

THE SECOND DYNASTY  
OF ISIN ACCORDING TO A  
NEW KING-LIST  
TABLET

*BY A. POEBEL*



THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

*ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES • NO. 15*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO • ILLINOIS

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
*ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES*

*Library of Congress Catalog Number: 55-10250*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • CHICAGO 37  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON, N.W. 1, ENGLAND  
THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, TORONTO 5, CANADA

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PUBLISHED 1955. COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY  
OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

## PREFACE

This study, written during the years 1946 and 1947, was ready for printing early in 1948. Efforts to arrange for its publication in a journal were, unfortunately, not successful, and I am therefore very happy that it is appearing in the Oriental Institute's "Assyriological Studies" series.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor George G. Cameron, the owner of the tablet here discussed, for entrusting me with its publication.

My thanks are due likewise to Mrs. Elizabeth B. Hauser, Editorial Secretary of the Oriental Institute, for her great devotion and extreme care in preparing the manuscript for the press and seeing it through the printing process.

A. POEBEL

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

May 1955



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- ADD C. H. W. JOHNS, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents Recording the Transfer of Property.*
- AHwb FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*
- AOf Archiv für Orientforschung.
- AS The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *Assyriological Studies.*
- ASKt PAUL HAUPT, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte nach den Originalen im Britischen Museum. . . .*
- BBSt L. W. KING, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum. . . .*
- BE The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT.  
Series A: Cuneiform Texts.  
Series D: Researches and Treatises.
- CCEBK L. W. KING, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings.*
- CDSA FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad.*
- CH Code of Hammu-rabi.
- CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Texts, &., in the British Museum.
- EDSA C. J. GADD, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad.*
- HGT ARNO POEBEL, *Historical and Grammatical Texts (= UPUM V).*
- HS FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, *Les homophones sumériens.*
- HT ARNO POEBEL, *Historical Texts (= UPUM IV 1).*
- IF I ANTON DEIMEL, *Die Inschriften von Fara I: Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen (= WVDOG XL).*
- KAVI OTTO SCHROEDER, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (= WVDOG XXXV).*
- KTbAT HUGO WINCKLER, *Keilschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament.*
- LIH L. W. KING, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi.*
- MVaG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*
- MVaÄG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.*
- OBI H. V. HILPRECHT, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions Chiefly from Nippur.*
- OECT II S. H. LANGDON, *Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B.444 (= Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts II).*
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
- 1 (2, etc.) R H. C. RAWLINSON, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. I (II, etc.).*
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.*
- ROEC FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme.*
- SA FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, *Le syllabaire accadien.*
- SKL THORKILD JACOBSEN, *The Sumerian King List (= AS No. 11).*

UAoG	HUGO WINCKLER, <i>Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte.</i>
UPUM	University of Pennsylvania, University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
YOS I	ALBERT T. CLAY, <i>Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection</i> (= Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts I).
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.</i>

THE SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN ACCORDING TO A  
NEW KING-LIST TABLET

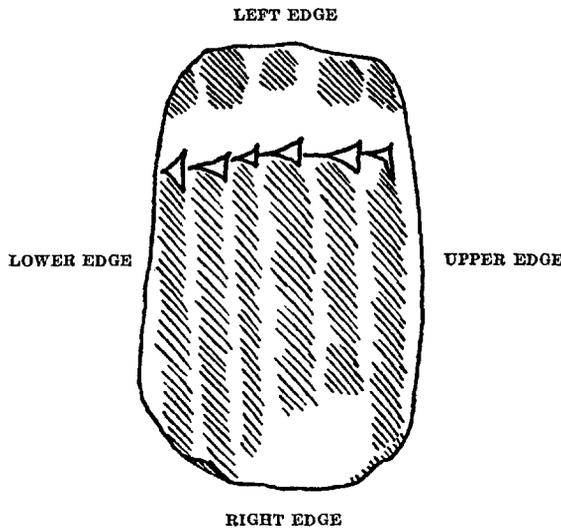
Although the tablet here published is rather small—for it measures only  $5.8 \times 3.7 \times 2.3$  cm.—and although it has only nine short lines of writing, it is nevertheless of great historical importance. For its first seven lines contain a king list giving the names and the number of regnal years of the first seven rulers of the second Isin dynasty, none of which are completely preserved in Babylonian King List A, hitherto our principal source of chronological information concerning that dynasty. The tablet belongs to Professor George G. Cameron of the University of Michigan, who, however, several years ago generously suggested that I (at that time working on the synchronization of the kings of Babylonia with those of Assyria) make use of its contents for my chronological studies and also publish and discuss it in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (at that time still under his eminently efficient and enthusiastic editorship). Unfortunately nothing is known of the provenance of the tablet. It was given to Professor Cameron by a gentleman from the Near East, who stated that it had been bought in the Orient from a dealer. At that time the tablet was still illegible, since the wedge impressions were mostly filled with hardened dust. But when the tablet had been cleaned, its character was of course at once recognized by Professor Cameron. He even made a copy, a transliteration, and a translation of the text, all of which he handed over to me. In conformity with the designation of the two hitherto known Babylonian king lists as Babylonian King List A and Babylonian King List B, I have named the new king list Babylonian King List C; but by a fortunate circumstance this designation can at the same time be taken as meaning Babylonian King List Cameron.

Before we take up the new king list itself, it will be advantageous to consider some of the external features of the tablet. The shape is rather unusual. Both reverse and obverse are considerably curved. Abnormally, the curvature of the obverse is about the same as or even a little greater than that of the reverse. Moreover, the whole tablet is slightly warped. Again in contradistinction to the normal custom, the text lines run the long way of the tablet, so that its height is much less than its breadth. Especially noteworthy, however, is the fact that the height is considerably greater at the right side than at the left. While the left edge represents a comparatively small plane, moderately curved and, like the obverse and the reverse, warped, the right side of the tablet slopes from the obverse to the reverse and ends in a large crescent-shaped ridge forming the rim of the reverse. Only when held so that its left edge becomes its top, does the tablet show a symmetrical form, namely, one resembling that of the body of a beetle, as may be seen from the accompanying sketch of the obverse (see p. 2).

Since it is by no means likely that the scribe actually intended this beetle-like form, we have probably to assume that this form is due simply to the fact that he

## THE SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN

fashioned the tablet in a hurry for some momentary purpose. Note that the tablet had obviously been used for such a purpose before, since for instance on its upper edge we notice a row of holes and faint linear impressions which might well be the remnants of cuneiform signs which did not entirely disappear when the tablet was reshaped for the present inscription. Note, furthermore, that on the left portion of the upper edge and on the adjoining portion of the reverse the scribe left a fingerprint showing quite clearly the markings of the skin. This obviously indicates that when the scribe wrote on our tablet, its clay was considerably wetter and therefore much softer than was usual for tablets about to be inscribed.<sup>1</sup> This moist condition



was of course necessary, or at least desirable, if the scribe, after having used the tablet for some temporary purpose, intended to reshape and reuse it for some other similarly temporary purpose. Note also that the moist condition of the clay can readily explain the warped shape of the tablet. Finally it will be noted that the clay contained a relatively great number of wood or straw particles, the later decaying of which left impressions and holes in the tablet. See for example the hole in the number 3 at the beginning of line 7, the long and thin impression in line 5 over and between the signs *DIN* and *DUMU* of *En-lil-na-din-apli*, etc. Obviously the clay was not washed with excessive care, a circumstance which again might indicate that the tablet was intended only for some temporary purpose, for which it seemed unnecessary to use carefully washed clay.

<sup>1</sup> Before a tablet could be inscribed, it of course had to be dried to a certain consistency, containing only enough moisture to permit the sharp edges of the stylus to make sharp and easily distinguishable impressions.

We now turn to the text, which reads as follows:

Obv.	18	Υ	<sup>d</sup> Marduk <sup>2</sup> -kabit <sup>3</sup> -ab <sup>h</sup> ē <sup>4</sup> -šú
	8	Υ	<sup>I</sup> tti <sup>5</sup> - <sup>d</sup> Marduk-balātu <sup>6</sup>
	6	Υ	<sup>d</sup> Ninurta <sup>7</sup> -na-din-šumi <sup>8</sup>
	22	Υ	<sup>d</sup> Nabū <sup>9</sup> -kudurri <sup>10</sup> -ušur <sup>11</sup>
	4	Υ	<sup>d</sup> En-líl-na-din-apli <sup>12</sup>
Lo.E.	18	Υ	<sup>d</sup> Marduk-na-din-šumi <sup>13</sup>
	13	Υ	<sup>d</sup> Marduk-šāpik <sup>14</sup> -zēri <sup>15</sup>
Rev.			Napharu <sup>16</sup> 5-ME MU-MEŠ ul-tu (???)
			ina <sup>17</sup> pān <sup>18</sup> Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-šāpik <sup>14</sup> -zēri <sup>15</sup>



<sup>2</sup> Here and throughout the text <sup>d</sup>MÁR-UDU<sub>2</sub>(-K).

<sup>3</sup> IDIM.

<sup>4</sup> ŠEŠ-MEŠ.

<sup>5</sup> KI.

<sup>6</sup> TIN.

<sup>7</sup> <sup>d</sup>MAŠ.

<sup>8</sup> MU (written over an incompletely erased URU<sub>3</sub>).

<sup>9</sup> AG.

<sup>10</sup> NÍG-DU.

<sup>11</sup> URU<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> IBELA.

<sup>13</sup> MU (incorrectly for ab<sup>h</sup>ē = ŠEŠ-MEŠ!).

<sup>14</sup> DUB.

<sup>15</sup> NUMUN.

<sup>16</sup> PAB.

<sup>17</sup> AŠ.

<sup>18</sup> Or mahar? Written IGI.

It will be noted that the king list contained in the first seven lines is of exactly the same type as Babylonian King List A. Like that list it is arranged in two sub-columns. The first is rather narrow, containing in each line only a number, which is followed by a short blank space separating it from the second subcolumn. The latter, a little more than twice as broad as the first, contains the names of the kings, each preceded by the vertical wedge of masculine personal names. These personal wedges are arranged in one straight perpendicular line, thus most notably marking the beginning of the second subcolumn. Neither in Babylonian King List A nor in our tablet is the number at the beginning of the line, which of course indicates the total of the regnal years of the king, followed (or preceded) by *mu*, "year," nor does the whole statement relating to a king contain any verbal predicate like the *i(n) a g*, "he ruled," of the early king lists or the *šarrûta êpuš*, "he reigned as king," of the Assyrian king lists. As a matter of fact, in Babylonian King List A and in our new king list the statement is simplified to such an extent that further simplification is impossible. Note that all other abbreviated king lists, which all date from, or go back to, the period of the first dynasty—namely Babylonian King List B;<sup>19</sup> YOS I, No. 32;<sup>20</sup> the short king list at the beginning of the Larsa date list CDSA, pp. 52–57;<sup>21</sup> the short king list at the end of the date list LIH, No. 102 (actually a summary of the reigns of the kings, whose year dates are enumerated on the tablet);<sup>22</sup> and the short king list at the end of the date list CCEBK II, pp. 185–91 (actually likewise a summary)<sup>23</sup>—do not omit the *mu*, even though they drop the verb. An especially significant feature of Babylonian King List A and of our new king list, and also of YOS I, No. 32, and the king lists which are attached to date lists, is that the reference to the regnal years is placed before the king's name, while in the earlier king lists each statement begins with the name of the king, upon which follows the reference to the length of his reign. As is well known, in the earlier king lists each of the statements referring to a king forms a complete sentence of the pattern *X - e x - m u i (- n) - a g*, "X ruled x years," in which the name of the king (plus subject element *-e*) represents the active subject, the regular position of which is at the head of the sentence, while the verb, "he ruled," with its immediately preceding grammatical object *x - m u*, "x years," concludes the sentence as the grammatical predicate of the subject. The abbreviated form of this scheme, which merely omits the verb *i - n - a g*, "he ruled," is found in Babylonian King List B, in which the statements

Υ S u - m u - a - b i l u g a l	m u - 15,
Υ S u m u - l a - i l	m u - 35, etc.

<sup>19</sup> See my *Miscellaneous Studies* (= AS No. 14), Study V.

<sup>20</sup> Since the tablet attributes to Samsu-iluna, the last king listed on the tablet, only 12 years, it obviously was written in the 12th year of that king.

<sup>21</sup> Written, according to its colophon, in the 39th year of Ḫammu-rabi.

<sup>22</sup> The tablet was written in the 10th year of Ammi-šaduqa.

<sup>23</sup> The tablet was written in the 17th year of Ammi-šaduqa.

are shortened from

Υ Sumu-abu-lugal-e      15-mu in-ag,  
Υ Sumu-la-il-e          35-mu in-ag, etc.<sup>24</sup>

In contradistinction to this scheme, that of our tablet and of Babylonian King List A, where the number precedes the name of the king, obviously is not to be regarded as a development from the statements in the old king lists just referred to, but to all appearances it has its origin in the summaries which we find throughout the date lists at the end of each section devoted to a king. Compare for example the summary

27 mu-G[u-u]n-gu-'nu-um'

inserted (with a wide indentation of the line) after the 27 year formulas of Gungunum in the Larsa date list CDSA, pp. 52 ff., col. 1, l. 33; the summary

11 mu-A-bi-sa-r[e]-e'

inserted after the 11 year formulas of Abi-sarē ibid., l. 45; the summary

16 mu-A-pil-'Sin lugal-e

after the 16 years of this king in LIH, No. 101, col. 2, l. 28. Note especially, however, the comprehensive summary

[43 mu-Ḫ]a-am-mu-ra-bi  
[3]8 mu-Sa-am-su-i-lu-na  
28 mu-A-bi-e-šū-u'  
37 mu-Am-mi-di-ta-na  
17 mu-Am-mi-ša-du-qá

at the end of the date list CCEBK II, pp. 185-91, col. 6, ll. 1-5, which sums up the various single-reign summaries inserted in the date list itself, and the almost identical comprehensive summary at the end of the date list LIH, No. 102, col. 6, ll. 5-9. Now, these summaries do not mean, as they have been translated, "27 years of Gungunum"<sup>25</sup> or "the forty-three years of Ḫammurabi"<sup>26</sup> etc. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in all instances a noticeable and sometimes quite considerable space is left between the number and the following mu, "year(s),"<sup>27</sup> while there is no such space left between mu and the name of the king.<sup>28</sup> This obviously indicates that the number at the beginning of these summaries has no immediate gram-

<sup>24</sup> Note, however, the different sequence of number and mu.

<sup>25</sup> CDSA, p. 11: "27 années de Gungunum."

<sup>26</sup> CCEBK II, p. 109, and LIH III, p. 253.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. CDSA, pp. 52 ff., col. 1, ll. 33 and 45: 27 mu-G[u-u]n-gu-'nu-um' and 11 mu-A-bi-sa-r[e]-e', but especially col. 1, ll. 1-4, where we have to restore

[21 ]            mu-Na-ap-la-nu-u [m]  
[28 ]            mu-E-mi-šum  
[35 ]            mu-Sa-mu-ú-um  
[9]             mu-Za-ba-aija.

<sup>28</sup> See the passages referred to in nn. 26-27. Only in certain lines of YOS I, No. 32, is a space noticeable between mu and the king's name, but this is due simply to the fact that, because in

matical connection with the following *mu*, while such a close connection should exist between the *mu* and the name of the king. Doubtless, therefore, the meaning of these summarizing phrases is "27 are (or were) the years of Gungunum," "43 are (or were) the years of Hammu-rabi," etc. Note that this meaning corresponds exactly to that of the summary at the end of the king list YOS I, No. 32,

289 *mu-bi(-im)*,  
"289 are their years,"

namely, the years of the rulers from Naplânium of Larsa to Samsu-iluna of Babylon (12th year), as well as to the meaning of the summary

5 *lugal-e-ne mu-bi-ne* 223,  
"5 kings, their years are 223,"

namely, the years of the kings from Hammu-rabi to Ammi-šaduqa, at the end of the king list CCEBK II, pp. 185-91 (col. 6).<sup>29</sup> It will be observed that in these two summaries the word *mu*, "year(s)," is combined with the possessive (= genitive) pronouns *-bi* and *-bi-ne*, "their," which stand of course in lieu of the genitive "of the kings mentioned before the summary," while in the summarizing statement 27 *mu-Gu-un-gu-nu-um*, *mu* is combined directly with the possessive genitive *Gu-nu-um(-k)*.

Naturally, we have here to glance also at the final summarizing formulas of the comprehensive king lists which enumerate the kings and dynasties of the earliest periods down to the kings of the first dynasty of Isin. These formulas appear in the following characteristic forms:

NIGIN.GUNU<sup>30</sup> 13 *lugal*  
*mu-bi* 396 *mu íb-ag*,

HGT, No. 2, col. 11, ll. 9 f. (summary of the three dynasties of Ur);

4 *lugal*  
*mu-bi* 171 [*mu*] *í[b-ag]*,

ibid., col. 3, ll. 14 f. (summary of 1st dynasty of Ur);

8 *lugal*  
*mu-bi* 3792 *íb-ag*,

these instances the writing of the king's name requires only a few signs, the whole sign group *mu-X* is spaced; see especially the spacing of *mu-E-mi-šum* in l. 2. But there is no space whatever between *mu* and *Na-ap-la-nu-um* in l. 1, nor, as shown by the photographic reproduction of the tablet on Pl. LII (against Clay's copy on Pl. XIX), between *mu* and *Gu-un-gu-nu-um* in l. 5 and between *mu* and *A-bi-sa-re-e* in l. 6. On the basis of these examples, of course also those instances where there is some spacing between *mu* and the name of the ruler must be judged.

<sup>29</sup> The plural ending *-e-ne* after 5-*lugal* and the possessive pronoun form *-bi-ne* instead of *-bi* are, of course, comparatively late post-Sumerian features.

<sup>30</sup> ROEC, No. 113<sup>bis</sup> (p. 107); later šU.NIGIN.

UPUM XIII, No. 1, col. 4, ll. 2 f.;

6 lugal  
mu-bi 11'6' i-na,

king list from Susa, Scheil, RA XXXI (1934), pp. 150 f., col. 5, ll. 15 f. (summary of dynasty of Akšak);

12 lugal  
mu-bi 3588 íb-ag,

king list from Susa, *ibid.*, p. 160 (Fragment A), col. 3, ll. 6 f. (summary of 1st dynasty of Uruk);

11 lugal  
mu-bi 181 íb-ag,

OECT II, Plates I-IV, col. 7, ll. 11 f. (summary of dynasty of Akkad);

5! lugal  
mu-bi 108 íb-ag,

*ibid.*, col. 8, ll. 19 f. (summary of 3d dynasty of Ur);

5 lugal-e-ne mu-bi 26 in-ag-eš,

CDSA, pp. 59 f., rev., l. 16 (summary of 4th dynasty of Uruk); etc. Grammatically these formulas present a great difficulty inasmuch as in them either the *mu-bi*, "their years" (in the passages from Legrain's Nippur lists, the Susa lists, OECT II, Pls. I ff., etc., only the *-bi*, "their"), or the verb form *íb-ag* seems superfluous or even illogical. Logically, one would expect either a formula 13 lugal mu-bi 396, "13 kings, their years are 396," or a formula 13 lugal 396-mu íb-ag, "13 kings, they (= who) ruled 396 years." To be sure, one could try to impart some sense to the formula *mu-bi 396 mu íb-ag* by translating it "as their years they ruled 396 years," but even so the formula is most inconveniently redundant, since "they ruled 396 years" expresses all that the phrase "as their years they ruled 396 years" can express. Note also that in the same king lists the total of the years of a single reign is indicated by the formula *X-e x-mu í-a g*, as for example in HGT, No. 2, col. 1, ll. 9 f.,

9[Z]u-qá-qi<sub>4</sub>-í-b-e 10[9]00-mu í-a g,

although, if it was really logically necessary to insert *mu-bi*, "as their years," before the phrase *x-mu íb-ag*, "they ruled x years," one could, of course, expect that *mu-ni*, "as his years," be inserted also before the phrase *900-mu í-a g*, "he ruled 900 years," of the simple statement *Zuqaqip-e 900-mu i(n) a g*. As far as our present knowledge of Sumerian goes, the only plausible explanation of the phrase *mu-bi x-mu íb-ag* is therefore that it is a thoughtless contraction of the simple phrases *mu-bi x*, "their years are x," and *x-mu íb-ag*, "they ruled x years." This contraction could, of course, have taken place only in a post-Sumerian period, when at least certain copyists were no longer so well versed in Sumerian that they could see the grammatical difficulty of the contracted text. As a matter of fact, OECT II, Plates I-IV, actually

offers the latter of the two simple summarizing phrases just referred to in three instances, namely in col. 1, ll. 6 f.,

2 lugal  
mu-64800 íb-ag;

col. 1, ll. 37 f.,

8 lugal  
mu-241200 íb-ag;

and col. 6, ll. 26 f.,

1 lugal  
mu-25 í-ag.

Similarly we find in HGT, No. 5, col. 4, l. 6,

5 lugal-e-ne (mu-) 117 in-ag-eš,<sup>31</sup>

and *ibid.* l. 24,

[16 lugal-e-n'e 'm]u-225 itu-6 in-ag-eš,

without the disturbing *mu-bi*. We recall here also the summaries, quoted above, of YOS I, No. 32, 289 *mu-bi(-im)*, "289 are their years," and CCEBK II, pp. 181-91, col. 6, l. 6', 5-lugal-e-ne *mu-bi-ne* 223, "5 kings, their years are 223," which quite correctly, because of the *mu-bi* and the *mu-bi-ne*, do not add the verbal form *íb-ag* or *in-ag-eš*. Naturally it is very difficult to trace the historical implications of the observations just made. We have already stated that the contraction of the two logically correct phrases into one logically wrong phrase could have taken place only in a post-Sumerian period, when at least certain scribes were no longer well versed in Sumerian grammar. As a matter of fact, the very circumstance that the illogically contracted formulas became practically the standard formulas of the summaries of the earlier king lists shows clearly that the Sumerian grammatical and phraseological knowledge of otherwise well educated scribes and even of some teachers of influential schools must have been rather low at the time.<sup>32</sup> As to the reason for which in the above-mentioned

<sup>31</sup> For the emendation compare the next quotation.

<sup>32</sup> Concerning this point note especially the wrong use of the plural phrase *mu-bi x íb-ag* even when the phrase refers to just one king. See e.g.

[1] lugal  
[mu-bi 9]0 íb-ag,

OECT II, Pls. I-IV, col. 5, ll. 19 f. (restoration according to UPUM XIII, No. 1, col. 5, ll. 6 f., and

1 lugal  
mu-bi 6 šu-šr íb-ag,

OECT II, Pls. I-IV, col. 4, ll. 41 f. (The *í-ag* of Langdon's copy is erroneous according to SKL, p. 99, n. 174.) Even the Nippur king list HGT, No. 2, in its final summary of the Aqûn dynasty (col. 11, ll. 15-18)

NIGIN-GUNU 1 lugal  
mu-bi 7-mu [...-ag]

uses the wrong plural suffix *-bi*. Note, furthermore, the frequent omission of the quite indispensable locative *-a* in some of the king lists as e.g. in Bád-Tibira<sup>k1</sup>(-k) instead of

passages of OECT II and HGT, No. 5, the scribes used syntactically unobjectionable formulas, it might seem quite possible that at least the scribe of OECT II, Plates I-IV, for the passages concerned had at his disposal only king-list tablets offering the first-mentioned of the uncontracted phrases, which for this reason he felt obliged to adopt also in his own copy, while in all other instances he may have had at his disposal in addition to king-list texts using a logically correct phrase also texts using the wrong formula which combines the two phrases. Obviously he preferred this latter formula, possibly in the belief that it was a more complete or even an unabbreviated original, and therefore better, formula. However, it would seem equally possible that, after the contracted formula had been almost generally adopted, in the course of time scholars who studied Sumerian from a more grammatical viewpoint began to take exception to the commonly used illogical phrases. Thus for instance the use of a logically correct phrase in the three passages of OECT II, Plates I-IV, referred to on page 8, might well be the result of criticism by such scholars. In any event, it can be regarded as quite certain that this was the case with the logically unobjectionable summarizing formulas of HGT, No. 5, namely

5-lugal-e-ne (mu-)117 in-ag-eš

in col. 4, l. 6, and

[16-lugal-e-n'e 'm]u-225 iti-6 in-ag[-eš]

in col. 4, l. 24. For, as shown by some of its linguistic features,<sup>33</sup> as well as by the placing of each statement relating to a king into just one text line, the Nippur list HGT, No. 5, was written considerably later than the Nippur lists HGT, Nos. 2-3,

Bád-Tibirak<sup>ki</sup>-ka, OECT II, Pls. I-IV, col. 1, l. 11; Larak<sup>ki</sup> instead of Larak<sup>ki</sup>-ka, *ibid.*, l. 20; Šuruppa<sup>ki</sup> instead of Šuruppa<sup>ki</sup>-ka, *ibid.*, l. 32. Similarly we note omission of -šè in Larak<sup>ki</sup> instead of Larak<sup>ki</sup>-šè, *ibid.*, l. 19; Šuruppa<sup>ki</sup> instead of Šuruppa<sup>ki</sup>-šè, *ibid.*, l. 31; and omission of the subject element -e in <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zisipa<sup>d</sup> instead of <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zisipa-dè, *ibid.*, l. 15; Zú-qá-qi-ip instead of Zú-qá-qi-ipe, *ibid.*, col. 2, l. 10; etc. For the carelessness of the scribe of OECT II, Pls. I-IV, note also the amaru-ba-ùr-rata of col. 1, l. 39, instead of the expected independent statement amaru-ba-ùr. Because of its many mistakes OECT II, Pls. I-IV, actually gives the impression that it is the work of an advanced student, an impression which seems to be corroborated by the fact that the colophon reads merely Šu-Nu-ur-<sup>d</sup>Nin-šubur, "hand of Núr-Nin-šubur," without any indication of the vocational position of the scribe, etc. Also note that the colophon of the king list CDSA, pp. 59 f., which deals only with the reigns of the dynasties of Akšak, Kiš, Uruk, Akkad, and once more Uruk, consists just in the month and day date itusig-a u<sub>4</sub>-30-kam, a fact which would seem to make sense only if we assume that a student charged by his teacher with copying the whole king list achieved this task only within several days, using for each day a separate tablet, which he provided with the date of the day on which he wrote it.

<sup>33</sup> Note the use of the plural ending -e-ne after numeral plus substantive, the use of the late active preterit plural form in-ag-eš (= singular in-ag plus plural ending of the intransitive forms -eš) instead of the old i-b-ag, and the use of the active subject element -e in the identifying expression <sup>d</sup>UR-<sup>d</sup>Nammuk-e; lugal-ám (instead of <sup>d</sup>UR-Nammukelugal-ám).

and UPUM XIII, No. 1.<sup>34</sup> Finally note that while in the linguistically earliest king lists, namely the Nippur lists HGT, Nos. 2-4, the contracted summarizing formula shows the form

x l u g a l m u - b i y m u í b - a g ,  
 "x kings, (as) their years y years they ruled,"

OECT II, Plates I-IV, the Nippur lists UPUM XIII, No. 1, and CBS 15365 (= HT, pp. 81 f.), the Susa fragments, and CDSA, pp. 59 f., have abbreviated the formula to

x l u g a l m u - b i y í b - a g ,  
 "x kings, (as) their years y (years) they ruled."

Obviously the second *m u* was felt by the post-Sumerian grammarians as especially inconvenient and superfluous, and for this reason its omission was probably the first step undertaken to reduce the contracted phrase to a simple logical form.<sup>35</sup>

If we now turn to the new historical information which we can gather from our new king list, it will be advantageous to start with a short sketch of the main steps in the development of our knowledge of the names and the reigns of the eleven kings of the second dynasty of Isin. According to Winckler's copy in UAOG (1889), pp. 146 f., the fragmentary Babylonian King List A attested or seemed to attest the following names of the kings and their reigns:

(1st king)	17	[.....]	[.....]
(2d king)	6	[.....]	[.....]
(3d-7th kings)	[4]		Lacuna
(8th king)	22	[.....]	[.....]
(9th king)	<i>m u - l 6 - i t u</i>		[.....]
(10th king)	13		[.....]
(11th king)	9		[.....]
(Total)		72	<i>6 - i t u 11 - l u g a l - m e š b a l a - p a - š e</i> <sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Note, on the other hand, the interesting fact that the king list CDSA, pp. 59 f. (= EDSA, Pls. 1-2), which shows the same late features and which therefore likewise belongs to a relatively late time, in its summaries still clings to the illogical contracted formula (e.g. obv., l. 7: *6 l u g a l - e - n e m u - b i 99 i n - a g - e š*).

<sup>35</sup> Possibly, however, the difference between the two formulas might have been due simply to a different coalescence of the two simple basic forms, as may be illustrated by the following table, in which that part of the simple formula which is dropped in the contracted formula is indicated by brackets:

Basic forms	<i>m u - b i x</i>		<i>x - m u í b - a g</i>
Contraction a	<i>m u - b i [x]</i>		<i>x - m u í b - a g</i>
Contraction b	<i>m u - b i x</i>		<i>[x - m u] í b - a g .</i>

Contrary to the opinion advanced above, the last of these formulas might possibly, therefore, have originated in a comparatively early post-Sumerian period.

<sup>36</sup> Winckler in KTbAT, 3d ed., p. 68: *Ma[r]duk- . . . . .*

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 69: *Marduk-šu[m- . . .]*

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.: *Marduk-zîr(?) - [ . . .]*

<sup>39</sup> I.e., Isin.

Owing to the fact that Winckler copied the number indicating the total duration of the second Isin dynasty as 72, at that time only 4 years could be attributed to the five kings 3-7 in the great lacuna. From the very beginning that total was not very likely, and soon the dates of documents written in the reigns of kings who had to be placed in the lacuna showed that 4 years were too few for the five kings of the lacuna (cf. e.g. Peiser in ZA VI [1891], pp. 268 f.<sup>40</sup>). It was therefore suggested that the total began with two sixties instead of one, and in his rendering of Babylonian King List A in KTbAT, 2d ed. (1903), pp. 70 f., and 3d ed. (1909), pp. 68 f., Winckler therefore read the summary as follows (translated into English):

130? (yrs.) 2 mos.?, 11 kings, dynasty PA-ŠE.<sup>41</sup>

With this new reading, the indented line 3 of the above table would change, of course, to

(3d-7th kings) [62] Lacuna.

In 1921, finally, a new copy of Babylonian King List A was published in CT XXXVI 24 f. by C. J. Gadd, who gave the text of the Isin dynasty section as follows:

(1st king)	17	Υ <sup>d</sup> . . [. . . . .]
(2d king)	6	Υ [. . . . .]
(3d-7th kings)	[64]	Lacuna
(8th king)	22	Υ . . . [. . . . .]
(9th king)	<b>m u - 1 6 - i t u</b>	Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk- 
(10th king)	12	Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk- 
(11th king)	8	Υ <sup>d</sup> Nabû-šumi-[libur]
(Total)	132	6 - i t u 11 - l u g a l - m e š b a l a - P A - Š E

Note here the reduction of the reigns of the 10th and 11th kings from Winckler's 13 and 9 years to 12 and 8 years and, furthermore, the fact that Gadd copies a clear "132 (years) 6 months" in the summary.

Of the various attempts to fill out the chronological frame presented for the second Isin dynasty by Babylonian King List A, on the basis of other chronological data, as, for instance, the dates of documents written in the time of second Isin dynasty kings, the information derived from Synchronistic History, the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, etc., it must suffice here to quote in extenso only the latest, made in 1925 by Weidner in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II*, p. 448:<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> As Peiser pointed out, Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫē, who is one of the kings to be placed in the lacuna, alone ruled at least 10 years according to 3 R 43 f. (= BBSt, Pls. XLIII-LII), col. 1, l. 28.

<sup>41</sup> Note, on the other hand, that in 1891 Peiser, loc. cit., had already suggested 132 years as the dynasty total.

<sup>42</sup> Everything in this table placed in parentheses represents explanations added by myself. The regnal years enclosed by large brackets were assumed by Weidner on the basis of datings plus an average distribution of the years of the total not accounted for by any chronological data. The boldface numbers are those deviating from the numbers attested by the new Babylonian King List C and by col. 3, ll. 1-5, of Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A. One asterisk (\*) indicates wrong position of the king. Two asterisks (\*\*) indicate wrong position or duplication of a king. †\* indicates an essentially wrong form of the king's name.

## THE SECOND DYNASTY OF ISIN

** (1)	Marduk-šápiḫ-zéri	1170-1153	(18 yrs.)	
* (2)	Ninurta-nádin-šumi	1152-1147	(6 yrs.)	
* (3)	Nebukadnezar I	1146-1123	[ (24 yrs.) ]	
* (4)	Enlil-nádin-apli	1122-1117		(6 yrs.)
* (5)	Marduk-nádin-aḫi	1116-1101		(7 yrs.)
* (6)	Itti-Marduk-baláṭu	1100-1092		(9 yrs.)
†* (7)	Marduk-šápiḫ-zér-máti	1091-1084		(8 yrs.)
(8)	Rammán-apal-iddin	1083-1062	(22 yrs.)	
(9)	Marduk-aḫē-eriba(?)	1061	(1 yr.)	
(10)	Marduk-zér-[. . .]	1060-1048	(13 yrs.)	
(11)	Nabû-šum-lībur	1047-1039	(9 yrs.) <sup>43</sup>	

11 Könige regierten 132 Jahre.

It will be noted that Weidner clings to the 13 and 9 years which Winckler's copy has for the last two kings (against Gadd's 12 and 8 years). On the other hand, Weidner attributes 18 years to the reign of the 1st king instead of the 17 copied by Winckler as well as Gadd. We now add a table of the eleven rulers of the PA-ŠE dynasty based on the new king list (for kings 1-7) and on Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A (for kings 8-11):

1.	Marduk-kabit-aḫḫéšu	18 yrs.
2.	Itti-Marduk-baláṭu	8 "
3.	Ninurta-nádin-šumi	6 "
4.	Nabû-kudurri-ušur I	22 "
5.	Enlil-nádin-apli	4 "
6.	Marduk-nádin-aḫḫē	18 "
7.	Marduk-šápiḫ-zéri	13 "
8.	Adad-apla-iddina	22 "
9.	Marduk- . . . [- . . . ] <sup>44</sup>	1 yr.
10.	Marduk- . . . [- . . . ] <sup>45</sup>	12 yrs.
11.	Nabû-šumi-lībur	8 "

Total: 132 yrs.

Perhaps the most important and in any event the most interesting information we can gather from the new king list is that the founder of the second Isin dynasty was Marduk-kabit-aḫḫéšu (here written <sup>d</sup>Marduk-IDIM-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-ŠÚ)<sup>46</sup> and not, as

<sup>43</sup> Weidner's table in MVaG XX 4 (1917), p. 109, differs from the above table in the following points: The 1st, 9th, and 10th kings are given only as Marduk-[]; the regnal years of the 11 kings are given as 18, 6, 28, 7, 15, 7, 6, 22, 1, 13, and 9 = 132 years; the whole dynasty is dated 5 years earlier. Note that the number of years attributed to Ninurta-nádin-šumi is correct, but only by accident.

<sup>44</sup> Perhaps Marduk-aḫḫ[ē-eriba]?

<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Marduk-zéri-[. . .]?

<sup>46</sup> On the writing and the reading of this name see a forthcoming paper on the signs and words d u g u d = kabtu and i d i m = kabtu. For the probably original form of idim see BE, Series A, VI 2, No. 72 a, l. 17,  (case tablet: ); compare also the sign , IF I, No. 11. For the reading

assumed by Weidner, Marduk-šāpik-zēri. With this new information agrees the long-known fact that in his limestone inscription VS I (1907), No. 112 (first published in transliteration and translation by Winckler in UAOG [1889], p. 139), Itti-Marduk-balātu, who according to our new tablet is the 2d king of the second Isin dynasty (according to Weidner its 6th king), designates himself in line 4 as the son of <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-kabit* (= DUGUD)-aḥḥ[é(= šEŠ-ME[š])]-šú.<sup>44</sup> Since it was not the custom of the Babylonian kings to designate themselves in their inscriptions as son of someone who had not himself been king, it is rather strange that no one concluded from Itti-Marduk-balātu's inscription that Marduk-kabit-aḥḥēšu was one of the then not yet identifiable kings of the second Isin dynasty and probably the immediate predecessor of Itti-Marduk-balātu. The king Marduk-šāpik-zēri whom Weidner considered the founder of the second dynasty of Isin is in reality merely a duplication of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, the 7th king of the dynasty, whom Weidner, on the basis of Synchronistic History, K 4401a (= CT XXXIV 38-41), col. 2, l. 26, lists under the wrong name form Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti (see pp. 16-21). Only as a further interesting illustration of the desire of Assyriologists and historians to have the place of the then still unknown 1st king filled, it may be mentioned that the honor of being the founder of the second Isin dynasty has been wrongly claimed also for two other kings: Nabû-kudurri-ušur I, according to our new king list the 4th king, on quite general grounds by Hilprecht in OBI I (1893), pp. 41-44, and Marduk-aḥḥē-erība, the 9th (or 10th?) king, tentatively by Rost in Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte (MVaG II 2 [1897]), pp. 25 and 65.

In his assignment of Itti-Marduk-balātu, the 2d king of the dynasty, to the 6th place, between Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē and Marduk-šāpik-zēri (Weidner's Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti), Weidner followed a suggestion made quite tentatively by Winckler in OLZ X (1907), col. 590. The basis for Winckler's suggestion was exclusively the fact that the chronicle CCEBK II, pp. 147-55, obv., l. 8, designates Adad-apla-iddina, the 8th king, as the son of an Itti-Marduk-balātu, concerning whom Winckler conjectured that he was identical with King Itti-Marduk-balātu, known at that time only from the inscription which Winckler had transcribed and translated in UAOG (1889), p. 139, and which Ungnad had just published in cuneiform characters in VS I (1907), No. 112. As is well known, Synchronistic History, K 4401a, col. 2, l. 31, on the other hand, designates the king Adad-apla-iddina as the son of an Esakkil-šadūni. One of the two statements must necessarily be wrong. If the author of CCEBK II, pp. 147-55, actually had in mind the king Itti-Marduk-balātu, the fault would, of course, lie with the chronicle. For Synchronistic History, in the immediate continuation of the passage, calls Adad-apla-iddina "the son of a nobody," as which he could not, of course, be the son of a former Babylonian king.

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*kabit* of the second component of the name instead of the generally adopted *kabti* (which was based on the phonetic writing *kab-ti* of the component on tablets of the Neo-Babylonian period) cf. W. J. Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur (= BE, Series D, IV), pp. 142 ff., col. 1, l. 12: *ka-bit mātāti* (= KUR-MEŠ).

The same follows from the fact that CCEBK II, pp. 147–55, calls Adad-apla-iddina an <sup>kur</sup>*A-ra-mu-u* LUGAL-IM-GI, “an Aramean and a usurper.” Now, Winckler believed that the deviation of the chronicle from the statement of Synchronistic History may have been due to an aberration of the copyist of CCEBK II, pp. 147–55, from that section of the chronicle which was devoted to Adad-apla-iddina to a section devoted to a king who actually was the son of King Itti-Marduk-balātu. Since, if such an aberration is to be assumed, this section must have been in the neighborhood of that dealing with Adad-apla-iddina, Winckler conjectured that the king in question was Adad-apla-iddina’s immediate predecessor, Marduk-šāpik-zēri, and for this reason tentatively placed Itti-Marduk-balātu immediately before Marduk-šāpik-zēri.<sup>47</sup> As one sees, the placing of Itti-Marduk-balātu as the 6th king of the dynasty, which Weidner took over from Winckler, rested exclusively on a most insecure speculation.

The elimination of Marduk-šāpik-zēri as the 1st king and his replacement by Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu, as well as the transfer of Itti-Marduk-balātu from the 6th to the 2d place, naturally necessitates certain emendations in Weidner’s restoration of column 2 of Synchronistic King List A in both the first publication (MVAÄG XXVI 2 [1921], Pl. 2, pp. 15 and 24) and the improved edition (AOf III [1926], p. 70). As far as the poor preservation of the column and the uncertainty of Weidner’s copies permit, column 2, lines 10–21, now must be restored as follows:

10	Υ Ašš[ur- <sup>1</sup> da <sub>n</sub> - <sup>1</sup> a]n	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Za-ba <sub>4</sub> - <sup>1</sup> ba <sub>41</sub> -šuma-iddina	“ <sup>1</sup> 48
	Υ “	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Enlil-nādin-[aḫḫē	“ <sup>1</sup> 49
12	Υ <sup>d</sup> Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aš-šur	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-[kabit-aḫḫē-šú	“ <sup>1</sup> 50
	Υ Mu-tak-kil- <sup>d</sup> Nusku	“	Υ [Itti- <sup>d</sup> Marduk-balātu	“ <sup>1</sup> 51
14	Υ <sup>d</sup> Aš-šur-rēši-iši	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Ninurta-[nādin]-šumi [	“ <sup>1</sup> 52
	Υ “	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Nabū-kudurri-ušur [	“ <sup>1</sup> 53
16	Υ “	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Enlil-nādin-apli [	“ <sup>1</sup> 54
	Υ Tukul-ti-apil-[É]-šār-ra	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē [	“ <sup>1</sup> 53, 55
18	Υ Ašaréd <sup>1</sup> -apil-É-kur <sup>56</sup>	“	Υ [ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-šāpik-zēri <sup>57</sup>	“ <sup>1</sup>
			Υ [.....] um-[man-šú	]
20	Υ Aš-šur-bél-ka-la	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-[šāpik-zēri	“ <sup>1</sup> 53, 58
	Υ Aš-šur-bél-ka-la	“	Υ <sup>d</sup> Adad-[apla-iddina	“ <sup>1</sup> 53
22	Υ Aš-šur-bél-ka-la	“	Υ [ <sup>d</sup> Marduk-.....	“ <sup>1</sup> 59
	Υ “	“	Υ [.....	“ <sup>1</sup>
24	Υ “	“	Υ [.....	“ <sup>1</sup>

(End of Column 2)

<sup>47</sup> See OLZ X, col. 590: “Wenn unsere Chronik (= CCEBK II, pp. 147–55) ein Versehen gemacht hat, so möchte man ihn zwischen Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē und Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti (der in Wahrheit sein Sohn gewesen sein könnte) einschieben.” It is quite interesting to note that the same place, between Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē and Marduk-šāpik-zēri (zēr-māti), has been claimed also for Marduk-aḫḫē-erība, the 9th (or 10th?) king, by C. F. Lehmann in *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung* (1898), Tabelle IV.

The four-king sequence Ninurta-nâdin-šumi, Nabû-kudurri-ušur I, Enlil-nâdin-apli, and Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē in Weidner's list (see p. 12) agrees with the sequence of the kings in our new king list (see p. 3), but in Weidner's table these kings figure as the 2d–5th rulers, while in reality, according to our new king list, they occupy the 3d–6th places, the 2d place now being taken by Itti-Marduk-balâṭu, Weidner's 6th king.<sup>60</sup> The sequence of the 7th–11th kings of the dynasty, however, is the same

<sup>48</sup> This equation is proved by Synchronistic History to represent an actual synchronism.

<sup>49</sup> This equation likewise represents an actual synchronism, as follows from the synchronization of the Assyrian and the Babylonian chronology.

<sup>50</sup> Synchronization of the Assyrian and the Babylonian rulers shows that this equation, too, represents a true synchronism. Note, moreover, that in Synchronistic King List A the first equation after a horizontal dividing line under ordinary circumstances represents a synchronism taken by the scribe from a synchronistic chronicle. To all appearances the list originally equated only those rulers of whom the chronicle reported that they had political dealings with each other, while those kings of whom the chronicle did not report any such dealings were later inserted in their respective half-columns without any indication as to whether they ruled contemporaneously or not. Note, furthermore, that it follows from the synchronization that for a time also Aššûr-dan and Marduk-kabit-aḥḥēšu ruled contemporaneously.

<sup>51</sup> Since Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr and Mutakkil-Nusku ruled only fractions of one and the same year, the kings in this line obviously are later insertions.

<sup>52</sup> Actual synchronism, as shown by AOf IV (1927), p. 215.

<sup>53</sup> This equation is proved by Synchronistic History to represent an actual synchronism.

<sup>54</sup> No synchronism, for chronological reasons. Note that Aššûr-rēši-iši and Ninurta-nâdin-šumi, the father of Nabû-kudurri-ušur I, appear as contemporaries in the text published by Weidner in AOf IV, p. 215, and that Nabû-kudurri-ušur I ruled 22 years, but Aššûr-rēši-iši only 18 years.

<sup>55</sup> Synchronism attested also by the inscriptions of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I.

<sup>56</sup> According to Weidner's copies the list would wrongly have <sup>d</sup>Ninurta(= <sup>d</sup>MAŠ)-apil-Ē-kur instead of Ašarêd(= MAŠ or SAG-KAL)-apil-Ē-kur. The fragment KAVI, No. 10, left col., l. 7, has [A]šarêd(= SAG-KAL)-apil-Ē-kur, while the king list from Khorsabad writes the name phonetically A-šá-red-apil-Ē-kur.

<sup>57</sup> For this restoration (instead of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē) it may be noted that the mentioning of an *ummānu* of the Babylonian king in the next line speaks in favor of Marduk-šâpik-zêri, whose great power is attested by the fact that in his inscription OBI, No. 148, col. 1, ll. 2–5, he bears the titles šar Bâbilî<sup>k1</sup>, šarru da-nu<sub>4</sub>, šar Kiš-ša-ti, šar kib-ra-at ar-ba-um. The fact that Weidner in MVaAG XXVI 2, Pl. 2 and p. 15, copied and read the name as [It]-ti-<sup>d</sup>[Marduk-balâṭi] but in AOf III, p. 70, copied Itti(= KI)-<sup>d</sup>Marduk-balâṭu(= TI) indicates that the preserved traces are almost illegible.

<sup>58</sup> The synchronism is attested also by the chronicle CCEBK II, pp. 147–55, obv., l. 6.

<sup>59</sup> No synchronism! Note that according to Synchronistic History Aššûr-bêl-kala was a contemporary of Marduk-šâpik-zêri and that Adad-apla-iddina, Marduk-šâpik-zêri's successor, ruled 22 years, while Aššûr-bêl-kala ruled only 18 years.

<sup>60</sup> Note that, by correctly making Marduk-šâpik-zêri the immediate successor of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē, Hilprecht in OBI I (1893), p. 44, had already established the correct 5-king sequence Nabû-kudurri-ušur, Enlil-nâdin-apli, Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē, Marduk-šâpik-zêri, and Adad-apla-iddina, which, however, at that time he believed to represent kings 1–5 of the dynasty. But in response to objections by Winckler and others and as a consequence of a new collation of the king-list original, Hilprecht in BE, Series A, XX 1 (1906), pp. 43 f. and n. 1 on p. 44, conceded that Nabû-kudurri-ušur I could have been mentioned in Babylonian King List A only as the 3d or 4th king of

in our table of kings (see p. 12) and in that offered by Weidner, with only this difference, that Weidner under the influence of Synchronistic History, K 4401a, col. 2, l. 26, assumes the name of the 7th king to be Marduk-šâpik-zêr-mâti instead of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-šâpik-zêri.

As for the relation between these name forms (or reputed name forms), Hilprecht in OBI I (1893), p. 44, n. 4, had already contended that the Babylonian king <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ša-pi-ik-ze-ri-im of OBI, No. 148,<sup>61</sup> col. 1, l. 1, was identical with the king of Babylon in Synchronistic History, K 4401a, col. 2, l. 26, whose name usually was read <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ša-pi-ik-zêr-mâti.<sup>62</sup> Against Hilprecht's identification Clay, in YOS I (1915), pp. 48 f., argued that the kudurru fragment *ibid.*, No. 37, proved that Marduk-šâpik-zêri was a king different from Marduk-šâpik-zêr-mâti, because the kudurru, which according to him is dated (in ll. 11 f. of the preserved column of the assumed reverse) Nisân 4 of the 8th year of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê, in ll. 4 and 6 of the preserved column of the assumed obverse refers to the 12th year of <sup>d</sup>Marduk-šâpik-zêri šarru (= <sup>d</sup>Marduk-DUB-NUMUN LUGAL).<sup>63</sup> Since according to Synchronis-

the 2d Isin dynasty, thus envisaging at least as one of two alternatives also the correct position of kings 4-8 and with that even the correct position of kings 4-11. In order to justify the role he had ascribed to Nabû-kudurri-ušur I in OBI I, however, Hilprecht now assumed that for the last 35-40 years of the Kassite dynasty and the first 35-40 years of the 2d Isin dynasty the two dynasties ruled contemporaneously, so that, in his opinion, Nabû-kudurri-ušur was at least the 1st king of the 2d Isin dynasty who ruled over the whole of Babylonia. Hilprecht's second alternative was preferentially adopted also by Clay in YOS I (1915), p. 49, while Weidner in MVaG XX 4 (1917), p. 109, owing to his interpolation of Itti-Marduk-balâṭu between Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê and Marduk-šâpik-zêri, made Nabû-kudurri-ušur the 3d king.

<sup>61</sup> This Akkadian inscription (on a broken barrel-shaped clay cylinder of the king) was first published in printed cuneiform characters in ZA IV (1889), pp. 302-4, by Jastrow, who read the king's name (<sup>d</sup>Marduk-ta-bi-ik-zi-ri-im). Another inscription of the king in Sumerian, or rather a late clay copy of such an inscription, in which the king's name is likewise written <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ša-pi-ik-ze-ri-im, was later published by King as No. 70 of LIH I (1898) and transcribed and translated in LIH III (1900), pp. 254-56.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. e.g. Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte I* (1886), pp. 155 f. and 165, and Weidner in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II* (1925), p. 448. Winckler in *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1892), p. 98, read the name Marduk-shapik-kullat.

<sup>63</sup> While in his own inscriptions the king's name is written phonetically <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ša-pi-ik-ze-ri-im, the contemporary kudurru inscription YOS I, No. 37, which of course is not a personal inscription of the king, writes—like our new king list, which is likewise not a royal inscription—the king's name sumerographically <sup>d</sup>Marduk-DUB-NUMUN. An intermediary stage of the writing of the king's name is represented by <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ša-pi-ik-NUMUN on the kudurru BBSt, Pls. 11-13, col. 2, l. 4. The phonetic writing, which imitates the writing of the proper names in the Ḫammu-rabi period—note also the mimated form *-ze-ri-im*—is in the period of the 2d Isin dynasty, of course, only a feature of the "Prunkstil," which was considered necessary for the dignity of a royal inscription, while the kudurrus and other official or semi-official inscriptions contented themselves with the then customary sumerographic (or half-sumerographic and half-phonetic) writing of the personal names. Cf. e.g. the writing of the name of the official <sup>d</sup>Marduk-DUB-NUMUN on the stone tablet of the time of Nabû-apla-iddina BBSt, Pl. 14, rev., l. 23. As a good example of the royal "Prunkstil" in the period of the 2d Isin dynasty note also the wholly phonetic writing of the names Nabû-kudurri-ušur and Ninurta-nâdin-šumi on the clay barrel cylinder of Nabû-na'id YOS I, No. 45, col. 1, ll. 29 f.:

tic History, K 4401a, col. 2, ll. 14–30, Marduk-šá-pik-zêr-mâti ruled after Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê, a reference to his 12th year by his predecessor would have been impossible. The Marduk-šá-pik-zêri mentioned in YOS I, No. 37, must therefore, according to Clay's argumentation, have ruled before Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê and thus must be different from Marduk-šá-pik-zêr-mâti, who ruled after Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê. Although Clay thought it not impossible that Marduk-šá-pik-zêri "intervened between Nebuchadnezzar and Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê," it seemed more probable to him that the ruler preceded Nabû-kudurri-ušur, that is, was one of the kings 1–3. Since identification with the 2d king was excluded, because this king according to Babylonian King List A ruled only 6 (in reality 8) years and not 12 or more years, Clay placed Marduk-šá-pik-zêri tentatively at the head of the dynasty although, as he stated, "it may be shown later that he was the third king." The possibility that the 3d king might be Ninurta-nâdin-šumi, the father of Nabû-kudurri-ušur I, Clay (*ibid.*, p. 49, n. 4) dismissed with the remark that the fact that both the text published by Strassmaier in *Hebraica IX* (1892/93), p. 5, and the Nabû-na'id cylinder YOS I, No. 45 (col. 1, l. 30), mention Ninurta-nâdin-šumi as the father of Nabû-kudurri-ušur without giving him the title "king" confirms "the idea that has been proposed that Nebuchadnezzar established a new line (of kings of Isin)." This means of course that Clay believed that Ninurta-nâdin-šumi himself was not a king. In contradistinction, Weidner, although without any further investigation accepting Clay's conclusion concerning the distinction between Marduk-šá-pik-zêri and Marduk-šá-pik-zêr-mâti, correctly acknowledged Ninurta-nâdin-šumi, the father of Nabû-kudurri-ušur, as the predecessor of Nabû-kudurri-ušur. Since, owing to his wrong interpolation of Itti-Marduk-balâtu between Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê and his Marduk-šá-pik-zêr-mâti, Weidner had to assume Ninurta-nâdin-šumi and Nabû-kudurri-ušur as the 2d and 3d kings of the dynasty, Clay's still quite tentative placing of Marduk-šá-pik-zêri at the head of the dynasty even took on in Weidner's reconstruction the form of an apparently quite certain fact.

The basic error in Clay's deductions from YOS I, No. 37, as we now can see from our new king-list tablet, was his assumption that the Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê date was meant to date the whole kudurru inscription. This is of course altogether out of the question. For, since the new king list shows that there was only one Isin king by the name of Marduk-šá-pik-zêri (or Marduk-šá-pik-zêr-mâti) and that this king was the successor of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê, an inscription dated in the 8th of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê's 18 years could not mention as past happenings payments made 22 years later in the 12th year of Marduk-šá-pik-zêri. If thus it is quite clear that the whole kudurru

<sup>4</sup>*Na-bi-um-ku-dur-ri-ušur* <sup>50</sup>*mâr* Ḳ <sup>4</sup>*Ninurta-na-din-šu-mi*. Obviously these phonetic writings of the two names were taken over by Nabû-na'id from the old stela of Nabû-kudurri-ušur (I) which he reports to have found in the *É - g i s - p à r* of Ur. On the other hand, note the writings <sup>4</sup>*Nabû* (= <sup>4</sup>AG)-*kudurri* (= NIG-DU)-*ušur* (= URU<sub>2</sub>) and <sup>4</sup>*Ninurta* (= <sup>4</sup>MAŠ)-*na-din-šumi* (= MU) in our new king list and <sup>4</sup>*Nabû* (= <sup>4</sup>AG)-*ku-dur-ri-ušur* (= URU<sub>2</sub>) in BBSt, Pls. LXXXIII-XCI, col. 1, ll. 1 and 49. Also note that this kudurru in col. 2, l. 24, writes the name of the official Nabû-kudurri-ušur in exactly the same manner as the name of the king.

inscription (if the kudurru actually contained only one inscription) was dated at the earliest in Marduk-šâpik-zêri's 12th year, nevertheless the comparative smallness of the preserved fragment of the kudurru unfortunately does not permit us to reconstruct with full assurance the course of the inscription in such a manner as to make at once understandable the relation between the dates on the obverse of the fragment and on its reverse. The easiest way to solve the problem would of course seem to be to assume that Clay's obverse and reverse in reality represent the reverse and the obverse of the fragment. For in this case the legal transaction dated in the 8th year of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê would be reported at the very beginning of the inscription in the first column of the kudurru tablet, while the payments in the 12th year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri would be related in the last column. The design of the inscription would then more or less parallel that of the kudurru inscription BBSt, Plates LXVII-LXXIX (pp. 57-69), which likewise begins, on the top of the kudurru stone, with a fully quoted earlier document, in this case dated in the 2d year of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur I, while the rest of the inscription is devoted to legal transactions in the time of Nabû-mukîn-apli, the third successor of Nabû-kudurri-ušur, and to the enumeration of payments made from the 2d year of Ninurta-kudurri-ušur to the 25th year of Nabû-mukîn-apli.<sup>64</sup> Clay's opinion concerning the obverse and the reverse was obviously based on the fact that the lower portion of the column in which the Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥê document is quoted is not inscribed.<sup>65</sup> But the blank space at the end of this column might have been intended merely for the purpose of setting off the quoted early document from the main inscription, which would begin in the second column. If a blank space was left not only under the first column but also under the second column (and any further columns?) of Clay's reverse, this might be due merely to the fact that the stone-cutter intended such space for some special purpose or perhaps originally thought that the inscription would not require as much space as it did. More serious would seem the fact that the last column of Clay's obverse, which under the above assumption would be the last column of the reverse, still reports payments and that as a consequence there would not be left sufficient space for the final date and the curses usual at the end of a kudurru inscription. But the date as well as the curses might well have had their place immediately after the legal transactions reported in the middle columns, while the report on the payments might have been added merely as an appendix.

<sup>64</sup> Only parenthetically need it be mentioned that in col. 4 B, ll. 8 f., this kudurru is dated <sup>a</sup>Itu *Têšritu* U<sub>4</sub>-22-KAM MU-22-KAM <sup>b</sup>*Nabû-mukîn-apli šâr Kiššati*, although col. 1, ll. 18 ff., reports a legal declaration by one of Arad-Sibitti's sons in the 25th year of Nabû-mukîn-apli and col. 3, ll. 6 and 14, refers to payments in the same year. The MU-22-KAM in the final date is of course a mistake for MU-25-KAM (or even a later year). Probably the clay-tablet draft from which the inscription was transmitted to the stone kudurru had the correct MU-25-KAM (etc.), but when the stone-cutter was to copy 25-KAM (etc.) he absent-mindedly strayed back to the immediately preceding day date and once more copied its 22-KAM. Apparently neither the stone-cutter nor Arad-Sibitti, for whom the kudurru was made, noticed the mistake, which therefore was never emended.

<sup>65</sup> In Clay's copy this feature is not expressly indicated, since Clay does not give the contours of the uninscribed portion. It can easily be determined, however, from a comparison of Clay's reverse with the more fully contoured obverse of his copy.

Professor Götze, who re-examined the stone fragment and arrived at the same result as Clay in the obverse and reverse question, in a letter to me mentions as an additional reason for his stand "the shape of the edge." To judge from a photograph of the preserved edge of the tablet, kindly sent me by Professor Stephens together with one of the obverse and one of the reverse, Clay's reverse seems to be slightly concave in the direction from above to below, while Clay's obverse appears slightly convex in the same direction. In the case of a clay tablet this feature would be against Clay's determination of obverse and reverse, but since we have here to do with a large stone tablet or slab the surfaces of which obviously were not entirely even and of regular shape, it would seem rather hazardous to draw any decisive conclusion from that feature. Note that the preserved portion of the tablet edge slopes more and more inward in the direction from Clay's obverse to his reverse. As a consequence of this the ruled left boundary line of the text on Clay's reverse, which on the photograph of the edge appears as a straight line, appears on the photograph of Clay's reverse as a curved line, which at the end of the column has moved inside almost a centimeter as compared with the edge-line of Clay's obverse. Apparently this irregularity of the edge was due to an irregularity of the stone from which the tablet or slab was shaped. If the other side of the slab, when it was complete, showed similar or even more pronounced irregularities, the shape of the preserved edge would of course prove nothing in favor of Clay's determination of the obverse and the reverse of the fragment.

Although in the foregoing we have tried to show that it might well be possible that Clay's reverse is in reality the obverse, it must nevertheless be kept in mind that the above suggestions do not represent a real proof and especially that they envisage, at least in part, situations that might be considered exceptional. It might therefore well be that Clay was correct in his judgment of the obverse and the reverse of the fragment. But even in this case one could think of possibilities to explain the fact that the later date occurs on the obverse and the earlier date on the reverse. It will be observed that to the right of the preserved column, which quotes the document from the 8th year of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē, Clay's reverse had a second inscribed column<sup>66</sup> and possibly even a third column, as we might perhaps assume on the basis of Clay's statement that the fragment was part of "a large boundary-stone inscription." Clay probably assumed that the additional column or columns contained merely the curses customary at the end of a kudurru inscription. But the second column might well have continued the report on the legal transactions forming the subject of the kudurru inscription. For instance, it might have related the final decision of the lawsuit etc., which of course would have been dated in the 12th (or even a later?) year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri, while the fact that the legal transaction dated in the reign of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē would then have been referred to only immediately before this decision, might perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that the document, which probably presented evidence of decisive character,

<sup>66</sup> Of the text in this column, according to Clay's copy, just the head of an apparently horizontal wedge at the beginning of a text line is preserved on the upper end of the broken right rim of the fragment.

was produced, possibly from the royal chancellery, only at that point of the legal proceedings.

Unfortunately the origin of the *KUR* which in Synchronistic History, K 4401a, col. 2, l. 26, is found after the name  $\Upsilon$  <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-NUMUN*, and which usually is combined with *NUMUN* to read *-zêr-mâti*, cannot be traced with any certainty. The assumption that Synchronistic History may have preserved a fuller form of the name of the Babylonian king is of course improbable in view of the fact that in the king's own inscriptions as well as in other contemporaneous inscriptions (including our new king list) the official form of the king's name is throughout *Marduk-šâpik-zêri(m)*. Especially improbable, however, would be the assumption that the Assyrian author of Synchronistic History might have been interested in using a fuller form of the Babylonian king's name. Note also that, at least as far as I know, the combination *zêr mâti* is not found to date anywhere else in Babylonian or Assyrian literature,<sup>67</sup> and it may be noted especially that this combination does not yield a readily comprehensible sense.<sup>68</sup> To all appearances, therefore, the *KUR* of Synchronistic History is simply an absent-minded anticipation of the *KUR* of the immediately following *šâr* <sup>KUR</sup>*Kar-du-ni-aš* either by the stone-cutter of the boundary stela of Adad-nêrâri III, on which originally the text of Synchronistic History was engraved, or by the scribe who copied Synchronistic History from that stela, etc. This suspicion is considerably strengthened by the fact that at the second mentioning of the king, in col. 2, l. 30, Synchronistic History apparently has  $\Upsilon$  <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-NUMUN* *KU[r] mât Kar-du-ni-aš*. But if the *KU[r]* belonged to the preceding  $\Upsilon$  <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-zêr(i)* so as to form with it the name *Marduk-šâpik-zêr-mâti*, there would be no space in the short break for the quite indispensable *šâr* before <sup>mât</sup>*Kar-du-ni-aš*. Here the copyist may simply have mistaken  $\llcorner$  (= *šarru*) for  $\llcorner$  (= *mātu*), probably under the very influence of the wrong *KUR* after  $\Upsilon$  <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-zêri* in line 26.<sup>69</sup> In the chronicle CCEBK II, pp. 147–55, col. 1, line 4, which begins with the name of our king, unfortunately is broken after  $\Upsilon$  <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šâpik-zêri*, so that it is impossible to state with certainty whether this chronicle gives the name as just read or as <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šâpik-zêr-mâti*. To be sure, at the beginning of the break King

<sup>67</sup> E.g., Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 334, lists 4 names compounded with *-šâpik-zêri*, but none compounded with *-šâpik-zêr-mâti*. Similarly the name list ADD II, pp. 345 ff., although listing the name <sup>d</sup>*Nabû-šâpik-zêri* (col. 2, l. 50), has no name compounded with *-šâpik-zêr-mâti*. Note furthermore the occurrence of the name <sup>d</sup>*Adad-šâpik-zêri* in BBSt, Pls. 20–22 (time of Simmaš-šîhu), rev., l. 14, and of <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šâpik-zêri* in BBSt, Pl. 14 (time of Nabû-apla-iddina), rev., l. 23 (in both instances name of an official).

<sup>68</sup> However, also the meaning of the combination of the verb *šâpûku*, "to pour out," "to heap up," with *zêru*, "seed," as its grammatical object is still rather obscure.

<sup>69</sup> Hilprecht's opinion in OBI I (1893), p. 44, n. 4, that the London Synchronistic History tablet, or the Babylonian chronicle from which Synchronistic History was extracted, gave the name as <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-ša-pi-ik-zêr-ri(m)* (with *ri(m)* = *ĀB* [SA, No. 215, and HS, p. 27]) and that either the modern Assyriologists or the ancient Assyrian compiler of Synchronistic History erroneously copied a *KUR* instead of the *ĀB*, was plausible, of course, only at a time when ideas concerning the Assyrian and Babylonian systems of writing were still rather hazy.

indicates traces of the heads of two slanting wedges which he takes as remnants of the sign KUR. But these traces are rather too small and too near each other to make it fully certain that they must be supplemented to read KUR, although in favor of this assumption one could argue that if the name ended with the sign NUMUN one would expect after it traces of the verticals of A (= *már*<sub>2</sub>), "son of (X)," which usually follows a king's name in this chronicle.

The 8th king (= the first of the last 4 kings, who are not listed on our new tablet) is of course Adad-apla-iddina, who from Synchronistic History, col. 2, ll. 30 f., is known to have been the immediate successor of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē. Note, furthermore, that neither among the first seven kings of the dynasty, who are enumerated on our new king-list tablet, nor among the last three rulers (= kings 9-11), whose names are incompletely preserved in Babylonian King List A, col. 3, ll. 2 ff., as <sup>d</sup>*Marduk*-. . .-[. . .], <sup>d</sup>*Marduk*-. . .-[. . .], and <sup>d</sup>*Nabû-šumi*-. . .-[. . .], is there any king whose name begins with <sup>d</sup>*Adad*, so that actually only the 8th place remains for Adad-apla-iddina.<sup>70</sup>

As has just been indicated, the names of both the 9th and the 10th kings in Babylonian King List A, col. 3, ll. 2 f., begin with <sup>d</sup>*Marduk*.<sup>71</sup> One of these kings should be identical with the king Marduk-aḥḥē-erība who as Ḫ <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-aḥḥē-erība* (written <sup>d</sup>*MÁR-UDU<sub>2</sub>-ŠEŠ-MEŠ-SU*) *šarru* (= LUGAL-E) is mentioned in the kudurru inscription OBI, No. 149, col. 1, l. 14. It will be noted that the language and all other features of this inscription point to the period with which we are dealing.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, there is absolutely no space for a king Marduk-aḥḥē-erība in the whole period from more than two centuries before kings 9 and 10 of our Isin dynasty to more than two centuries after them except that for the 9th or the 10th king of that dynasty.<sup>73</sup> Unfor-

<sup>70</sup> Since Hilprecht in OBI I (1893), p. 44, made Nabû-kudurri-ušur I the 1st king of the dynasty (instead of the 4th), he found himself, of course, forced to accord Adad-apla-iddina the 5th (instead of the 8th) place and as a consequence to attribute the 8th place to an unknown king. But with his concession in BE, Series A, XX 1 (1906), p. 44, n. 1, that Nabû-kudurri-ušur I was either the 3d or the 4th king of the dynasty, he would (in 1906) have listed Adad-apla-iddina as either the 7th or the 8th king.

<sup>71</sup> Written, as throughout Babylonian King List A, <sup>d</sup>šú. Note that instead of the šú of col. 3, l. 2, the tablet, according to the photograph, seems to show a more complicated sign, but the horizontal wedges now visible obviously are merely the result of probing the decaying clay. Both Winckler and King give a clear šú. The rough outlines of šú indeed are easily recognizable when looked upon from the left side of the tablet.

<sup>72</sup> Note especially the strict observance of the case endings (without mimation) e.g. in the accusatives Ḫ *Kaš-ša-a*, col. 1, l. 18; *ḫa-za-an-na*, l. 19; Ḫ *Ku-dur-ra-a*, l. 21; *an-na-a*, col. 2, l. 8; *sa-ak-la*, *sa-ak-ka*, *sa-ma-a*, ll. 9 ff.; *le-mut-ta*, l. 16; *si-im-ma*, col. 3, l. 3; *šar-ka*, l. 4; and *iš-šub-ba-a*, l. 6; and in the nominative plural masculine *ilū* (= DINGIR-MEŠ) *rabū<sub>2</sub>* (= GAL-MEŠ)-*tu*, col. 2, l. 14. Also note the use in col. 1, ll. 14-22, of the phrase X y *rêmu*, so well known from that period.

<sup>73</sup> For Rost's attempt to make Marduk-aḥḥē-erība the 1st king and Lehmann's attempt to place him between Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē and Marduk-šá-pik-zêri see pp. 13 and 14, n. 47. Identification of Marduk-aḥḥē-erība as the 9th king was first proposed by F. Hommel in Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Classe für Philos., Geschichte und Philol., Jahrgang 1901, No. 5, pp. 18 and 24.

tunately, however, we have to date no absolutely sure criterion concerning the question with which of these two kings Marduk-ahhē-erība is to be identified. But if we are to judge from Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A (CT XXXVI 24 f.) it would seem that the sign following immediately the <sup>d</sup>Marduk- of the name of the 9th king could easily be supplemented by two or three small slanting wedges so as to form the sign šēš<sup>74</sup> of šēš-MEŠ (= ahhē), while it would be difficult or even impossible to do that with the second sign of the name of the 10th king.<sup>75</sup> These observations would seem to indicate that the Marduk-ahhē-erība of the kudurru inscription is to be identified as the 9th king, but their value is to some extent impaired by the fact that owing to the disintegration or the worn condition of the tablet surface the signs of Babylonian King List A can be exceedingly deceptive. Furthermore, it will be noted that Babylonian King List A gives the length of the reign of the 9th king as m u - l 6 - i t u , which in spite of the added 6 - i t u means that the king is chronologically to be credited with only one official year of his own, in the course of which, moreover, his reign must have come to an end. Under certain circumstances the actual reign of the king might even have lasted considerably less than one year, with part of this time belonging to the last year of his predecessor and part of it to his own single regnal year. Now, dating of the legal action reported on the Marduk-ahhē-erība kudurru in so short a reign might perhaps seem rather risky. In any event, one would feel more secure if a longer reign, as for example the 12-year reign of the 10th king, were available for the dating of that legal transaction. But such a subjective feeling is of course no conclusive argument. On the contrary, one could argue that if at the time of the transaction the king in question had already ruled several years, the kudurru would probably state that the transaction took place in such and such a year of the king, while the omission of a reference to his regnal year might seem more or less natural if the transaction took place in his accession year or in his first official year. Summing up the results of these deliberations we might state that for the time being the inscriptional evidence seems to indicate that Marduk-ahhē-erība was the 9th

<sup>74</sup> For this sign cf. King List A, col. 1, ll. 8 and 15, and col. 3, l. 8'. Note that in our passage (col. 3, l. 2), according to the photographs of the tablet, the missing wedges of the sign might have been compressed or covered with moist clay when the instrument which caused the break over the first and second lines struck the tablet. The photograph might possibly even indicate some traces of the lower portion of the sign MEŠ, which together with <sup>1</sup>š<sup>1</sup>EŠ could represent šēš-MEŠ (= ahhē) of the name <sup>d</sup>Marduk-ahhē-erība. But note that the express indication of the plural ahhē by adding MEŠ to šēš may perhaps seem remarkable in King List A, since in col. 4, ll. 12 and 19, this list renders the name Sin-ahhē-erība with <sup>d</sup>Sin-PAB-SU.

<sup>75</sup> The sign is usually taken as NUMUN (= zēru), although mostly with a question mark (so e.g. by Winckler in KTbAT, 2d ed., p. 71, 3d ed., p. 69, but not by Weidner in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien II*, p. 448). Note that Winckler's copy (UAcG, pp. 146-47) shows the sign in the same form as the NUMUN of col. 4, l. 4 (<sup>d</sup>Nabū-nādin-zēri) and l. 7 (*Mukīn-zēri*), while in Gadd's copy there is a decided difference between our sign and the sign in col. 2, l. 4, and probably also the sign in l. 7, inasmuch as in our passage the first slanting (or corner) wedge is distinctly placed underneath the one horizontal wedge (in a similar manner as the second wedge of NU), while in col. 4, l. 4, its head is on, or even a little above, the horizontal wedge. Also note that Gadd copies in col. 3, l. 3, three slanting wedges at the end of the preserved wedge group instead of the two of NUMUN in col. 4, ll. 4 and 7. Can one be sure that the wedges now shown by the tablet still represent the original ones?



If we now examine the number of regnal years attributed to the various kings of the second Isin dynasty by Babylonian King List A and by our new King List C, we may first point out as a very significant fact that the total of the regnal years of the first seven kings of the dynasty enumerated on our new king list is 89 years<sup>81</sup> and that, if we add these years to the 43<sup>82</sup> years representing the total of the regnal years of kings 8–11 according to Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A, this will yield for the regnal years of all eleven kings of the dynasty a total of 132 years, that is, exactly the number of years given as the total by Babylonian King List A. This observation clearly shows the correctness of Gadd's reading of the numbers indicating the regnal years of the last two kings of the dynasty as 12 and 8 against Winckler's reading of these numbers as 13 and 9, which was adopted also by Weidner (see pp. 10–12).

Another discrepancy, this time between our new king list and both Winckler's and Gadd's copies of Babylonian King List A, may be observed in the number of regnal years attributed to the first two kings, inasmuch as our new king list gives to Marduk-kabit-ahhêšu 18 years and to Ittī-Marduk-balātu 8 years, while Winckler and Gadd copy the numbers for the first two kings as 17 and 6. There cannot, of course, exist any doubt that the numbers of our new king list are to be preferred, since these are well preserved and absolutely clear, while this cannot be contended for the numbers of Babylonian King List A owing to the rather deteriorated condition of the tablet surface and the resulting deceptiveness of the signs. As for the reputed 17 years of the 1st king, it should be taken into consideration that the single lowest unit of the unit number 7 is rather large. Moreover, the surfaces of the unit impression are rather dull and rough. This makes it quite possible that Babylonian King List A, too, had originally instead of the unit 7 an 8, the two lowest verticals of which could have fused into one when the hardened dust which had gathered in them was removed. It may here be noted that in contradistinction to Winckler's and Gadd's copies (and, as it were, in anticipation of the statement of our new king list) Weidner in *MVaG* XX 4 (1917), p. 109, and in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II (1925), p. 448, had already credited the 1st king (according to him Marduk- [ ] and Marduk-šápiḫ-zêri, respectively) with 18 years. At the moment I cannot state whether this was based on a collation of the London original, or whether the deviation from the then available copies was merely accidental.<sup>83</sup> Note that Weidner expressly gives 18 years as the duration of the reign of the 1st king

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col. 2 because, if this were done, the lacuna at the end of col. 2 and the beginning of col. 3 would obviously be much too large for the 14 or 15 years between (É)-Ulmaš-šákin-šumi and the 6th year of Nabú-mukīn-apli, while the half-as-large lacuna at the end of col. 1 would be too small for the 26(–31) years between a certain year of Nabú-šumi-ībur and É-ul-maš-šákin-šumi's 6th year.

<sup>81</sup> 18 + 8 + 6 + 22 + 4 + 18 + 13 = 89 (see p. 3).

<sup>82</sup> 22 + 1 + 12 + 8 = 43 (see p. 11).

<sup>83</sup> I have a faint and perhaps erroneous impression that the number of regnal years attributed by Babylonian King List A to the 1st king of the 2d dynasty of Isin has somewhere been briefly discussed.

in MVaG XX 4, p. 14 (last line of the main text). As for the reputed 6 before the name of the 2d king, it must be noted that the tablet surface of Babylonian King List A breaks off immediately below the copied 6. It is therefore quite possible, and in view of the 8 of our new king list practically certain, that below the 6 units shown in the copies the tablet when still complete had 2 additional units. In any event, there is no reason for us to prefer the doubtful 6 of the extant copies of Babylonian King List A to the clearly written and perfectly preserved number 8 of our new king list, and especially so in view of the fact that the 18- and 8-year reigns attributed to the 1st and 2d kings by our new king list enable us to verify the total of 132 years in Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A by addition of the various reigns of the kings of the dynasty.<sup>84</sup>

If we turn now to the last king enumerated on our tablet, namely the 7th king, Marduk-šâpik-zêri, it should be noted that in the above calculation, in which we combined the 89 years of the seven kings mentioned on our tablet with the 43 years of the last four reigns of Babylonian King List A, the 13 years attributed to Marduk-šâpik-zêri by our new king list are treated as comprising the whole reign of the king. But it must, of course, be realized that this by no means follows immediately from the fact that our king list credits Marduk-šâpik-zêri with 13 years, since it could be argued that, if the tablet was written in the 13th year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the last of the kings mentioned on the tablet, this would prove only that up to that time Marduk-šâpik-zêri had ruled 13 years, while it would not prove that his 13th year was the last of his reign. That his 13th year was his last, however, follows quite clearly from the fact that any additional regnal years attributed to Marduk-šâpik-zêri beyond the 13 years attested by our new king list would add a corresponding number of years to the dynasty total of 132 years. To all appearances, therefore, the tablet was actually written in Marduk-šâpik-zêri's 13th and last year, but apparently in an earlier part of that year when the king still was alive and still ruled over his country. An indication, although of course a rather insecure one, that the tablet was written in the last year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri might even be found in the fact that our tablet was preserved. Since Adad-apla-iddina, the successor of Marduk-šâpik-zêri, according to *Synchronistic History* and *CCEBK II*, pp. 147-55, was a usurper, we may with good reason assume that at the death of Marduk-šâpik-zêri a revolution occurred, which probably involved fighting, destruction of cities, and other serious disturbances of public and private life in Babylonia and which, it seems, caused Aššûr-bêl-kala of Assyria to intervene in Babylonia, as is reported or rather hinted at in *Synchronistic History*, K 4401a, col. 2, ll. 31-37. Now it seems to be a fact that when a city suffered under political disturbances, and especially when it was fully or in part destroyed, the debris of destroyed houses covered up, and thus preserved for future times, a good many tablets which were intended only for momentary use and which therefore under ordinary circumstances would have

<sup>84</sup> The use of the numbers 17 and 6 of Winckler's and Gadd's copies would result in a total too small by 3 years, and even if Winckler's higher numbers for the last 2 kings are used, still too small by 1 year. (Only Weidner's numbers 18 and 6 for the first 2 kings and the use of Winckler's higher numbers for the last 2 kings would make it possible to arrive at a total of 132 years.)

been soaked in water and remodeled for some other use.<sup>85</sup> It may be that also our new king list, which as we had occasion to see (pp. 1-2) was written only for a temporary purpose, escaped the latter fate only in consequence of the disturbances in the last year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri.

Since the statements of a king list concerning the duration of the various reigns, in order to be recognized as correct, must not be at variance with the highest dates of documents written in the reigns of the kings concerned or with year dates given in chronicles and other texts, I add here a table in which the regnal years of each king of the second Isin dynasty, as we now know them from our new king list and from column 3 of Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A, are compared with the highest datings in other sources, as far as they are known to me at the moment.

	KING LISTS	HIGHEST DATES
Marduk-kabit-aĥĥêšu	18	—
Itti-Marduk-balâtu	8	—
Ninurta-nâdin-šumi	6	—
Nabû-kudurri-ušur I	22	16 <sup>86</sup>
Enlil-nâdin-apli	4	4 <sup>87</sup>
Marduk-nâdin-aĥĥê	18	13 <sup>88</sup>
Marduk-šâpik-zêri	13	12 <sup>89</sup>
Adad-apla-iddina	22	10 <sup>90</sup>
Marduk-aĥĥê(?)-eriba(?)	1	—
Marduk- . . . - . . .	12	—
Nabû-šumi-libur	8	— <sup>91</sup>

As one sees, the known year dates of kings of the second dynasty of Isin are all within the reigns indicated by our new king list and column 3 of Babylonian King List A.

The new chronological information imparted to us by our new king-list tablet naturally is of importance also for the problem of synchronizing the reigns of Assyri-

<sup>85</sup> Note e.g. that the excavations at Nippur have brought to light a large number of school practice tablets, most of which are inscribed with the same practice lessons of the various grades of students (beginners and advanced students). Since they were only practice tablets, their clay would under ordinary circumstances have been reused for new practice tablets. The fact that this was not done was due simply to a catastrophe that overtook the city and the school.

<sup>86</sup> Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I. from Nippur, pp. 142-55, col. 5, l. 26.

<sup>87</sup> OBI, No. 83, obv., l. 9.

<sup>88</sup> PSBA XIX (1897), p. 71 (kudurru in the Museum of Warwick, published by Sayce) ll. 18 f. (month Aĥĥâr).

<sup>89</sup> YOS I, No. 37, rev. (?), right col., l. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Hilprecht, The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia (= BE, Series D, I [1904]), p. 519.

<sup>91</sup> Clay's statement in YOS I, p. 50, that the highest date of Nabû-šumi-libur (outside Babylonian King List A) is his 9th year does not agree with the facts. King's paper in PSBA XXIX, p. 221, to which Clay refers in his n. 11, does not mention any year of the king, while in CCEBK II, pp. 157-79, col. 1, l. 16, likewise referred to in Clay's note, the tablet is broken at the point where the year was probably mentioned.

an and Babylonian rulers. Since the task of pointing this out in detail would necessitate a lengthy discussion of the problems connected with that synchronization, I prefer to refer the reader to the pertinent chapter in my forthcoming AS volume on the Khorsabad king list. Here only the following brief statements may be made. According to Synchronistic History, CT XXXIV 42 : K.4401b, right col., ll. 3 ff., Enlil-kudurri-ušur of Assyria and Adad-šumi-linnašir of Babylonia—the latter the 32d king of the Kassite dynasty according to Babylonian King List A—fought a battle in which both were killed. This circumstance, which chronologically, of course, means that the last year of the Assyrian king corresponds to the last year of the Babylonian king, gives us a most welcome point of contact between the Assyrian chronology based on the statements of the Assyrian king lists and the chronological statements of the middle portions of Babylonian King List A plus our new king list, which comprise the last third of the Kassite dynasty, our now completely restored second Isin dynasty, the second Sealand dynasty, the Bašu dynasty, the one-king Elamite dynasty, and the beginning of the so-called dynasty H. Unfortunately, however, the present chronological value of the exact synchronism between the last (i.e., 5th) year of Enlil-kudurri-ušur and the last (i.e., 30th) year of Adad-šumi-linnašir is considerably diminished by the fact that the Assyrian king list from Khorsabad attributes to Ninurta-apil-Ekur, the immediate successor of Enlil-kudurri-ušur, 3 years of reign, the Nassouhi list, however, 13 years. As indicated in the following table of the reigns of the Assyrian kings from Enlil-kudurri-ušur to Adad-nerâri II

	KHORSABAD LIST	NASSOUHI LIST
Enlil-kudurri-ušur	1186-1182	1196-1192
Ninurta-apil-Ekur	1181-1179	1191-1179
Aššûr-dan I		1178-1133
Ninurta-tukulti-Aššûr		1333
Mutakkil-Nusku		1333
Aššûr-rêši-iši I		1132-1115
Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I		1114-1076
Ašarêd-apil-Ekur		1075-1074
Aššûr-bêl-kala		1073-1056
Ertba-Adad II		1055-1054
Šamši-Adad IV		1053-1050
Aššûr-nâšir-apli I		1049-1031
Šulmânu-ašarêd II		1030-1019
Aššûr-nerâri IV		1018-1013
Aššûr-rabi II		1012- 972
Aššûr-rêši-iši II		971- 967
Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II		966- 935
Aššûr-dan II		934- 912
Adad-nerâri II		911- 891, <sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> From here to the end of the Assyrian empire Assyrian chronology is well established by the limmu lists etc.

the discrepancy just referred to is of no importance for the establishment of an absolute Assyrian chronology as far back as 1179,<sup>93</sup> the last regnal year of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. However, the beginning of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's official reign falls in the year 1181 according to the Khorsabad list, but in the year 1191 according to the Nassouhi list, and correspondingly the last year of Enlil-kudurri-ušur, which is identical with the last year of Adad-šumi-linnašir, falls in 1182 B.C. or 1192 B.C. depending on which of the two sources we follow. This means, of course, that also the absolute dates for the Babylonian kings from Adad-šumi-linnašir down to Nabû-mukîn-apli, which for the time being hinge exclusively on the synchronism between Enlil-kudurri-ušur and Adad-šumi-linnašir, are subject to the same uncertainty, as may be illustrated by the following table of the reigns of the Babylonian kings of the period.

## KASSITE DYNASTY (KINGS 32-36)

	KHORSABAD LIST	NASSOUHI LIST
Adad-šumi-linnašir	1211-1182	1221-1192
Meli-Šiṭṭu	1181-1167	1191-1177
Marduk-apla-iddina	1166-1154	1176-1164
Zababa-šuma-iddina	1153	1163
Enlil-nâdin-aḥḥē	1152-1150	1162-1160

## SECOND ISIN DYNASTY (11 KINGS)

Marduk-kabit-aḥḥēšu	1149-1132	1159-1142
Itti-Marduk-balâṭu	1131-1124	1141-1134
Ninurta-nâdin-šumi	1123-1118	1133-1128
Nabû-kudurri-ušur I	1117-1096	1127-1106
Enlil-nâdin-apli	1095-1092	1105-1102
Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē	1091-1074	1101-1084
Marduk-šâpik-zêri	1073-1061	1083-1071
Adad-apla-iddina	1060-1039	1070-1049
Marduk-aḥḥē(?)-eriba(?)	1338	1048
Marduk- . . . . .	1037-1026	1047-1036
Nabû-šumi-lîbur	1025-1018	1035-1028

## SECOND SEALAND DYNASTY (3 KINGS)

Simmaš-Šiṭṭu	1017-1000	1027-1010
Ea-mukîn-zêri	1000	1010
Kaššû-nâdin-aḥḥē	999- 997	1009-1007

## BAŠU DYNASTY (3 KINGS)

Ulmaš-šâkin-šumi	996-980	1006-990
Ninurta-kudurri-ušur II	979-977	989-987
Širikti-Šuqamuna	977	987

## ELAMITE DYNASTY (1 KING)

Mâr-bîti-apli-ušur	976-971	986-981
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<sup>93</sup> Attempts to establish an earlier Assyrian absolute chronology must of course start from the well established chronology of the late periods.

## DYNASTY H (22 KINGS)

Nabû-mukîn-apli	970-935?	980-945?
Ninurta-kudurri-ušur II	935?	945?
(Lacuna)		

Unfortunately the hope that by means of the known synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian kings of the period a sure decision in favor of one of the two chronological sets might be arrived at has not been realized to date. For by a strange accident all known synchronisms of the period fit or seem to fit into both chronological sets, while our hope would be that one or another of these synchronisms might not fit into one of the sets and thereby prove that the set concerned has to be given up in favor of the other. Note that most of the known synchronisms cannot be fixed to a certain regnal year of the king involved. Moreover, almost all Assyrian kings involved in a synchronism ruled a comparatively long time, a circumstance which can easily neutralize the effect of the difference of 10 years in the statements on the length of Ninurta-apil-Ekur's reign. Nevertheless one cannot fail to recognize the great advance our chronological knowledge of the period has made as a consequence of the fact that we now have at our disposal the information to be derived from the Khorsabad king list and our new king list of the second Isin dynasty. Especially it may be noted that the former uncertainty of the dates of the period is now reduced to a choice between just two possibilities, namely that suggested by the Khorsabad statement on the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur or that suggested by the statement of the Nassouhi list, which puts all reigns of the Babylonian kings of the period 10 years earlier. It will of course also be realized that, with this reduction of the uncertainty, the prospects have been considerably enhanced that the discovery of a new synchronism or any other new information may easily determine which of the two sets is correct.

If we now turn to the last two lines of our tablet (ll. 8-9), it must be stated at the outset that they present quite unusual difficulties, not only because, as far as one can see, the two lines themselves do not present any clear clue as to what their relation to the king list in lines 1-7 may be, but also because there are certain reasons for doubting that the text is entirely in order. If nevertheless we try to find a plausible explanation of these two lines or at least to indicate what reason the scribe possibly may have had for adding them to his king list, I hope that the hypothetical and perhaps only preliminary character of my remarks will be clearly understood by the reader.

Line 8 begins with the words PAB 5 ME MU-MEŠ, the natural meaning of which would seem to be "Total: 500 years." Following immediately upon the king list contained in lines 1-7, they remind us of the fact that on the king-list tablet YOS I, No. 32, immediately after the enumeration of the fourteen rulers of Larsa and Kings Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna of Babylon, the scribe adds a summary of the regnal years of these rulers reading 289 m u - b i, "289 are their years." Similarly, the

scribe of the date list CCEBK II, pp. 185-91 (= Br.M. No. 80037) adds to the short king list, col. 6, ll. 1'-5', which recapitulates the summaries after the regnal years of each king, the comprehensive summarizing statement 5 lu gal-e-ne mu-bi-e-ne 163, "5 kings, their years are 163." But in the case of our tablet it is, of course, entirely out of the question to think of a summary of the regnal years of the previously enumerated first seven kings of the second Isin dynasty, since they ruled only 89 years, while the 500 years of line 8 represent an extensive period, about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  times as long as the total of those reigns and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times as long as the duration of the whole Isin dynasty (= 132 years). Quite significant seems also the fact that PAB 5 ME MU-MEŠ is followed by the word *ul-tu*, "from," "since," because this must remind us of the fact that in the passage OBI, No. 83, ll. 6-8, <sup>6</sup>[ult]u Gul-ki-šar šar mât tamim(= KUR-A-AB-BA) <sup>7</sup>adi(= EN) <sup>4</sup>Nabû-ku-dur-ri-ušur šar Bâbilim(= KÁ-DINGIR-RA)<sup>ki</sup> <sup>9</sup>696 MU-MEŠ, a period of 696 years is defined by the formula *ultu X adi Y* as extending from Gulkišar of the first Sealand dynasty to Nabû-kudurri-ušur I of the second Isin dynasty.<sup>94</sup> On the basis of this passage it would therefore seem quite likely that also the scribe of our tablet intended to define his period of 500 years as extending from a much earlier king to the then ruling king of the second Isin dynasty, namely Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the last of the kings listed on the tablet. As a matter of fact, after the *ul-tu*, "from," in line 8 we notice a short horizontal depression in the surface of the tablet which directly continues line 8 to the tablet edge and which moreover contains traces, it seems, of one sign or two signs. This continuation of the line seems too short to contain the name of a king of Babylon or of the Sealand, which would fit the situation.<sup>95</sup> But there are further traces of signs,

<sup>94</sup> Only parenthetically need it be mentioned here that the 696 years in reality represent not the time from (the end of the reign of) Gulkišar to (the end of the reign of) Nabû-kudurri-ušur I, but only the time from (the end of the reign of) Gulkišar to the end of the Kassite dynasty, computed from Babylonian King List A under the supposition that the 1st Sealand dynasty and the Kassite dynasty were strictly consecutive. Note that the 120 (= 50 + 28 + 26 + 7 + 9) years of the last 5 kings of the Sealand dynasty plus the 576 years of the Kassite dynasty make exactly 696 years, while the period from Gulkišar to the end of Nabû-kudurri-ušur's reign amounts to 750 (= 696 + 54) years. Obviously the scribe had computed the following three sections of the period separately:

- |   |          |   |          |   |          |
|---|----------|---|----------|---|----------|
| 1. The last 5 kings of the Sealand dynasty..... | 120 yrs. | } | 696 yrs. | } | 750 yrs. |
| 2. The 36 kings of the Kassite dynasty.....     | 576 yrs. |   |          |   |          |
| 3. The first 4 kings of the Isin dynasty.....   | 54 yrs.  |   |          |   |          |

But although describing the period correctly as extending from Gulkišar to Nabû-kudurri-ušur (inclusive!), the scribe assigned to it erroneously only the years of the first two sections.

<sup>95</sup> It may be mentioned here that, because of the shortness of the name, Professor Cameron suggested that the uncertain traces in the short depression after *ul-tu* might possibly be those of Gan-dás, i.e., the name of the 1st king of the Kassite dynasty. But the traces visible in the depression—Professor Cameron judged them to be ~~𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭~~—do not well support this suggestion. Note especially that what might appear as a vertical wedge near the end of the depression would have been written over a crevice obviously caused by some plant particles now decayed. Nor would our above assumption that the scribe of our tablet used for his calculations the statement of Babylonian King List A concerning the duration of the Kassite dynasty favor the assumption that the king from

across and down the halfmoon-like right edge of the tablet, that could seem to continue line 8 (including the damaged[?] sign or signs in the depression). These traces, however, are in part so faint or so flattened by pressure that it is impossible to decide whether they actually continue line 8 or whether they are remnants of carelessly removed previous writing on the tablet. Moreover, it might seem rather strange for the scribe to have continued line 8 down the rim of the right edge when he still had at his disposal the whole space of the reverse below line 8. To be sure, it could seem possible, although not very probable, that after the scribe had placed the preposition *ultu*, "from," in the second part of line 8 he did not wish to separate the substantive complex belonging to *ultu* from this preposition by placing it on a new line. Even the fact that the word *ul-tu* and the short depression after it are a little lower than the words PAB 5 ME MU-MEŠ in the first part of the line might perhaps be used as an argument for the assumption that the phrase *ul-tu* . . . was inserted after line 9 was written. However, it will be noted that the MEŠ of the immediately preceding MU-MEŠ slopes downward, probably because the scribe tried to avoid some matter at that time filling the hole now showing above the last slanting wedge of MEŠ. Perhaps the scribe hit also some obstacle in the clay when he made the initial slanting wedge of the *ul* of *ul-tu*, a circumstance which well may have forced this wedge a little downward. The lower position of the right part of line 8 may therefore be quite accidental. Nevertheless it seems quite possible that the scribe added the *ul-tu* or *ul-tu* . . . only after he had written line 9, probably with the intention of inserting between the 500 MU-MEŠ of line 8 and the *ina pân* 𒌦 *Marduk-šāpik-zēri* of line 9 the phrase *ultu* X, which he had either omitted by an oversight or originally had not intended to use, because he had formulated his text in a different manner.<sup>96</sup> If the sign traces on the right edge belong to line 8, they should of course contain the name of the king from whose reign the scribe counted the 500 years. But if they are remnants of earlier writing or if the depression at the end of line 8 is an erasure of what the scribe had originally written after MU-MEŠ, we probably have to assume that for some reason the scribe stopped in his attempt to insert the phrase *ul-tu* X

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whom the 500 years were reckoned was Gandaš. For King List A counts 576 years—which doubtless have to be reduced to 575 years, since the 6 months in both the statement on the 29th king and that on the 30th king are not to be counted—for the whole Kassite dynasty and still 560 (to be reduced to 559) years for the period from the end of Gandaš's 16-year reign to the end of the Kassite dynasty. If, as we may conclude from l. 2 of the reverse, the writer of our tablet intended to indicate a period that ended with the reign of Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē, the period should, under the above assumptions, comprise even 636 (= 560 + 76) years instead of 500 years. Any attempt to explain this 500-year period by the well known overlapping of the Kassite and the preceding dynasty cannot, at least for the time being, lead to any secure result, since the evidence we have to date concerning the overlapping is not sufficiently detailed and unambiguous and since, furthermore, we do not know whether at the time when our tablet was written the Babylonians generally had such knowledge of it that they were able to use it in their chronological computations.

<sup>96</sup> Note that the *ul-tu* is possibly written over an erasure, to which might be attributed also the depression after *ul-tu*.

immediately after he had written the *ul-tu*. This seems especially suggested by the fact that the indistinct traces of signs in the depression immediately after the *ul-tu* do not show any clear trace of the personal wedge which could be expected to precede the name of the king from whose reign the period was reckoned, since on our tablet every other royal name is preceded by such a wedge. Since, as we have seen (p. 2), the tablet was to serve only a temporary purpose, we may perhaps imagine that the scribe believed that when he used the note jotted down in lines 8 and 9 for the official document etc. which he intended to write later, the *ul-tu* would be sufficient to remind him that he was to insert the phrase *ultu X* after 5 ME MU-MEŠ.

In view of the fact that when the beginning of a definite period is indicated by the phrase "from X" this phrase is usually supplemented by the phrase "to X," we could quite naturally expect that the end of the period of 500 years mentioned on our tablet would be indicated by the phrase *adī* (= EN) X, "to X." But instead of the expected *adī* 𐎠 *Marduk-šāpik-zēri*, line 9 presents the phrase *ina* (= AŠ) *pān* (= IGI) [or *ina* (= AŠ) *maḥar* (= IGI)]<sup>97</sup> *Marduk-šāpik-zēri*, "before Marduk-šāpik-zēri."

<sup>97</sup> No other readings of the signs AŠ and IGI would make sense. Note especially that the sign AŠ of our tablet cannot be read *aš*, since this syllable is commonly rendered by AŠ in the period from which our tablet dates.

For other instances of the writing of the preposition *ina* with the sign AŠ (= one horizontal wedge) in the period of the 2d Isin dynasty cf. e.g. the charter stela of Nabū-kudurri-ušur I, BBS<sup>t</sup>, Pls. LXXXIII-XCI, col. 1, ll. 47 f.: "dš-šu ālānā Bīl-Ŷ Kar-zi-ja-ab-ku . . . <sup>98</sup>*ša ina* (= AŠ) *šar pa-na za-ku-ma ina* (= AŠ) *nakrāti* (= KUR-MEŠ) *ana* (= Ŷ) *la a-di-šu-nu ana* (= Ŷ) *i-lik mātī Na-mar i-ru-bu*; *ibid.*, col. 2, ll. 35 f.: <sup>99</sup>*abnunarā an-na-a ina* (= AŠ) *abni i-naq-qa-ru* <sup>100</sup>*ina* (= AŠ) *eqil la a-ma-ri i-tam-mi-ru*; and *ibid.*, col. 2, ll. 54 f.: <sup>101</sup>*ul-tu paḥ-ru i-na kišādi-šū ū qup-pu-ū ina* (= AŠ) *i-ni-šū* <sup>102</sup>*a-na ṣa-bi-ta-ni-šu ap-pa-šu lūl-bi-im-ma* . . . It will be noted, however, that the writing of *ina* with AŠ occurs in the whole charter inscription only five times and this only in the three passages just quoted, while in the 21 other occurrences of the preposition in the charter it is written *i-na*. Similarly we observe that in the same inscription the preposition *ana* is written with the sign Ŷ only twice—and this only in one single passage, namely col. 2, l. 48, where also *ina* is written with the sign AŠ—while in the 18 other cases of its occurrence in the inscription *ana* is written *a-na*. Note, moreover, that the writings of *ina* and *ana* with AŠ and Ŷ all occur in crowded lines, where these extremely short signs obviously were used in order to diminish the crowdedness. From all this it is quite evident that the scribes of the period considered only the syllabic writings *i-na* and *a-na* as consistent with the orthographic standards for more pretentious inscriptions, while the use of AŠ and Ŷ, at least in royal inscriptions, ornate and ordinary legal documents, etc., was regarded as an unorthodox feature of writing. The rendering of the very frequently occurring prepositions *ina* and *ana* with AŠ and Ŷ instead of with *i-na* and *a-na* represented, of course, a considerable simplification of writing. Obviously it is for this reason that the single horizontal and the single vertical wedge for *ina* and *ana* had been adopted by certain progressive- and practical-minded scribes, doubtless those who propagated also the use of other simpler signs, as e.g. *šū* instead of *šu*, *ša* instead of *ša*, *u* instead of *ú*, *mī* instead of *mi*, PAB instead of ŠEŠ as sumerogram for *aḥu* and *našaru*, A instead of DUMU as sumerogram for *māru*, NIŠ instead of LUGAL as sumerogram for *šarru*, IDIM instead of DUGUD as sumerogram for *kabtu*, AŠ instead of *sī* as sumerogram for *nadānu*, etc. In spite of their practicability these innovations, like everything else that tended to change the traditional system of writing, were bound to meet with resistance from conservative-minded royal scribes, schoolteachers, etc. who held that too great or even any deviations from the traditional system of writing would endanger the dignity of royal inscriptions, official documents, etc. However, from



For it is quite clear that the notification of the *utullu* and the judge as well as the dispatching of their *rêdû* to the house of the late Enlil-bani—of course in order to witness the birth of Ninurta-râ'im-zîrim—took place before this event. Here it makes no difference, of course, whether the *i-na pa-ni* is to be understood in the sense of a simple "before" or perhaps, like the German "angesichts," in the more complicated but probably more original sense of "immediately before." One has to take into consideration that in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon the general meaning "time before (something or someone)" of *pānum* was already firmly established and that therefore the idea expressed by "immediately" could be expected in that period to be denoted by means of the emphasizing particle *-ma*. This, of course, would mean that, if *i-na pa-ni* in the passage here discussed actually was to express the idea "immediately before," this would probably have been felt as a case of the use of a phrase in a more or less pregnant meaning.<sup>105</sup>

The reason for the use of *ina maḥar* or *ina pān* ᵀ <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šāpik-zêri*, "before Marduk-šāpik-zêri," instead of the expectable *adî* (= EN) ᵀ <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šāpik-zêri*, "to Marduk-šāpik-zêri," however, may simply be this: Since the meaning of the phrase *adî* X originally intended after *ul-tu* (X) is ambiguous—it could be understood as meaning "to the beginning of the reign of Marduk-šāpik-zêri," but also as "to the end of Marduk-šāpik-zêri's reign" and even as "to some point in the reign of Marduk-šāpik-zêri"—the scribe of our tablet may well have deemed it advisable to use the expression *ina pān* (or *maḥar*) ᵀ <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šāpik-zêri*, "before Marduk-šāpik-zêri," in order to make it absolutely clear that the period of 500 years extended only to the beginning of the reign of Marduk-šāpik-zêri (= the end of the reign of his predecessor, Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē) and not to the end of his reign, which occurred 13 years later.

If our explanations should prove to be correct, lines 8 and 9 of the king-list tablet

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him" in contradistinction to *u-ru*, "he led." Most likely this formation underlies also the verb *tarû*, "schützen," "behüten" (Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 294), basically probably "mit sich führen," "(ständig) begleiten." Note that Bezold lists *târîtu*, "nurse," "Wärterin," under both this verb, the root of which he assumes to be *tr*, and the verb *arû* (ibid., p. 63), the root of which he gives as *ur* and to which he—following Delitzsch, who assumed a root <sup>2</sup>*r*<sub>1</sub>/*u*—attributed the meanings "umgeben," "schützen," "legen."

<sup>105</sup> Note that Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 170, actually lists a meaning "vor (zeitlich)" for *maḥar*, which of course is shortened from *ina maḥar*. At the moment, however, I cannot recall any passage exemplifying Bezold's statement. Note furthermore that Ungnad in Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Band VI, No. 1760, renders the sentence beginning with *i-na pa-ni ya-la-di-ia* with "Im Hinblick auf meine Geburt benachrichtigte Ḥabannatum . . . den Hirten Luḡā und den Richter Šin-gāmil." But quite apart from the fact that the thought expressed by Ungnad's translation is rather vague in logical and expressional respects, it would in addition be very difficult or even impossible to derive a meaning "im Hinblick auf" of *ina pāni* from its literal meaning "in front of." Ungnad probably hesitated to take *ina pāni* in the juridically important temporal meaning "before" simply for the reason that Delitzsch in *AHwb* listed for *ina pāni* X only the local meaning *coram aliquo*.

would present an interesting parallel to the chronological computation in OBI, No. 83, ll. 6 ff., already referred to above. For, though the legal action recorded in the latter document takes place in the 4th year of Enlil-nâdin-apli and our king-list tablet is written in the 13th year of Marduk-šâpik-zêri, in both instances the scribe computes a period reaching only to the end of the reign of the immediately preceding king, namely in OBI, No. 83, to the end of the reign of Nabû-kudurri-ušur I<sup>106</sup> and on our tablet to the end of the reign of Marduk-nâdin-aḥḥē (= the beginning of the reign of Marduk-šâpik-zêri). Of course, such a coincidence can hardly be considered accidental. To all appearances it is due to the fact that the scribes when computing longer periods were accustomed to rely on the king lists, of which the comprehensive ones usually close with the latest completed dynasty (i.e., the last dynasty before the ruling one), while the official supplementary king lists, which list the kings of the then ruling dynasty, as a rule close with the last completed reign, namely, the reign of the predecessor of the then ruling king, whose reign would be added to the list only after his death.<sup>107</sup> To the periods which the scribe could simply take from the king lists<sup>108</sup> he had, of course, to add the regnal years of the then ruling king, but, as shown by OBI, No. 83, and possibly by our text, he sometimes (or usually?) left it to the reader to make this addition himself.

It may be noted here that whether or not our scribe gave up his intention to insert the phrase *ultu X* after he had written *ul-tu*, this *ul-tu* is now followed immediately by the phrase *ina pân* ᵛ <sup>d</sup>*Marduk-šâpik-zêri* of line 9. This fact might perhaps lead to the opinion that the *ul-tu*, in spite of its position at the end of line 8, is to be taken together with the *ina pân* at the beginning of line 9, the two thus forming a compound prepositional expression *ultu ina pân* (X), "from in front of (X)," which might even be regarded as the historical prototype of the well known *ultu pâni*, "from in front of (X)," or simply "from." This conception might seem to be supported by the fact that in the well known passage of the Nabû-naḥid cylinder 5 R 64, col. 3, ll. 27 ff.,

<sup>27</sup> *Ē-ul-maš bît-su šá i-na Sippar<sup>ki-d</sup> A-nu-ni-tum šá 800 šanâti (= MU-MEŠ) <sup>28</sup>ul-tu pa-ni ᵛ Šâ-ga-rak-ti-Bur<sup>si-c</sup>-ja-âš<sup>(1)</sup> . . . <sup>29</sup> . . . šarru ma-na-ma la i-pu-šu . . . <sup>31</sup>e-li te-me-en-na ᵛ Šâ-ga-rak-ti-Bur-ja-âš . . . <sup>32</sup>uš-šu-šu ad-di-ma . . .*

"Ē-ul-maš, her<sup>(1)</sup> house, which is in Sippar-Anunîtu, (and) which for 800 years, (namely) since Šagarakti-Š<sup>(1)</sup>urijaš . . . , no king had (re)built, upon the temennu of (this) Šagarakti-Šurijaš . . . I laid its foundation and . . ."

the formula *ultu pâni Šagarakti-Šurijaš* immediately follows the reference to a long period in the same manner as the reputed *ultu ina pân Marduk-šâpik-zêri* of our new

<sup>106</sup> In reality to the end of the Kassite dynasty.

<sup>107</sup> Note e.g. that the king list from Khorsabad, although written in the 7th year of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, closes with the reign of Aššûr-nerâri V, Tukulti-apil-Ešarra's predecessor.

<sup>108</sup> For the manner in which this was done see above, p. 30, n. 94. Note also that the *PAB*, "total," before the 5 ME MU-MEŠ, "500 years," in line 8 of our tablet obviously indicates that the 500 is the result of an adding operation.

king-list tablet. Now if this reputed *ultu ina pân* of our tablet actually is identical with the *ultu pâni* of the Nabû-na'id passage, it should, of course, have the same meaning, namely, simply "from," "since."<sup>109</sup> The period of 500 years would then of course have to be assumed as extending from Marduk-šâpik-zêri, the last of the seven kings mentioned on our tablet, to some other king ruling 500 years later. But under such an assumption it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine any logical connection between the enumeration of the first seven kings of the second Isin dynasty and a period of 500 years after the last of these seven kings. What could, moreover, be the reason for enumerating only the first seven kings of the dynasty, who lived before the beginning of the supposed period, and not including the last four kings, who lived within that assumed period? Nor would these objections be alleviated if we assume a meaning "from before (the reign of X)" for *ultu ina pân*. On the contrary, the situation would become more confused, because under this conception we would be left entirely in the dark even concerning the question from which king the beginning of the 500-year period was reckoned. On the other hand, if we assume that the *ultu* of line 8 of our tablet and the *ina pân* of line 9 are not to be combined, both the *ultu* (with the suggested completion of the phrase) and the *ina pân X* (in the meaning "before the time of") can be satisfactorily explained.

Quite apart from the fact just observed that the conception of *ultu* and *ina pân X* as "from before someone" or "from" or "since (the time of) someone" leads to serious logical difficulties, we are here confronted by the general question whether Akkadian in the development in which it appears in the historically known periods could actually construe a preposition like our *ultu* with an adverbial expression like *ina pân* instead of, as usual, with the genitive of a noun (as e.g. *pâni* in the *ultu pâni X* of Nabû-na'id). As a matter of fact, a combination of *ultu*, "from," and a local or temporal adverbial expression like "in front of something" or "before something" would at least not seem impossible, since we observe a similar combination for example in Hebrew *millif<sup>e</sup>nê* (< *min-lî-f<sup>e</sup>nê*), "from before (someone)," instead of the more usual and simpler *mipp<sup>e</sup>nê* (< *min-p<sup>e</sup>nê*), "away from the face of (someone)." Note, furthermore, the combination of two prepositions in *mê'im*, *mê'et*, *mê'al*, *mibba'ad*, and *l'min* and, finally, also the expressions *miššām*, "from there," and *mê'āz*, "since then," in which the preposition *min* is combined with the local adverb *šām* and the temporal adverb *āz*, which logically are the equivalents of the prepositional complexes "in that place" and "in that time." Moreover, in the *ul-tú la-pa-an* of Aššûr-aḫa-iddina, Prism A (1 R 45-47) col. 3, ll. 40 f.,

<sup>40</sup> *Y La-A.A-le-e šâr šlī I-a-di-i* <sup>41</sup>[šá] *ul-tú la-pa-an kakkê-ja ip-par-ši-du*,  
 "La-A.A-le-e, king of Iadi<sup>u</sup>, who had fled from before my weapons,"

Akkadian actually presents an exact counterpart of Hebrew *millif<sup>e</sup>nê*. But note that the parallel passage, Prism B (Abel und Winckler, Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch

<sup>109</sup> The *ultu pâni* of the Nabû-na'id inscription, of course, cannot mean "from before (the time of) (Šagarakti-Šurijaš)," since with such a meaning of the phrase Nabû-na'id would deny the fact that this Kassite king had built the temple, although he expressly states in the passage quoted above that he built his new temple on the temennu of Šagarakti-Šurijaš.

bei Vorlesungen, pp. 25 f.), col. 4, ll. 26 [f.], has only <sup>26</sup>Y *La-A.A-le-e šâr* <sup>ali</sup>*Ia-di-i šá la-pa-an kakkê-[ja . . .]*, so that the *ul-tú la-pa-an* of Prism A might perhaps be due merely to a fusion, by the absent-minded scribe, of the phrases *ultu pân X naparsudu* and *lapân X naparsudu*. If, however, the combination *ultu lapân* was actually used in late spoken Assyrian, it probably was simply an imitation of a corresponding combination in one of the idioms spoken by the Semites who had been transplanted to Assyria by the Assyrian kings or who had gradually immigrated there. But this would not, of course, prove the possibility of a combination of *ultu* with the genuinely Akkadian preposition *ina* in the envisaged combination *ul-tu ina pân* on our tablet. As far as I can recall at this moment, the only passage in earlier Akkadian inscriptions on the basis of which one could perhaps be tempted to argue in favor of such a combination is BBSt, Plates LXXXIII-XCI, col. 2, ll. 6-9,

<sup>6</sup> *ultu* (= TA) *i-na i-lík* <sup>kur</sup>*Na-mar AN-TUK-i gab-bi-šu* <sup>7d</sup>*Nabû-ku-dûr-ri-ušur . . . .* *âlânî šá* Y . . . *-ti* <sup>d</sup>*Marduk* <sup>8</sup> . . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . . *ú-zak-ki*,

where by a strange coincidence the prepositions seemingly combined are likewise *ultu* and *ina*. Note that King translates the *ultu ina* at the beginning of line 6 of this passage simply "from (all jurisdiction of Namar whatsoever)." However, the passage is quite indecisive for King's obvious assumption that *ultu* and *ina* belong together, because the Akkadian equivalent of the sumerogram AN-TUK, on which our conception of the relation between the two prepositions must largely depend, cannot be established with any conclusiveness. If, for instance, AN-TUK-*i* represents the genitive *iši-i*<sup>110</sup> (= *išî*) of the Akkadian infinitive *išû*—which is generally translated "to have," but which basically should mean "to take"<sup>111</sup>—the *ina ilki* <sup>kur</sup>*Namar* could well be an adverbial modification of the infinitive *išû*, "to take," "to appropriate," while the genitive of the thus modified infinitive would depend on the preposition *ultu*. The whole passage would then, of course, mean

"(in short,) from (= *ultu*) all (= *gabbišu*) taking (or being taken) (= *iši-i*) in (= *ina*) the Namar gratuitous service Nabû-kudurri-ušur freed the towns of . . . ti-Marduk."<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> For this transliteration note that the purely syllabic writing of the form would be *i-ši-i*. Since the *-i* of AN-TUK-*i* corresponds to the final *-i* of this syllabic writing, it is clear that AN-TUK corresponds to *i-ši*, i. e., *išî* minus *-i* (= *išîi*).

<sup>111</sup> Note *tuk* = *aḥzu*, "to take," in the relative clause *d a m - n u - t u k - a* (< *n u - (i - n -) t u k - a*) = *ša aš-ša-tú la aḥ-zu*, "who has not taken a wife (= does not have a wife)," ASKt, pp. 82-99, col. 2, l. 31; *d a m t u k = aššatu ḥāru*, "to choose a wife," according to *d a m t u k - a = (ḥa-a-rû) šá aš-ša-tú*, "choosing of a wife," CT XVIII 36 f., col. 1, l. 14; and *t u k = rašû*, "to take," "to get," "bekommen," Br. 11239. The basic meaning "to take," "to get," etc. of *išû* follows from the fact that *išî*, "he has" (*i-ša-a-ku*, "I have," Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, l R 9-16, col. 1, l. 58), is a permansive-perfect of the same meaning as the permansive *aḥiz*, "he has taken" (= "he has"), *aḥzû*, "they have taken" (= "they have"), etc., as well as from the fact that *i-šu*, "he has," "she has" (CH rev., col. 6, l. 36), is not a present, but the preterit form *išû* (< *iaišuy*<sup>3</sup>, *iaišay*<sup>3</sup>, etc.), "he has taken (got etc.)."

<sup>112</sup> King obviously takes AN-TUK-*i* as the genitive of the permansive adjective *išû* (< *iašîu*). But King's translation "whatsoever" would fit not Akkadian *išû* but *bāšû*, literally "existing," "extant." In Sumerian this would, of course, be *gál-la* or *a-n-gál* (< *i-gál*) and not

As one sees, the passage cannot be considered as proving that at the time of the first dynasty of Isin the preposition *ultu* could be construed with an adverbial complex consisting of the preposition *ina* and a substantive dependent on this preposition. This, however, means that we have no proof whatever nor even any indication that the *ultu* at the end of line 8 of our new king-list tablet could have been intended by the scribe to connect with the *ina pân* at the beginning of the next line. Judging from the lack of any example conclusively proving a combination of two prepositions in genuine Akkadian, we may even go a step farther and state that, in contradistinction for example to Hebrew, Akkadian obviously was averse to any construction of a preposition with a prepositional complex headed by one of the basic prepositions. In this connection it may be noted that, similarly, Sumerian does not combine two postpositions. Most likely it was under the influence of Sumerian that in contradistinction to the other Semitic languages Akkadian became averse to the combination of two prepositions.

In view of the various parallels which we could trace between the period of 696 years referred to in OBI, No. 83, and the period of 500 years referred to on our new king-list tablet it will seem a plausible assumption or at least a justifiable supposition that the purposes for which the scribe of our tablet and the scribe of OBI, No. 83, computed their periods were similar ones. In other words, like the period of 696 years in OBI, No. 83, the period of 500 years on our king-list tablet may have played a role in a lawsuit in which the complainant contended that a certain estate, which during that long period had been in the unchallenged and unencumbered possession of his family, had been encroached upon by the governor of a province etc. The cir-

a n - t u k . To be sure, in the bilingual creation story CT XIII 35-38, obv., l. 33, Akkadian *uš-tab-ši*, "he caused to be there," seems to appear as the equivalent of Sumerian m u - u n - t u k , but the t u k of this verbal form is probably an ancient mistake for the sign KAK = d ù , "to make," "to create," which in its outlines shows a certain similarity to t u k . Cf. obv., ll. 1, 15, 20, 26, and 36, where d ù corresponds to Akkadian *epēšu* and *banū*. A concurring cause of the mistake may perhaps have been the fact that TUK had also the value d u<sub>12</sub> , especially in the duplicated root TUK-TUK = d u<sub>12</sub> - d u<sub>12</sub> .

To all appearances the use of the Sumerian finite verbal form a n - t u k , "he has taken" (< i - n - t u k ?), as a sumerogram in the writing of the genitive form *išī* of the infinitive *išū* is only a kind of playing with the principles of sumerographic writing. The regular sumerographic writing of the genitive of the infinitive *išū* would of course be TUK-i (= verbal root TUK plus phonetic complement -i), which in conformity with the entirely syllabic writing *i-ši-i* would represent *išī-i*. However, from legal documents etc. the scribes were well acquainted with the equation a n - t u k = *išī*, "he has taken (got etc.)," "he has," and it is this Akkadian equivalent *išī* of a n - t u k which the scribe uses as a two-syllable phonetic value of AN-TUK when he writes the genitive of *išū* as AN-TUK-i, i.e., *išī-i* (= in monosyllabic writing *i-ši-i*). It is well possible, however, that an additional or even the main reason for the use of AN-TUK as a sumerogram for the infinitive *išū* was the fact that in the official gratuitous-service registers the names of the persons etc. listed for gratuitous service were probably followed by the remark . . . a n - t u k (< i - t u k), "has been taken (in [= for?] gratuitous service)," or a n - t u k (< i - n - t u k), "(the king or the governor) has taken him (for gratuitous service)." Like many other Sumerian verbal expressions this remark, too, may have become a terminus technicus, namely for the abstract idea "the being taken (chosen or drafted) (for gratuitous service etc.)."

cumstance that this is not stated in so many words on our tablet would, of course, be in full accordance with the possibility that lines 8 and 9 were only a rather formless memorandum for use by the scribe when he actually drew up the document he intended to write.<sup>113</sup>

If in conclusion we turn briefly to the question of the identification of the king from whose reign to the beginning of the reign of Marduk-šāpik-zēri the scribe of our king-list tablet counted 500 years, it must be stated that unfortunately the prospect of finding a satisfactory answer seems for the time being very slight. Under the assumption that the 500 years were intended to represent the exact number of years between the last year of that king and the first year of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, the first year of the 500-year period would be 1573 or 1583 B.C.,<sup>114</sup> while the preceding year, that is, the last year of the king from whose reign the period was reckoned, would be 1574 or 1584 B.C. This year would be the 152d year<sup>115</sup> of the Kassite dynasty, which according to Babylonian King List A ruled 576 years,<sup>116</sup> that is, from 1725 to 1150 (or from 1735 to 1160) B.C.<sup>117</sup> Now the Kassite reigns preserved in Babylonian King List A with the numbers of the regnal years of the kings comprise only the first 68 years of the dynasty,<sup>118</sup> that is, the years 1725–1658 (or 1735–1668),<sup>119</sup> and the last 177(?) years of the dynasty, that is, the years 1326(?)–1150 (or 1336(?)–1160), thus leaving in the period of the Kassite dynasty a 331(?)-year lacuna<sup>120</sup> that stretches over the years 1657–1327(?).<sup>121</sup> Now, the year 1573 (or 1583), from which the 500 years of our tablet were counted, is the 85th year after 1658 (or 1668),<sup>122</sup> the last year of the combined reigns of the four kings at the beginning of the dynasty, whose regnal years are preserved. On the strength of this computation it would seem not impossible that the king from whose reign the scribe of our new king-list tablet reckoned the 500-year period was one of the nine kings enumerated by Synchronistic King List A after the first four kings of the dynasty. Since there is a discrepancy between Babylonian King List A and Synchronistic King List A in re-

<sup>113</sup> It is, of course, a possibility, too, that our tablet represents a preparatory memorandum of an advanced student whom his teacher had set to the task of drawing up a document concerning an imaginary legal case involving certain chronological computations. But this would of course make no difference whatever in the facts pointed out above.

<sup>114</sup> 1073 or 1083 (= 1st year of Marduk-kabit-aḥḥēšu) + 500 years = 1573 or 1583 B.C.

<sup>115</sup> The 151st year, if we have to make allowance for the fact that King List A in its summary obviously counted in the 6 months in the statement on the 29th king and the 6 months in the statement on the 30th king.

<sup>116</sup> 575 years under the assumption made in n. 115.

<sup>117</sup> 1724–1150 or 1734–1160 under the assumption made in n. 115.

<sup>118</sup> According to Gadd's copy of Babylonian King List A in CT XXXVI 24 f. the first 4 Kassite kings ruled 16 + 22 + 22 + 8 = 68 years.

<sup>119</sup> 1724–1657 (or 1734–1667) according to n. 115.

<sup>120</sup> A 330(?)–year lacuna according to n. 115.

<sup>121</sup> 1656–1327(?) according to n. 115.

<sup>122</sup> The 84th year after 1657 or 1667 according to n. 115.

spect to the 4th and 5th kings, I give the following comparative table of the first Kassite kings enumerated in the two lists:<sup>123</sup>

BABYLONIAN KING LIST A	SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST A
1. $\Upsilon$ <i>Gan-dáš</i>	1. $\Upsilon$ <i>Ga-an-du-uš</i> <sup>124</sup>
2. $\Upsilon$ <i>A-gu-um mahru</i> <sup>125</sup> <i>már</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>126</sup> -šú	2. $\Upsilon$ <i>A-gu-um mahru</i> <sup>125</sup> <i>már</i> <sub>2</sub> <sup>126</sup> -šú
3. $\Upsilon$ <i>Kaš-til-ia(-šu) mahru</i> <sup>127</sup>	3. $\Upsilon$ <i>Kaš-til-[a?]-šu</i>
4. $\Upsilon$ . . . -šú <i>már</i> <sub>2</sub> -šú <sup>128, 129</sup>	4. $\Upsilon$ <i>A-bi-r[a]-taš</i>
5. $\Upsilon$ <i>A-bi-rat-taš</i>	5. $\Upsilon$ <i>Kaš-til-[A]-šu</i> <sup>129</sup>
6. $\Upsilon$ <i>Taš-zi-gur(u)?-maš</i>	6. $\Upsilon$ <i>Taš-zi-g[u]-ru-ma-aš</i>
7. [ $\Upsilon$ . . . . .]	7. $\Upsilon$ <i>Hur-ba?[-šr-]hu?</i>
	8. $\Upsilon$ <i>Ti-ip-ta-[a]k-zi</i>
	9. $\Upsilon$ <i>A-gu[u]m</i> <sup>130</sup>
	10. $\Upsilon$ <i>Bur-na-b[ur-ia]-dš</i>
	11. $\Upsilon$ [. . . . .]
	12. $\Upsilon$ <i>Kaš-til-ia(-šu)</i>
	13. $\Upsilon$ <i>U-la[m-b]ur-ia-aš</i> <sup>131</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Since Weidner copied Synchronistic King List A from photographs (see AOf III, p. 67), a corroboration of his copy by a direct examination of the original in Istanbul would be desirable.

<sup>124</sup> The name of this king is placed at the end of the line containing the equation Erišu III of Assyria | Ea-gamil of the Sealand.

<sup>125</sup> Sign IGr.

<sup>126</sup> Sign A.

<sup>127</sup> We probably have to read thus. The reading of the line as *Kaš-til-ia(-šú)* would be remarkable, since the usually occurring name form is *Kaš-til-ia(-šu)*.

<sup>128</sup> Winckler copied the first sign of the name as a clear *uš*, but Gadd rendered it without the two small verticals of *uš* and indicated that the interior of the sign is chipped off, so that the name might be restored either as *Uš-šú* or as *Du-šú*. Is the name perhaps incomplete?

<sup>129</sup> The best explanation of the discrepancy between the two lists in the enumeration of the kings in ll. 4 and 5 of our table obviously is that in one of the lists the sequence of the two kings has been erroneously inverted. The king in l. 4 of the table according to Babylonian King List A and the king in l. 5 of the table based on Weidner's copy of Synchronistic King List A are therefore, most probably, identical. Without an examination of the original of the latter list it seems too hazardous, however, to propose any emendation. Note that the *-[a]-šu* of Weidner's *Kaš-til-[a]-šu* seems to correspond to the *A(=már<sub>2</sub>)-šú* of Babylonian King List A, while conception of this *A-šú* as a variation of *-ia(-šú)* (according to Weidner's *Kaš-til-a(-šu)*) is obviously out of the question not only because l. 3 of Babylonian King List A writes *Kaš-til-ia(-šú)*, but also because the change of *š* in the interior of a Kassite name to *š* (cf. Burna-Bur<sup>2</sup>aš instead of Burna-Burijaš, Kardun<sup>2</sup>aš instead of Kardunijaš, etc.) is primarily an Assyrian feature.

<sup>130</sup> Kings 2-9 are equated in the list—of course incorrectly—with Šamši-Adad II of Assyria.

<sup>131</sup> The 4 kings 10-13 are equated in the list—possibly, because of the dividing lines, correctly or at least more or less correctly—with the 4 kings Išme-Dagan II, Šamši-Adad III, Aššūr-nerāri I, and Puzur-Aššūr III of Assyria. Ulam-Burijaš is in addition equated also with Enlil-nāšir I, Nūr-ili, and Aššūr-šadūni (!) of Assyria, who ruled 13, 12, and 0 years. Together with the 14 years of Puzur-Aššūr III, this would make (26-)39 years for the kings equated with Ulam-Burijaš. It is doubtful, however, whether the last three equations represent true synchronisms.

However, none of the preserved names of the Kassite kings 5-13, at least as copied by Weidner, can be harmonized with the sign traces after the *ul-tu* of line 8 of our new king-list tablet, while the assumption that perhaps the wholly destroyed name of the 11th king—if the line actually listed a new king there and did not simply repeat the name of Burna-Burijaš I by means of a ditto mark—might be identified with the traces in our new king list is of course unprovable. As one sees, even the chronological data just discussed cannot give us a clue for the safe identification of the king from whose reign the 500-year period was reckoned. Considering the great indistinctness of the signs after the very clearly written *ul-tu*, the most probable assumption still is that the scribe did not finish the intended phrase *ultu X* after he had written the *ul-tu* in line 8.