provides a list of synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian/Kassite rulers according to col. I of the obverse of the Synchronistic History.

The introduction of the Synchronistic History is mostly lost.⁵⁴⁷ It is followed by the main part on Assyro-Babylonian relations and runs parallel to the **Synchronistic KL**. The early Kassite kings (nos. 7–14), who are preserved in the Aššur Synchronistic KL, can be complemented by the Synchronistic History and the King Chronicle (see BRINKMAN, MSKH 6 ff. and → **Babylonia**). The dates for the earliest Kassite kings may be calculated from the duration of the dynasty given at the end of **BKL A** (576 years, 9 months for 36 kings). The abbreviated form of the names of Kassite kings nos. 26–36 given in BKL A can be restored on the basis of the Synchronistic History and the literary text **K. 2660** [= **III R 38, 2**],⁵⁴⁸ which relates to the end of the Kassite dynasty.

The Synchronistic History has been frequently cited in discussions on the length of reign of **Ninurta-apil-Ekur** (no. 82, → **AKL** sub **2.2.1.5.**).⁵⁴⁹ The Nass. KL says he reigned 13 years, and the Chors. and SDAS KLs only three. In order to resolve this dilemma it has been argued that according to the Synchronistic History, the death of the Kassite king Adad-šuma-ušur is to be placed after the end of reign of Enlil-kudurri-ušur (no. 81) and during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (no. 82). Because Tiglath-pileser I survived Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē, ROWTON (1966) 241 and HORNUNG (1964) 40–41 claimed that a 13 year reign for Ninurta-apil-Ekur has to be accepted in order to harmonize the intervals mentioned in the AKL and BKL. However, BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 26–28 pointed out that the passage in the Synchronistic History dealing with Ninurta-apil-Ekur is broken (GRAYSON, ABC 162 and BRINKMAN, PHPKB 87). It was assumed that this passage describes an unsuccessful campaign by the Babylonians. For a probable loss of the synchronism between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šuma-ušur see BRINKMAN, MSKH 32⁸⁹. According to BOESE – WILHELM no conclusive evidence can be offered for either three or 13 years on the basis of this chronicle. However, **eponyms**⁵⁵⁰ and **Distanzangaben** imply that 13 years are correct. On the discrepancies between the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P concerning the sequence of Babylonian rulers between Burna-Buriaš II and Kurigalzu II → below sub **7.3.**⁵⁵¹

⁵⁴⁷ This text is a rather carelessly written document with many scribal errors: BRINKMAN, PHPKB 32¹⁵⁰.

⁵⁴⁸ TADMOR (1958) 129–141, PKHPB 86–90. → **Historical Epic**

⁵⁴⁹ For his ancestry see CANCEK-KIRSCHBAUM (1999) 215–222.

⁵⁵⁰ CANCEK-KIRSCHBAUM (1999) 217 stressed the overall reliability of the Nass. KL.

⁵⁵¹ For a summary see also BRINKMAN, MSKH 428–423.

*Outline of the Synchronistic History*⁵⁵²

prologue (lost)

lacuna

first two sections 1) and 2) in reverse chronological order: Puzur-Aššur III & Burna-Buriaš I, Karakindaš & Aššur-bēl-nišēšu

3) and 4) Aššur-uballiṭ I & Karakindaš,⁵⁵³ Nazi-Bugaš & Kurigalzu II

5) Enlil-nīrārī & Kurigalzu II

6) Adad-nīrārī I & Nazi-Maruttaš

7) Tukultī-Ninurta I & Kaštiliašu IV

8) Enlil-kudurrī-ušur & Adad-šuma-ušur

9) Aššur-dān I & Zababa-šuma-iddina

lacuna 2

10) Aššur-rēša-iši I & Nebuchadnezzar I

11) Tiglath-pileser I & Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē

12) treaty between Aššur-bēl-kala and Marduk-šāpik-zēri, later Adad-apla-iddina was appointed by Aššur-bēl-kala

13) Adad-nīrārī II & Šamaš-mudammiq who was succeeded by Nabû-šuma-ukin

14) Šalmaneser III & Nabû-apla-iddina who was succeeded by Marduk-zākīr-šūmi

lacuna 3

15) Šamši-Adad V & Marduk-balassu-iqbi & Baba-aḥa-iddina, his successor (badly broken)

lacuna 4

16) Adad-nīrārī III (badly broken)

17) epilogue

7.2. King Chronicle

The evidence for Babylonian chronicles before the 1st millennium BC is limited.⁵⁵⁴ The Chronicle of Early Kings or **King Chronicle (ABC no. 20)**, most probably derived from omen literature. It reports on events that took place in Mesopotamia from the reign of Sargon of Akkad to the reign of Agum III.⁵⁵⁵ The purpose of this text remains unknown, but it is con-

sidered basically historically reliable. Still, verification of it by other sources is needed.

The section about Sargon in the early part of the King Chronicle contains religious propagandistic material most likely copied from the Weidner Chronicle, which was mainly concerned with the provision of fish-offerings to the temple of Marduk.⁵⁵⁶ Because the author must have drawn upon information from a variety of sources in order to produce a chronicle for the early history of Babylonia, its original purpose is not fully apparent. Another problem is its date of redaction: because its account of the Babylon I dynasty is fundamentally correct (although most kings are missing) whereas the 3rd millennium material is mixed with legend, LAMBERT (1990) 28 postulated that the King Chronicle is a late copy sharing some features with the 1st millennium Chronicle series.

The reverse of the King Chronicle tablet which possibly refers to Muršili's I raid on Babylon (→ **Babylonia and Hittite Chronology** sub 19.9.1.), also contains information on the beginning and end of the **Sealand I dynasty**.⁵⁵⁷ It reports that **Ulam-Buriaš** (brother of Kaštiliašu III and Agum, → below) conquered the Sealand after **Ea-gāmil** of the Sealand I dynasty fled to Elam. This obviously happened during Kaštiliašu's III reign, whom Ulam-Buriaš later succeeded. He united Akkad and the Sealand and was the first king after Hammurabi' to rule over the whole of Babylonia (see BRINKMAN, MSKH 318–319). Further, the Chronicle gives an account of a military campaign by **Agum III**, the nephew of Ulam-Buriaš, against the Sealand.⁵⁵⁸ It refers to Ulam-Buriaš as the brother of **Kaštiliašu**, while the latter calls Burna-Buriaš his father (on Burna-Buriaš see BRINKMAN, MSKH 100ff.). This seems consistent with the Synchronistic KL (BRINKMAN, MSKH 11–12), although one ruler, whose name is broken, must have ruled between Burna-Buriaš I and Kaštiliašu. Already WEIDNER (1926) 72–74 assumed that the sons of Burna-Buriaš I were Kaštiliašu III and Ulam-Buriaš. According

⁵⁵² The sections are usually divided by horizontal lines.

⁵⁵³ On the reading of this name see BRINKMAN, MSKH 420. It has also been read Kara-ḥardaš: see GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* table (king no. 20) and SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 62³. → below sub 7.3.

⁵⁵⁴ The shortage of chronicles from the 2nd millennium may be due to Nabû-nāšir, king of Babylon (748–734 BC), who Berossos said to have destroyed all existing historical records in order to have history start with him: LAMBERT (1990) 27.

⁵⁵⁵ For two more Babylonian chronicle fragments (K. 10609, K. 14011), which also cover the period of Samsuiluna of

the Babylon I dynasty (?; referring to the Kassites?), see LAMBERT (1990) 27–34. According to Lambert, the coverage of this period seems to be reliable. On p. 28 he attributed the fragments in GRAYSON, ABC 190–192, which also name Iluma-AN (sometimes read Ilum-ma-ilu), to the Babylon I dynasty (esp. Samsuiluna) and not to the Isin I period, as GRAYSON did.

⁵⁵⁶ For further sources of the King Chronicle see VAN SETERS (1997) 85

⁵⁵⁷ WEIDNER (1926) 66–77, BRINKMAN (1993–1997) 6–10, GRAYSON, ABC no. 20, rev. 1–8.

⁵⁵⁸ → **Royal Inscription**.

to **BKL A** the **Babylon I dynasty** ruled 300 years and the Sealand I dynasty 368 years. Both dynasties must have existed synchronically for 147 years, since the first year of **Iluma-AN** (first ruler of the Sealand dynasty) corresponds with the 9th year of **Samsuiluna**. Iluma-AN was also a contemporary of **Abī-ešūḫ**.⁵⁵⁹ Though Iluma-AN successfully resisted the Babylonian kings, **Ea-gāmil**, the last ruler of the Sealand I dynasty, fled to Elam before the invasion by the Kassite ruler Ulam-Buriaš.

The proposed synchronism between the Assyrian Ilušuma (no. 32) and Sumuabum is based on an obscure passage at the end of the text and has to be rejected, not only because of the impossible identification of ¹*Su-a-bu* with Sumuabum, but more particularly because the known reign lengths of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings during this period rule out its possibility.⁵⁶⁰

The King Chronicle, like the Tummal and Weidner chronicles, also deals with the earliest periods of history (see WILCKE [1988] 130–133). All of them focus on a sanctuary of a certain city and report on the ruler's fate, which was dependent on the god. The early rulers appear in the same line of order as in the SKL.⁵⁶¹

Outline of the King Chronicle

- 1) reign of Sargon of Akkad
- 2) reign of Narām-Sin of Akkad & Šulgi of the Ur III dynasty
- 3) Erra-imitū and Enlil-bāni of the Isin I dynasty & Iluma-AN of the Sealand I dynasty
- 4) Hammu-rāpi' of the Babylon I dynasty & Rīm-Sin I of Larsa, Samsuiluna & Rīm-Sin II
- 5) Abī-ešūḫ of the Babylon I dynasty and a later insertion concerning the Hittite attack on Babylon in the reign of Samsuditana (fall of the Babylon I dynasty?)
- 6) Ea-gāmil of the Sealand I dynasty who was replaced by Ulam-Buriaš
- 7) Agum III of the Kassite dynasty.

⁵⁵⁹ LANDSBERGER (1954) 68¹⁷⁴, BRINKMAN (1993–1997) 6.

⁵⁶⁰ See RÖLLIG (1965) 245–247 with references to earlier discussions by EDZARD (1957) 92–93⁴⁵² and others.

⁵⁶¹ WILCKE (1982) 31–52 and (1988) 113–140 (on the SKL tradition: “anecdotes or historiettes”).

⁵⁶² See also an account on relations between Babylonia and Elam in the fragment of an **historical epic** presented by GRAYSON, *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*, Toronto and Buffalo (1975) 47–55. The segment of Chronicle P dealing with the Babylonian-Elamite relations is formulated in a style which is close to epic poetry. This may indicate that this chronicle is based on two different sources: see ROWTON (1960) 20.

7.3. Chronicle P

Chronicle P(inches) (ABC no. 22) deals with the latter half of the 2nd millennium BC. Generally speaking it is a narration of events relating to Babylonia during the Kassite period, more precisely a report on Babylonian-Assyrian and Babylonian-Elamite military relations.⁵⁶² Only one third of the tablet is preserved. Its date is uncertain, but since the narrative stops at the end of the Kassite dynasty, it was probably composed during that time. Though written in Babylonia, four Babylonian setbacks are reported, a fact which led GRAYSON (1980–1983) 88 to the conclusion that this source is more reliable than the **Synchronistic History** from the historical point of view. Some parts of Chronicle P show direct parallels with those from the Synchronistic History (see GRAYSON [1980–1983] 88 and VAN SETERS [1997] 86–87 on the two texts' close relation). Unlike other chronicles it contains an epic-like section (on the successful campaigns of Kurigalzu II).⁵⁶³

RÖLLIG (1967) 175–177 discussed the reliability of Chronicle P. Of special interest to him were the sections in which Chronicle P parallels the Synchronistic History and where there are several discrepancies. Chronicle P was considered the better tradition, but Röllig demonstrated that in three instances Chronicle P is not as reliable as previously thought.⁵⁶⁴

1. Chronicle P says **Kurigalzu (II)** was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, but inscriptions prove this to be incorrect.⁵⁶⁵ The Synchronistic History correctly gives Kurigalzu II as the son of Burna-Buriaš II. But this mistake may be the key to the rest of the differing tradition of Chronicle P: **Kurigalzu I** was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and not a contemporary of Aššur-uballiṭ I.⁵⁶⁶ The Synchronistic History reports for the **Early Kassite dynasty** synchronisms between Puzur-Aššur III & Burna-Buriaš I and Kara-indaš & Aššur-bēl-nišešu. Kurigalzu I therefore was the grandson or nephew of Kara-indaš (the exact relationship between his prede-

⁵⁶³ On its parallels with Babylonian epics see GRAYSON, ABC 57.

⁵⁶⁴ See also BRINKMAN, MSKH 418–423 (for similar results see RÖLLIG [1965] 420 with a list of disagreements). Note VAN DIJK (1986) 159–170 comparing the letter **VS 24, 91** (associated with the **Chedorlaomer tablets**: → **Historical Epic**), in which the campaigns against **Elam (Untaš-Napiriša)** by **Kurigalzu II** are described, with Chronicle P. However, in Chronicle P Burna-Buriaš II is named as Untaš-Napiriša's adversary.

⁵⁶⁵ See also BRINKMAN (1970) 303²⁰.

⁵⁶⁶ For a table containing direct synchronisms between Babylonian and Assyrian rulers see BRINKMAN, MSKH 29–30.

cessor Kadašman-Ḫarbe and Kara-indaš is unknown: see ROWTON [1970] 37). Burna-Burias II probably was the grandson of Kurigalzu I, and Aššur-uballiṭ the grandson of Aššur-bēl-nišēšu. Kurigalzu I must have been a contemporary of Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II and Erība-Adad I and is attested to have been in contact with Amenhotep III, while Aššur-uballiṭ I was in touch with Amenhotep IV. For that reason Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (who is not contemporary with or to be dated after Aššur-uballiṭ) must be a faulty entry in Chronicle P.⁵⁶⁷ Here, the scribe obviously confused the earlier Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, son of Kara-indaš with Karakindaš.⁵⁶⁸ The similar name (this reading goes back to BALKAN, *Bulleten* 12 [1948] 745; see also BRINKMAN, MSKH 420 and 422) is mentioned in the Synchronistic History. Karakindaš and Kara-indaš were probably already confused in the Synchronistic History (see col. I line 14: Kara-indaš instead of Karakindaš). In this respect the tradition of the Synchronistic History (which has errors of its own and cannot be uncritically trusted) proved to be the correct one. For another erroneous report in Chronicle P. (→ **Historical Epic** sub 13.6.)

2. Synchronistic History I, 18–23 and Chronicle P III, 20–22 both mention the battle at **Sugaga**⁵⁶⁹ between **Kurigalzu II** and either **Enlil-nīrārī** (Synchronistic History) or **Adad-nīrārī I** (Chronicle P). According to Chronicle P the Babylonians won; according to the Synchronistic History, composed by Assyrians, Assyria won. GRAYSON, AS 16 (1965) 339, who distrusted the Synchronistic History, believed the version of Chronicle P and concluded that the battle had been won by the Babylonians and took place during the period between Kurigalzu II and Adad-nīrārī I. RÖLLIG (1967) 178–179 contradicted Grayson's assumption by presenting the history starting with **Burna-Burias II**, who was married to the Assyrian princess Muballiṭat-Šerua and reigned for ca. 25 years (BE 14, 9). Burna-Burias's II son **Karakindaš** ascended the throne after his father's death. His other son Kurigalzu II was installed by **Aššur-uballiṭ I** after the revolt of **Nazi-Bugaš**. It is assumed that Kurigalzu II was still very young then (Röllig suggested 15–16 years old, while his brother Karakindaš must have been 17–20 years old, when he ascended the throne. This indicates that the marriage between Muballiṭat-Šerua and Burna-Burias II took

place ca. 18–20 years before the latter's death). The earliest the 36-year reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I could have begun, would have been with Burna-Burias's II 6th year. For Karakindaš and Nazi-Bugaš Röllig counted one year of reign, corresponding to Aššur-uballiṭ's year 20. However, because of reports in Chronicle P, he took a longer reign of Karakindaš into consideration. For the reign of Kurigalzu II he calculated 24 years in total (based on CT 36, 24, KNUDTZON, AGS 1, 60 and unpublished texts from the Istanbul Museum mentioned by BERAN, *AJO* 18 [1957–1958] 268). 25 years were assumed by Grayson and Jaritz because of the entry for Kurigalzu's II reign in BKL A. Enlil-nīrārī succeeded Aššur-uballiṭ I and reigned for ten years. According to Röllig's calculation, he must have survived Kurigalzu II for two years (see also WEIDNER, *AJO* 20 [1963] 115–116 on an Assyrian chronicle). Then, **Arik-dēn-ili** reigned for 12 years before **Adad-nīrārī I** ascended the throne. RÖLLIG (1967) 179–180 doubted that Adad-nīrārī I and Kurigalzu II were contemporaries (VAT 15420 published by WEIDNER in ITN 46, table 12 recorded that Kadašman-Turgu and Adad-nīrārī I were contemporaries; see WEIDNER, *AJO* 20 [1963] 113–115 and GRAYSON, AS 16 [1965] 338⁸). Between Kurigalzu II and Kadašman-Turgu Nazi-Maruttaš reigned for about 26 years,⁵⁷⁰ which makes the synchronism between Adad-nīrārī I and Kurigalzu II quite improbable. RÖLLIG (1967) 180 demonstrated that a minimal calculation by which Aššur-uballiṭ died in year 0 of Kurigalzu II, his grandchild, is very unlikely due to the attested synchronism between Kadašman-Turgu and Adad-nīrārī I and the 26-year reign of Nazi-Maruttaš in between. Even by counting backwards from Kaštīliašu IV, who was a contemporary of Tukulti-Ninurta I, no convincing results can be achieved which could verify the reports of Chronicle P (for details see RÖLLIG [1967] 181). Aššur-uballiṭ's I and Kurigalzu's II reigns overlapped for ca. 10–15 years and the synchronism with Adad-nīrārī I reported in Chronicle P is virtually impossible. However, BRINKMAN (1970) 302–303 reasoned that because of general uncertainties in Kassite chronology (reigns between Kadašman-Turgu and Kaštīliašu IV), the synchronism between Adad-nīrārī I and Kurigalzu II cannot be entirely ruled out, but considered Enlil-nīrārī to have been the “*more likely candidate*”.⁵⁷¹ On the other

⁵⁶⁷ See also BRINKMAN, MSKH 422.

⁵⁶⁸ This confusion might be an indication that Kara-ḫardaš should be read Karakindaš (→ fn. 553 and above sub 7.1.).

⁵⁶⁹ See also BOESE (1982) 24 and BRINKMAN (1970) 302–303 and MSKH 207–208.

⁵⁷⁰ SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 61.

⁵⁷¹ On more observations on Middle Babylonian chronology see BRINKMAN (1983) 67–74, esp. 71¹³ on the Enlil-nīrārī & Kurigalzu synchronism and SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 61. See BRINKMAN (1976) 305–307 contra CAH on the uncertainties of Babylonian chronology.

hand BOESE (1982) 24, who proposed Kassite dates be lowered by five years, excluded Adad-nīrārī (1295–1264 [+3/–1]) as the adversary of Kurigalzu II (1327–1303 [+2/–3]).

3. In the fourth column of Chronicle P the Assyrian suzerainty over Babylonia due to the conquest of Babylon by **Tukulti-Ninurta I** is reported.⁵⁷² The chronicle records that Tukulti-Ninurta I ruled over Babylonia (which he did essentially through puppets) for 7 years (see WEIDNER, ITN 41–42, no. 37; BKL records 9 years)⁵⁷³ and then the Babylonians revolted, Adad-šuma-ušur seizing the throne from his father Kaštiliašu IV. The chronicle mentions two **Elamite** invasions during this time: one under **Kidin-Hutran III** during the time of Enlil-nādin-šumi, and the second during the reign of Adad-šuma-iddina.⁵⁷⁴ However **BKL A**, which is also of Babylonian tradition names four rulers following **Kaštiliašu IV**, namely **Enlil-nādin-šumi** (1 year + 6 months), **Kadašman-Ḫarbe II** (1 year + 6 months), **Adad-šuma-iddina** (6 years) and **Adad-šuma-ušur** (30 years).⁵⁷⁵ That the line of rulers (Chronicle P gives here) is incorrect is shown by the *kudurru* of Meli-Šipak, **BBS** no. 3, which repeats the line of rulers reported in BKL A. Chronicle P is not entirely wrong since it does give the correct synchronisms. Still, the chronological order of kings is incorrect. For the chronological sequence of these events see ROWTON (1960) 18–21, BRINKMAN, MSKH 18–21 or SASSMANN-HAUSEN, MDAR 61–62. (→ **Historical Epic**)

BRINKMAN in MSKH compared the information on Babylonian kings nos. 28–32 in Chronicle P with

that of **BKL A**.⁵⁷⁶ He pointed out that Chronicle P is much more elaborate, inserting Tukulti-Ninurta I as a ruler of Babylon (see MSKH no. 13) and citing synchronisms with Elamite kings (Enlil-nādin-šumi & Kidin-Hutran III as well as Adad-šuma-iddina & Kidin-Hutran III).⁵⁷⁷ Brinkman stressed that other Babylonian sources (like *kudurrū*) omitted Tukulti-Ninurta I from the sequence of Babylonian rulers. However, an economic text from Nippur dated to the accession year of Tukulti-Ninurta means that he ruled over at least part of Babylonia for some time (MSKH 314–317).

Chronicle P arranges the events by topic in three sections (YAMADA (2003) 153–177). Not only does it state that Tukulti-Ninurta reigned seven years in Babylonia, it also mentions that the statue of Marduk was returned in the time of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (no. 84). BOESE (1982) 20–21 studied Chronicle P in connection with the **Distanzangaben** and the Assyro-Babylonian relations described in the Synchronistic History. This discussion is crucial for determining whether there was an Elamite interregnum between the **Kassite** and **Isin II dynasties** or the two dynasties overlapped. The synchronism between **Tukulti-Ninurta I** (no. 78) and **Kaštiliašu IV** is well known.⁵⁷⁸ Kaštiliašu IV was defeated by the Assyrian ruler who, according to Chronicle P, carried off the statue of Marduk.⁵⁷⁹ After ca. 7 years of reign in Babylon (see above and → **BKL**) a revolt took place and **Adad-šuma-ušur** ascended the throne in Babylon. Chronicle P states that x + 6 years passed between the abduction of the Marduk statue and its return during

⁵⁷² → **AKL**

⁵⁷³ Or eight years of hegemony, taking a two-year reign of Kadašman-Ḫarbe II according to economic documents from Ur into account: BRINKMAN, PHPKB 66 and MSKH 150. On Tukulti-Ninurta's dethronement by his son (note the confusion **Aššurnaširpal** and **Aššur-nādin-apli**) see POEBEL (1942–1943) 486–489 and more recent lit. → **AKL** sub **2.2.1.4**.

⁵⁷⁴ POTTS (1999) 231.

⁵⁷⁵ For observations on the use of year-names during the reign of Adad-šuma-ušur see BRINKMAN, MSKH 410–411

⁵⁷⁶ TADMOR (1958) 136–137 pointed out that the chronicle tradition must have been independent of the KL tradition. On the evidence for the reign lengths of Babylonian kings see BRINKMAN, MSKH 21–23 (including evidence drawn from the economic texts). The discrepancy in some cases may be explained by the method of recording **accession years** (only in the case of Kudur-Enlil is the evidence of the economic records considered more authoritative than the BKL).

⁵⁷⁷ The well known inscription EKI 48 (KÖNIG, AfO Bh.1 [1965] no. 48) was written during the reign of Šilhak-

Inšušinak and mentions several kings including their filiation in chronological order, from Igi-halki (the founder of the **Igihalkid dynasty**) to Kidin-Hutran I. This succession has been confirmed by inscriptions of other rulers (see p. 223). It is agreed that these rulers are to be dated to the 13th cent. BC due to the two synchronisms with Babylonian kings attested in Chronicle P.

⁵⁷⁸ BRINKMAN, MSKH: 1225 BC; BOESE – WILHELM (1979): 1215 BC (Middle Assyrian chronology shortened by ten years); BOESE (1982): 1218 ± 4 years BC (based on the lowered chronology, the Distanzangaben, and the fact that the conquest of Babylon and the abduction of the Marduk statue occurred a few years after Kaštiliašu's imprisonment; a longer Assyro-Babylonian conflict is assumed: see KAJ 103, 12–16 and MARV I, 1 and FREYDANK [1975] 48 and 55ff.)

⁵⁷⁹ This synchronism in “secondary sources” is crucial for the chronology of Tukulti-Ninurta's I reign since his royal inscriptions (BORGER, EAK 71–97) do not contain any dates (see CANCEK-KIRSCHBAUM [1996] 12–18 in connection with the reconstruction of the order of Middle Assyrian eponyms).

“Tukulti-Aššur”.⁵⁸⁰ In the past 86, 96 or 106 years have been proposed. Boese, revising problems of the **Middle Babylonian period**, considered 86 years to be correct,⁵⁸¹ meaning that the end of Kaštiliašu’s IV reign⁵⁸² was in 1222 BC and 1132 BC the regnal year of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (note his **DUB-pi-šu** reign). The abduction of the statue of Marduk therefore would have taken place in 1219 (± 2) BC.⁵⁸³ (\rightarrow 7.7.)

From Chronicle BM 27796 it is now known that Assyria controlled Babylon 32 years that is seven years before the accession of Adad-šuma-ušur and 25 years during his reign.⁵⁸⁴ Nothing is known about the situation in northern Babylonia after the death of Adad-šuma-iddina, the predecessor of Adad-šuma-ušur. Another question is whether Adad-šuma-ušur and the puppet king Adad-šuma-iddina reigned contemporaneously for any length of time. BKL A assigns 30 years to Adad-šuma-ušur: but it is unknown whether the six years credited to Aššur-šuma-iddina are to be regarded as previous to, or overlapping with, that period. WALKER (1982) 409 concluded: “If the two reigns did overlap there is no problem over reconciling Chronicle P (22)’s statement that the revolt took place after Tukulti-Ninurta I had controlled Karduniash for seven years with the seven, eight, or nine years assigned to the puppet kings by King List A. For chronological purposes the interval between Kashtilias and Adad-šuma-ušur could be regarded as seven years however one interprets the King List’s data for the intervening kings.”

Another reconstruction of events on the basis of Chronicle P, Chronicle BM 27796, BKL A and the Synchronistic History has been proposed by YAMADA (2003) 153–177. He offered an account of the contents of these sources for this period starting with Tukulti-Ninurta’s defeat of Kaštiliašu IV (\rightarrow **Tukulti-Ninurta epic**) and his conquest of Babylon. The basic difference between the BKL and Chronicle P is that the former organizes events by chronology and the latter by topic (YAMADA [2003] 154). BKL A omits Tukulti-Ninurta I; but Chronicle P, which is also of

Babylonian origin, acknowledges a 7-year rule of the Assyrians over Babylonia until Adad-šuma-ušur came to power, which is documented in BM 27796. Later, at the end of Enlil-kudurrī-ušur’s reign, Adad-šuma-ušur re-conquered Babylon (the battle described in the **Synchronistic History II**, 3–8⁵⁸⁵) 14 or 15 years after Tukulti-Ninurta’s assassination. It is still uncertain whether Tukulti-Ninurta’s rule of seven years is to be reckoned as direct or, as BKL A implies, indirectly through the three successors of Kaštiliašu IV, Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ijarbe II and Adad-šuma-iddina. On p. 155 Yamada summed up Walker’s results based on BM 27796. Walker concluded that the three kings overlapped with the 7-year rule mentioned in Chronicle P, although difficulties remain – specifically, the effects of Elamite invasions, the role and title of Tukulti-Ninurta I in Babylonia, and the reign lengths of the Babylonian puppet-kings. YAMADA (2003) 155–156 cited an economic text from Nippur and royal inscriptions as evidence for Assyrian rule over Babylonia without local governors or vassal rulers. As Chronicle BM 27796 suggests, Assyrian rule must have lasted until Adad-šuma-ušur’s conquest at the end of Enlil-kudurrī-ušur’s reign (Yamada rejected Reade’s proposal in *N.A.B.U.* 2000/76, 87 for a new reading of BM 27796). Yamada (pp. 158–159) suggested that the Synchronistic History, col. II, 3–8 implies some cooperation between the Assyrian usurpator Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šuma-ušur must have taken place before the Babylonian re-conquest. It is difficult to synchronize the events that happened shortly after the defeat of Kaštiliašu IV and Tukulti-Ninurta’s conquest of Babylon. Obviously the defeat and conquest did take place in two steps with some time in between (generally about two years were assumed), as proposed by CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM (1996) 15–17 (and others). Yamada reviewed the text and concluded that the conquest of Babylon must have taken place during the reign of Adad-šuma-iddina after the two Elamite invasions under Kidin-Hutran III mentioned in Chronicle P (during Enlil-nādin-šumi and Adad-šuma-

⁵⁸⁰ Tukulti-Aššur is generally identified with **Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur** (no. 84).

⁵⁸¹ TADMOR (1958) rejected all three possibilities.

⁵⁸² For a chart on the relative chronology of Kassite kings see BRINKMAN, *MSKH* 26–27 and BOESE (1982) 23 (dates lowered by five years).

⁵⁸³ See CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM (1996) 11–12 referring to WEIDNER, *ITN* 41 on the relative dates concerning the synchronism between Kaštiliašu IV and Tukulti-Ninurta I according to BKL and Chronicle P. More details on Kaštiliašu’s capture can be found in the sources from Dūr Katlimmu.

⁵⁸⁴ WALKER (1982) 408f. (\rightarrow Adad-šuma-ušur epic sub **Historical Epic**).

⁵⁸⁵ The text suggests that Adad-šuma-ušur was recognized as king for 25 years only in southern Mesopotamia, the control of Babylon itself being in the hands of Assyria or her nominees. Enlil-kudurrī-ušur was handed over to Adad-šuma-ušur by the Assyrians together with a number of Babylonian refugees in Assyria. Ninurta-apil-Ekur (no. 82) took advantage of this situation and seized the throne in Aššur (Synchronistic History II, 5–8 and **AKL** with a chronicle-like section).

iddina), because Adad-šuma-ušur is explicitly mentioned to have freed Babylonia from Tukulti-Ninurta I. Chronicle BM 27796 does not seem to contradict this reconstruction (YAMADA [2003] 161). The Assyrian governors (*šaknūte*), whom Tukulti-Ninurta installed at Babylon, must have ruled until Adad-šuma-ušur took over. At first Adad-šuma-ušur ruled the southern part of Babylonia, then Tukulti-Ninurta I was assassinated by his own son and his noblemen. As Yamada showed (pp. 164 and 166–168) by reconstructing the succession of events during his reign, Tukulti-Ninurta's seven-year rule in Babylonia did not end with his death but with Adad-šuma-ušur's enthronement. This implies that Chronicle P dated the beginning of Adad-šuma-ušur's reign (which according to BKL A lasted 30 years) to his take-over of southern Babylonia (YAMADA [2003] 165–166).⁵⁸⁶

Outline of Chronicle P

- 1) only last line preserved: for identification (Synchronistic History) see comm. in ABC 159
- 2) broken: for identification (Synchronistic History) see comm. in ABC 159
- 3) Kadašman-Ḫarbe I and his son and successor Kurigalzu II & Aššur-uballiṭ I
lacuna 1
- 4) Kurigalzu II & Adad-nīrārī I (wrong!)
- 5) broken: Nazi-Maruttāš
lacuna 2
- 6) Tukulti-Ninurta I & Adad-šuma-ušur
- 7) Enlil-nādin-šumi & Kidin-Hutran III
- 8) Adad-šuma-iddina & Kidin-Hutran III
rest missing

7.4. Eclectic Chronicle

The **Eclectic Chronicle** (ABC no. 24)⁵⁸⁷ is very fragmentary. It covers the period from the end of Chronicle P, the time of **Marduk-šāpik-zēri** of the Isin II dynasty, to the Neo-Babylonian period (until a period later than **Šalmaneser V**) and parallels the Synchronistic History. Like Chronicle P it focuses on Babylonian kings and religious issues, especially the Marduk cult (*akītu* festival). For unknown reasons it omits some Babylonian kings. For example the last three kings of the Isin II dynasty and two of the Sealand II and Bazi dynasties.⁵⁸⁸ Another more important king, **Aššur-bēl-kala**, is not named in the same section with

his vassal **Adad-apla-iddina** (compare with the report in the Synchronistic History). It has been suggested that this chronicle, which summarizes important events in Babylonian history after the foundation of the Isin II dynasty, was written following Babylon's destruction in 689 BC by Sennacherib. (→ **Chronicle BM 27796** sub 7.7.)

Outline of the Eclectic Chronicle

- 1) the period before Marduk-šāpik-zēri is lost
- 2) Marduk-šāpik-zēri & Aššur-bēl-kala
- 3) + 4) Adad-apla-iddina
- 5) Simbar-Šiḫu/-Šipak
- 6) interruption: *akītu*-festival during the reign of Eulmaš-šākin-šumi
- 7)–11) interruptions: same event for subsequent kings
- 12)–20) synchronistic account: Assyrian and Babylonian kings of the 1st millennium BC; ending with Eriša-Marduk (*akītu*-festival)
- 21)–25) badly broken: Nabû-nāšir & the accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the Babylonian throne; last accession is probably Šalmaneser V

7.5. Weidner Chronicle

The **Weidner Chronicle** (ABC no. 19) reports on the period between the Early Dynastic period and Sumu-lael (→ King Chronicle and Dynastic Chronicle for the early periods). Three Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian copies were known up to the time of GRAYSON's publication of ABC.⁵⁸⁹ Since then, more fragments (including the bilingual **BM 39202** and **BM 47733**) have been published by FINKEL (1980) 72ff.; and a complete tablet (**IM 124470**) from a Neo-Babylonian temple library in Sippar has been presented by AL-RAWI (1990) 1–13. This text, which is labeled as a “royal/literary letter” written by a king of the Isin I dynasty (**Damiq-ilišu?**) to a king of Babylon (**Apil-Sin?**) or Larsa (**Rim-Sin**), concerns the attitude of the ruler towards Babylon, its city god Marduk, and in particular the provision of fish-offerings to the temple Esagil (GRAYSON, ABC 44). Its mythological introduction and concern with Marduk is unique. Based on its content, GRAYSON (1980–1983) 88 assumed that the Weidner Chronicle had been composed towards the end of the Kassite dynasty or in the early Isin II period. WILCKE (1988) 130–133 and

⁵⁸⁶ This also has been also dealt with by BRINKMAN (1970) 310–311.

⁵⁸⁷ In appendix A WALKER (1982) 416 published a collation of the Eclectic Chronicle (BM 27859).

⁵⁸⁸ GRAYSON, ABC 63 assumed that they might have been quite insignificant rulers.

⁵⁸⁹ GRAYSON, ABC 43 and 145.

(1993) 36 thought its purpose was to legitimize the **Babylon I dynasty** through the **Isin I dynasty**. This view is supported by the Sippar tablet IM 124470. Like the Synchronistic History the text is formulated propagandistically and cannot be considered as historically reliable. Some rulers are omitted (esp. for the Early Dynastic period). In the manner of the Akkadian prophecies, but unlike other chronicles, kings are classed as “good” or “bad”. The Weidner Chronicle was used as source material for the King Chronicle. But in contrast to the King Chronicle, it shows similarities with the omen literature, which may have served as its source (as GRAYSON, ABC 44).

Outline of the Weidner Chronicle

- 1) section of advice by the sender of the letter (description of a nocturnal vision of Gula)
- 2) start of the historical sections in chronicle-like fashion: Akka
- 3) Enmekiri
- 4) Puzur-Nirah
- 5) Ku-Baba
- 6) Ur-Zababa
- 7) Sargon I
- 8) Narām-Sîn
- 9) Gutí
- 10) Utu-ḫegal
- 11) Šulgi
- 12) Amar-Sîn
- 13) Šu-Sîn
- 14) Ibbi-Sîn
- 15) Sumulael
- 16) the ending links the historical section to the main purpose of this text/letter

7.6. Tummal Chronicle

The **Tummal Chronicle**, of which ten copies are known, is written in Sumerian. It basically deals with the history of Ninlil’s Tummal sanctuary in the temple district of Nippur. The text was presumably written in the time of Išbi-Erra, the founder of the Isin I dynasty. This narrative begins with Enme(n)-baragesi, ruler of the first dynasty of Kiš.⁵⁹⁰ Additional information on the early rulers can be found in the **SKL**. As SOLLBERGER (1962) 40–41, who trusted the

SKL tradition, has shown, there seem to have been different traditions (Ur and Nippur) concerning the sequence of the early kings Enme(n)-baragesi, Mes-ane-pada and Gilgameš. Which tradition is to be followed depends on the relative trustworthiness of the SKL and the Tummal Chronicle. The Tummal Chronicle is usually not identified with the chronicle genre and has also been called the “Tummal inscription”.⁵⁹¹ Due to its pattern – royal name followed by narrative⁵⁹² – SOLLBERGER (1962) 40 stated: “The Tummal inscription ... gives the impression of being a literary composition rather than a purely historical chronicle”. Because building inscriptions contain similar information, ROWTON (1970) 201 preferred the Tummal building chronicle to the SKL, though saying its reliability applies only to the identity and the sequence of builders, not to the time interval between them. Other chronicles (such as the Weidner and the King Chronicle) concentrate on a specific sanctuary in a certain city and report on the rulers involved with it. They also summarize the earliest periods of history (WILCKE [1988] 130–133), and all chronicles but the Tummal text list almost all the early rulers in the same sequence as the SKL. All these texts come from the early period, two of them having identical passages.⁵⁹³

Outline of the Tummal Chronicle

Sections treated:

- 1) Enme(n)-baragesi
- 2) Gilgameš
- 3) Mes-ane-pada
- 4) Nanne
- 5) Ur-Nammu
- 6) Amar-Sîn – Ibbi-Sîn
- 6a) Išbi-Erra
- 7) Colophon

7.7. Chronicle BM 27796

In (1982) 398–417, WALKER published the new chronicle tablet **BM 27796**, which he designated as **ABC no. 25** in continuation of Grayson’s numbering scheme. The chronicle, on a tablet shaped like a Neo-Babylonian business document, reports on

⁵⁹⁰ SOLLBERGER (1962) 40–47; KRAMER, *The Sumerians*, Chicago (1963) 46; GLASSNER, *ChrMés* 84–85 and id. (2004) 156–159.

⁵⁹¹ BRINKMAN (1995) 668 (review of GLASSNER, *ChrMés*).

⁵⁹² GRAYSON, ABC 6 classified it as *category C* (Royal name – narration) with “a very complex literary pattern” (Grayson still

doubted its attribution to *category C*). AL-RAWI, *Iraq* 52 (1990) 1–13 classified the Weidner Chronicle as a literary letter.

⁵⁹³ GRAYSON (1980) 180.

events relating to Babylonia in the time of **Adad-šuma-ušur** and **Adad-apla-iddina**, the period of transition from the Kassite to the Isin II dynasties (→ above sub 7.3.). The text covers the gap between Chronicle P and the Eclectic Chronicle, with some overlap. Like the Eclectic Chronicle, Chronicle BM 27796 very likely comes from Babylon, since it was acquired as part of the same collection and shows some duplication. This may be taken as evidence that both texts were excerpted directly or indirectly from the same source. Chronicle BM 27796 makes it evident that Adad-apla-iddina was not an Aramean, as has been thought (see p. 414 and BRINKMAN, PHPKB 135–138). His ancestor is recorded as Itti-Marduk-balātu, who probably could not have been his father since they are separated by 63 years. Perhaps three generations can be counted between Itti-Marduk-balātu and Adad-apla-iddina, but this is uncertain since family relationships are unknown. The third to the seventh kings of the Isin II dynasty were descendants of Ninurta-nādin-šumi and it seems likely that the line was broken with Adad-apla-iddina, no. 8.

Outline of Chronicle BM 27796

- 1)–4) Tukultī-Ninurta I, Enlil-kudurrī-ušur and Adad-šuma-ušur
- 5)–6) Enlil-nādin-apli, Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē (brother; both sons of Nebuchadnezzar) and Tiglath-pileser I
- 7) Marduk-šāpik-zēri
- 8) Adad-apla-iddina

Concluding Remarks

Data from the KLS and known Assyro-Babylonian synchronisms, provided by chronicles and other sources, are the framework for dates which must be harmonized with the evidence from contemporary economic texts (BRINKMAN, MSKH 34). Usually no synchronisms referring to a specific regnal year are known, which complicates the dating of the Kassite kings. Because of the lack of reign lengths (a few exceptions do exist) or references to specific points in time, chronicles only provide information on relative chronology. But sometimes, as with the reign length of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (no. 82) and the information of the Synchronistic History, chronicles do contribute to absolute chronology.

Some inconsistencies can be noted. These are partly due to the propagandistic nature of these texts, which were written from a pro-Assyrian or pro-Babylonian point of view and not for chronological purposes.⁵⁹⁴ This is most obvious for the period of Assyrian rule over Babylonia during the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I, for which Chronicle P, Chronicle BM 27796 and the Synchronistic History each give a different ‘take’. Fortunately, Chronicle P and the Synchronistic History have some parallel sections which can be compared with each other in order to evaluate their historical and chronological reliability. Chronicle P has proven to be incorrect on some points. Concerning its badly broken **Distanzangabe**, different estimates of its value have been made by Brinkman and Boese. Supplementary information on the Isin II rulers is provided by the Eclectic Chronicle, which otherwise is not very useful for the chronology of the 2nd millennium BC.

The King, Weidner, Dynastic and Tummal chronicles parallel and complement the SKL’s catalogue of early kings. The King Chronicle is an important source of information on the yet scarcely documented **Sealand I dynasty** of the early Kassite period (→ **Babylonia**). Although its information is considered reliable, additional textual verification is desirable.

The Synchronistic History, which is a concise narrative of Assyro-Babylonian relations, is preserved in three exemplars from the library of Aššurbanipal at Nineveh and belongs to the propaganda written at the end of Adad-nīrārī’s III reign, when Assyria was too weak to resist Babylonian encroachment. Since a large number of errors can be detected in it, it must be used with great caution for any historical and chronological evaluation. Nevertheless, this Assyrian chronicle remains important since it covers the otherwise sparsely documented Dark Age.

The Dynastic Chronicle⁵⁹⁵ unfortunately lists figures which are demonstrably unreliable (→ **BKL**). It records the origin of rulers, their reign lengths and their place of burial. The text does not omit any king for the periods treated, but its reign lengths disagree with those of **BKL A** and its dynastic totals are incorrect as well.⁵⁹⁶ In short, this chronicle is of no use for absolute chronology.

For a clearer picture of the chronological placement of various synchronisms (especially with Anato-

⁵⁹⁴ See also GLASSNER (2004) 49–51.

⁵⁹⁵ This chronicle is also considered as a late version of the **SKL**: GRAYSON (1980) 177.

⁵⁹⁶ BRINKMAN, PHPKB 31–32.

lia and Egypt) the following textual evidence should be taken into account:

- KLS, eponyms, year-names
- royal inscriptions and annals
- royal correspondence (such as the Amarna letters⁵⁹⁷ or Hittite letters to the Babylonian king: e.g. KBo 1, 10⁵⁹⁸)
- dated documents (see BRINKMAN, MSKH for the Kassite period and PHPKB for the Isin II dynasty)

Parts of the 2nd millennium BC covered by the chronicles

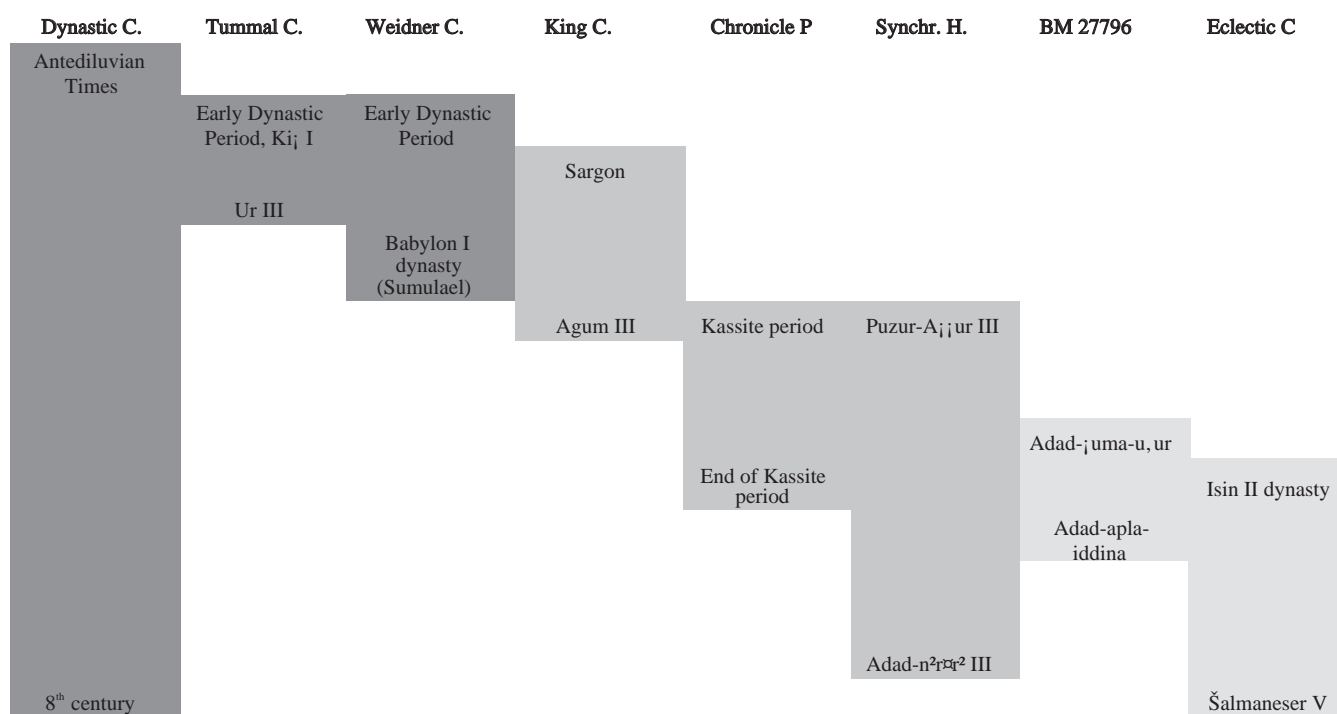


Table 30

Links

AKL, Babylonia, BKL A, Distanzangaben, Eponyms, Historical Epic, (Early) Kassite Dynasty, MEC, Royal Inscriptions, Sealand I Dynasty, Synchronistic KL

⁵⁹⁷ KÜHNE (1973).

⁵⁹⁸ ROWTON (1960) 15–22; BRINKMAN (1983) 67–74; HAGENBUCHNER, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter II*, Heidelberg

1989, 295; BECKMAN (1999) 138–143; KLENGEL (1999) 206, 223, 244.