

9. DISTANZANGABEN (ABSTANDSDATEN, ABSTANDSANGABEN, TIME SPANS)

Sources, Textual Evidence

(Royal) Inscriptions, Chronicle P, cultic text, documents, *kudurru*, Marduk prophecy

General Features

Assyrian Distanzangaben⁶³⁴ mostly derive from inscriptions found in various temples in Aššur, in which the Assyrian rulers are referred to as builders and/or renovators of the temples. These inscriptions record the numbers of years which had passed since the previous building-activities by earlier Assyrian rulers. Babylonian and Hittite Distanzangaben, which occur in royal inscriptions where the king refers to an earlier event (such as the abduction of the statue of Marduk), have proved to be less reliable in chronological terms than Assyrian Distanzangaben. The latter are therefore more important in chronological discussions.⁶³⁵

Distanzangaben and their value for absolute chronology were known before the discovery of the AKL and have therefore been thoroughly discussed in the past.⁶³⁶ Some of the time spans, especially the Babylonian and Hittite ones, are no more than crude estimates and are of no help for establishing an exact chronology. The unreliability of the Babylonian time spans is probably mainly due to the fact that the Babylonians did not have a continuous chronographic tradition like the Assyrians. At least no such tradition is known to us: In Babylonia both, year-names and regnal years, were in use. Date-lists ceased to exist after the Babylon I dynasty and the BKL gained in importance from then on.⁶³⁷ In contrast, Assyria had a single and uninterrupted system of timekeeping

through the centuries. The Assyrian Distanzangaben reflect considered calculations of available data and thus are an important source for chronological issues. They especially help bridge the less well documented periods and reigns of the AKL and ELs.

For their part, the AKL and ELs help us understand the calculation of Assyrian Distanzangaben and serve as a check on their reliability.⁶³⁸ KLs and ELs, which quote the reign lengths of kings or the number of eponyms during a king's reign (historical material of various kinds seems to have been at the disposal for the compilation of these lists), most probably served as the primary sources for the computation of the Assyrian Distanzangaben. Especially in the cases of the kings Aššur-rabî I (no. 65) and Aššur-nādin-aḥḥê I (no. 66), whose reign lengths are lost in all existing versions of the AKL, the Assyrian time spans are helpful: depending on the interpretation and analysis of time spans, from zero to 70 years have been proposed for the length of these kings' reigns (→ sub 2.6.). It is still disputed whether or not the compilers of these Distanzangaben had access to a uniform EL, a "master copy", such as the one covering the 1st millennium BC. So far, the evaluations of the Distanzangaben differ too much to allow any decisive conclusion.

In his fundamental study on Distanzangaben, HACHMANN (1977) 106–107 included the archaeological background of the inscriptions containing Distanzangaben. He questioned why and how those inscriptions were used and possibly reused. Generally a king attempted to find the inscriptions of the previous ruler who had restored the building. In

⁶³⁴ Due to the general use of the German word "Distanzangabe", this term has been used throughout this book.

⁶³⁵ For the primary editions of Assyrian inscriptions and further details see GRAYSON ARI I and the RIMA volumes. See JANSSEN (2006) 63–72 on the latest treatment of Assyrian Distanzangaben referring to older studies. Another Distanzangabe referring to the Assyrian king Ninus stems from a historiographical source of the 2nd cent. BC and has been discussed by CANGIK-KIRSCHBAUM, in: *FS Finkbeiner* (2006) 259–266.

⁶³⁶ According to CORNELIUS (1954–1956) 294–295 the Distanzangaben are to be even more trusted than the Chors. KL.

⁶³⁷ Babylonian Distanzangaben are also considered as a literary device: see for instance Whiting within the discussion with the "New Chronologists" in the ANE-forum on Assyrian chronology on 16 March 2003: http://www.caeno.org/Eponym/pdf/HASTRO_AKL%20postings.pdf (Oct. 2007)

⁶³⁸ LANDSBERGER (1954) 39, NA'AMAN (1984) 115, PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 73–79.

some cases these were copied from each other.⁶³⁹ Since Distanzangaben were seldom found in visible inscriptions, it is assumed that the compiler extracted the data from other sources, such as the EL, which probably could be found in the state's archive (and all those copies of the AKL made for temples, which have survived imply that such information was readily accessible).⁶⁴⁰ ELs are sources which offer the precise number of years for a specific period whereas KLs also report on genealogical ties (by filiations) and how many generations had passed. Since the Assyrians, in contrast to the Babylonians, had a continuous tradition, they were able to compute the number of years that had passed between one rebuilding of a temple and another. However, we still lack a continuous EL covering the time between 1420/30 BC and the end of the KEL, and it is questionable that the compilers of the AKL and the inscriptions containing the Distanzangaben had access to a complete eponym list: if one existed, a copy of it has yet to be discovered.

HACHMANN (1977) 97–130 carefully studied the chronological implications of five Distanzangaben. On pp. 127–128 he lists eight important general features of the Assyrian Distanzangaben:

- 1) The data was not invented or guessed at; it seems that the numbers were calculated on the basis of existing material.
- 2) The material obviously contains errors.
- 3) Documents containing Distanzangaben reveal misunderstandings of the KLs and ELs.
- 4) Most of the Distanzangaben were calculated independently of each other.
- 5) The bases of the calculations were most probably KLs and ELs.
- 6) One might be able to reconstruct how far back in time the EL was used.⁶⁴¹
- 7) No uniform scheme can be detected for determinations of the reign lengths of dynasties.
- 8) Distanzangaben always contain the last or first regnal year of the ruler to which they refer.

⁶³⁹ The stone inscriptions by Šalmaneser I for the Ištar temple are similar to those of Adad-nīrārī I. Unfortunately, neither slab was found *in situ*.

⁶⁴⁰ Also PRUZSINSZKY's (2006) and (2006a–c) evaluation of the Assyrian Distanzangaben suggests that some kind of EL must have been at hand. Here one can observe that mistakes in tracing down the specific king occurred: the scribe either missed the "correct" king (this indicates that KLs were used) or miscalculated the time span by 10 years.

Historical Relevance and Value for Absolute Chronology

The chronological value of the Distanzangaben was recognized long ago, and numerous attempts to apply them chronologically have been conducted. Their reliability for absolute chronology has been the subject of many studies.⁶⁴² So far, no decisive answer has been found. Some scholars even deny their value for absolute chronology due to the difficulties in interpretation they present and the ambiguities of their numbers.

POEBEL (1942–1943) was the first to work with Distanzangaben, attempting to fit them into his AKL-based chronological scheme. WEIDNER (1945–1951) undertook the same line of inquiry. LANDSBERGER (1954) showed that there is a major chronological gap in the AKL after the reign of Išme-Dagān I and that it is therefore impossible to establish an exact chronological scheme by combining all the available reign lengths. Nevertheless, he believed that in Middle Assyrian times there must have existed a complete, unshortened version of the AKL which served as a basis for the calculations of time spans by Šalmaneser I and Tiglath-pileser I. Weidner assumed that the Distanzangaben had been calculated by means of data independent of the KLs (in this he was followed by Cornelius, Rowton, H. Lewy, Tadmor and Hachmann: see the summary by NA'AMAN [1984]), who recalculated the time spans, by overcoming the existing gaps in the AKL, and arrived at a date of 1852 BC for the first year of Šamšī-Adad I.

HACHMANN (1977) 98–99 extensively discussed the texts containing time spans and their function as historical documents. He stressed that all sampled data from inscriptions are ambiguous (p. 105) since it is uncertain what points were the beginning and ending of the Distanzangaben – whether the beginning was with the beginning of the king's reign who did the previous restoration or with the completion of that restoration; and whether the ending was with the beginning of the king's reign who did the current restoration or with the completion of that restora-

These mistakes might have been also due to faulty compilations from previous ELs.

⁶⁴¹ The **KEL** shows this to have been Ērišum I. (see VEENHOF [2003]). This is no surprise as the **AKL** begins specifying reign lengths with Ērišum I.

⁶⁴² HACHMANN (1977); NA'AMAN (1984); BOESE – WILHELM (1979); DE ODORICO (1995) 18–19 and in reply GALTER, *Or* 70 (2001) 199.

tion. It is unlikely that the actual time of (re)building was referred to since building activities were usually not included in ELs or KLs and the earlier building inscriptions do not contain eponym datings. In case of successive Distanzangaben it is hard to estimate the number of included dynasties and whether this number includes all dynasties between the earlier and most recent restoration.

In 1979 BOESE and WILHELM, when dealing with chronology of the second half of the 2nd millennium, reviewed the Distanzangaben and proposed a 10-year shortening of the Middle Assyrian chronology.⁶⁴³ (→ 9.1. and 9.2. for details.)

Distanzangaben have been used for the reconstruction of the less precise parts of the AKL,⁶⁴⁴ especially to determine the length of lost reigns or those designated as DUB-*pi-šū*. The value of Distanzangaben particularly is clear in instances of those of Šalmaneser I and Esarhaddon referring to the reign of Ērišum I. Such Distanzangaben are very useful in reconstructing the chronology of the 2nd millennium, especially regnal dates for Šamši-Adad I. **Eponyms, dendrochronological and astronomical data** may help in evaluating their reliability. The KEL shows that ELs served as source material for the compilation of data in these inscriptions as well as in the AKL: that the Distanzangaben do correlate with the AKL in its presently known state, can be demonstrated on the basis of the numbers of years between Ērišum I and his successors.⁶⁴⁵ Perhaps earlier redactions of the AKL, which have not been preserved or discovered yet, were used to collect Distanzangaben data.

NA'AMAN (1984) believes some of the Distanzangaben are no more than rough estimates and therefore of no help for the establishment of an exact chronology. But other Distanzangaben he thinks are thoughtful calculations of available data and thus an important source for chronology. He believes that ELs were of no value for the calculation of the throne tenure of Old Assyrian kings, since no lists were known then. He agrees with Landsberger that there was a chronological gap in the AKL tradition following Išme-Dagān I and doubts that the Assyrian scribes had any information concerning the length of this period. Only KAV 14 seems to know something about this obscure gap; but it lacks exact chronological data

concerning the throne tenures during this period. According to Na'aman this gap is due to the lack of information available to the Assyrian compilers during a politically turbulent period. Na'aman concludes that the KLs contained all chronological data necessary for the calculation of time spans of past events and that they were the main sources for all Distanzangaben, which means that the latter are of no value for the establishment of an exact chronological scheme or for the confirmation of a given chronological system. But Distanzangaben are important for the investigation of the KLs available to the scribes at different periods. On p. 119 NA'AMAN (1984) summarizes his conclusions concerning the computation of Distanzangaben:

- The scribe calculated backwards (Tiglath-pileser I, Esarhaddon).
- All dates were usually calculated from the accession of one king to the accession of the previous king (except for Šalmaneser).

In their book *Dating ...*, 61 GASCHE *et al.* concluded that the “Distanzangaben cannot be used with any degree of confidence in establishing accurate dates for the reign of Šamši-Adad I.” They were supported by SASSMANNSHAUSEN [2006] 161. But as READE (2001) 3–5 pointed out in his reply, the Distanzangaben may not tell when exactly the respective building activities took place, but do contain information, which complies with the AKL (and ELs; though he does not explicitly state this) and therefore need to be considered. According to Reade's calculations, the Distanzangaben support the NC first proposed by Gasche *et al.* Despite the fact that some scholars refuse to consider Assyrian time spans for chronological purposes, another evaluation of the Distanzangaben has been presented by EDER (2004) 191–236, who found a very high chronology. A different result was presented by PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 73–79, who combined Assyrian time spans with the most recent **astronomical** results for Šamši-Adad I by MICHEL (2002), which seem consistent with **dendrochronological** results from Acem-Höyük. This study attempted to provide a general scheme by which the Distanzangaben might be understood and calculated, since the crucial question remains concerning the point from which their cal-

⁶⁴³ See JANSSEN (2006) 64–65 for a summary on some problems of Middle Assyrian chronology. For a critical statement on the lowered Middle Assyrian chronology see HOFFNER (1993) 50.

⁶⁴⁴ For these weak points within the AKL see HACHMANN

(1977) 121–122. Summaries referring to older studies have been provided by LANDSBERGER (1954) 31–73. → AKL

⁶⁴⁵ WILHELM, MDAR 71¹ and EDER (2004) 197–200. Eder believes that chronicles also may have been used as source material for calculating time spans (→ sub 9.2.).

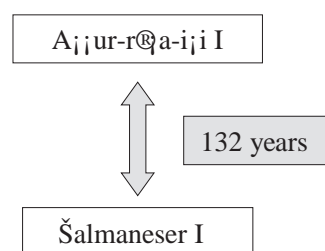
culations started and where they ended:⁶⁴⁶ only after this has been determined can the Distanzangaben be used to decide among the competing chronologies. JANSSEN (2006) dealt with the Assyrian Distanzangaben and also computed a solution between the Middle and Low Chronology for Mesopotamia.

ASSYRIAN DISTANZANGABEN

9.1. Rebuilding of the Aššur temple by Aššur-rēša-iši I (no. 86)

Clay cone from Aššur: RIMA 2, A.0.86.11 (Assur 12572)

“[The temple of the god Aššur – which Ušpia ... had previously built and] (when) it became dilapidated [Erišum (I) ... rebuilt (it and when 159 (?) years had passed and] it had (again) become dilapidated, Šamši-[Adad (I) ... rebuilt (it and) 580 (?) years (passed), then Šalmaneser (I)] rebuilt (it), (and) 132 [years (passed), then Aššur]-rēša-iši (I), vice-regent of [Aššur, rebuilt (it) ...]. [May] a later [prince ...]”



The cone is badly damaged. Its text was first published by WEIDNER (1927) 12 and later reconstructed by BORGER, EAK 105. For its importance to the construction history of the Aššur temple see HACHMANN (1977) 110.

The results presented here are taken from the study of BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 29–33. The text poses no problems of interpretation: 132 years are said to have elapsed between the restorations of the temple of Aššur by Šalmaneser I (no. 77) and its rebuilding by Aššur-rēša-iši I (no. 86). The clay cone was written during the Middle Assyrian period by one of the heirs of Aššur-rēša-iši. According to Boese – Wilhelm, the years are to be counted from the respec-

tive accession dates: Aššur-rēša-iši I (1132), Šalmaneser I (1264). The combined reigns of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (no. 82) and Aššur-dān I (no. 83) thus add up to 49 years, which form the basis for the “lowered Middle Assyrian chronology” (→ **AKL**, below and sub **9.2**). The reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur (no. 84) and Mutakkil-Nusku (no. 85), which are designated *DUB-pi-šu*, then total one year.⁶⁴⁷ According to the SDAS and Chors. **AKL** (→ sub **2.2.1.** and **2.2.1.4.**) three years are assigned to Aššur-nādin-apli (no. 79).

List of Assyrian kings according to the AKL

77	Šalmaneser I	30
78	Tukultī-Ninurta I	37
79	Aššur-nādin-apli	4/3
80	Aššur-nīrārī III	6
81	Enlil-kudurrī-ušur	5
82	Ninurta-apil-Ekur	3/13
83	<i>Aššur-dān I</i>	36/46
84	Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur	?
85	Mutakkil-Nusku	?
86	Aššur-rēša-iši I	18

There is a discrepancy in the reign length of **Ni-nurta-apil-Ekur** (no. 82) among the surviving tablets of the **AKL**: the Nass. **KL** records 13 years for this king, while the Chors. and SDAS **KLs** both note only three years. Before the study of Boese – Wilhelm the higher number 13 had been generally accepted, as proposed by POEBEL (1942–1943) 288¹¹³ and (1943) 87, and added to the 46 years of reign of Aššur-dān I (no. 83). Poebel’s approach has been followed by most scholars for the following two reasons:

1) The sum of 3 + 46 years for these two kings of the **AKL** is not compatible with the Distanzangaben and the synchronisms between Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt (assuming the Egyptian chronology is secured for the Amarna period: see POEBEL [1942–1943] 288¹¹³, WEIDNER [1945–1951] 88 and HORNING [1964] 57–58). Poebel therefore accepted 13 as the correct number of years unless “new and more authoritative evidence” should prove the number 3 to be the correct one.

⁶⁴⁶ See also RÖLLIG (1965) 321 for some basic considerations. Röllig refused to believe in the existence of an **EL** for the earlier periods (→ **AKL** and **EL**). In his study he also treated less reliable or less precise time spans beginning with the time of Šamši-Adad I (EAK 1, 9ff. with a discussion on the Akkadian term *dārum*).

⁶⁴⁷ See lately READE (2001) 5 on a possible interpretation of *tuppišu* as 16 years, the equivalent of an average throne tenure). → sub **2.5.** and **9.5.** Note that the Distanzangabe of Tukultī-Ninurta was not considered by Reade in his publication of 2001 since it is not relevant to the dating of Šamši-Adad I.

2) The Synchronistic History (ABC no. 21, II, 4–8) implies the death of the Kassite ruler Adad-šuma-ušur occurred after the end of reign of Enlil-kudurri-ušur (no. 81) (GRAYSON, ABC 162, BRINKMAN, PHPKB 87) during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (no. 82). Further, it is known that Tiglath-pileser I (no. 88) survived the Isin II ruler Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē (ABC no. 21, II, 14'–17'; see also BRINKMAN [1968] 69, 74f., 130).⁶⁴⁸ These facts, considering the interval between the Babylonian and Assyrian kings according to their KLS, can only be harmonized if the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur was 13 years (Poebel and others such as ROWTON [1966] 241–242).

However, both these arguments were criticized by BOESE and WILHELM (1979) 27 and 36–37, who pointed out that all assumptions depend on the low Egyptian chronology, which is not fully secured since it depends on the AKL and ultimately on the reign length of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (ROWTON [1966] 257⁶⁴⁹). They warned that the second argument concerning the (unfortunately broken) passage of the Synchronistic History is based only on the assumption that this passage describes an unsuccessful Babylonian campaign: if it does not, the synchronism between Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Adad-šuma-ušur is lost (see BRINKMAN, MSKH 32⁸⁹. → **Chronicles** sub 7.1. and 7.3.) Another argument for a longer Ninurta-apil-Ekur reign (next to the eponym evidence: → below and AKL sub 2.2.1.5.) is in the overlap of the **Kassite** and **Isin II** dynasties. BRINKMAN, PHPKB 82 questioned the chronological relationship between both dynasties (overlap or interregnum) and at first concluded that no evidence existed for either; later in MSKH 29⁸⁵ and 33⁹¹ and RIA 5 (1976–1980) 184 he argued for a slight overlap. BOESE and WILHELM (1979) 28 concluded that because absolute Babylo-

nian chronology ultimately depends on Assyrian chronology, the Babylonian data cannot be used to determine the reign length of an Assyrian ruler – it would be circular reasoning.

Eponyms compiled from Middle Assyrian documents indicate that Ninurta-apil-Ekur must have reigned more than three years.⁶⁵⁰ The reign of Aššur-dān I (no. 83) is generally believed to have lasted 36 years⁶⁵¹ (→ below sub 9.2.). Moreover, the 46 plus 13 years of Poebel do not fit the 132 years Distanzangabe of Aššur-rēša-iši. Note that the sum of either combination, i.e. 46 + 3 and 36 + 13 (= 49 years), is equal. It probably is based on a correct historical calculation; but at some point a mistake must have been corrected – but exactly when cannot be determined. The sum of both reigns (49 years) is crucial for the reconstruction of chronology and the succession date of Ninurta-apil-Ekur and complies with the Distanzangabe of 132 years as shown by BOESE – WILHELM (1979). Further instances of 10-year gaps in Distanzangaben and the AKL are pointed out by PRUZSINSZKY (2006c) 26.

The shortening of Aššur-dān's reign from 46 to 36 years was not accepted by EDER (2004) 200²⁵, though he did not object to the shortened Assyrian chronology of Boese – Wilhelm. Thus Eder attributed only three years to Ninurta-apil-Ekur.

BORGER, EAK 105, believed that the clay cone with the time span of 132 years was written by Aššur-rēša-iši I. This was followed by ROWTON (1966) 254 and GRAYSON, ARI I, pp. 151f. JANSSEN (2006) 65 also considered it possible. This implies that some of the regnal years might have been included to the Distanzangabe. But Boese and Wilhelm had second thoughts about this interpretation and cautiously suggested that this inscription may have been written for one of

⁶⁴⁸ The synchronism is attested in the Synchronistic History and in the **Synchronistic KL**. For another Distanzangabe of 418 years in the **Bavian inscription** (OIP 2, p. 83: 48ff.) between Sennacherib and Tiglath-pileser I/Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē see BRINKMAN, PHPKB 83–85 and 126–125. There it is stated that after 418 years the gods, which were brought to Babylon by Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, were returned by Sennacherib to Ekallātum in his 17th year during his 8th campaign. No problems occur for the date of the reign of Tiglath-pileser while some discrepancy is to be noted in respect to that of Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē (1099–1082), which cannot be explained: see BRINKMAN, PHPKB 127⁷⁴⁵ and again SASSMANNSHAUSEN (2006) 164. Both rulers are recorded as contemporaries in the Synchronistic KL and Synchronistic History. See also PNA II/2 (2001) 719 sub Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē. The booty must have

been taken to Babylon before Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē's 9th year. → **General** sub 1.6.2. According to RÖLLIG (1965) 339a, the Distanzangabe of the Bavian inscription “*ist sicher nur geschätzt*” and “*eignet sich nicht zum Aufbau einer Chronologie*”.

⁶⁴⁹ ROWTON (1966) 249–252 urged a low Egyptian chronology because of the letter **KBo I, 14**, which presumably was sent by Ḫattušili III to Adad-nīrārī I. Further evidence of Hittite letters which indicate an Egyptian LC were presented by BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 36⁶⁵. On the consequences of the LC for Egypt on Hittite chronology see BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 37⁶⁷ and WILHELM – BOESE (1987) 74–117. For a different date for this letter note GIORGIERI, *Or* 70 (2001) 89¹.

⁶⁵⁰ FREYDANK (1991) 195.

⁶⁵¹ This result was confirmed by Na'aman and supported by the study of FREYDANK (1991) 33–34 and 72–78.

the successors of Aššur-rēša-iši I: they assumed that the Distanzangabe most probably denoted the time span between the beginning of one reign and the beginning of the next (see p. 30; other options are possible). If one calculates the distance between Šalmaneser I and Aššur-rēša-iši I according to the AKL by counting the so far generally accepted 59 years for Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Aššur-dān I, there remains an excess of 8 to 11 years over the 132 years given by the clay cone Assur 12572. This excess disappears if a total of 49 years reign for the two kings is accepted (see ROWTON [1966] 254f., who interpreted Distanzangaben literally and believed them to denote the time span from the beginning of one building-phase to the next. The statistical results of this assumption favored the HC, which Rowton preferred: see BOESE – WILHELM [1979] 32). Rowton's assumption was criticized by RÖLLIG (1969) 275. According to Boese – Wilhelm, any year (thus any year of the 18 year reign of Aššur-rēša-iši I) could have been the year when the building started, which invalidates Rowton's argument for a higher as opposed to the lower chronology.

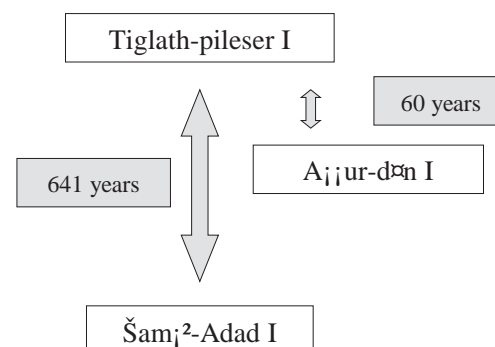
Although the Tukulti-Ninurta Distanzangabe does not contribute to determine Assyrian chronology for the first half of the 2nd millennium BC, it does provide important information for the chronology of the second half of the 2nd millennium BC and shows that Assyrian Distanzangaben should be considered as valuable evidence for Assyrian chronology.

9.2. Statement of Tiglath-pileser I

Prism inscription from the Anu-Adad temple in Aššur and the palace of Aššurmaširpal II: RIMA 2, A.0.87.1 (date of composition: 6th year of Tiglath-pileser I)

“At that time the temple of the gods Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, which Šamši-Adad, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Išme-Dagān (who was) also vice-regent of the god Aššur, had previously built, (after) 641 years had passed it had become dilapidat-

ed and Aššur-dān, king of Assyria, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (who was) also king of Assyria, tore down this temple but did not rebuild (it) and for 60 years its foundation had not been relaid.”



Note that following graph does not correspond to everyone's interpretation of this inscription.⁶⁵²

In the first edition of his annals **Tiglath-pileser I** (no. 87) reported that after **641 years** the Anu-Adad temple built by Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagān II (note the wrong order!)⁶⁵³ had become dilapidated. It was restored by Aššur-dān I (no. 83) and was finished **60 years** later by Tiglath-pileser I.

*List of kings between Tiglath-pileser I and Aššur-dān I according to the AKL*⁶⁵⁴

83	Aššur-dān I	46/36
84	Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur	?
85	Mutakkil-Nusku	?
86	Aššur-rēša-iši I	18
87	Tiglath-pileser I	39 (6 th year!)

Šamši-Adad III was an unimportant, almost unknown king. Therefore, it can be assumed that Tiglath-pileser I intended Šamši-Adad I⁶⁵⁵ despite the fact that the relationship has been inverted: Šamši-Adad I was the father of Išme-Dagān I.⁶⁵⁶ The 60 years seem to have been counted backwards from Tiglath-pileser's 6th year.⁶⁵⁷ Thus if this inscription, the first

⁶⁵² For instance SASSMANNSHAUSEN (2006) 162, who does not include the 60 years in the 641 years.

⁶⁵³ The numbers of kings (I, II, etc.) are only indicated by filiation or position within the Assyrian line of rulers.

⁶⁵⁴ See also BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 25 (table).

⁶⁵⁵ GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 59²⁵⁹ or READE (2001) 4.

⁶⁵⁶ Differently EDER (2004) 207–208 (→ below). The mix-up might be also due to the fact that no family ties were known for Šamši-Adad (note the chronicle-like insertion in the AKL).

⁶⁵⁷ Due to the fact that in this case calculations began from the year in which the building actually took place, EDER (2004) 200 assumed that chronicles had been used as sources for the computation of Distanzangaben. He proposed a calculation from the 5th year of Tiglath-pileser I. Note GASCHE *et al.*, *Akkadica* 108 (1998) 3 assuming that a lunar calendar may have been in use before the time of Tiglath-pileser I. For a critical view on the problem of the use of the lunar or/ and solar calendar in Assyria see BRINKMAN, MSKH 32⁸⁹ and more recently again READE (2000) 152 and VEENHOF (2000) 141ff. → **Calendar**

edition of his annals, was written in 1109 (6th year), the first regnal year of Aššur-dān I would have been 1169 (see WEIDNER [1945–1951] 93 and HACHMANN [1977] 117).

The 60 years seem to have been included in the 641 years, as PRUZSINSZKY has tried to show in articles published in 2006 dealing with the Distanzangaben. A different view can be found in the study by GASCHÉ *et al.*, *Dating ...* 58, where it is assumed that the building of the Anu-Adad temple took place in Tiglath-pileser's accession year (1115). This marks the starting point of their calculation, adding 60 years to the time of Aššur-dān I and another 641 years to the time of Šamši-Adad's original construction. However, scholarly consensus has been that the 60 years are to be included in the 641 years (for instance HACHMANN [1977] 125,⁶⁵⁸ who compared this with Distanzangaben of Šalmaneser I and Esarhaddon). Since GASCHÉ *et al.*, *Dating ...* 59 did not acknowledge this inclusion, the rest of the calculation leading to Šamši-Adad's I reign is regarded as useless. Also SASSMANN-HAUSEN (2006) 162 disagrees that the 60 years were included in the 641 years, and commented on the reliability of the inscription: "... Man fragt sich, wie zuverlässig ein Datum sein kann, wenn der Verfasser nicht einmal den Vatersnamen eines der prominentesten Herrscher von Assur zu kennen scheint. ..."

NA'AMAN (1984) 118 recalculated the possible dates for Šamši-Adad I. He proposed 1750–1718 for Šamši-Adad's reign by taking 1109 for Tiglath-pileser's 6th year, accepting a 33-year throne tenure for Šamši-Adad I, and assuming the Distanzangabe referred to his first year. The reign lengths of Aššur-rabi I (no. 65) and Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē I (no. 66) are unknown, but assumed by NA'AMAN (1984) to be 32 years. This number is based on average reign lengths (→ **Generation**). All kings up to Bēlu-bāni (no. 48) may be dated accordingly. But from this point onwards, due to the **DUB-pi-šu** reigns and the first Assyrian Dark Age (→ sub 2.5. and 9.1.) we are unable to establish accurate dates for Assyrian kings. Furthermore, the duration of the reigns of Aššur-dān I and his father Ninurta-apil-Ekur is very uncertain, a variation of up to 20 years being possible (→ above sub 9.1.).

The prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I includes the Distanzangabe of 60 years between Tiglath-pileser I and Aššur-dān I. Boese and Wilhelm calculated from Tiglath-pileser's first year (1114) a maximum date of 1174 (excluding the reign of Tiglath-pileser) and a minimum date of 1169 (calculation from the last possible point in time) for the beginning or end of Aššur-dān's reign. In view of his long reign, it is assumed that the Distanzangabe referred to the beginning of his reign (see also the table on p. 25). The calculation based on the Distanzangabe, which was written down soon after the event, demonstrates that the 36 years of the Nass. KL for the reign of Aššur-dān I must be the correct one. Considering this new result a discrepancy of ten years in total was obtained (= lowered Middle Assyrian chronology).

PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 73–79 made another effort to demonstrate that the 60 years should be included in the 641 years. A ten-year gap is still obtained when the calculation begins at the 6th year of Tiglath-pileser I, the composition date of this prism.⁶⁵⁹ However, gaps of ten years are evident elsewhere in the various manuscripts of the AKL, specifically concerning Aššur-dān I, Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Puzur-Aššur III. The first time span of 60 years refers to the first year of Aššur-dān, thus confirming a 36-year reign as reported in the Nass. KL (→ **AKL** sub 2.2.1.5.). Considering kings nos. 83–86, and starting the calculation in the beginning of Tiglath-pileser's reign it is reasonable to assume that the 60 years are to be included to the calculation of 641 years between Tiglath-pileser and Šamši-Adad I.⁶⁶⁰ The end of the calculation refers to the last year of Šamši-Adad I (1750) if one accepts the dates of his reign between 1792 and 1760 (note the gap of 10 years!), as was proposed by MICHEL (2002) on the basis of the **solar eclipse** that followed the year of his birth which seems to be in accordance with the evaluation of **dendrochronological data** from Anatolia.

EDER (2004) 207–208 understood this statement to be a reference to Išme-Dagān's building activities. His calculations yield 1816 or 1812 and thus are inconsistent with his dates for Šamši-Adad I.⁶⁶¹ He begins his calculations with Tiglath-pileser's fifth year, which he places in 1111 BC,⁶⁶² then adds the first time

⁶⁵⁸ He used a slightly different date for the beginning of Tiglath-pileser's I reign, 1112, which results in 1752 for the start of Šamši-Adad's reign.

⁶⁵⁹ A calculation from the ruler's first year would yield 1755 BC, which does not properly fit the rest of the results.

⁶⁶⁰ The addition of an extra 60 years would lead to a chronology higher than the MC.

⁶⁶¹ Note PRUZSINSZKY (2006c) for further comments on Eder's approach.

⁶⁶² The inscription reports on the first five years. Pruzsinszky assumes that the building took place in the year the inscription was recorded, i.e. the 6th year, which according to the conventional chronology would be 1109 BC.

span of the 60 years, which results in 1175 or 1171. Unfortunately these years do not fall within Aššur-dān's reign. Eder proposed very high dates for Išme-Dagān (1845–1806) and concluded that this Distanzangabe referred to the year when the building actually took place. Given that the AKL credits Išme-Dagān I with a reign of 40 years (a number widely believed to be incorrect),⁶⁶³ the construction would have taken place in his 29th to 33rd regnal year. However, this reference point is unusual (→ below sub 9.8. and PRUZSINSZKY [2006] 75–76 and [2006c] 25–26). This dating and the long reign of Išme-Dagān I of 40 years combined with the 125 years (!) of reigns unattested in the AKL (but in the **Puzur-Sin inscription** and **KAV 14** → **AKL** sub 2.1.1.) were correlated with the time after Hammu-rāpi, which is scarcely documented in Assyrian sources. Eder's historical conclusions (“*hurritische Satelliten*” which did not appear in the AKL due to a *damnatio memoriae*) therefore have to await further evidence. As mentioned above, he does not accept the 36 years for Aššur-dān, but nevertheless affirms the lower Middle Assyrian chronology (p. 200, fn. 25). The dates of Šamši-Adad I were calculated on the basis of the Distanzangabe of Šalmaneser I. One notices that neither of Eder's calculated years corresponds with either the end or the beginning of the ruler's reign.⁶⁶⁴

In contrast to PRUZSINSZKY (2006) JANSSEN (2006) 67 began from the 4th year of Tiglath-pileser I (1111 BC) and added both numbers mentioned in the inscription: $1111 + 60 + 641 = 1811$, which is 33 years shorter than the $1264^{665} + 580 = 1844$ of Šalmaneser's records. According to JANSSEN (2006) 68, the scribe of Tiglath-pileser probably took his information from the Distanzangabe of Šalmaneser I by subtracting the 33 years of Šamši-Adad and adding the 94 years between Šalmaneser I and Aššur-dān. The subtraction of the 33 years is due to the fact that in Tiglath-pileser's Distanzangabe Šamši-Adad I was the oldest king referred to and, according to Janssen's observations in “*Regeln der Distanzangaben*” (p. 68), no year of the oldest king referred to is included in the calculation. Janssen's solution for Tiglath-pileser's statement also implies that 13 years were calculated for Ninurta-apil-Ekur and that an AKL version similar to the Nass-

list was at hand. His overall evaluation of the Distanzangaben for absolute Mesopotamian chronology is based on the hypothesis that an error of 100 years might have occurred in the statements of Šalmaneser and Tiglath-pileser. The difference between the statements of Esarhaddon⁶⁶⁶ and Šalmaneser⁶⁶⁷ is 146 years. Part of this difference, the 46 years in Esarhaddon's statement, maybe due to kings, whose reign lengths in the AKL cannot be fully trusted: the AKL lists 40 years for Išme-Dagān I and 6 years for Aššur-dugul. Taking Esarhaddon's difference of 46 years into account, JANSSEN (2006) 70 dates Šamši-Adad to 1744. Thus JANSSEN (2006) 71 opts for a solution between the shortened MC and the LC.

Overview of calculations by Eder and Pruzsinszky

Eder	
1111/5 (1 st or 6 th regnal year)	
+60	
1171/5	
+641	
1816/12 (Reference to the actual building phase during Išme-Dagān [1845–1806])	
Pruzsinszky	
1114 (1 st regnal year)	1109 (6 th regnal year)
+641 (60 years included)	+641 (60 years included)
1755	1760

9.3. Statement of Esarhaddon

Building documents from Aššur: BORGER, AfO Bh. 9 (1956) 3 (Ass. A III 16ff.: from his 2nd year)

“Als der frühere Aššur-Tempel, den mein Vorfahr Ušpia, Priester des Aššur, vordem gebaut hatte, verfallen war, baute mein Vorfahr Erišum, der Sohn des Ilušuma, Priester des Aššur, (ihn) auf. Als er nach 126 Jahren wieder verfallen war, baute mein Vorfahr Šamši-Adad, der Sohn des Ilu-kabkabi, Priester des Aššur, (ihn) auf. Als nach 434 Jahren dieser Tempel durch eine Feuersbrunst zerstört war, baute mein Vorfahr Šalmanassar, der Sohn des Adad-nirāri, Priester des Aššur, (ihn) auf. Nach 580 (Var. 586) Jahren waren ... schwach geworden.”

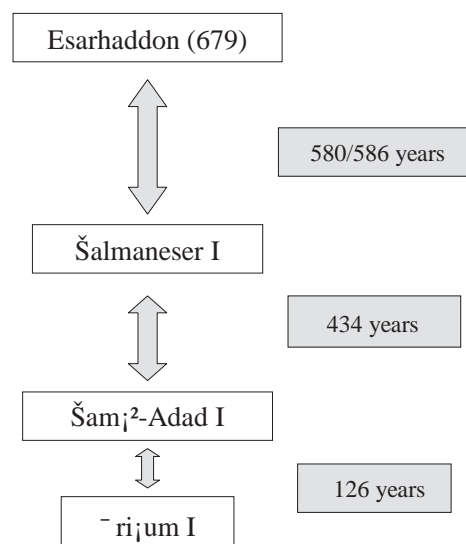
⁶⁶³ → AKL sub 2.2.1.1.

⁶⁶⁴ See PRUZSINSZKY (2006c) 26.

⁶⁶⁵ See JANSSEN (2006) 65–67 for this date in connection with his discussion of the *tuppišu*-reigns, for which he counts 2 years.

⁶⁶⁶ According to Janssen's calculation Šamši-Adad I dated to 1698–1666 BC (see p. 69).

⁶⁶⁷ According to Janssen's calculation Šamši-Adad I dated to 1844–1812 BC (see p. 69).



This inscription, dating to the second year of **Esarhaddon** (679), reports that **126 years** elapsed from the restoration of Aššur's temple by **Ērišum I (no. 33)** to that of **Šamšī-Adad I (no. 39)**.⁶⁶⁸ Another **434 years** separate the latter's restoration from the one by **Šalmaneser I (no. 77)**. Finally, **580/586 years** (BOESE – WILHELM [1979] 33–35 prefer 586, which is reported in another of Esarhaddon's inscription⁶⁶⁹) passed until it was rebuilt by Esarhaddon. Šalmaneser's accession date would accordingly be between 1265 and 1262, depending on the starting point of the calculation.

The second part of the statement is problematic, since 434 years is shorter than the length of that period given in the AKL. Landsberger assumed that this number is a mistake for 494 years.⁶⁷⁰ According to Na'aman's calculation of 1984, Šamšī-Adad I would then have to be dated to 1759–1727, roughly 10 years earlier than calculated above (1750–1718; see Na'aman's comments sub 9.2.). The discrepancy may be

explained by the use of different KLs. The accession of Šamšī-Adad I would then fall in 1728 + x, the missing years (x) of **Aššur-rabī I (no. 65)** and **Aššur-nādin-ahḫē I (no. 66)** would amount to 31 years (→ AKL), and their dates lie between 1451 and 1421. There is no further support for the scribal error in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon; the numbers were corrected to be in accordance with the time span of Tiglath-pileser I (see also ROWTON, *JNES* 17 [1958] 102–103).

POEBEL (1942–1943) 289–293 set the accession date of Šamšī-Adad I to 1726 + x (LC). In order to determine x (the two lost reigns in the AKL), he reviewed the Assyrian Distanzangaben of Šalmaneser I, Tukultī-Ninurta I and Esarhaddon.⁶⁷¹ While WEIDNER (1945–1951) 87ff. suggested 1727–1695 for the date of Šamšī-Adad I (reckoning 1 year for x), Poebel reduced x to 0, and dated the 39th Assyrian king to 1726/25–1694/93.

A different solution was presented by HACHMANN (1977) 123: He first calculated the sum of years between Esarhaddon and Šamšī-Adad I: 580 + 434 = 1014 years – or rather with the inclusion of 30 years for Šalmaneser I, 1044 years. Then, he subtracted one year for the last and first regnal year each, which he believed to have been counted twice, and obtained 1042 years. Accordingly, the last (!) regnal year of Šamšī-Adad I would date to 1692 or 1720 (depending on whether the reign of Šalmaneser I was included or not). HACHMANN (1977) 125 proposed as a synthesis of the Distanzangaben between Esarhaddon and Šalmaneser I dates for Šamšī-Adad I of 1752–1720, reckoning 0 years for DUB-*pi-šu*-reigns and 1258 as the 14th year of Šalmaneser I. However, according to the generally accepted lowered Assyrian chronology proposed by BOESE – WILHELM, this date would correspond to the fourth year.⁶⁷² This proposal is consistent with the LC (without taking into account the cor-

⁶⁶⁸ See also VEENHOF (2003) 51–52 and → **Eponyms**.

⁶⁶⁹ BORGER, *AfO* Bh. 9 (1956) 7 (Ass. B)

⁶⁷⁰ LANDSBERGER (1954) 40–41: 7 *šūšī* MU 14 [= 434] instead of 8 *šūšī* MU 14 [= 494]. In combination with his own reconstruction of the AKL, harmonizing all known Distanzangaben, Landsberger calculated 1852 for the first year of Šamšī-Adad I (UHC). Before him WEIDNER (1945–1951) 85–102 and POEBEL (1942–1943) have extensively dealt with the reconstruction of the AKL and the time span data. See also READE (2001) 5 and SASSMANNSHAUSEN (2006) 163, who rejected the emendation from 434 to 494 years. Note that the difference between the 494 years in Esarhaddon's statement for this time spanned and the one of 454 years (= 580–126 years) recorded in the inscription of Šalmaneser I is 40 years, which corresponds to the length of Ērišum's I reign that was

not included in the calculation here. In contrast EDER (2004) 205–206 proposed much higher dates and rejected this explanation for the difference of 40 years: instead he believed that the scribes might have used different versions of the AKL for the calculation of the time spans. The unusual use of the word *šūšī* in this text has been kindly pointed out to me by K. Radner: see also DE ODORICO (1995) 23–25.

⁶⁷¹ PALLIS (1956) 472 (with an overview).

⁶⁷² Note Hachmann's critical statement on p. 128: "... Eine Datierung Šamšī-Adad's I. zwischen 1752–1720 überbrückt zwar die schwachen Stellen der assyrischen Königslisten, ohne diese jedoch klären zu können. ..." This is similar to the conclusion by CORNELIUS (1954–1956) 298: 1749–1717 (due to the lack of a detailed presentation his interpretation of the Distanzangaben remains unclear).

rect synchronism between Hammu-rāpi' and Šamši-Adad I or a lowered chronology according to the 8-year Venus cycle).

According to GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 59–60, Esarhaddon's calculation referred to the beginning of Šamši-Adad's I reign (to be compared with the statement of Šalmaneser I sub 9.4.). They followed a different calculation than Hachmann, preferring Landsberger's reading of 494 years between Šalmaneser I and Šamši-Adad I and subtracting 29 years because of a scribal error for Išme-Dagān's reign (→ AKL sub 2.2.1.1.).⁶⁷³ Finally, on p. 60, they corrected the result against the solar calendar. Accordingly they reckoned the rebuilding by Šamši-Adad I to have taken place in **1712 or 1706**.

SASSMANSCHAUSEN (2006) 163 suggested that the Distanzangabe of Esarhaddon refers to the end of Šamši-Adad's reign. He starts his calculation with the second year of Esarhaddon (679) and adds 434 years (Sassmannshausen rejects the emendation to 494 years) to the *first* year of Salmaneser I (since otherwise the result of 1693 BC is too short). The result of 1707 is based on the addition of 580 years. According to Sassmannshausen 1713 is "about" the end of Šamši-Adad's reign. In Sassmannshausen's reconstruction the point of reference for the end of one interval and the beginning of the next differ for each step of the calculation. Although Sassmannshausen generally rejects the use of Distanzangaben for chronological purposes (see p. 161 for his critique of Eder's and the present author's studies), he obviously tries to accommodate the information of Esarhaddon's Distanzangabe for his preferred "higher" low chronology (which dates the fall of Babylon to 1544).

As has been observed, there is a connection between the Distanzangaben of Esarhaddon and Šalmaneser I with respect to the time span between Šamši-Adad I and Erišum I. It becomes evident that Šamši-Adad I ruled 33 years, which is confirmed by the KEL (VEENHOF [2000] and [2003]; → AKL). By adding to the second year of Esarhaddon (679) 586 years (BOESE – WILHELM [1979] 33–35) plus the 494 years (based on the correction by LANDSBERGER [1954] 40–41) as well as the 33 regnal years of Šamši-

Adad I one reaches **1792** for the start of Šamši-Adad's I reign.⁶⁷⁴ This corresponds to the newly calculated dates of MICHEL (2002) 17–18.

As PRUZSINSZKY (2006c) 27 has shown, EDER (2004) 205 adds the numbers of these Distanzangaben to 1265, with the result of 1759 – 119 years too low for his Šamši-Adad date of 1878 (based on the Distanzangabe of Šalmaneser). This difference is due to the missing part of the AKL after the reign of Išme-Dagān.

Past studies have shown that Distanzangaben are of only a limited value for the calculation of absolute dates for Šamši-Adad I, which is further obvious from the statement of Šalmaneser I,⁶⁷⁵ which follows.

Overview of calculations by Eder and Pruzsinszky

Eder

679 (2nd regnal year)
+586 (instead of 580)
+494 (434+60 according to Landsberger)

1759 (= start of Šamši-Adad's I reign, but a difference of 119 years from Eder's calculated dates for Šamši-Adad)

Pruzsinszky

679 (2nd regnal year)
+586 (instead of 580)
+494 (434+60 according to Landsberger)
+33 (!)

1792 (1st regnal year of Šamši-Adad)

9.4. Statement of Šalmaneser I

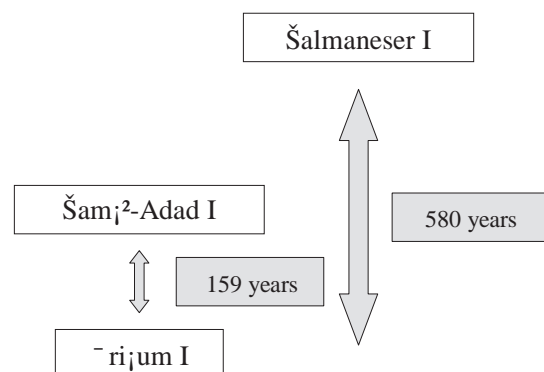
*Stone tablet from the Aššur temple: RIMA 1, A.0.77.1,
clay cone from the Aššur temple: RIMA 1, A.0.77.2*

"At that time Eḫursagkurkurra, the temple of Aššur, my lord – which Ušpia, vice-regent of Aššur, my forefather had previously built and (when) it became dilapidated Erišum, my forefather, vice-regent of Aššur rebuilt (it and when) 159 years had passed after the reign of Erišum and that temple had (again) become dilapidated Šamši-Adad (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur rebuilt (it and) 580 years (passed ...) – that temple, its sanctuary, the chapels, shrines ... burnt in the fire."

⁶⁷³ EDER (2004) 207 used the 40 years for Išme-Dagān's reign given by the AKL. However, evidence from Mari indicates that there was a period of a co-regency between Šamši-Adad I and Išme-Dagān, who was stationed at Ekallātum as vice-roy in the beginning of his reign.

⁶⁷⁴ PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 76.

⁶⁷⁵ See GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 60–61.



Šalmaneser I (no. 77) reported in his inscriptions that **159** years passed between the repairs of the Aššur temple by ʾrišum I and those by Šamši-Adad I and **580** years elapsed up to his own reign. The 159 years seem to have been reckoned within the 580 years, similar to the approach in the Distanzangabe of Tiglath-pileser I discussed above (NA'AMAN [1984] 119).

It is obvious that the calculations of Esarhaddon and Šalmaneser I were done independently (see also HACHMANN [1977] 124): because there is a 33-year difference in the time span between ʾrišum I and Šamši-Adad I (Šalmaneser I: **159 years** and Esarhaddon: **126 years**). This difference equals the **33-year reign** of Šamši-Adad I, which was included in the Šalmaneser I Distanzangabe but not in Esarhaddon's.⁶⁷⁶ Thus Esarhaddon's interval to ʾrišum I was to Šamši-Adad's accession date whereas Šalmaneser's was all the way to the end of Šamši-Adad's reign. The time span coincides with the numbers in the **KEL A** and **MEC** as well.⁶⁷⁷ Accordingly, the interval between the *last* year of Šamši-Adad I and the first year of ʾrišum I must be 199 years.⁶⁷⁸ Unfortunately, it is unknown in which year of Šalmaneser's reign this inscription was written (reckoned as x years). This indicates that Šamši-Adad's end of reign dates to $1684 - x = 1263$ [the accession date of Šalmaneser I⁶⁷⁹] + 421 [which is from the above discussed statement of Esarhaddon, $580 - 159$ ⁶⁸⁰], which was considered too low.

Several proposals for explaining Šalmaneser's I statement have been made:

- Use of a different compilation of the AKL, which is unknown to us
- Use of a partially destroyed copy of the AKL
- Omission of some numbers

NA'AMAN (1984) 119 concluded on the basis of the computation of Distanzangaben that (1) the scribe started calculating backwards (Tiglath-pileser I, Esarhaddon), and that (2) all dates were usually calculated from the accession of one king to the accession of another (except for Šalmaneser I).

Like GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...*, Na'aman believed that the 159 years had been reckoned within the 580 years. A slightly different approach was pursued by GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 57–58, who suggested that the 580 years denoted the time span between ʾrišum I and Šalmaneser I (see also Na'aman above). Upon this assumption, 421 years ($580 - 159$) would have elapsed between Šamši-Adad I and Šalmaneser's reconstruction, while the exact date is unknown. In order to achieve an approximately correct date for the reign of Šamši-Adad I, one has to take Esarhaddon's calculation into consideration: $679 + 586/580 = 1265$ or 1259 (i.e. Šalmaneser's rebuilding date). Thus Gasche *et al.* proposed four dates for Šamši-Adad's final year: 1845, 1839, 1686 or 1680 – which, corrected against the **solar dates** became 1823, 1827, 1669 or 1663. Based upon the lowest variants for the reigns of Išme-Dagān I, Puzur-Aššur III, Aššur-nādin-apli and Ninurta-apil-Ekur (and various other assumptions) GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* 57–58 found the last year of Šamši-Adad could have been 21 years higher: 1690 or 1684. However, this approach is highly speculative and does not include Boese – Wilhelm's valuable results concerning the reigns of Šalmaneser I and Ninurta-apil-Ekur. Of course, neither of the proposed dates of *Dating ...* are consistent with the results by GASCHE *et al.* (1998a) 1–4, where they adjusted the dates of Šamši-Adad I with those of

⁶⁷⁶ See VEENHOF (2003) 51–52 and → **Eponyms**.

⁶⁷⁷ But note that **KEL G** indicates a 36-year reign for Šamši-Adad I. One should take notice that this EL does not list the eponym years, in which Šamši-Adad conquered Ekallātum, Aššur and Mari. Note that GÜNBATTI (2008) 116 also quotes 61 instead of 64 years for the length of the reigns of Narām-Sin and ʾrišum II.

⁶⁷⁸ VEENHOF (2003) 57 (including ʾrišum's 40-year reign).

⁶⁷⁹ According to BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 34

⁶⁸⁰ In studies before the introduction of the lowered Assyrian chronology by Boese and Wilhelm, the higher dates were

preferred for Šalmaneser I (RÖLLIG [1965] 327 started his calculation from 1274). Röllig's considerations as to the exact building date (on p. 328 he assumed them to be years 15–18 of Šalmaneser I) for the calculation of Distanzangaben is too speculative and does not provide reliable dates (he provided eight different results for the reign of Šamši-Adad I: the four options for the date of construction – years 15 to 18 of Šalmaneser I – each are the starting point of two calculations, one calculation assuming the 40 year reign of ʾrišum needs to be added and the second calculation without it – i. e. $1274 + 580 - 126 + 39$ or $1274 + 580 - 126$).

Hammu-rāpi' and reduced them by nine years (from 1719–1688 to 1710–1679⁶⁸¹).

Generally, this Distanzangabe of Šalmaneser I has not been used much for chronological discussions – with the exception of HACHMANN (1977) 125, who believed that 1258 should be understood as the 14th year of Šalmaneser I.⁶⁸² (Esarhaddon is supposed to have considered 1258 as the last regnal year of Šalmaneser I).⁶⁸³ Combining the Distanzangaben of Šalmaneser I and Esarhaddon, he concluded that Šamši-Adad reigned from 1752 to 1720.

EDER (2004) 201–205 proposed that the 159 years should be *added* to the 580 years, which yields very high dates for Šamši-Adad I: 1878–1846. Weidner, Hachmann, Na'aman and Gasche all believed the 159 years to be included in the 580 years (→ above). However, according to Eder, the 580 years refer to the first year of Išme-Dagān (who is *not* mentioned in the inscription) and should be added to 1265, the beginning of Šalmaneser's I reign.⁶⁸⁴ This Distanzangabe served Eder's computation of Šamši-Adad's I absolute dates. By adding the eponym years known from the KEL A to Šamši-Adad's regnal years he dated Ērišum I to 2044–2005. Thirty years were attributed to the kings nos. 66 and 65, whose reign lengths are lost in the AKL. Eder added all the given time spans and consequently proposed the unusually long period of 125 years for the first Assyrian Dark Age succeeding the reign of Išme-Dagān I (which is otherwise reckoned to have lasted ca. a quarter of a century). Išme-Dagān's reign is calculated to be 40 years, as reported in the AKL, which is contradicted by other sources – such as the evidence from Mari clearly indicating a co-regency with Šamši-Adad I and including his reign in Ekallātum.⁶⁸⁵ Moreover, EDER (2004) 207–209 believed that the Distanzangabe of Tiglath-pileser (→ 9.2.) referred to Išme-Dagān's reign instead of that of Šamši-Adad I.

In 2006 PRUZSINSZKY reevaluated this difficult Distanzangabe in combination with the dates for Šamši-Adad, 1792–1760, proposed by MICHEL (2002) 17–18. By adding 586/580 years to the first regnal year of Šalmaneser I (1263 BC) one reaches a too low date (1849/3) for Ērišum I. Because the **KEL** gives the reign lengths of the early Assyrian kings, Ērišum I is now known to date ca. 100 years earlier. It might be that the later scribes confused Ērišum I with Ērišum II, as they had done with the Šamši-Adads in the Distanzangabe of Tiglath-pileser I. The rest of the calculation fits the rest of the known data. Nonetheless, this assumed confusion is surprising, since it is from Ērišum I onwards that we know of **eponyms**. If one adds to Šalmaneser's I last year (1233)⁶⁸⁶ 580 years one obtains 1813, which could theoretically coincide with the reign of Ērišum II. Due to the gaps within the Old Assyrian EL, we still do not know the lengths of reigns of Narām-Sin and his successor Ērišum II (see VEENHOF [2000] 139 and [2003] 29, 45 and 57).⁶⁸⁷ So far, only the end of Ērišum's II reign can be determined at 1793 (according to the lowered MC proposed by MICHEL in 2002; according to the MC his reign would end 1809).⁶⁸⁸

Overview of calculations by Eder and Pruzsinszky

Eder

1265 (beginning of reign)
+580 (= 1st year of Išme-Dagān's I)
+159

2004 (rišum I.: 2044–2005 BC; Šamši-Adad I: 1878–1846 BC; length of the first Assyrian Dark Age 119 years)

Pruzsinszky

1233 (last regnal year)
+580

1813 (perhaps the beginning of reign of rišum II?; according to Michel's lowered middle chronology, end of reign of rišum II was 1793 BC)

⁶⁸¹ One year was subtracted before due to their "lunar reduction": → **Calendar** sub 6.4.

⁶⁸² This can be also deduced from the difference in time span data between Šalmaneser I and Šamši-Adad I: 159 years are included in the number of 580 years. A difference of 13 years adds up to the 434 years reported by the scribe of Esarhaddon.

⁶⁸³ But note now BOESE – WILHELM's lowered Middle Assyrian reigns published in 1979, which invalidate HACHMANN's reconstruction of 1977.

⁶⁸⁴ See PRUZSINSZKY (2006c) 28, especially fn. 20 where it is stated that his calculations on p. 206 remain unclear to her.

⁶⁸⁵ VEENHOF (2008) 30.

⁶⁸⁶ The inscription is dated to the *limu* Mušallim-Aššur, which according to BORGER, EAK 65 and FREYDANK (1991) 53¹³⁹, is set late in Šalmaneser's reign.

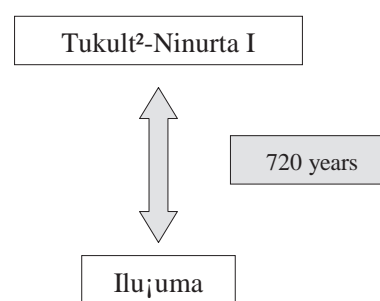
⁶⁸⁷ → 10.4. According to VEENHOF (2003), the reign of Narām-Sin ends at 1828 or 1818 (it is not decided yet whether he ruled 44 or 54 years), corresponding to 1812 or 1802, if one follows Michel's results. This would indicate that the time span refers to the beginning of the ruler's reign.

⁶⁸⁸ The reign lengths of kings nos. 65 and 66 still pose a problem. → **AKL** sub 2.6.

9.5. Statement of Tukultī-Ninurta I

Inscriptions on various materials from the Istar temple in Aššur: RIMA 1, A.O. 78.11

“At that time the temple of the Assyrian Istar, my mistress, which Ilu-šumma, my forefather, vice-regent of Aššur, a king who preceded me, had previously built – 720 years had passed (and) that temple had become dilapidated and old. At that time, at the beginning of my sovereignty, I cleared away its debris ...”



Several inscriptions that deal with the building activities of the Istar temple derive from the time of **Tukultī-Ninurta I (no. 78)**, who stated that the Istar temple was founded by **Ilušuma (no. 32) 720 years** before he restored it at the beginning of his reign.⁶⁸⁹ Almost all these tablets were found in the walls behind the pedestal of *Istar Aššuritu* (the “Assyrian Istar”) together with alabaster inscriptions by Adad-nīrārī I.⁶⁹⁰ An inscription of Ilušuma which reports the erection of the temple was discovered in the sanctuary of the Tukultī-Ninurta I structure.

Unfortunately, the length of Ilušuma’s reign is not preserved in any version of the AKL since he belongs to the section of kings whose eponyms are unknown.⁶⁹¹ Therefore the time span of 720 years provided by Tukultī-Ninurta I cannot be fully verified and has been generally ignored.⁶⁹² Current calculations would date Ilušuma to the middle of the 20th cent., which has

been considered much too high (e.g. HACHMANN [1977] 126–127: “... viel zu hoch ...”; but see below for the results obtained from the **KEL**).⁶⁹³ Therefore the number has been regarded only as approximate, referring to the early past. ROWTON, *JNES* 17 (1958) 108 suggested that it might merely be an artefact of the sexagesimal number system (12×60). More recently, READE (2001) 4 suggested that it might have been a figure “calculated on the assumption that an average reign or generation lasted 16 years” (→ **Generation**), since 45 kings are attested between Ilušuma and Tukultī-Ninurta I: $45 \times 16 = 720$.⁶⁹⁴ Reade assigned 16 years to each of the six Assyrian kings, who are said to have reign *bāb DUB-pi-šu*, a total of 96 years (→ **AKL** sub **DUB-pi-šu**). On the other hand he considered this Distanzangabe merely as an “approximation relating to the distant past, 12×60 ”, which is similar to Brinkman’s view of the Babylonian Distanzangaben.

HACHMANN (1977) 126–127 interpreted this time span from another angle: Because Tukultī-Ninurta I succeeded his father Šalmaneser I, who rebuilt the Aššur temple, Hachmann suggested that the son used the father’s calculation of the time interval back to Ērišum I, son of Ilušuma, 580 years, and adding to it the reign length of Ērišum I, 40 years, plus the rest of the reign of his father, x years. However, the total could not have been more than 630/640 years.

VEENHOF (2003) 57 published the reign lengths of kings preceding Šamši-Adad I as they are known from the **KEL A**. Ērišum I corresponds to the **Old Assyrian period** Kaniš level II. This level is dated by Veenhof between 1974 and 1935 (according to the MC) based on the **KEL A**.⁶⁹⁵ Taking these dates into consideration, Tukultī-Ninurta’s Distanzangabe back to Ilušuma proves to be not so wrong after all.⁶⁹⁶ If we calculate from Tukultī-Ninurta’s first year 1243 (non-lowered Middle Assyrian chronology) and add 720 years we reach 1963, which, according to the lowered MC

⁶⁸⁹ See LACKENBACHER (1982) 17 referring to studies by Weidner and Rowton.

⁶⁹⁰ For more texts found in this temple see HACHMANN (1977) 113–114.

⁶⁹¹ POEBEL (1942–1943) 275–276, RÖLLIG (1969) 265–266 and FREYDANK (1975) 173–175. After Ilušuma begins a series of kings whose name, filiation, and reign lengths are all given (Ērišum I is the first of this series.). Their reign lengths are confirmed by the **KEL A**.

⁶⁹² Even EDER (2004) for a very high chronology does not include this inscription in his study.

⁶⁹³ See also POEBEL [1942–1943] 297–298, who suggested the reading of 620 years. Note also RÖLLIG (1965) 329, who corrected the suggestion of WEIDNER (1945–1951) 94–95 that the time span referred to the reign of Sulili.

⁶⁹⁴ Further examples with this number 16 have been applied to the Babylonian Distanzangabe of the BKL, namely, that 576 years have been assigned to 36 Kassite kings ($36 \times 16 = 576$).

⁶⁹⁵ See VEENHOF (2008) 32 with discussion on the beginning of level II proposed 1974–1837 BC. VEENHOF (2003) 58 stressed that Old Assyrian evidence cannot be decisive for absolute chronology. Nevertheless, the Old Assyrian material is crucial for chronological problems, since it provides the historical setting for dendrochronological evidence. For refined dates according to the **KEL G** covering Kārum Kaniš levels II and Ib see GÜNBATTI (2008) 117: he proposed 1927–1836 for Kārum Kaniš level II.

⁶⁹⁶ See PRUZINSZKY (2006b) 11–12 and (2006c) 29–30.

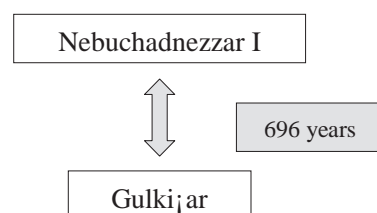
of MICHEL (2002) is consistent with the dating of the early Assyrian rulers. Also the ten year lower date does not fall out of the period of time allowed by the KEL, if we accept a lowered MC. Of course, the exact dating of Ilušuma, the predecessor of Ērišum, remains uncertain. Pruzsinszky assumes though that this inscription relates to the last year of Ilušuma (1959), corresponding to the pattern of the Assyrian Distanzangaben. The starting point of calculation should be the 5th year of Tukultī-Ninurta I, 1239 according to the Middle Assyrian chronology but not according to the lowered Middle Assyrian chronology proposed by BOESE – WILHELM (1979). Thus we can observe a difference of 10 years again, as we have done with the Distanzangabe of Tiglath-pileser I. JANSSEN (2006) 63 seems to accept the validity of this Distanzangabe for chronological purposes, but does not include it in his calculation yielding a chronology between the classical Middle and Low Mesopotamian chronology. SASSMANNSHAUSEN (2006) 163 likewise seems to accept the general accuracy of this Distanzangabe.

In conclusion: It is doubtful that the compilers in the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta and others had access to any material that could tell them the exact date of a ruler of the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. Indeed, it seems reasonable to assume that they might have had to struggle with the same problems in understanding the chronology as we do.

BABYLONIAN DISTANZANGABEN

9.6. Statement of Enlil-nādin-apli (Isin II dynasty)

kudurru (“boundary stone”):⁶⁹⁷ PHPKB 116–118, 329–330 (no. 5); HILPRECHT, BE 1, 83, 6–8 (from his 4th year)



⁶⁹⁷ On *kudurrus* see SLANSKI (2003).

⁶⁹⁸ NA'AMAN (1984) 119–121, BRINKMAN (1993–1997) 6–10. POEBEL (1955) 30⁹⁵ pointed out that the sum of 696 years equals the sum of the BKL's lengths for the Kassite (576 years) and Sealand I dynasties (120 years).

⁶⁹⁹ Agum II is the 8th king in the BKL and has been identified with Agum-kakrime (→ **Agum-kakrime inscription**) by NA'AMAN (for the problem of identifying the early Kassite king(s)

Enlil-nādin-apli, 5th ruler of the **Isin II dynasty**, stated on the *kudurru* BE 1, 83, 6–8, which dates to his fourth year, that **696** years elapsed between **Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104)** and **Gulkišar**, the 6th king of the **Sealand I dynasty**.⁶⁹⁸ NA'AMAN (1984) 120 suggested that the Babylonians counted the years of the Isin II dynasty from the time when the text of the boundary stone was composed (and not the end of Nebuchadnezzar's reign). Thus in the total of 696 years would be 58 years for the Isin II dynasty – the reign of its first four kings plus the first four years of Enlil-nādin-apli. From the remainder a further 120 years would then be subtracted for the last five kings of the Sealand I dynasty, leaving 518 years for the Kassites, about 60 years less (= 1 *šusī*) than the 576 years and 9 months (36 kings) attributed to the **Kassite dynasty** by **BKL A**. The average throne tenure for Kassite kings nos. 4–18, who covered 250 years, is 16.5 years (NA'AMAN [1984] 120, who ultimately argued for a solution between the LC and MC). Enlil-nādin-apli's copy of the BKL was not much older than the BKL available to us, which is nearer the end of the Kassite dynasty. According to NA'AMAN (1984) 120 his data fit much better all the available chronological data relating to the Kassite dynasty (mainly stemming from the BKL, the **Agum-kakrime inscription** and partly the **Synchronistic KL**; Na'aman suggested a reduction of 60 years for the length of the Kassite dynasty as reported in the BKL leaving only 516 years). The missing kings between Kaštiliašu I and Agum II,⁶⁹⁹ presumably two generations, is still a problem.⁷⁰⁰

RÖLLIG (1965) 341–343 attempted to find an explanation for this time span and suggested that the mistakes might have been due to the BKL, which listed the Sealand I and Kassite dynasties consecutively. This could have resulted in the exceedingly high dates for Gulkišar who is credited 55 years by BKL A. The Distanzangabe under discussion would place Gulkišar at the turn of the 19th to the 18th cent. BC – which is much too high. Due to the unknown tradition of these numbers and their source material (specifically, which version of the BKL had been used) Röllig

Agum see BRINKMAN, MSKH 13). Generally Agum III is preferred. Na'aman attempted to reconstruct via Babylonian data the duration of the obviously turbulent period after the reigns of Šamši-Adad I and Išme-Dagān I (→ **AKL**).

⁷⁰⁰ With respect to the average length of generations NA'AMAN (1984) 122 mainly refers to ROWTON (1970) 207. See however BRINKMAN, MSKH 27⁷⁷ and 30f.⁸⁷.

refused to use this time span for chronological considerations. Brinkman PHPKB 83–84 considered this Distanzangabe an artificial calculation by a scribe on the basis of canonical KLS, in which the Sealand and Kassite dynasties were assumed to be consecutive.⁷⁰¹

BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 35 claimed, according to their results on Middle Assyrian chronology, that all Kassite dates should be lowered by 10 years (see for instance the table of VEENHOF [2001]). In 1982 BOESE reviewed the data and lowered the dates by five years, which was accepted by GASCHÉ *et al.*, *Dating ...*.⁷⁰² The reign lengths of the first three Kassite kings (Gandaš, Agum I and Kaštiliašu I) are given by the BKL. By adding 576 years to the known date of the end of the Kassite dynasty, 1155, their reigns would be between 1729–1660, which still is much too high in view of the dating of the kings of the Babylon I dynasty. The reigns of the succeeding kings are unfortunately lost (see above for Na’aman’s considerations). The reign lengths of nos. 19–36 starting with Burna-Buriaš II are well known and cover the period between 1349–1155.⁷⁰³ Kings nos. 4–18 were assumed to have covered a period of ca. 310 years (1659–1350), which is considered too high, since the average reign would then have lasted ca. 20 years. By suggesting that the Kassites ruled only 516 years in total the average reign for kings nos. 4–18 would be 16.5 years (compare to READE [2001] 4 who gives 16 years for the king’s average reign length or “**generation**”, which he applied to some kings mentioned in the AKL; for similar results by Na’aman see above). Consequently NA’AMAN (1984) 120 assumed that the 576 years credited to the Kassite dynasty by BKL A was a scribal error.⁷⁰⁴ For consequences of this new reconstruction see below.

EDER (2004) 216–217 proposed another approach, which was primarily based on the very high chronology derived from his evaluation of the Assyri-

an and Babylonian Distanzangaben: To the 54 years from the end of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign on to Marduk-kabit-aḥḥēšu (according to BKL A+C) he first added 516 years (the corrected total for the Kassite dynasty), then 120 years (from the end of the Sealand I dynasty to the reign of Pešgaldaramaš according to BKL A) and finally 6 years (?) for the reign of ¹DIŠ+U-EN (documented in the Synchronistic KL). This adds up to 696 years, the total of Enlil-nādin-apli’s Distanzangabe. Eder believed, on the basis of the **Gandaš inscription** (→ **Royal Inscriptions**) that Gandaš, the first Kassite ruler, was a contemporary of Samsuditana.⁷⁰⁵ This calculation also formed the basis of Eder’s date for the fall of Babylon (→ **Babylonia**).⁷⁰⁶

Further Babylonian Distanzangaben⁷⁰⁷

The Babylonian references on time spans are less reliable than the Assyrian ones. This may be due to the frequent use of “typological” numbers and the less continuous tradition of Babylonia. Dating techniques changed with time, which means that the Babylonians could not rely on exact tools such as the ELs. There were date-lists which gave year-names in their correct sequence; but after the Old Babylonian period texts were dated by regnal years, which made the KLS (BKL) very necessary. This means that no continuous, uninterrupted list of years from the beginning of the 2nd millennium to the 1st millennium ever existed, as it did for Assyria. It is also unknown what kind of data was available to Babylonian scribes for the computation of Babylonian time spans back to various events (abduction of statues, the sack of Babylon etc.) or rulers.

Samples of Babylonian time spans:

- **Nabonid’s** inscription states that **Hammu-rāpi**’ built the Ebabbar and its temple tower 700 years⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰¹ This might again prove the close relationship between Distanzangaben and KLS, as suggested for the Assyrian sources (where also the ELs play a crucial role, which need to be included in the chronological evaluation).

⁷⁰² See SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 61 on the difficult correlation between the Assyrian and Babylonian KLS.

⁷⁰³ In his chart BRINKMAN (1977) 338 sets all the kings’ dates 10 years higher. For another updated chart with maximum and minimum dates for Babylonian rulers starting with Kadašman-Enlil I see SASSMANNSHAUSEN (2006) 173–174 (king no. 36, Enlil-nādin-aḥi, ending with 1150 BC).

⁷⁰⁴ Also SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 61 preferred the AKL data. But note READE’s (2001) 4 observations on this number in comparison with the Assyrian Distanzangabe by Tukulti-Ninurta I. EDER (2004) 215 considered this number to be a scribal error as well.

⁷⁰⁵ Eder read all the inscriptions of the Kassite rulers Gandaš and Agum-kakrime literally. Unlike other scholars he believed in their authenticity and chronological value and therefore proposed the Kassite dynasty to have succeeded the Babylon I dynasty.

⁷⁰⁶ He therefore refused to use the astronomical data.

⁷⁰⁷ For a compilation see BRINKMAN MSKH 8⁵. → sub 9.2. for the **Bavian inscription**.

⁷⁰⁸ For more time spans cited by Nabonid see RÖLLIG (1965) 343–342. Due to the fact that he used only round numbers (3200, 700, 800 years), their chronological value is generally disparaged: “... Die Distanzangaben Nabonids geben also keinen Aufschluß über chronologisch-historische Sachverhalte. ...” (p. 345) See also SCHAUDIG (2003) 463–464, 468, and 494 (simple addition of regnal years recorded in various KLS without considering overlaps).

before **Burna-Buriaš (I/II)** (VAB 4, 238, ii 20–22, CT 34, 29, ii 1–3, dupl.: VAB 4, 244).

- Length of exile of the **Marduk statue in Ħani**: 24 years (according to the Marduk prophecy K. 2158+⁷⁰⁹).
- First exile of the **Marduk statue to Assyria**: $x + 6$ years (Chronicle P, iv 12; → **Chronicle P**).⁷¹⁰
- From **Šagarakti-Šuriaš** to **Nabonid**: 800 years (VAB 4, 228, iii 27–28).
- From the Babylonian recovery of the **Šagarakti-Šuriaš seal** until its recapture by **Sennacherib**: 600 years.
- Length of exile of the **Marduk statue** in **Elam** between the time of **Enlil-nādin-aḫi (Kutir-Nahunte)** and **Nebuchadnezzar I**: 30 years (astrological omen apodosis: III R 61, 2, 21'–22' [parallel: LBAT 1526, rev. 1–3]; see Brinkman PHPKB 108⁵⁸⁵ and MSKH 8–9⁵).⁷¹¹

BRINKMAN, MSKH 29 pointed out that all Babylonian Distanzangaben are multiples of either 6 or 100 and their accuracy is therefore suspect. BOESE (1982) 21⁴², however, read the length of the exile of the Marduk-statue in **Chronicle P** as 86 years. Only three Babylonian time spans are useful for the reconstruction of Babylonian chronology (→ **Babylonia**).

9.7. Hittite “Distanzangabe”

The cultic text KUB 25, 21 by Tudḫalia IV reports that the cult center of the weather god Nerik is said to have lain in ruins for 400 or 500 years since the reign of Ħantili (I²), when the Kaškeans had destroyed it. This time span is much too long to offer any useful chronological information.⁷¹²

9.8. Dates for Hammu-rāpi' and Šamši-Adad I

The chronological implications of the above mentioned Kassite dates were discussed by NA'AMAN (1984) 121. The author was aware of the problems of reconciling the 576 years assigned to the Kassites by the BKL to one of the chronological schemes and stated that “... no single datum is decisive for solving such a composite complex of problems.”⁷¹³ His dating of the Babylon I dynasty fell between the MC and LC (compare this with the most recent results on Assyrian chronology based on the solar eclipse and dendrochronological data related to Šamši-Adad, which seem to confirm the Assyrian Distanzangaben). Hence, NA'AMAN (1984) 121 assumed that the observations in the VT were based on an 8-year cycle, as did GASCHE *et al.* in *Dating ...* He set Hammu-rāpi's accession date in 1760 and the beginning of the Kassite dynasty was set around 1660, in the 20th year of Abi-ešuh. NA'AMAN (1984) 121 identified Agum II with Agum-kakrime,⁷¹⁴ who, according to the **Marduk prophecy**, is connected to the fall of Babylon (→ **Royal Inscriptions**). Agum II was the eighth king in the **BKL**, which accords with the Assyrian **Synchronistic History** and the genealogy of his own inscription. This might bridge the gap in the AKL by bringing the dates of Šamši-Adad I to 1781/78–1749/46 (different from the AKL tradition; Na'aman argued that Šamši-Adad I died sometimes during years 11–14 of Hammu-rāpi'; but → **Eponyms** sub **10.6.** for year 18). The gap in our documentation after Išme-Dagān I (first Assyrian Dark Age) lasted about a quarter century (NA'AMAN [1984] 115–123).⁷¹⁵

On the implications of the Assyrian Distanzangaben for the second half of the 2nd millennium BC

⁷⁰⁹ → **Royal Inscriptions** (sub **Agum-kakrime inscription**) and **Babylonia**

⁷¹⁰ See BOESE (1982) 20–21 on the reading of $x + 6$ years: he proposed 86 years for the time between 1222 (end of reign of Kaštiliašu IV) and 1132 (Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur). He recalculated the year 1219 (± 2 years) for the abduction-date of the Marduk statue mentioned in **Chronicle P**. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM (1996) 14–18 also deals with the synchronism between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kaštiliašu IV in connection with the **eponyms** attested in some of the letters from Dür Katlimmu.

⁷¹¹ See BRINKMAN MSKH 29⁸⁵ and 33⁹¹ on the implication of the overlapping Kassite and Isin II dynasties. He states that 1155, the end of Enlil-nādin-aḫi's reign and of the Kassite dynasty, fits well with the Distanzangabe of Nebu-

chadnezzar I. Thus the date of the recovery of the Marduk statue would be 1125 (30 years for its exile).

⁷¹² See BECKMAN (2000) 22 with literature: ASTOUR (1989), DE MARTINO (1993) 218–240, WILHELM (1991) 470–476; WILHELM – BOESE (1987) 74–117; text: KUB 25, 21 (CTH 524, iii, 1–4).

⁷¹³ He cautiously stated that his discussion was not a treatment of the general Mesopotamian chronology.

⁷¹⁴ BRINKMAN, MSKH 95. See now also SASSMANNSHAUSEN, MDAR 63 (Agum III) and → **BKL**.

⁷¹⁵ HACHMANN's results (1977, p. 129) were also consistent with the LC: he placed Hammu-rāpi's accession around 1730 (based on the known synchronism with Šamši-Adad I, who was dated between 1752–1720). Hachmann pointed out that (at that time) no consensus had been reached about the information in the texts from Mari, Alalah and Ešnunna.

see BOESE – WILHELM (1979) 35–37 who obtained a general lowering of ten years, consistent with BRINKMAN's studies in MSKH 32⁸⁹ and generally accepted today. READE (2001) 3–8 correctly stressed that due to the part of the AKL text preceding Tukultī-Ninurta I, Distanzangaben do not tell us when exactly Šamši-Adad I built the Aššur temple but rather refer to reign lengths of Assyrian rulers; Reade set the first year of Kidin-Ninua (no. 54) to ca. 1593 BC and criticized Gasche *et al.* for rejecting the use of Distanzangaben. He demonstrated that the same low absolute dates for Assyrian kings can be achieved based on his interpretation of the Distanzangaben and of the AKL's section on the successors of Išme-Dagān I, the so-called "Assyrian Dark Age" (→ AKL). VEENHOF (2000) 139⁷ concluded that the KEL A revealed that the Distanzangaben were definitely related to the reigns of rulers and that the Assyrian scribes and scholars had enough chronological data for their calculation of time spans. In the ELs each named eponym represents one year, which is indicated by the summaries in KAV 21–24 where the scribe employed the Sumerian term for years, MU.MEŠ, and not eponyms.

Due to the confirmation by the KEL A of the validity of Assyrian Distanzangaben regarding Ērišum's I reign in relation to other Assyrian reigns and their close relationship to the AKL, the Distanzangaben cannot be neglected as GASCHE *et al.*, *Dating ...* have done. Their evaluation is based on such interlocked factors as their view of Venus chronology, the synchronism between Šamši-Adad I and Hammurāpi', and their interpretation of certain passages of the AKL (successors of Išme-Dagān I, interpretation of the term DUB-pi-šu, the reconstruction of lost reign lengths of kings nos. 65 and 66 as well as the interpretation of variants in numbers of reign lengths, and the assumption of a lunar calendar in Assyria).

The following are the most important chronological characteristics of the Assyrian Distanzangaben:⁷¹⁶

- The start of the calculation back in time is always from the year of the inscription (see the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I and Esarhaddon) – which is also one of the conclusions of JANSSEN (2006) 68.
- The final Distanzangabe of the calculation refers to the last regnal year of the named ruler.⁷¹⁷
- For the intermediate rulers mentioned in the Distanzangabe (including Šamši-Adad I) the reference is to their first regnal year (see also JANSSEN [2006] 68).
- Some Assyrian kings have been confused with others – specifically Šamši-Adad II with Šamši-Adad I, and possibly Ērišum II with Ērišum I.

JANSSEN (2006) 68 concluded: "... Unter Berücksichtigung gelegentlicher Abweichungen kann man somit als Faustregel feststellen, daß die Gesamtdistanz zwischen dem letzten des ältesten und dem ersten Jahr des jüngsten Königs verläuft. ..." Sometimes, however, it is the first year of the earliest mentioned king that is being referred to (as Pruzsinszky has shown above with regard to Esarhaddon and Šalmaneser).

It has to be kept in mind that at the time of the early studies of POEBEL (1942–1943), WEIDNER (1945–1951: review of Poebel) and LANDSBERGER (1954: review of Weidner) little information on the reign of Šamši-Adad I and his ties with other rulers was known. For example, it was not known that Šamši-Adad I died in year 18 of Hammurāpi' as proposed by CHARPIN – ZIEGLER [2003] 175, and this resulted in the incorrect synchronism of Hammurāpi' year 11 with Išme-Dagān I year 1 (LANDSBERGER [1954] 38)⁷¹⁸ based on VAB 5, 284.⁷¹⁹ LANDSBERGER

⁷¹⁶ Proposal by PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 78, who tested the Assyrian time span data against the dates of MICHEL (2002) 17–18. Another proposal for the rules of Assyrian Distanzangaben is by JANSSEN (2006) 68. His results for dating the Assyrian kings lies between the MC and LC.

⁷¹⁷ JANSSEN (2006) 68 observed sub 1. "... Kein Jahr der Regierungszeit des ältesten Königs (A) wird mitgerechnet, Das älteste Jahr, das verrechnet wurde, ist das 1. Jahr des unmittelbaren Nachfolgers von A. ...".

⁷¹⁸ See GASCHE *et al.* (1998a) 1–4 with the correction to the solar dates applied in *Dating ...*. The widely-used charts (which follow the MC or LC) by BRINKMAN (1977), WALKER (1995) and STARKE (2002) do not use this synchronism. Thus a shift of dates should be considered.

⁷¹⁹ On a summary of the older studies' approach (up to 1955) see PALLIS (1956) 463–484. According to the Distanzangaben and the KEL A 199 years passed between Ērišum I and Šamši-Adad I and, according to the data known on Babylonian kings only 145 years passed between Sumuabum and Hammurāpi'. But note that the synchronism between Ilušuma and Sumuabum mentioned on p. 464 can be refuted (see above and RÖLLIG [1965] 245–247 on the section of the **King Chronicle**, which does not name Sumuabum, but Suabum, who cannot be identified with the Babylonian ruler: EDZARD [1957] 92–93). Pallis himself considered the Assyrian time spans to be "irreconcilable" with the data drawn from AKL (Chors.). For references to Distanzangaben in earlier studies see pp. 476–477.

(1954) 51 (with useful overview of the numbers accepted by him) calculated 1852 for year 1 of Šamši-Adad I and therefore obtained even higher dates for the “attached” Babylonian dynasty (UHC). In his chapter on the time spans RÖLLIG (1965) provided as many options as possible for the calculation and interpretation of Assyrian Distanzangaben. He performed many different computations leading to various results and concluded that Šamši-Adad I must have ruled between 1756/48–1723/15, a date that corresponds approximately to the LC.⁷²⁰ According to him the time spans in the inscriptions of Šalmaneser, Esarhaddon and Tiglath-pileser I do not result in one specific date. As for the Babylonian chronology, more than the main three options exist (HC, MC and LC), which opens a whole new range of possibilities for the absolute dates of Babylonian rulers. But the VT upon which astronomically dating is based, is far from unquestionable. Thus the dates of Babylonian rulers will have to be ultimately derived from Assyrian chronology based on the AKL, eponyms, Distanzangaben, calendars (solar or lunar⁷²¹), and other astronomical and dendrochronological data.

Overview on the more recently proposed dates for Šamši-Adad I (1808 bis 1776 according to the MC)

- 1719 bis 1688 v. Chr. (GASCHE *et al.*, Dating...)
- 1710 bis 1679 v. Chr. (GASCHE *et al.* [1998])
- 1758 bis 1725 v. Chr. (MICHEL – ROCHER [1997–2000])
- 1792 bis 1760 v. Chr. (MICHEL [2002] followed by PRUZSINSZKY [2006])
- 1878–1846 (EDER [2004])
- 1744–1712 (JANSSEN [2006] = LC)

Distanzangaben Discussed with Respect to the Absolute Chronology of the 2nd millennium BC

All five of the above-discussed Assyrian Distanzangaben, three of which refer directly or indirectly to Šamši-Adad I, can potentially provide useful information for bridging the gaps in the AKL.

The Babylonian Distanzangabe by Enlil-nādin-apli referring to **Gulkišar** of the Sealand I dynasty is of no value for Mesopotamian chronology. All other known Distanzangaben from Babylonia (with the possible exception of the one referring to the abduction of the statue of Marduk) and Anatolia (KUB 25, 21) are worthless for chronology.

Links

AKL, BKL, Calendar, DUB-*pi-šu*, EL, Isin I Dynasty, Isin II Dynasty, Kassite Dynasty, Old Assyrian Period, Middle Assyrian Period, Royal Inscriptions, Sealand I Dynasty, Sealand II Dynasty, Synchronistic History.

⁷²⁰ Similarly HACHMANN (1977) and NA'AMAN (1984).

⁷²¹ Note PRUZSINSZKY (2006) 78.