Chapter 5 Mesopotamia, Iran, Anatolia and the Levant

Any revision of Ancient Near-Eastern history must demonstrate how it fits into the history of Mesopotamia. Reference was made previously to 853 BC, the year of the Battle of Qarqar, in which Shoshenq I of Egypt together with a coalition of kings from the Levant fought against Shalmaneser III of Assyria. With a new timeline having been created for Egypt, the following recorded contacts between Mesopotamia and Egypt must now be accounted for:

- Kadašman-Enlil I (k. Babylon) – Sent Amarna letter EA 3 to Amen-hotep III (1275–1238 BC).
- Tušratta (k. Mitanni) – Sent Amarna letters EA 17 & EA 23 to Amenhotep III. EA 23 is dated Year 36 IV Peret 1 (25 January 1239 BC). After the death of Amenhotep III, he also sent Amarna letter EA 26 to Tiye A (Great Royal wife to Amenhotep III).
- Aššur-Uballiṭ I (k. Assyria) – Sent Amarna letter EA 16 to Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC).
- Burna-Buriyåš II (k. Babylon) – Sent Amarna letters EA 6 to Amen-hotep III and EA 7–11 to Akhenaten.

In addition to the above, key documents for helping to understand the chronology of Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran and the Levant include and/or can be found in:

- Annals, texts and inscriptions
  - Sumer
    - Presargonic Period – Frayne (2008)
    - Sargonic & Gutian Periods – Frayne (1993)
    - Gudea and His Dynasty – Edzard
    - Ur III Period – Frayne (1997)
  - Assyria
    - Third and Second Millennia BC – Grayson (1987)
    - Early First Millennium BC – Grayson (1991a) & (1996)
    - Neo-Assyrian Period
      - Tiglath-Pileser III & Shalmaneser V – Tadmor & Yamada
      - Sargon II – Frame (2021)
      - Sennacherib – Grayson & Novotny (2012) & (2014)
      - Esarhaddon – Leichty
      - Ashurbanipal, Aššur-etil-ilāni, & Sîn-šar-iškun – Novotny & Jeffers; Jeffers & Novotny
    - Annals in the British Museum – Budge (1902)

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    - Babylon
        - Old Babylonian Period – Frayne (1990)
        - Kassites – Brinkman (1976)
        - Babylonia – Frame (1995)
    - Anatolia
        - Hittite Diplomatic Texts – Beckman (1996a)
- Antediluvian King Lists (*ADKL*) – Glassner, Table 1, pp.57–58
- Assyrian King List (*AKL*) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.9, pp.101–115; Glassner, no.5, p.136–146
    - *AKLa*: Nassouhi List – Nassouhi (1927)
    - *AKLb*: Khorsabad List – Poebel (1943); Gelb (1954)
    - *AKLc*: SDAS List – Gelb (1954)
    - *AKLd*: Shrouder Fragment – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.9, p.101
    - *AKLe*: Millar Fragment – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.9, p.101
    - *AKLf*: Fragment VAT 9812 (KAV 14) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.10, p.115
    - *AGLg*: Fragment VAT 12058 – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.11, p.116
    - KAV 14 – S. Yamada, p.112.
- Assyrian Eponym Lists
    - *Kultepe Eponym Lists* (*KEL A-G*) – Günbatti, (2008a) pp.103–132, (2008b) pp.125–132; Barjamovic, pp.14–25, 91–97
    - *Mari Eponym Chronicle* (*MEC*) – Glassner, nos.8–9, pp.160–176; Barjamovic, pp.91–97
    - Reigns of Shalmaneser I & Tukultī-Ninurta I – Bloch (2008), pp.146–147
    - KAV 21/22 (VAT 11254 + 11257 + 11259^{A} + 11276) – Schroeder, p.28; Newgrosh (1999), pp.83–85; Grayson (1972) v.2, pp.68–75
    - *Neo-Assyrian Eponym Canon* – Millard, pp.55–62; Glassner, no.9
- Babylonian King Lists
    - King List A (*BKLa*) – Sayce, pp. 15–19; Rogers, pp.201–202; Grayson (1980–1983), §3.3, pp.90–95
    - King List B (*BKLb* – Amorite & Sealand) – Sayce, pp.13–14, 20–21; Rogers, p.202; Grayson (1980–1983), §3.7, p.100
    - King List C (*BKLc* – 2nd Isin) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.4, pp.96–97
    - Ptolemaic Canon – Sayce, pp.11–12; Rogers, p.239; Grayson, p.101
- Babylonian Date Lists
    - Date Lists A–U – Horsnell (1999), pp.225–226
    - Date Lists A, B, F – Beaulieu (2018), p.68

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    - Date Lists A–C, F, I, K–M, O & SM 038125 – Khwshnaw, pp.668–671
    - Date Lists P, Q – Horsnell (1984), p.19
- *Aššur-reša-iši Chronicle* – Glassner, no.14, pp.186–188
- *Awan King List* (*AwKL*) – Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.23–24
- *Babylonian Chronicles 1–7 & 14–16* – Grayson (1975), pp.69–111, 125–132
- *Chronicle of Early Kings* – King (1907), pp.3–14; Grayson (1975), no.20, pp.45–49; Glassner, nos.39–44, pp.268–276
- *Chronicle of Enlil-Nārāri* – Grayson (1975), pp.184–185; Glassner, no.11, p.184
- *Chronicle of Tiglath-Pileser I* – Grayson (1975), pp.184, 189; Glassner, no.15, pp.188–192
- *Chronicle P* (Kassite Kings) – Grayson (1975), no.22, pp.170–177; Glassner, no.45, pp.278–281
- *Dynastic Chronicle* – Grayson (1975), no.18, pp.139–144; Glassner, no.3, pp.126–134
- *Ebla King List* (*EKL*) – Archi (2001), p.13
- *Eclectic Chronicle* – Grayson (1975), no.24, pp.180–183; Glassner, no.47, pp.284–288
- *Genealogy of the Ḫammurāpi Dynasty (GHD)* – J.J. Finkelstein (1966)
- *Lagaš Prince Lists* – Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.29–31
- *Larsa King List* (*LKL*) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.1, p.89
- *Mari Šakkanakku List* (*MSL*) – Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.26
- *Religious Chronicle* – Grayson (1975), no.17, pp.133–138; Glassner (2004), no.51, pp.296–300
- *Šimashki King List* (*ŠKL*) – Potts (1999), p. 144; Steinkeller (2007), p.216; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.24
- *Sumerian King List* (*SKL*) – Jacobsen (1939); Glassner, nos.1–3, pp.117–134, 150–155; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.13–22
- *Synchronistic Chronicle* – Grayson (1975), no.21, pp.157–170; Glassner, no.10, pp.176–183
- *Synchronistic King List* (*SyKL*) – Chen (2020), pp.31–38; Grayson (1980–1983), pp.116–121
    - KAV 9–13 & 182 – Grayson (1969), pp.112–115; Grayson (1980–1983, pp.121–125
- *Tummal Chronicle* – Glassner, no.7, pp.156–159
- *Ugarit King List* (*UgKL*) – Arnaud, pp.154–155
    - *King List A* – Kitchen (1977), p.132
    - *King List B* – Arnaud, pp.154–155

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- *Ur-Isin King List* (*UIKL*) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.2, p.90
- *Uruk Chronicle Concerning the Kings of Ur* – Glassner, no.48, pp.288–292
- *Uruk King List* (*UrKL*) – Grayson (1980–1983), §3.5, p.97
- *Walker Chronicle* – Glassner, no.46, pp.282–284
- *Weidner Chronicle* – Grayson (1975), no.19 pp.145–151; Glassner, no.38, pp.263–268.

Assyria

From a chronological perspective, the most important of the Mesopotamian kingdoms was Assyria, the history of which is crucial to establishing ancient chronology, as it was a single defined kingdom which spanned a period of more than 1000 years including the period of the Egyptian Third Intermediate Period.

Assyrian chronology is for the most part based on the *Assyrian King List* (*AKL*). The most complete versions of the list are three extant cuneiform tablet versions. The oldest, the *Nassouhi List (AKLa)*, stops at Tiglath-Pileser II; the *Khorsabad List* (*AKLb*) stops at Aššur-Nārāri V and the youngest, the *SDAS List (AKLc)*, stops at Shalmaneser V. As well as the King Lists, the Assyrians also kept *limmu* (eponym) lists, in which years were associated with the name of the *limmu* (magistrate) who held office in that year. With the existence of eponym lists from Adad-Nārāri II down to the middle of the reign of Ashurbanipal in the 7th century BC, year one of Adad-Nārāri II's reign in 911 BC is normally regarded as the earliest event in Mesopotamia which can be dated to an exact year.

While at face value the *AKL* provides strong support for the Conventional Chronology, several historians have for many years argued for adjustments to Late Bronze Age (LBA) Assyrian chronology.

Poebel proposed a minor adjustment when he suggested that Assyria fractured into four kingdoms upon the death of Tukultī-Ninurta I when his sons, along with Ilī-Padâ II, the king of Ḫanigalbat, all vied for power.[989] More recently James, Newgrosh, Furlong and Thom have all proposed parallel Assyrian dynasties as part of their arguments for revising LBA chronology. Furthermore, it is to be noted that there are both inconsistencies between the various versions of the *AKL*, and inconsistencies between the *AKL* and the eponym lists, which indicates that errors were made by the Assyrian scribes.[990]

In the earlier list of contacts between Mesopotamia and Egypt it was noted that the Assyrian king Aššur-Uballiṭ I sent Amarna letter EA 16 to King Akhenaten of

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[989] Poebel (1943), pp.56–57.
[990] Newgrosh (1999), p.79, 87.

Egypt (1238–1222 BC). In the Conventional Chronology Aššur-Uballiṭ I reigned either 1362–1327 BC or 1352–1317 BC (short chronology, in which Ninurta-apil-Ekur has a reign of three years as per the *AKLb*, instead of 13 years as per the *AKLa*). If a reign of 13 years is accepted for Ninurta-apil-Ekur as king of Assyria then the reign of Aššur-Uballiṭ I needs to be lowered between 89 years (if the last year of Aššur-Uballiṭ I equals the first year of Akhenaten), and 140 years (if the first year of Aššur-Uballiṭ I equals the last year of Akhenaten).

The Amarna letters aside, the Assyrian chronology does not stand in isolation, as it too has many established links with Babylonia, the chronology of which is derived from numerous copies of a document known as the Babylonian King List. Another document which at face value would appear to be helpful when framing relations between Assyria and Babylonia is the Synchronic King List, which was found at Aššur. The List was written in the 7th century BC and lists presumed synchronisms between Assyrian and Babylonian kings, originally naming 82 kings of Assyria from Erišum I to Ashurbanipal, and 98 kings of Akkadê from Sūmû-la-El to Kandalānu. However, the usefulness of the *Synchronistic King List* for constructing Mesopotamian chronology, including during the period between Aššur-Uballiṭ I and Adad-Nārāri II, must be questioned. For it states that the Assyrian king Aššur-bēl-kala, who it is known from the *AKL* to have reigned for 18 years, was contemporary with the last five kings of the Pashe (Second Isin) Dynasty, which included Adad-apla-iddina II (second in the list) who reigned for a minimum of 19 years.[991] This is not possible and demonstrates that the Assyrian author of the Synchronistic King List did not have a firm understanding of the chronology of the period and was instead naming kings as being 'contemporary' based on the order of the documented king lists at the time, rather than on known actual contacts.

The starting point for synchronising Assyrian and Babylonian chronology must instead be the Amarna letters, which confirm that both Aššur-Uballiṭ I (k Assyria) and Burna-Buriyåš II (k. Babylon) were contemporary with Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC). It is then possible to use other Babylonian documents as provided in the following table, which provide the following important synchronisms for the Amarna and subsequent periods:

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[991] Brinkman (1996), pp.58–59, lists economic texts from years 5, 8, 10, 13, 18 & 19 of the reign of Adad-apla-iddina II.

Table 44 – Synchronism of Kings of Assyria & Babylon

Assyrian king Lists	Synchronistic Chronicle	Chronicle of Enlil-Nārāri	Chronicle P	Babylonian King List
		Walker Chronicle	**Eclectic Chronicle**	
		Dynastic Chronicle	**C. of Tiglath-Pileser I**	
Aššur - uballit I 36y	Aššur-Uballiṭ + Kara-Ḫardaš			Kara-Ḫardaš
	Aššur-Uballiṭ + Nazi-Bugaš		**Chronicle P** Aššur-Uballiṭ + Šuzigaš	Šuzigaš / Nazi-Bugaš
	Aššur-Uballiṭ + Kurigalzu		Kurigalzu + Ḫurbatila (k. Elam)	Kurigalzu II
Enlil-Nārāri 10y	Enlil-Nārāri + Kurigalzu	**Enlil-Nir.C.** Enlil-Nārāri + Kurigalzu	Kurigalzu	
Arik-den-ili 12y				
Adad-Nārāri I 32y			Adad-Nārāri + Kurigalzu	
	Adad-Nārāri + Nazi-Maruttaš		Nazi-Maruttaš	Nazi-Maruttaš 26y
				Kadašman-Turgu 18y
Shalmaneser I 30y				Kadašman-Enlil +2y
Tukultī-Ninurta I 37y		**Walker C.** Tukultī-Ninurta	Tukultī-Ninurta 7y	Kudur-Enlil 6y
				Šagarakti-Šuriaš 13y
	Kaštiliaš			Kaštiliašu III 8y
			Enlil-nādin-šumi + Kidin-Ḫutran (k. Elam)	Enlil-nādin-šumi 1.5y
				Kadašman-Ḫarbe II 1.5y
			Adad-šuma-iddina + Kidin-Ḫutran (k. Elam)	Adad-šuma-iddina 6y

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Aššur-nādin-apli 3y or 4y			Adad-šuma-uṣur + Aššur-Nāsir-apli	Adad-šuma-uṣur 30y
Aššur - Nārāri III 6y				
Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur 5y	Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur + Adad-šuma-uṣur	Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur + Adad-šuma-uṣur		
Ninurta-apil-Ekur 3y or 13y	Ninurta-apil-Ekur + Adad-šuma-uṣur			
				Meli-Šipak 15y
				Marduk-apla-iddina I 17y
Aššur-Dān I 46y	Aššur-Dān + Zababa-šuma-iddina			Zababa-šuma-iddina 1y
				Enlil-nādin-aḫḫē 3y
Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur			Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur	Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu 17y or 18y
Mutakkil-Nusku		Itti-Marduk-balātu	**Eclectic C.** Itti-Marduk-balātu	Itti-Marduk-balātu 6y or 8y
Aššur-reša-iši I 18y				Ninurta-nādin-šumi 6y
	Aššur-reša-iši + Nebuchad-nezzar	Nebuchad-nezzar		Nebuchad-nezzar I 22y
Tiglath-Pileser I 39y		Enlil-nādin-apli		Enlil-nādin-apli 4y
	Tiglath-Pileser + Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē	Tiglath-Pileser + Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē	**T-Pileser C.** Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē 18y	Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē 18y
		Marduk-šāpik-zēri	Marduk-šāpik-zēri + Tiglath-Pileser	Marduk-šāpik-zēri 13y
Ašred-apil-Ekur 2y				

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Aššur-bēl-kala 18y	Aššur-bēl-kala + Marduk-šāpik-zēri		**Eclectic C.** Marduk-šāpik-zēri + Aššur-bēl-kala	
	Aššur-bēl-kala + Adad-apla-iddina	Adad-apla-iddina	Adad-apla-iddina	Adad-apla-iddina
				Marduk-aḫḫē-erība
				Marduk-zer-[..]
				Nabû-šumu-libūr
			Eriba-Sîn	Eriba-Sîn
Erība-Adad II 2y		**Dynastic C.** Simbar-Šipak 17y	Simbar-Šipak	**Sealand** Simbar-Šipak 18y
Šamši-Adad IV 4y		Ea-múkîn-zēri 3m		Ea-múkîn-zēri 5m
Ashur-nasirpal I 19y		Kaššu-nādin-aḫḫē 3y		Kaššu-nādin-aḫḫē 3y
		Eulmaš-šākin-šumi 14y	Eulmaš-šākin-šumi	**Bīt-Bazi** Eulmaš-šākin-šumi 17y
Shalmaneser II 12y		Ninurta-kudurri-usur 2y		Ninurta-kudurri-usur I 3y
Aššur-Nārāri IV 6y		Širiqti-suqumu 3y		Širiqti-suqumu 3m
Aššur-rabi II 41y			Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur	Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur
Aššur-reša-iši II 5y			Nabû-múkîn-apli I	Nabû-múkîn-apli I
Tiglath-Pileser II 32y				Ninurta-kudurri-usur II
Aššur-Dān II 23y			Mar-biti-aḫa-iddina	Mar-biti-aḫa-iddina
Adad-Nārāri II 21y	Adad-Nārāri + Šamaš-Mudammiq		Adad-Nārāri + Šamaš-Mudammiq	Šamaš-Mudammiq
	Adad-Nārāri + Nabû-šuma-ukīn			Nabû-Šuma-ukin I
Tukultī-Ninurta II 7y			Nabû-šuma-ukīn + Tukultī-Ninurta	

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Ashur-nasirpal II 52y			Ashurnasirpal + Nabû-apla-iddina	Nabû-apla-iddina
Shalmaneser III 35y	Shalmaneser + Nabû-apla-iddina			
	Shalmaneser + Marduk-zâkir-šumi		Shalmaneser + Marduk-zâkir-šumi	Marduk-zâkir-šumi I

From the above table the following synchronisms are revealed:

- Aššur-Uballiṭ I was the grandfather of Kara-Ḫardaš.
- Aššur-Uballiṭ I avenged the death of Kara-Ḫardaš by killing Nazi-Bugaš/Šuzigaš and installing Kurigalzu II on the throne.
- Enlil-Nārāri defeated Kurigalzu II.
- Adad-Nārāri I was defeated by Kurigalzu II.
- Adad-Nārāri I defeated Nazi-Maruttaš.
- Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur was defeated by Adad-šuma-uṣur.
- Aššur-Dān I invaded Babylonia during the reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina.
- Aššur-reša-iši I defeated Nebuchadnezzar I.
- Tiglath-Pileser I defeated Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē.
- Aššur-bēl-kala was king when Marduk-šāpik-zēri died.
- Aššur-bēl-kala appointed Adad-apla-iddina II as king.
- Adad-Nārāri II defeated Šamaš-Mudammiq.
- Adad-Nārāri II defeated Nabû-šuma-ukīn I.
- Tukultī-Ninurta II was king at the time of Nabû-šuma-ukīn I.
- Ashurnasirpal II was king at the time of Nabû-apla-iddina.
- Shalmaneser III was king when Nabû-apla-iddina died.
- Shalmaneser III supported Marduk-zâkir-šumi I against his brother.

An interesting fact revealed by Table 44 above is that there is a rather large section without any synchronisms or recorded contacts between Assyria and Babylonia in the period from Erība-Adad II to Aššur-Dān II. This indicates that if a reduction in the chronology of Assyria and Babylonia is to be achieved, then it must be in this period.

The easiest way to describe the solution to reducing Assyrian Chronology is to first present the solution as a genealogical table and then explain the main changes as compared to the Conventional Chronology.

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Table 45 – Kings of the East Semites

Akkadê
La-Ibum
2100
|
Sargon
2100–2086–2046
|
Rimuš I — Man-Ištūšu
2046–2039 — 2039–2024
|
Narām-Sîn I
2024–1968

Šar-kali-šarri
1968–1943

Irgigi, Nanum, Imi & Ilulu
1943–1940

Dudu
1940–1919
|
Šu-Durul
1919–1904

Kiš I
Ĝišur
c.2920–2900

Kullassina-Bēl — Nan-giš-lišma
c.2900–2880 — c.2880–2860

En-taraḫ-ana — Bābum
c.2860–2840 — c.2840–2820

Pūannum — Kalibum
c.2820–2800 — c.2800–2780

Kalūmum — Zuqāqīp
c.2760–2740 — c.2780–2760

Adapa
c.2740–2715

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	Ebla I
Mašda c.2715–2690	Sakùne c.2710–2690
Arwi'um c.2690–2665	Š[..]-x-[..] c.2690–2670
Etana c.2665–2640	La-Dau c.2670–2650
Balīḫu c.2640–2615	Abùgar Birbílanu c.2650–2630 c.2630–2610
Enme-Nuna c.2615–2590	Dumudar c.2610–2590
Melam-Kiš Barsal-Nuna c.2590–2580 c.2580–2565	Ib-La c.2590–2570
Samug c.2565–2540	Kulbanu c.2570–2550
Tizqārum c.2540–2515	Aš-Sanu [Sa]-Miù c.2550–2530 c.2530–2510
Ilkû c.2515–2490	Zialu c.2510–2490
Ilta-Śadûm c.2490–2465	En-Manu c.2490–2470
En-Meparagesi c.2465–2440	Na-Manu c.2470–2250
Aga c.2440–2415	Šagisu Da-[..] c.2450–2430 c.2430–2410

Kiš II

Su-Suda c.2415–2394 21y?	Danenu c.2410–2390
Dadase c.2394–2386 8y?	Ibíni-Līm c.2390–2370

	Ebla I		**Mari I**
Munuš-Adgal c.2386–2350 36y?	Išrud-Dāmu c.2370–2350	Isidu c.2350–2330	Anbu c.2386–2356

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Kalbum c.2350–2331 19y?	Išrud-Ḫalab c.2330–2310	Anba 2356–2339	Bazi 2339–2309
Tuge c.2331–2295 36y?	Iksud c.2310–2290	Zizi c.2309–2289	
Men-Nuna c.2295–2277 18y?	Talda-Līm c.2290–2270	Līmēr c.2289–2259	
Lugal-Utu c.2277–2241 36y?	Abur-Līm c.2270–2250	Šarrum-Iter c.2259–2250	
Enbi-Ištar c.2241–2212 29y?	Agur-Līm c.2230–2210	Ibí-Dāmu I c.2250–2230	**Mari II** Ikūn-Šamagan c.2250–2225
Akšak Zuzu I 2212–2180	Baga-Dāmu c.2210–2190		Ikūn-Šamaš c.2225–2200
Uğzi c.2180–2150	Enàr-Dāmu c.2190–2170		Ḫanu-Sum c.2200–2175
Uğda-Lulu 2150–2138	Urur 2138–2132	Išar-Malik c.2170–2150	Saʾūmu c.2175–2150
Kiš III Puzur-Sîn I 2117–2092	**Akšak** Puzur-Niraḫ 2132–2112	[Kùn]-Dāmu 2150–2125	Ištup-Išar c.2150–2125
Ur-Zababa 2092–2086	Išu-Il 2112–2088	Adub-Dāmu c.2125–2122	Iblul-Il c.2125–2098
Zimudar 2086–2056	Šū-Sîn I 2088–2081	Igriš-Ḫalab c.2122–2100	Ikūn-Mari 2098–2097
Kiš III Usi-Watar 2056–2049		**Ebla I** Irkáb-Dāmu c.2100–2089	**Aššur** Ininlaba 2100–2075
Eštar-Muti 2049–2038		Išar-Dāmu c.2089–2054	Ititi 2075–2050
Išme-Šamaš c.2038–2027		Ir'ak-Dāmu c.2054	Azuzu 2050–2025

Mari II Nizi 2097–2094	
Enna-Dagān 2094–2089	Ḫidaʾar 2077–2060
Ikun-Išar 2089–2077	Išgi-Mari 2060–2030

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Šū-Ilišu I
2027–2012

Nanniya
c.2012–2005

Ipḫur-Kīši
c.2005

Kiš IV
Uḫub
c.1885–1860

Lugal-[..]
c.1860–1835

Ugula
c.1835–1809

Aḫub-Bāni
1809–1785

Šū-Enlil
c.1785–1760

Ebla II
Igriš-Ḫeba
c.1750–1725

Ibbit-Līm
c.1725–1700

Ibí-Dāmu II
c.1700–1675

Immeya
c.1675–1650

Ḫammu[rāpi] i
c.1650–1625

Ušpia
c.2025–2000

Apiašal
c.2000–1975

Ḫale
c.1975–1950

Dakiki
c.1950–1925

Sulili
c.1925–1900

Kikkiya
c.1900–1875

Akiya
c.1875–1850

Ila-Baandu
c.1850–1830

Zariqum
c.1830–1810

Puzur-Aššur I
c.1810–1785

Šalim-Aḫum
c.1785–1760

Ilu-Šūma
c.1760–1743

Erišum I
1743–1703

Ikunum
1703–1688

Sargon I
1688–1648

Puzur-Aššur II
1648–1640

Migi-Dagān
c.2030–2005

Mari III
Ididiš
c.2005–1945

Šu-Dagān
c.1945–1940

Išma-Dagān
c.1940–1895

Niwār-Mēr
1895–1890

Ištup-Ilum
1890–1879

Iškun-Adad
c.1879–1871

Apil-Kîn II
c.1871–1836

Iddin-Ilum I
c.1836–1831

Ilum-Išar
c.1831–1819

Turam-Dagān
c.1819–1799

Puzur-Eštar
c.1799–1774

Itlal-Erra
1774–1767

ʾAnun-Dagān
1767–1759

Iṣi-Dagān
c.1759–1735

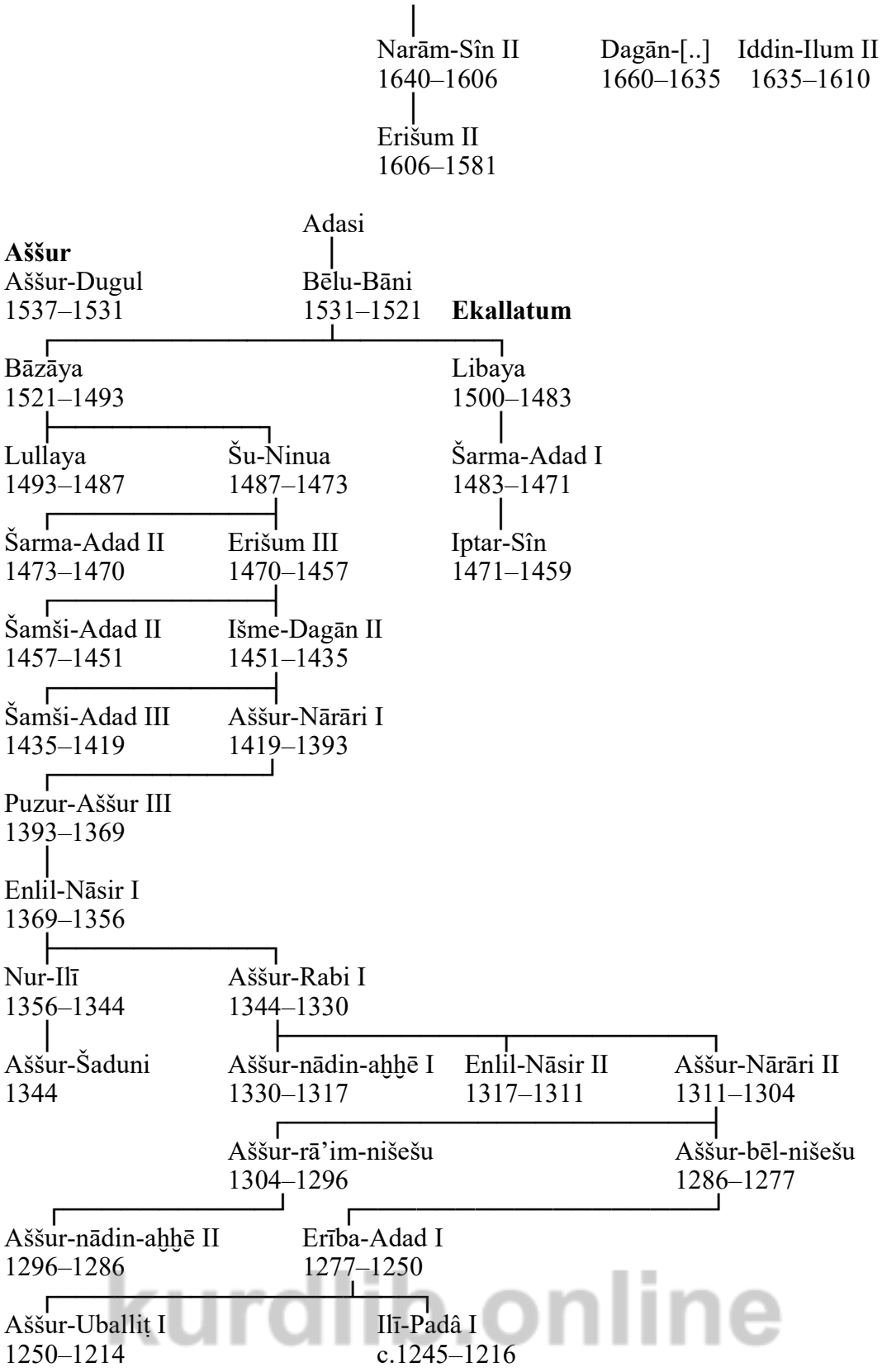
Ennin-Dagān
c.1735–1710

Itūr-[..]
c.1710–1685

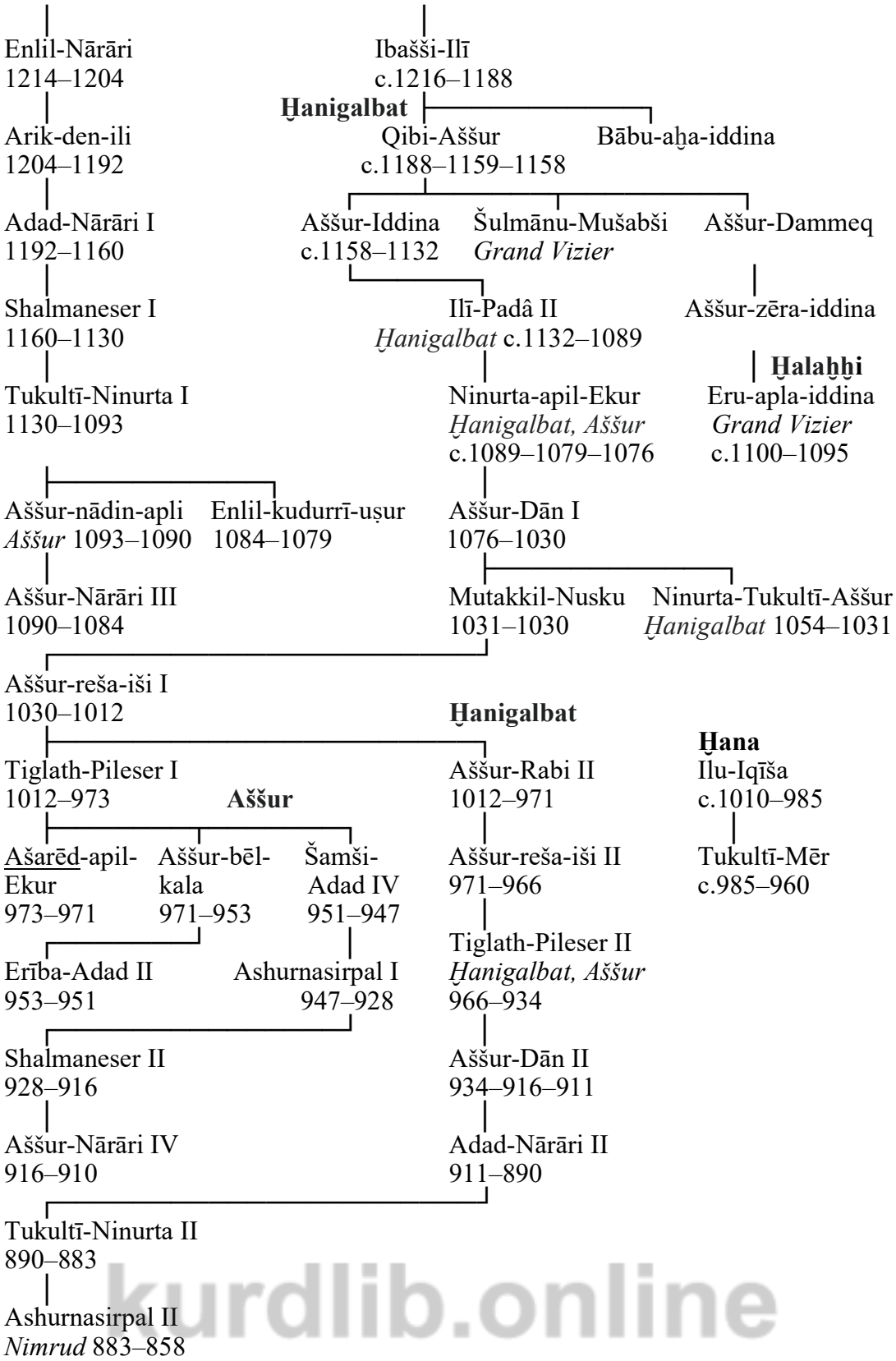
Amer-Nūnu
c.1685–1675

Tir-Dagān
1675–1660

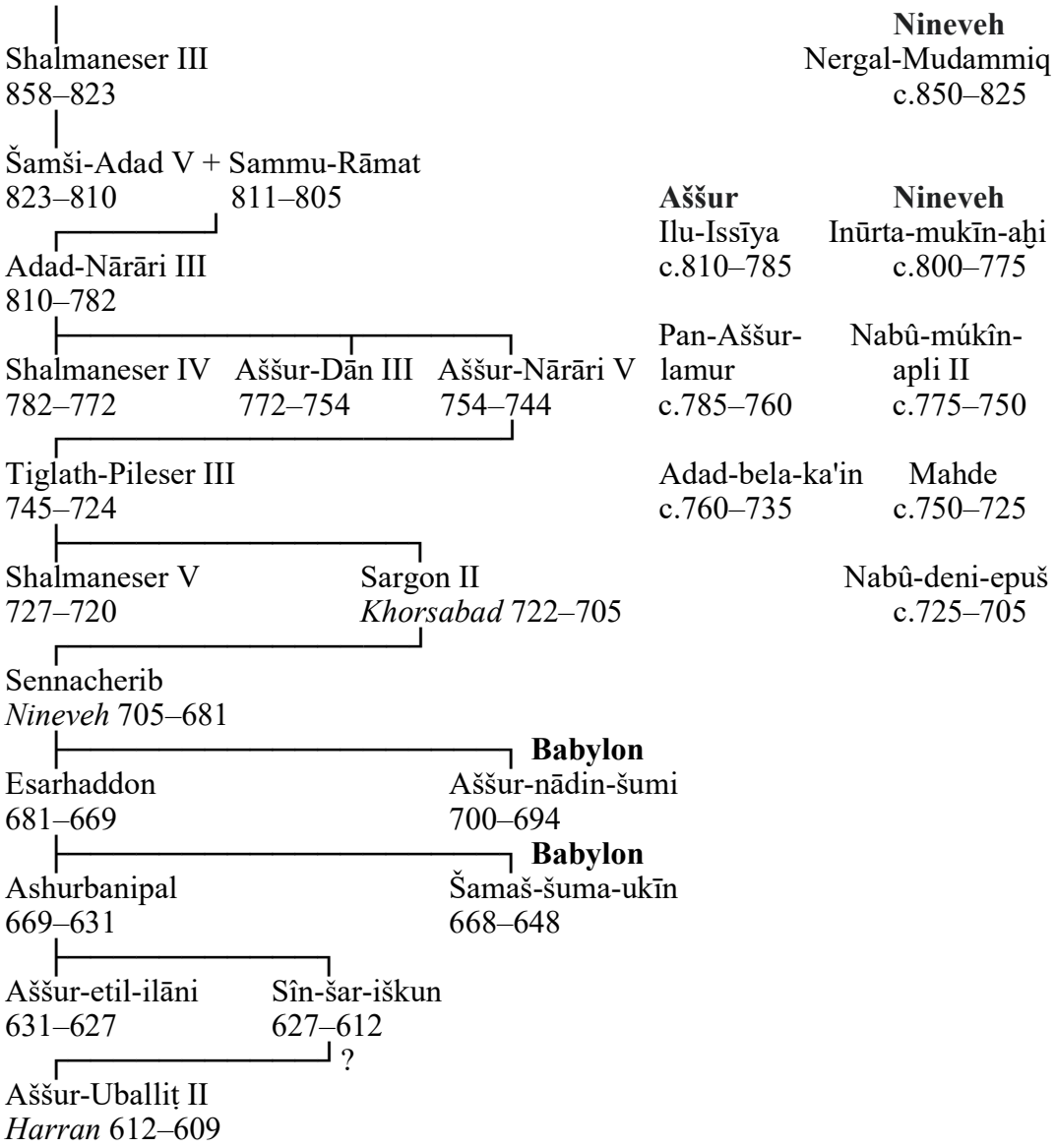
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Furlong's proposal for the necessary adjustment in Assyrian Late Bronze Age chronology was that Aššur-Dān II was a king of Ḫanigalbat, who deposed Shalmaneser II in his penultimate year and introduced his own three immediate ancestors (Aššur-Rabi II, Aššur-reša-iši II and Tiglath-Pileser II) into the *AKL*. Whereas Furlong suggested that Aššur-Rabi II was likely a son of Tiglath-Pileser I, it is proposed in this Universal Chronology that he was instead the brother of Tiglath-Pileser I. Rather than acknowledge Aššur-Rabi II's true father, Aššur-Dān II inserted him in the list as the successor of Aššur-Nārāri IV and son of Ashur-nasirpal I. This enabled Aššur-Dān II to portray all of his ancestors for the past 10

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generations to have been kings of Assyria at Aššur, thereby extending Assyrian chronology for the preceding period by 85 years.[992]

Furlong's account of how Aššur-Dān II became king of Assyria is however unclear, stating only that it was 'an essentially political rather than military *coup d'etát*', and that Aššur-Dān II possibly 'permitted Shalmaneser II and his son to live out their natural lives in some form of privileged custody'. He does however reveal why he chose the penultimate year of Shalmaneser II as the year that control of Assyria occurred, being the year that Shalmaneser II and Aššur-Nārāri IV stopped having recognised eponymy years, as 'a united Assyrian throne should only require one eponym official at any given time'.[993]

In this Universal Chronology it is proposed that it was not Aššur-Dān II (934–931–911 BC) but instead Tiglath-Pileser II (966–938–934 BC) who reunited Assyria and that Shalmaneser II was possibly medically incapacitated at the time given that he died the following year. Given the short lengths of the reigns of his father Shalmaneser II (12 years) and grandfather Ashurnasirpal I (19 years), it is likely that Aššur-Nārāri IV became king at a young age, and that Tiglath-Pileser II therefore became his regent and effectively the principal king of Assyria. As it is unknown why the young Aššur-Nārāri IV has such a short reign it is possible that he was overthrown by Aššur-Dān II, who ruled as regent for three years before becoming sole king of Assyria.

The importance of Dūr-Katlimmu during this period stems back to the time of Shalmaneser I (1160–1130 BC), who defeated Šattuara II of Mitanni at the beginning of his reign. Shalmaneser I then established Dūr-Katlimmu as a new capital for Ḫanigalbat and installed Qibi-Aššur, who was likely already Grand Vizier, as a vassal.[994] Mitanni had for some time been the largest kingdom in the area with suzerainty over Assyria. Aššur-Uballiṭ I had however asserted independence from Mitanni, and by the time of Adad-Nārāri I the roles were reversed, with his inscriptions indicating that he defeated Šattuara I and made him a vassal.[995] Based on eponym dates proposed by Röllig (2008), Alexandrov (2011) dated the defeat of Šattuara II to Year 7 (1173 BC) of Shalmaneser I. Bloch (2009, 2012) however dates eponyms named at Dūr-Katlimmu from Year 4 (1176 BC) of Shalmaneser I onwards.[996]

By establishing his son Aššur-Rabi II on the throne of Ḫanigalbat, Aššur-reša-iši I was re-establishing a position that had been held by his great-grandfather

[992] Furlong, pp.10, 23, 29–34, 64.
[993] Furlong, p.34.
[994] Kolinski, p.12.
[995] Kolinski, pp.9–10.
[996] Alexandrov, p.65; Kolinski, p.10; Bloch, (2009) p.146, (2012) p.44.

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Ninurta-apil-Ekur before becoming king at Aššur. It was also mentioned earlier that there are two reign lengths in the *AKL* for Ninurta-apil-Ekur with the *AKLa* giving 13 years from and both the *AKLb* and *AKLc* giving three years. In this chronology he is deemed to have reigned for 10 years as king of Ḫanigalbat and three years as king of Assyria.

A further point to be made regarding parallel Assyrian dynasties during this period is an acknowledgement of a stela (VA Ass1202, Ass15549, Ass ph4526) found in the row of stelae at Aššur, which appears to read 'Monument of [Aššur-r]eša-iši, king of Assyria, [son of Aš]šur-[R]abi (II), king of Assyria'.[997] While on face value this suggests that both Aššur-Rabi II and Aššur-reša-iši II ruled from Aššur, it is reasonable that if Adad-Nārāri II found it necessary to have the two kings included into the *AKL*, he could have found it equally necessary to have a stela erected for them at Aššur.

Going back now to Old Assyria, Ušpia was recorded by Shalmaneser I as the first king of Aššur who built E-ḫar-sag-kurkura, the temple of Aššur. Then according to Aššur-rā'im-nišešu, Kikkiya was the builder of the original city wall.[998]

A broad timeline for the Old Assyria Period from the time of Puzur-Aššur I onwards can be obtained from inscriptions left by kings who reconstructed the temple of Adad. The first reconstruction was by Erišum I (1743–1703 BC), who recorded his ancestry as being the son of Ilu-Šūma, son of Šalim-Aḫum, son of Puzur-Aššur I, and described the temple as the temple of Adad, the storm and rain god.[999] The temple was reconstructed again by Šamši-Adad I (1581–1548 BC), who described the temple as the temple of Enlil, who was also a storm god, which he says was built by Erišum I, son of Ilu-Šūma.[1000] Luckenbill ascribed the reconstruction to Šamši-Adad III, which cannot be correct as this Šamši-Adad says that he was king of the Universe and that he set up in the country of Laban on the shore of the great sea, both of which could only be true for Šamši-Adad I.

The third reconstruction was by Shalmaneser I (1160–1130 BC), who recorded his ancestry as being the son of Adad-Nārāri I, son of Arik-den-ili.[1001] As mentioned above, Shalmaneser I states that the temple was originally constructed by Ušpia, who is recorded in the *AKL* as the 14th king before Puzur-Aššur I and the first of the list of kings whose father was known. Importantly, he states that the temple was restored by both Erišum I and Šamši-Adad I, and he provided two time periods,

[997] Grayson (1991a), p.126.
[998] Olmstead, p.125
[999] Luckenbill (1912), p.167.
[1000] Luckenbill (1912), pp.167–171.
[1001] Luckenbill (1912), pp.185-193.

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being 159 years between the restorations of Erišum I and Šamši-Adad I, and 580 years, which equates to the period between Erišum I and Shalmaneser I.

The final restoration was by Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC), who said that it had been constructed by Šamši-Adad I and pulled down 60 years earlier by Aššur-Dān I (1076–1030 BC) on account of its ruined state.[1002] He also provided a time period of 641 years, which was the period between Erišum I and Aššur-Dān I. If the 60 years is added to the 641 years a total of 701 years is provided between the reigns of Erišum I (1743–1703 BC) and Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC).

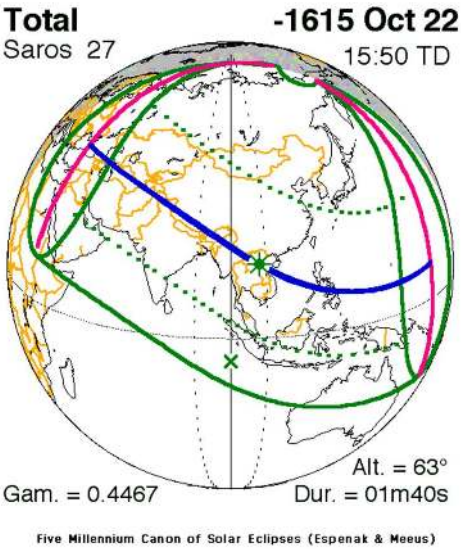


Figure 8 – Solar eclipse of 22 October 1616 BC

The eponymy lists for the Old Assyria Period are considered complete, with the Kültepe Eponym List for instance covering a sequence of 130 years. They state that Šamši-Adad I was born in the eponymy of Dadiya, and that in the following year in the eponymy of Puzur-Istar a solar eclipse occurred. It is proposed that this is the eclipse of 22 October 1616 BC, which dates Šamši-Adad I's birth to about 1617 BC.

With the eponymy of Puzur-Istar firmly dated to 1617 BC, eponymy lists allow the start of the reign of Erišum I to be dated to 1742 BC and enable calculation of reign lengths into the reign of Išme-Dagān I. In the eponymy of Su-belum, Ila-Kabkabu took Suprum, and then in the following year in the eponymy of Sarrum-Adad, Šamši-Adad I entered the house of his father. This suggests that Šamši-Adad I succeeded Ila-Kabkabu in about 1602 BC at the age of 15.

The final notable point is the acknowledgment that when J.J. Finkelstein published the *Genealogy of the Ḥammurāpi Dynasty* (*GHD*), he demonstrated

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[1002] Budge (1902), pp.xii-xiii, 95; Grayson (1991a), p.28.

obvious comparisons between the early parts of the *AKL* and *GHD*, concluding that the early parts of the *AKL* must represent the tribal origins of Šamši-Adad I.[1003] While Finkelstein limited his focus to comparisons between the two lists, equating Ḫanū with Ḫeana, Didânu with Ditânu, and Zu'abu with Zummabu, subsequent commentary concludes that Aminum, who is described in the *AKL* as the father of Sulili, was instead the brother of Šamši-Adad I.[1004] This identification is based on the obviously correct identification of Ila-Kabkabu in the *AKL* with Šamši-Adad I's father Ila-Kabkabu, which is supported by his father Yazkur-El having an Amorite name. It is further agreed with Finkelstein that the next five generations in the *AKL* back to Samanu were ancestors of Šamši-Adad I, so that in all he inserted seven generations of ancestors, as well as the list of 'Rulers who lived in Tents', into the *AKL*. That Aminum was not the father of Sulili is supported by several impressions of a seal which recorded that Sulili's father was instead Dakiki, who is not named on the *AKL*, and the later tradition of there being a disconnect between Sulili and Aminum, with Tukultī-Ninurta I describing Sulili as the founder of a new dynasty.[1005]

The argument of Siddall that the *Mari Eponym Chronicle* (*MEC*) supports the idea that there were two kings with the name Ila-Kabkabu, by recording the events of both kings, does not make sense.[1006] The use of eponyms for the purpose of dating and record keeping was a uniquely Assyrian practice. The *Kultepe Eponym Lists (KEL)* begin with the start of the reign of Erishum I and the suggestion that the scribes at Mari would date the events of the first Ila-Kabkabu and Aminum of Aššur using the eponym system, and then abandon the system for about 300 years before using it again to record the events of Šamši-Adad I, the son of the second Ila-Kabkabu, is illogical. The reality is that the eponym dating system was only used at Mari during the reign of Šamši-Adad I. The fact that the events in the *MEC* use an Assyrian dating system to focus only on the family of Ila-Kabkabu and record events not only prior to Šamši-Adad I capturing Mari, but also prior to his capture of Aššur, indicates Šamši-Adad I's strong intent to entwine his family history with the traditions of Assyria. This supports the notion that he also inserted his family history into the *AKL*.

While the *AKL* records Aminum as the son of Ila-Kabkabu, the *MEC* reveals that he died the year after Šamši-Adad I was born and 14 years before the death of Ila-Kabkabu, and that he led military campaigns for 16 years prior to his death. He was therefore clearly his father's intended heir, which explains why Šamši-Adad I was

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[1003] J.J. Finkelstein, pp.98–99.
[1004] Yuhong & Dalley, p.164.
[1005] Grayson (1987), p.13; Lambert, p.91
[1006] Siddall, pp.373–375.

so young when he succeeded his father. The two known cylinder seals belonging to servants of Aminum make no suggestion that he was a king during his lifetime.

Babylonia

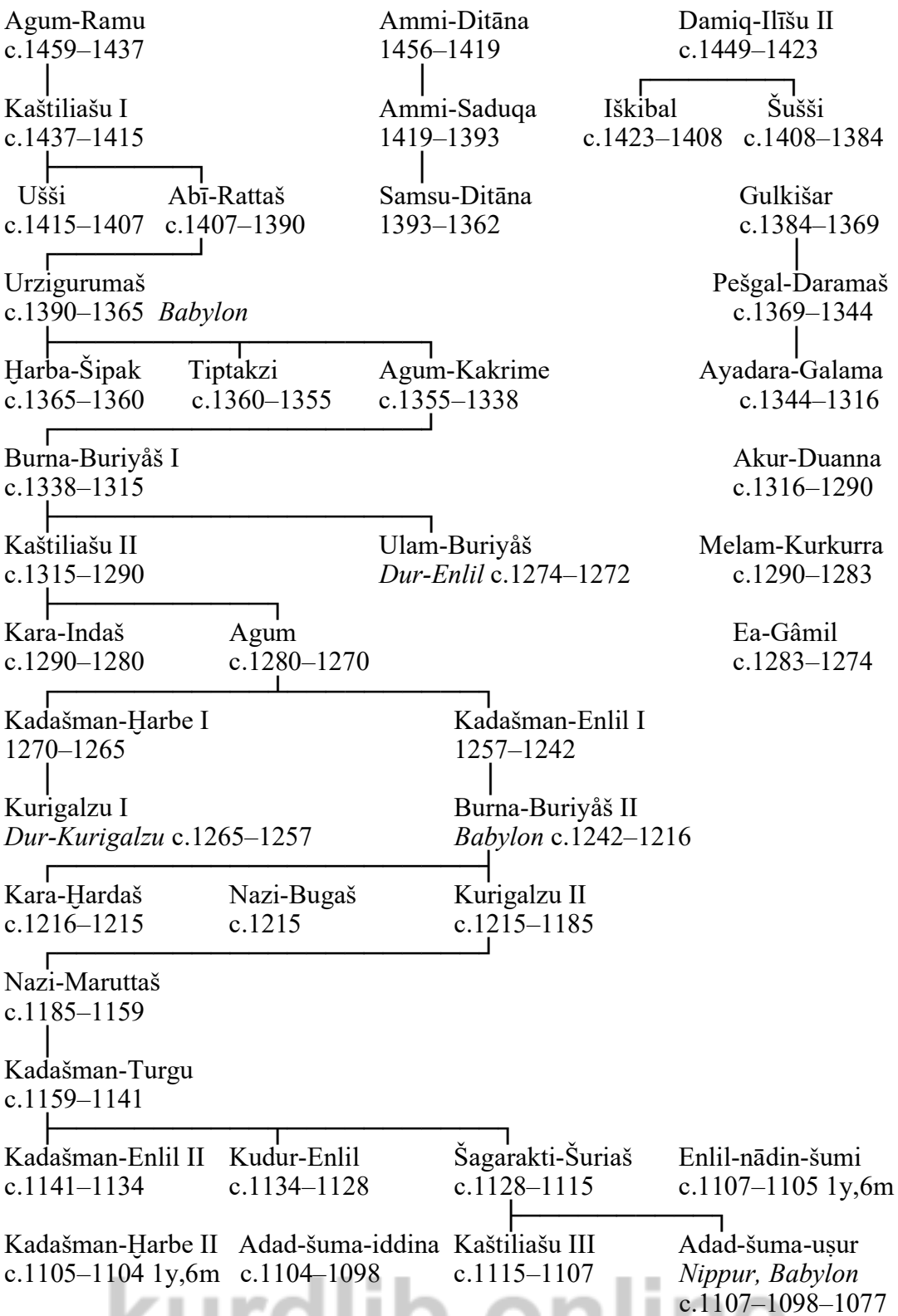
With the necessary adjustments to the chronology of Assyria resolved, the next step in confirming the Universal Chronology is to demonstrate how the chronology of Babylonia can also be lowered to fit with the Universal Chronology of Egypt and Assyria.

First, there are several Babylonian kings whose exact reign lengths are uncertain. Furthermore, the region of Southern Mesopotamia had a long history of multiple kingships with numerous cities having kingship at the same time, which allows for contemporary kingships in the Middle Babylonian Period, just as there had been in the Early Babylonian and Sumerian Periods. Once again, the easiest way to describe the solution to reducing Babylonian Chronology is to first present the solution as a genealogical table, and then explain the main changes as compared to the Conventional Chronology.

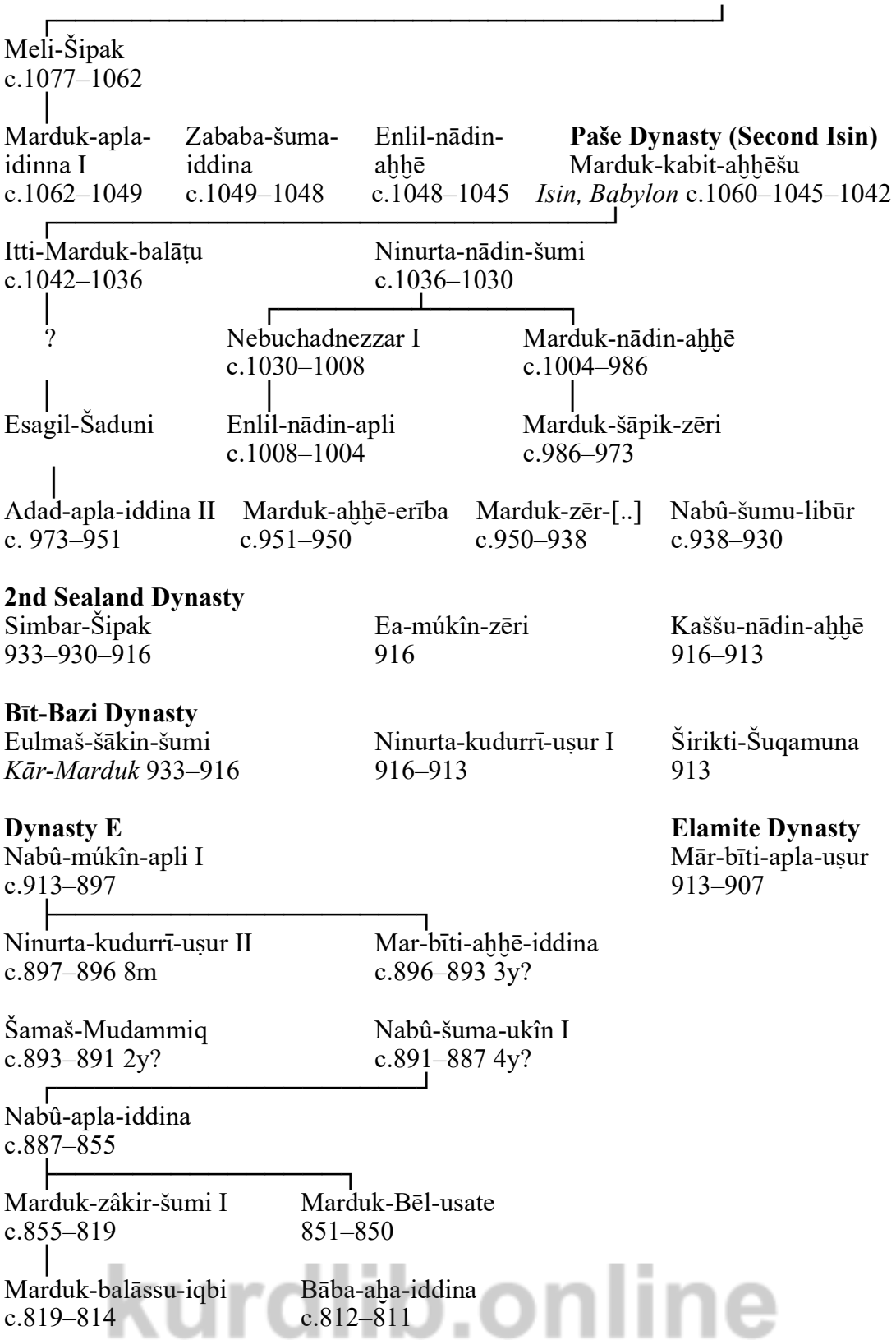
Table 46 – Kings of Babylonia

	Babylon Sūmû-la-El 1653–1617	
	Sābium 1617–1603	
	Apil-Sîn 1603–1585	
	Sîn-Muballiṭ 1585–1565	
Kassites		
Malab-Ḫarbe c.1535–1510	Ḫammurāpi I 1565–1522	
		1st Sealand Dynasty Ilum-ma-ilī *Dur-Enlil* c.1535–1484
Ḫašmar-Galšu c.1510–1485	Šamšu-Iluna 1522–1484	
Gandaš c.1485–1459	Abī-Ešuḫ 1484–1456	Itti-ili-nībī c.1484–1449

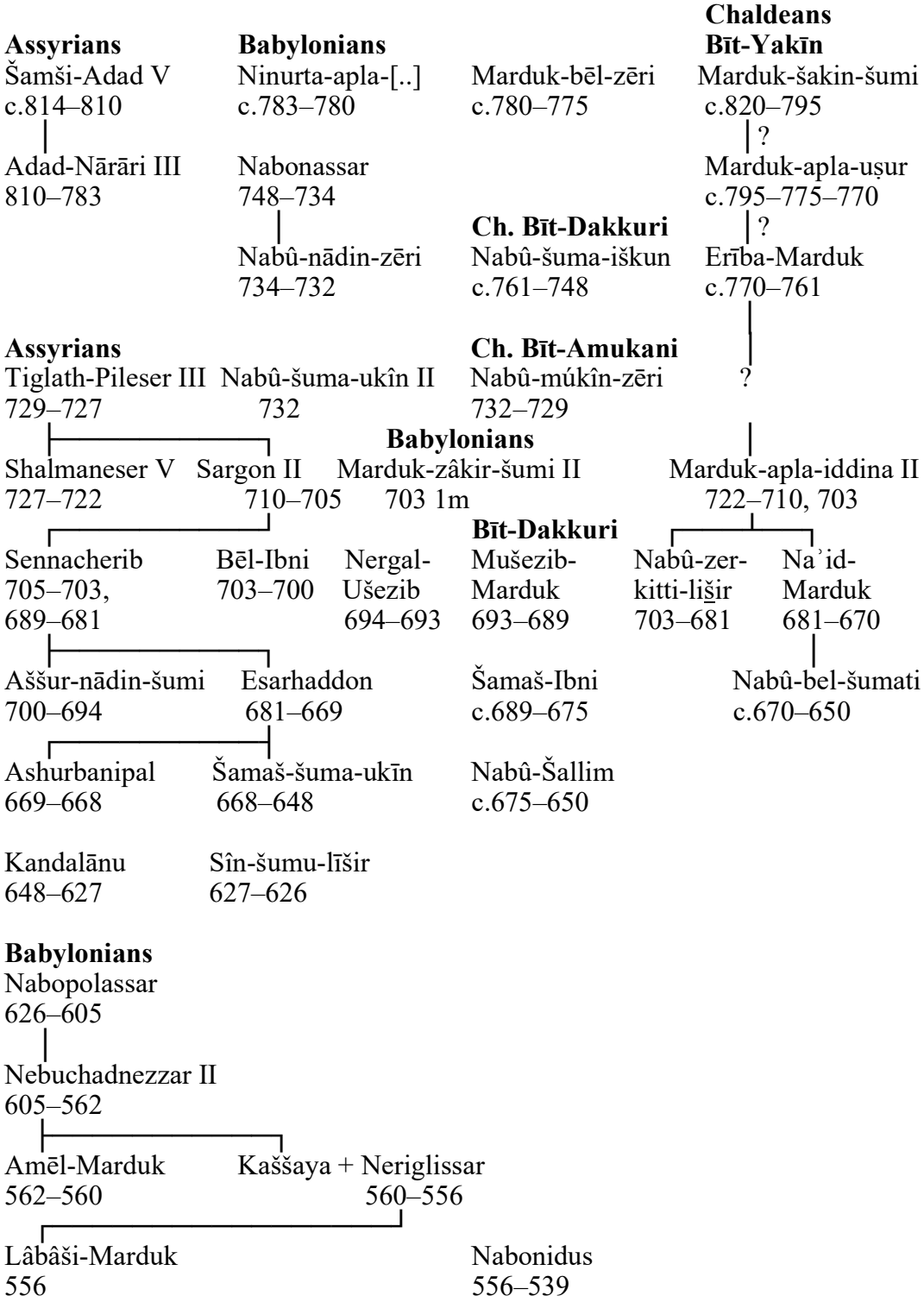
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Having dated the chronology of both the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, a return to the previous mentioned synchronisms demonstrates that the new dates fit with the known contacts as follows:

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- Aššur-Uballiṭ I (1250–1214 BC) and Burna-Buriyåš II (1242–1216 BC) were contemporary with Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC).
- Aššur-Uballiṭ I (1250–1214 BC) was the grandfather of Kara-Ḫardaš (1216–1215 BC).
- Aššur-Uballiṭ I (1250–1214 BC) avenged the death of Kara-Ḫardaš by killing Nazi-Bugaš (1215 BC) and installing Kurigalzu II (1215–1185 BC) on the throne.
- Enlil-Nārāri (1214–1204 BC) defeated Kurigalzu II (1215–1185 BC).
- Adad-Nārāri I (1192–1160 BC) was defeated by Kurigalzu II (1215–1185 BC).
- Adad-Nārāri I (1213–1181 BC) defeated Nazi-Maruttaš (1185–1159 BC).
- Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur (1084–1079 BC) was defeated by Adad-šuma-uṣur (1107–1098–1077 BC).
- Aššur-Dān I (1076–1030 BC) invaded Babylonia during the reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina (1049–1048 BC).
- Aššur-reša-iši I (1030–1012 BC) defeated Nebuchadnezzar I (1030–1008 BC).
- Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC) defeated Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē (1004–986 BC).
- Aššur-bēl-kala (971–953 BC) was king when Marduk-šāpik-zēri (986–973 BC) died and appointed Adad-apla-iddina II (973–951 BC) as king.
- Adad-Nārāri II (911–890 BC) defeated Šamaš-Mudammiq (893–891 BC).
- Adad-Nārāri II (911–890 BC) defeated Nabû-šuma-ukīn I (891–887 BC).
- Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–883 BC) was king at the time of Nabû-šuma-ukīn I (891–887 BC).
- Ashurnasirpal II (884–858 BC) was king at the time of Nabû-apla-iddina (887–855 BC).
- Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) was king when Nabû-apla-iddina died (887–855 BC).
- Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) supported Marduk-zâkir-šumi I (855–819 BC) against his brother.

The starting point for the above chronology for Babylon is the fixing of the reign of Samsu-Ditāna, who was defeated by the Hittite king Muršili I. Samsu-Ditāna was the successor and likely son of Ammi-Saduqa, from whose reign we have the *Venus Tablet of Ammi-Saduqa* (*Enuma Anu Enlil* Tablet 63), which records heliacal risings and settings of Venus over a period of 21 years. The tablet has been used to provide numerous proposed dates for the start of the reign of Ammi-Saduqa, including 1758 BC, 1702 BC, 1646/1638 BC and 1582 BC, with the popular dates being 1646 BC

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or 1582 BC. These however are not the only possible dates, with Mitchell arguing that the most likely solutions provided by the tablet are 1702 BC, 1526 BC, 1483 BC and 1419 BC, with 1419 BC being the most accurate, with only one bad miss.[1007]

When fixing a date for Ammi-Saduqa consideration must also be given to identifying the eclipses from the reign of Samsu-Ditāna (*Enuma Anu Enlil* Tablet 20 [EAE 20]), which referred to a lunar eclipse on 14 Šabaṭu, followed two weeks later by a solar eclipse on 28 Šabaṭu, and was described as a portend to the destruction of Babylon. Such an occurrence is extremely rare with only four solutions during the period being discussed, in 1713 BC, 1659 BC, 1532 BC and 1362 BC, which have separations of 45, 43, 50 and 57 years to the potential Ammi-Saduqa years 1758 BC, 1702 BC, 1582 BC and 1419 BC.[1008]

Given that even the Conventional Chronology cannot support the high dates of 1758 or 1702 BC, and the low separations of 45 and 43 years to the EAE 20 potential Babylon destruction dates seem highly improbable, these dates should be dismissed, and consideration given only to the 1582 BC and 1419 BC dates for Ammi-Saduqa. Mitchell notes that while the *Second International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology* favoured the 1582 BC date, he states that it 'bears the dubious distinction of possessing 12 near misses and seven bad misses'.[1009] He compares this to the 1419 BC date having only six near misses and one bad miss.

The 1582 BC date for Ammi-Saduqa was clearly favoured at the *Second International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology* because it fitted comfortably with the Conventional Chronology, even though the 1419 BC date fits the data more accurately. Compared to 1582 BC, the 1419 BC date is a reduction of 163 years for both Babylon and the Hittites, while in the Universal Chronology the start of the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period has been reduced by about 120 years. This difference of 43 years is easily accounted for.

While the *BKLb* provides reign lengths for all the Amorite kings of Babylon, modern scholarship has found on the basis of year-names and date lists that the *BKLb* dates are in the main wrong. While there are several date lists for the dynasty, the principal ones noted by Beaulieu are:[1010]

- Date List A, compiled in the sixteenth year of Ammi-Saduqa, which covers the period from Sūmû-Abum to the end of the reign of Samsu-Iluna
- Date List B, which covers the period from Ḫammurāpi I to Year 10 of Ammi-Saduqa

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[1007] W.A. Mitchell, pp.12, 18.
[1008] W.A. Mitchell, p.17; Huber (1999), p.62.
[1009] Mitchel, p.18.
[1010] Beaulieu (2018), p.68

- Date List F, which covers the period from Hammurabi I to Year 17 of Ammi-Saduqa.

The *BKLb* provides Samsu-Ditāna with a reign of 31 years, which is supported by Feigin, who published the date lists for Samsu-Ditāna which provided at least 26 years but was unfinished and appears from spacing to have been intended to show between 28 and 32 year-names, with likely 31 years.[1011] The reign length for Ammi-Saduqa however is not so clear. The *BKLb* provides him a reign length of 21 years, which when added to the 31 years for Samsu-Ditāna is 52 years, which is a typical average of 26 years over two generations and similar to the 25 years for each of the preceding reigns.

It is notable that none of the above-mentioned eclipse solutions had a 52-years separation to a potential start date for the reign of Ammi-Saduqa, with the two closest being 50 years and 57 years. The EAE 20 eclipse is not used in other chronologies to date the fall of Babylon, noting that there is no clear match with both the proposed reign lengths of Ammi-Saduqa and Samsu-Ditāna, and dates derived from the *Venus Tablet of Ammi-Saduqa.* This is despite EAE 20 being very clear that it foretold the destruction of Babylon, and there being only one historical event to which it could be referring. EAE 20 however cannot be ignored in an accurate chronology which seeks to include all known data.

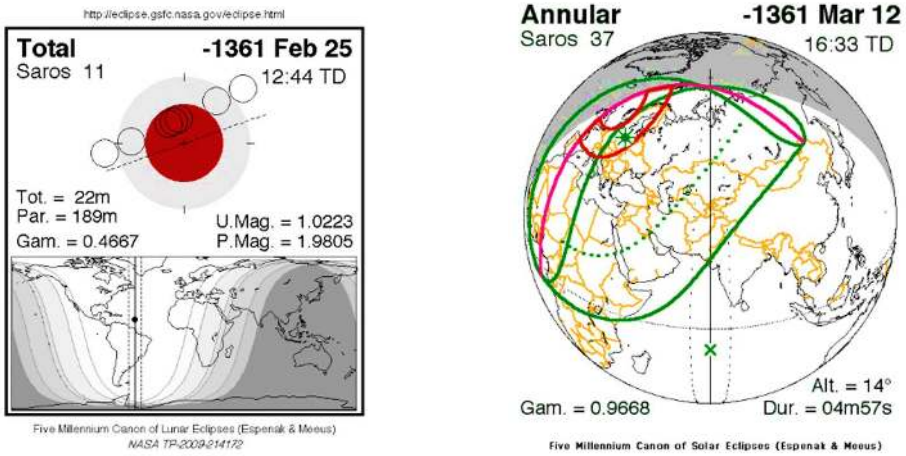


Figure 9 – Lunar eclipse of 25 February 1362 BC and Solar eclipse of 12 March 1362 BC

Based on Date List F it is evident that Ammi-Saduqa reigned for at least 17 years. While a combined reign length of 48 (17 + 31) years is very close to the 50 years necessary for the 1582 BC date, it does not work in this chronology. It is instead

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[1011] Feigin, p.159.

suggested with the date lists ending at Year 17 it is not possible to determine the length of the reign of Ammi-Saduqa and that based on the need to have a combined reign length of 57 years, he likely reigned for 26 years, which enables the destruction of Babylon to be dated to 1362 BC.

Working back from Samsu-Ditāna, dates are provided for the 1st Babylonian (Amorite) Dynasty. This provides dates for Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) which when compared to other floating chronologies is a reduction of 277 years compared to the High Chronology, 221 years compared to the commonly used Middle Chronology, 213 years compared to the Middle-low Chronology, 157 years compared to what is normally referred to as the Mesopotamian Low Chronology, and 125 years less than the 'Ultra-low' Chronology. While it is acknowledged that the Middle Chronology matches the inscription of Nabonidus (556–539 BC) which states that the Kassite king Šagarakti-Šuriaš (1128–1115 BC) had reigned 800 years before his time, Nabonidus clearly didn't account for contemporary kingships, having also stated that Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2021–1968 BC) had reigned 3200 years before his time.[1012] The same applies for Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC), who recorded on the Šagarakti-Šuriaš seal that Šagarakti-Šuriaš had been 600 years before his time (note that there was a 150 years separation, not 200 years, between Sennacherib and Nabonidus).[1013] It is also acknowledged that the proposed length of the Kassite Dynasty of 473 years is significantly less than the 576 years nine months stated in the *Babylonian King List A*, although the number of kings at 36 is the same.

It then follows that the 2nd Babylonian (First Sealand) Dynasty, which ruled from Dur-Enlil, can be dated since the first king of that dynasty, Ilum-ma-ilī (1535–1484 BC), is known from the *Chronicle of Early Kings* to have fought against both Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) and his son Abī-Ešuḫ (1484–1456 BC).

An additional link between the two dynasties is provided in *The Royal Epic of Gulkišar*, in which Gulkišar (1384–1369 BC) describes his enmity for Samsu-Ditāna. The end of this dynasty is dated to 1274 BC, in which year it is proposed that the Kassite king Ulam-Buriyåš (1274–1272 BC) defeated Ea-Gâmil (1283–1274 BC) and became king of Sealand. It is notable that four of the reign lengths provided in the king lists for this dynasty seem unusually long and reduced reigns are proposed as follows – Ilum-ma-ilī from 60 to 51 years (having regard to the *Babylonian King List A*)[1014], Itti-ili-nībī from 56 to 26 years, Gulkišar from 55 to 15 years and Pešgal-Daramaš from 50 to 25 years.

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[1012] Beaulieu (1989), p.140.
[1013] Brinkman (1976), pp.8–9.
[1014] Sayce, p.15

There are several Synchronisms between the Kassite Dynasty and Assyria, many of which have been mentioned above, two or which are most critical. The first is that Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria (1250–1214 BC) was the grandfather of Kara-Ḫardaš of Babylon (1216–1215 BC), whose death he avenged by killing Nazi-Bugaš of Babylon (1215 BC) and placing Kurigalzu II (1215–1185 BC), the son of Burna-Buriyåš II (1242–1216 BC), on his father's throne. The second is that Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC) defeated Kaštiliašu III of Babylon (1115–1107 BC) and ruled Babylon via governors. While *Chronicle P* states that he controlled Kardunias for seven years, it is proposed that the controlled it for six full years and died in his seventh year of control.

The first proposed significant reduction to the chronology for Babylon is proposed for the start of the Paše (2nd Isin) Dynasty, which in the Conventional Chronology immediately succeeds the Kassite Dynasty. There is no evidence however that Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu (1060–1045–1042 BC) , who was king of Isin and the first king of the Paše Dynasty, had any control at Babylon.

It is notable that the start of his reign coincided with the turmoil of the collapse of the Late Bronze Age, including the destruction of the Hittite Empire. That it was normal for there to be kingship in Lower Sumer at the same time as kingship at Babylon is confirmed by the later annals of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who recorded that during the time of Marduk-zākir-šumi of Babylon he defeated the rebel Marduk-bē1-usāte and then marched to Babylon and then went down to Chaldea, where he received tribute from the kings of Chaldea as far as the sea and imposed his might upon the Sealand.[1015]

It is therefore proposed that for most of his reign he ruled Isin and the lower parts of Sumer and was contemporary with Marduk-apla-iddina I (1062–1049 BC), Zababa-šuma-iddina (1049–1048 BC) and Enlil-nādin-aḫḫē (1048–1045 BC) of Babylon. While Wiseman suggested that Itti-Marduk-balātu was the first ruler of the Paše Dynasty to rule from Babylon if is proposed that Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu gained control of the city in in 1045 BC.[1016]

The next key consideration is that the *Religious Chronicle* also records on column two at line ii.14 that 'on the twenty-sixth of the month Simanu, in the seventh year, day turned to night and there was a fire in the sky.' This is clearly a reference to an eclipse at the end of Simanu, which is the same of the Jewish month Sivan and was in May–June. The reference at ii.12 to the month before Simanu being Abu is clearly a mistake for Aru.

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[1015] Grayson (1996), p.138.
[1016] Wiseman, p.448

While the name of the king has been lost, subsequent lines indicate that this king ruled until at least his Year 18 (ln.ii.20). The king mentioned at line i.16 prior to the eclipse is Nabû-šumu-libur, the last king of the Paše Dynasty, who cannot be the king of the eclipse as the *BKLa* gives him a reign of eight years. The king mentioned after the eclipse at line iii.6 is Nabû-múkîn-apli I, the first king of Dynasty E, who also cannot be the king of the eclipse as the line refers to his Year 8 well after the Year 18 of the king of the eclipse. This means that the king of the eclipse must be Simbar-Šipak, the founder of the 2nd Sealand Dynasty.

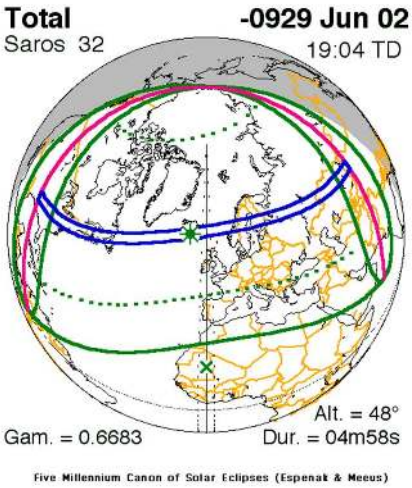


Figure 10 – Solar eclipse of 2 June 930 BC

It is proposed that this eclipse occurred on 2 June 930 BC, which provides fixed dates for Simbar-Šipak of 933–930–916 BC. These dates for Simbar-Šipak require an overlap of four years of his reign with Nabû-šumu-libūr (938–930 BC) before becoming king of Babylon in 930 BC.

It is further proposed that the Bīt-Bazi Dynasty did not rule at Babylon but instead only at Kar-Marduk, and that the Elamite Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur succeeded Shirikti-Shuqamuna of the Bīt-Bazi Dynasty. This results in the Babylonian Dynasty E succeeding the 2nd Sealand Dynasty as kings at Babylon.

Having already re-dated considerable time periods in Mesopotamia to fit with the Universal Chronology of Egypt and Greece, I must now go back and address two records that I have so far ignored. The first is a record which was published with limited distribution as part of a series of inscriptions from Assyria (likely only sold at the British Museum if at all) by Rawlinson in 1870 as *The Inscription of Sennacherib at Bavian*, and was without translations.[1017] The inscription is quite

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[1017] Rawlinson, pp.6, 13 (pl.14, ln.50).

long and the record is a reconstruction of an inscription on the Rock of Bavian, north-east of Mosul in Iraq, created with the assistance of three tablets which all bore the same legend. It was referred to by Budge and a translation is provided by Luckenbill based on the Rawlinson reconstruction.[1018] The inscription is important because in it Sennacherib says that when he captured Nergal-Ušezib of Babylon in 693 BC he brought back the gods Adad and Šala of the city of Ekallatum, which Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē of Babylon (1004–986 BC) had taken in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC), 418 years earlier. The gods were taken early in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, and if the date and years are added then the year 1111 BC is arrived at.

While the Rawlinson reconstruction clearly provided the period of 418 years:  , there is sufficient justification to question this reading given the mountain of evidence provided for the Universal Chronology and the mountain of issues with the Conventional Chronology. While it is possible that Rawlinson saw the rock carving, since he spent time in both Persia and Iraq, this is unlikely, as he does not confirm a sighting and states only that he based the reconstruction on tablet copies. Given that the original inscription was on the difficult medium of rock and not clay, it is easy to imagine that the stems of an original intended carving of 300:  got close to each other and was later read as 400:  . If the period was 318 years it would refer to 1011 BC, which fits with the early years of both Tiglath-Pileser I and Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē.

The second record is a boundary stone (kudurru) that records the outcome of an inquiry into a boundary dispute during the reign of Enlil-nādin-apli, who is mentioned twice on the kudurri.[1019] The kudurru upheld a claim based on the actions of the First Sealand king Gulkišar (1384–1366 BC) and contains the statement that 696 years had elapsed between Gulkišar and Nebuchadnezzar I (1030–1008 BC), who have a maximum date separation of about 450 years in the Conventional Chronology and is reduced to about 380 years in this Universal Chronology. A separation of 696 years is not achievable in any robust chronology and is also rejected in this Universal Chronology.

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[1018] Budge (1902), p.xii; Luckenbill (1927), pp.148–153.
[1019] Hinke, pp.28–29; Ungnad, p.96.

5.1 Semites (East)

5.1.1 Kiš

Kiš I Period

The exaggerated reign lengths in the *SKL* for the kings of this dynasty have been reduced to average reign lengths of 20 years for the earliest kings and then 25 years once filiations start to become known.

Ĝišur – Jushur (c.2920–2900 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the first king of Kiš. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Weneg (2970–2953 BC), who was the 4th king of the 2nd Dynasty of Egypt.

Kullassina-Bēl (c.2900–2880 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Nan-ĝiš-lišma (c.2880–2860 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

En-taraḫ-ana (c.2860–2840 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Bābum (c.2840–2820 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Pūannum (c.2820–2800 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Djoser (2848–2820 BC), the first king of the 3rd Dynasty of Egypt.

Kalibum (c.2800–2780 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Kalūmum (c.2780–2760 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Zuqāqīp (c.2760–2740 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Sneferu (2764–2733 BC), the first king of the 4th Dynasty of Egypt.

Adapa (c.2740–2715 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

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Mašda (c.2715–2690 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Adapa, who he succeeded as king of Kiš.

Arwi'um (c.2690–2665 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Mašda, who he succeeded as king of Kiš.

Etana (c.2665–2640 BC) – the shepherd, is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš. He is also named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*.[1020]

Balīḫu (c.2640–2615 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and on the *SKL* as the son of Etana, who he succeeded as king of Kiš. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Userkaf (2641–2634 BC), the first king of the 5th Dynasty of Egypt.

Enme-Nuna (c.2615–2590 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

Melam-Kiš (c.2590–2580 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and on the *SKL* as the son of En-me-nuna, who he succeeded as king of Kiš.

Barsal-Nuna (c.2580–2565 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of En-me-nuna and successor of his brother Melam-Kiš.

Samug (c.2565–2540 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Barsal-Nuna, who he succeeded as king of Kiš.

Tiaro (c.2540–2515 BC) –is named on the *SKL* as the son of Samug, who he succeeded as king of Kiš.

Ilkû (c.2515–2490 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Teti II (2499–2489 BC), the first king of the 6th Dynasty of Egypt.

Ilta-Śadûm (c.2490–2465 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš.

En-Meparagesi (c.2465–2440 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as having defeated Elam, and on the *Tummal Chronicle* as having built the Tummal Temple of Enlil at Nippur. He is attested on two alabaster vessel fragments.[1021]

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[1020] Frahm (2018), p.278.
[1021] Frayne (2008), pp.55–57; Marchesi (2015), pp.152–153.

Aga (c.2440–2415 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of En-Meparagesi, who he succeeded as king of Kiš. The *Tummal Chronicle* states that he did work on the Tummal Temple of Enlil at Nippur. He is described as having had hegemony over all of Kienĝir (Sumer). The poem *Gilgameš and Aga* refers to his defeat by Gilgameš of Uruk (2436–2410 BC). His defeat by Gilgameš is reflected in the *SKL* by its description of the kingship of Kienĝir then passing to Eanna/Uruk. He was likely subordinate to Gilgameš during the final years of his reign.

Kiš II Period

The exaggerated reign lengths in the *SKLL* for this Period have been divided by 10. The final two kings are not on the *SKL* and have been provided with average reign lengths of 25 years.

Su-Suda (c.2415–2394 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 201 years. It is proposed that he reigned for about 21 years.

Dadase (c.2394–2386 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 81 years. It is proposed that he reigned for eight years.

Munuš-Adgal (c.2386–2350 BC) – is called Mamagal on the *SKL*. He is attested on a vessel fragment from Agrab as king of Kiš.[1022] The *SKL* gives him a reign of 360 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 36 years.

Kalbum (c.2350–2331 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Munuš-Adgal, who he succeeded as king of Kiš, with a reign of 195 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 19 years.

Tuge (c.2331–2295 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 360 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 36 years.

Men-Nuna (c.2295–2277 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Tuge, who he succeeded as king of Kiš, with a reign of 180 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 18 years.

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[1022] Marchesi (2015), p.153.

Lugal-Utu (c.2277–2241 BC) – is named Lugal-Mu on the *SKLa&l* as the successor of Men-Nuna as king of Kiš. He is attested at both Kiš and Mari.[1023] Most versions of the SKL give him a reign of 360 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 36 years.

Enbi-Ištar (c.2241–2212 BC) – is named on the *SKLa&l* as the successor of Lugal-Utu as king of Kiš. On some versions of the *SKL* he is named Ibi-Ištar. He was defeated and captured by En-šakuš-ana of Uruk (c.2220–2195 BC) who took and dedicated the city's statues, precious metals, lapis lazuli, timber and treasure to the god Enlil at Nippur. The *SKL* gives him a reign of 290 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 29 years.[1024]

Kiš III Period

Kubaba – is named on the *SKL* as queen of Kiš with a reign of 100 years, which is about the time period between the reigns of Enbi-Ištar and Puzur-Sîn I. She is also mentioned in the *Weidner Chronicle* as a tavern-keeper who was contemporary with Puzur-Niraḫ of Akšak (c.2137–2117 BC), before obtaining sovereignty over the whole world. Kubaba was however actually a goddess. Like Dumuzid the shepherd at Bad-Tibira and Dumuzid the fisherman at Uruk, she is not believed to have been a ruler who was deified, and therefore is not considered to have been an actual ruler. This is supported not only by her exaggerated reign length in a section of the *SKL* which otherwise appears to provide genuine reign lengths, by also by the fact that she is separated in the list from Puzur-Sîn I, who was supposedly her son.

Puzur-Sîn I (c.2117–2092 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of the goddess Kubaba and king of Kiš. It is proposed that it was he, and not Kubaba, who returned kingship to Kiš at the end of the reign of Puzur-Niraḫ of Akšak (c.2137–2117 BC). The SKL gives him a reign of 25 years.

Ur-Zababa (c.2092–2086 BC) – Succeeded his father Puzur-Sîn I as king of Kiš. He is recorded in the *Weidner Chronicle* and the *Sumerian Sargon Legend* as being contemporary with Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC) and Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (c.2089–2064 BC). It is proposed that he was the father of Uškùn-Nūnu, who married Kešdut, the daughter of Išar-Dāmu of Ebla (2089–2054 BC).[1025] The *SKLn&p* give him a reign of six years.

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[1023] Frayne (2008), pp.61–62; Marchesi (2015), p.153.
[1024] Rowton, p.223; Frayne (2008), p.429–432.
[1025] Frayne (2008), p.52; Archi & Biga, p.32.

Zimudar (c.2086–2056 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 30 years.

Usi-Watar (c.2056–2049 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of seven years.

Eštar-Muti (c.2049–2038 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 11 years.

Išme-Šamaš (c.2038–2027 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of 11 years.

Šū-Ilišu I (c.2027–2012 BC) – is named on *SKLi* as king of Kiš with a reign of 15 years.[1026]

Nanniya (c.2012–2005 BC) – the stonecutter, is named on the *SKL* as king of Kiš with a reign of seven years.

Ipḫur-Kīši (c.2005 BC) – is noted on a tablet fragment and on versions of *The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin* as having been elected king of Kiš. He was allies with Lugal-Ane of Ur (2010–1985 BC) and Amar-Gi̱rida of Uruk (2005–1980 BC) and they were defeated by Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1027]

Kiš IV Period

Utuk – Uḫub (c.1885–1860 BC) – is attested on a stone vessel fragment from Nippur as *ensi* (governor) of Kiš.[1028] It is proposed that he was subordinate to Ur.

Lugal-[..] (c.1860–1835 BC) – is attested as governor of Kiš on an inscription from Ur.[1029]

Ugula (1835–1809 BC) – was governor of Kiš in Years 3 and 4 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1030]

[1026] Glassner, p.153.
[1027] Jacobsen (1798), pp. (Westernholz, pp.224–243.
[1028] Frayne (2008), p.63.
[1029] Hallo, pp.38–39.
[1030] Frayne (1997), p.274.

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Aḫub-Bāni (1809–1785 BC) – was governor of Kiš in Year 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1031]

Šu-Enlil (c.1785–1760 BC) – was governor of Kiš who changed his allegiance from Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC) to Išbi-Erra of Isin (1792–1759 BC).[1032]

5.1.2 Ebla

The first 29 kings of Ebla I are known from the *Ebla King Lis*t (EKL) without details of contacts with any other city.[1033] They have been provided with average reign lengths of 20 years in keeping with the average reign length of the kings of Egypt as demonstrated at Table 24.

Ebla I

Sakùne (c.2710–2690) – is named on the *EKL*. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Djedefre of Egypt (c.2710–2699 BC), the 3rd king of the 4th Dynasty.

Š[..]-x-[..] (c.2690–2670 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Sakùne.

La-Dau (c.2670–2650 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Š[..]-x-[..].

Abùgar (c.2650–2630 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after La-Dau.

Birbílanu (c.2630–2610 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Abùgar.

Dumudar (c.2610–2590 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Birbílanu.

Ib-La (c.2590–2570 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Dumudar.

Kulbanu (c.2570–2550 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Ib-La.

Aš-Sanu (c.2550–2530 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Kulbanu.

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[1031] Frayne (1997), p.275.
[1032] Frayne (1990), p.653; Michalowski (2011), pp.435, 441.
[1033] Archi (2001), p.13; Stieglitz, p.219.

[Sa]-Miù (c.2530–2510 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Aš-Sanu.

Zialu (c.2510–2490 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after [Sa]-Miù.

En-Manu (c.2490–2470 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Zialu.

Na-Manu (c.2470–2450 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after En-Manu.

Da-[..] (c. 2450–2430 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Na-Manu.

Šagisu (c.2430–2410 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Da-[..].

Danenu (c.2410–2390 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Sagisu.

Ibíni-Līm (c.2390–2370 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Danenu.

Išrud-Dāmu (c. 2370–2350 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Ibíni-Līm.

Isidu (c.2350–2330 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Išrud-Dāmu.

Išrud-Ḫalab (c.2330–2310 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Isidu.

Iksud (c.2310–2290 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Išrud-Ḫalab.

Talda-Līm (c.2290–2270 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Iksud.

Abur-Līm (c.2270–2250 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Talda-Līm.

Agur-Līm (c.2250–2230 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Abur-Līm.

Ibí-Dāmu I (c.2230–2210 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Agur-Līm.

Baga-Dāmu (c.2210–2190 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Ibí-Dāmu I.

Enàr-Dāmu (c.2190–2170 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Baga-Dāmu.

Išar-Malik (c.2170–2150 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Enàr-Dāmu.

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[Kùn]-Dāmu (c.2150–2125 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Išar-Malik. He was the earliest king named in the Ebla archives.[1034]

Adub-Dāmu (c.2125–2122 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Kùn-Dāmu. He was not named on the EKL and is accordingly thought to have had a short reign.[1035] It is proposed that he reigned for about 3 years.

Igriš-Ḫalab (2122–2100 BC) – is named on the *EKL* after Adub-Dāmu. He paid tribute to Iblul-Il of Mari (2125–2098 BC). He reigned at least 12 years.[1036]

Irkáb-Dāmu (2100–2089 BC) – is named on the *EKL*. He succeeded his father Igriš-Ḫalab as king of Ebla. He was contemporary with Enna-Dagān of Mari (2094–2089 BC). He reigned at least five years.[1037]

Išar-Dāmu (c.2089–2054 BC) – is named on the *EKL*. He succeeded his father Irkáb-Dāmu as king of Ebla. He reigned at least 32 years.[1038]

Ir'ak-Dāmu (c.2054 BC) – was the son of Išar-Dāmu. It is unclear if he became king of Ebla before Ebla was attacked and destroyed, likely at the hand of Mari.

Ebla II

Igriš-Ḫeba (c.1750–1725 BC) – was the father of Ibbit-Līm. It is likely that he was king of Ebla.[1039]

Ibbit-Līm (c.1725–1700 BC) – was the son of Igriš-Ḫeba, who he succeeded as *meki* (king) of Ebla. He is attested on a votive statue[1040]

Ibí-Dāmu II (c.1700–1675 BC) – was a successor to Ibbit-Līm as *meki* (king) of Ebla. He is attested on a seal inscription.[1041]

[1034] Frayne (2008), p.43
[1035] Frayne (2008), p.43.
[1036] Frayne (2008), pp.14, 43.
[1037] Frayne (2008), p.43.
[1038] Frayne (2008), p.43.
[1039] Matthiae (2010), p.210; Archi (2015a), p.676.
[1040] Matthiae (2010), p.210; Archi (2015a), p.676.
[1041] Matthiae (2010), p.212.

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Immeya (c.1675–1650 BC) – is attested on a silver cup found in a tomb, along with a ceremonial mace made from gold, silver and ivory, which was a gift from Hotepibre of Egypt (1661–1660 BC). [1042]

Ḫammu[rāpi] i (c.1650–1625 BC) – was a successor to Immeya as king of Ebla named on a cylinder seal impression.[1043]

5.1.3 Mari

Mari I Period

Anbu (c.2386–2356 BC) – is attested on a mace-head from Ur.[1044] He is named on the *SKL* with a reign of 30 years.

Anba (c.2356–2339 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Anbu with a reign of 17 years.

Bazi (c.2339–2309 BC) – the leather worker, is named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*, and on the SKL with a reign of 30 years.[1045]

Zizi (c.2309–2289 BC) – the fuller, is named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*, and on the *SKL* with a reign of 20 years.[1046]

Līmēr (c.2289–2259 BC) – the *pašišu*-priest, is named on the *SKL* with a reign of 30 years.

Šarrum-Īter (c.2259–2250 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of nine years.

Mari II Period

Ikūn-Šamagan (c.2250–2225 BC) – is attested as king of Mari on a vase and on statues.[1047]

[1042] Matthiae (2010), pp.217–218.
[1043] Matthiae (2010), p.218.
[1044] Frayne (2008), pp.300–301.
[1045] Frahm (2018), p.278; Frayne (2008), p.303–304.
[1046] Frayne (2008), pp.303–304.
[1047] Frayne (2008), pp.317–319.

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Ikūn-Šamaš (c.2225–2200 BC) – is attested on seal impression as *malikum* (prince) and on a statue as *šarrum* (king) of Mari.[1048]

Ḫanu-Sum – Anubu (c.2200–2175 BC) – is attested on a jar stopper. His military successes were noted by the later king Enna-Dagān, where he is given the title of *malikum* (prince).[1049]

Saʾūmu (c.2175–2150 BC) – was prince of Mari. His military successes were noted by the later king Enna-Dagān.[1050]

Ištup-Išar (c.2150–2125 BC) – had military successes which were noted by the later king Enna-Dagān, who described his as *šarrum* (king) of Mari.[1051]

Iblul-Il (c.2125–2098 BC) – was described by the later king Enna-Dagān as both *malikum* (prince) and *šarrum* (king). He is attested on statuette fragments and a statue. His military successes were noted by Enna-Dagān, who also said that he received tribute from Ebla. The size of this tribute, which was recorded at Ebla, was the substantial amount of 49kg of gold and 762kg of silver.[1052]

Ikūn-Mari (2098–2097 BC) – is attested as king of Mari on a stone jar dedicated by his wife Alma. Archi suggests that Ikūn-Mari should be considered, along with Ikūn-Šamaš and Ikūn-Šamagan, as predecessors of Anubu (2200–2175 BC). However, Frayne notes that Alma is also mentioned on another text from Ebla which also mentions king Nizi and princes Enna-Dagān and Ḫidaʾar, who would also become kings. This suggests that Ikūn-Mari immediate proceeded Nizi. As Ikūn-Mari is not included on the list of kings who received tribute from Ebla, it is proposed that he had a reign of not more than one year.[1053]

Nizi (c.2097–2094 BC) – Succeeded Ikūn-Mari as king. He is named on a text from Ebla which records tributes made to Iblul-Il, Nizi and Enna-Dagān. Two documents refer to the delivery and his receiving of gifts in his third year. Based on the total amounts of tribute he received, Archi suggests that he reigned for about three years.[1054]

[1048] Frayne (2008), pp.305–306; Archi (2015a), p.26.
[1049] Frayne (2008), pp.295–296, 299–300; Astour (2002), pp.57–58; Archi (2015a), p.26.
[1050] Frayne (2008), pp.295–296, 307–309; Archi (2015a), p.26.
[1051] Frayne (2008), pp.295–296, 311–313; Archi (2015a), pp.7, 23, 26, 28, 214.
[1052] Frayne (2008), pp.295–296, 321–331. Archi (2015a), pp.7, 26.
[1053] Frayne (2008), p.315; Archi (2015a), pp.23, 28.
[1054] Arch & Biga, pp.2–4; Archi (2015a), pp.7, 26.

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Enna-Dagān (c.2094–2089 BC) – succeeded his father Nizi as king. He noted the military successes of his predecessors on the *Enna-Dagān Letter*. He was contemporary with Irkáb-Dāmu of Ebla (c.2100–2089 BC). According to Archi he reigned for about five years. [1055]

Ikūn-Išar (c.2089–2077 BC) – is attested on Ebla documents as prince of Mari and on an impression of a clay door sealing. Archi states that his recordings at Ebla are dated to the first year of the vizier Ibrium, and that Ibrium was appointed as vizier by Irkáb-Dāmu of Ebla (2100–2069 BC) just before he died. This dates the first year of Ikūn-Išar to the first year of Išar-Dāmu of Ebla (2089–2054 BC). Archi notes that he signed a treaty with Išar-Damu which was deposited in the temple of Kura at Ebla. Archi also notes that in Year 4 of Ibrium (2086 BC) messengers from Mari brought news to Ebla that Kiš was defeated, which was followed in Year 9 (2081 BC) by news of the defeat of Akšak, then in the next three years the conquering of 'the cities of Kiš'.[1056] While Archi suggests that these conquests were by En-šakuš-ana of Uruk (c.2235–2210 BC), in this chronology it is proposed that they were by Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC).

Ḫidaʾar (c.2077–2055 BC) – was king of Mari. On the basis of the earlier noted association with Nizi and Enna-Dagān mentioned by Frayne, it is suggested that he was likely a son of Nizi. Archi notes that he was recorded at Ebla in Year 13 of Išar-Dāmu of Ebla (2089–2054 BC) and that he was the last king of Mari mentioned in the Ebla archives.[1057] It is proposed that he reigned for about 22 years.

Išgi-Mari – (2055–2030) – also read as Lamgi-Mari, is attested on a small statue and seal impressions.[1058]

Migir-Dagān (c.2030–2005 BC) – was king of Mari. He was recorded, along with Ipḫur-Kīši of Kiš (c.2005) and Lugal-Ane of Uruk (Ur) (2030–2005 BC) on the Geneva Version of the 'Great Revolt' against Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1059] His defeat resulted in the loss of kingship at Mari and he was replaced by a *šakkanakku* appointed by the king of Akkadê. He is not known from any other sources. It is proposed that he reigned for about 25 years.

[1055] Frayne (2008), pp.295–296, 335–336; Archi (2015a), pp.7, 26.
[1056] Frayne (2008), p.337–338; Archi (2015a), pp.8, 23.
[1057] Frayne (2008), pp.315, 339; Archi (2015a), pp.23, 26, 118–119.
[1058] Frayne (2008), pp.341–343.
[1059] Westenholz, p.245.

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Mari III Period

Ididiš (c.2005–1945 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 60 years.[1060]

Šu-Dagān (c.1945–1940 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as succeeding his father Ididiš as prince of Mari with a reign of five years.[1061]

Išma-Dagān (c.1940–1895 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 45 years. He is attested on foundation tablets from his son Ištup-Ilum.[1062]

Nûr-Mêr – Niwār-Mēr (c.1895–1890 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as succeeding his father Išma-Dagān as prince of Mari with a reign of 5 years. He is attested by four bronze foundation tablets.[1063]

Ištup-Ilum (c.1890–1879 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as succeeding his brother Niwār-Mēr as prince of Mari with a reign of 11 years. He is attested by statue and foundation tables.[1064]

Iškun-Adad (c.1879–1871 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of eight years.[1065]

Apil-Kîn II (c.1871–1836 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 35 years. He is attested by two foundation plaques. An inscription refers to his daughter as the daughter-in-law of Ur-Nammu of Ur (1878–1860 BC).[1066]

Iddin-Ilum I (c.1836–1831 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of five years. He is attested by a statue and seals.[1067]

[1060] Frayne (1993), p.232.
[1061] Frayne (1993), p.232.
[1062] Frayne (1993), p.233.
[1063] Frayne (1993), p.233.
[1064] Frayne (1993), p.234–237.
[1065] Frayne (1993), p.237.
[1066] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 440.
[1067] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 441–443.

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Ilum-Išar (c.1831–1819 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 12 years. He is attested on a brick.[1068]

Turam-Dagān (c.1819–1799 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 20 years. He is attested on a seal and a statue by his son Puzur-Ištar.[1069]

Puzur-Eštar (c.1799–1774 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* as prince of Mari with a reign of 25 years. He is attested on a statue and seals.[1070]

Itlal-Erra (c.1774–1767 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* with a reign of seven years. He is attested on an inscription as the son of Puzur-Eštar and king of Mari.[1071]

ʾAnun-Dagān (c.1767–1759 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List* with a reign of eight years. He is attested on a door socket and sealings as the son of Puzur-Eštar and king of Mari.[1072]

Isi-Dagān (c.1759–1735 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*. He is attested as prince of Mari on seal impressions.[1073]

Ennin-Dagān (c.1735–1710 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*. He is attested as prince of Mari on a seal impression.[1074]

Itūr-[..] (c.1710–1685 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*. He is attested on a seal by his son Tir-Dagān.[1075]

Amer-Nūnu (c.1685–1675 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*. He was likely the son of Itūr-[..], who he succeeded as prince of Mari. He is attested on a seal impression. It is proposed that he reigned for 10 years.[1076]

[1068] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 443.
[1069] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 444-445.
[1070] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 444-447.
[1071] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 448.
[1072] Frayne (1997), pp.439, 449–450.
[1073] Frayne (1990), pp.594–595.
[1074] Frayne (1990), p.596.
[1075] Frayne (1990), pp.597, 599.
[1076] Frayne (1990), p.598.

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Tir-Dagān (c.1675–1660 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*. He is attested on a seal as the son of Itūr-[..]. It is proposed that he reigned for 15 years.[1077]

Dagān-[..] (c.1660–1635 BC) – is named on the *Šakkanakku List*.[1078]

Iddin-Ilum II (c.1635–1610 BC) – is attested on a seal by his son Zinuba. Marchesi notes that according to Otto the seal is later than the Sargonic Period, being comparable to a seal datable to the reign of Yaḫdun-Līm I of Mari (1586–1564 BC). Marchesi argues that since Iddin-Ilum I is datable to the Sargonic Period, the father of Zinuba must be a second prince by that name who ruled just prior to the Līm Dynasty.[1079]

5.1.4 Akšak

Zuzu I (c.2212–2180 BC) – is recorded as a king of Akšak killed by E-ana-tum of Lagaš (2190–2174 BC).[1080]

Uğzi (c.2180–2150 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akšak with a reign of 30 years.

Uĝda-Lulu (c.2150–2138 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akšak with a reign of six years, or 12 years in *SKLa,l,n*.

Urur (c.2138–2132 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akšak with a reign of six years.

Puzur-Niraḫ (c.2132–2112 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akšak with a reign of 20 years. He is also named in the *Weidner Chronicle*.

Išu-Il (c.2112–2088 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akšak with a reign of 24 years.

Šū-Sîn I (c.2088–2081 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Išu-Il as king of Akšak with a reign of seven years.

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[1077] Frayne (1990), p.599.
[1078] Frayne (1990), p.600.
[1079] Marchesi (2008), pp.17–19.
[1080] Frayne (2008), p.147.

5.1.5 Akkadê

Akkadê was located in the Middle Mesopotamia region, outside the Lower Mesopotamian region of Kienĝir (Sumer). The Synchronistic Chronicle confirms that it was downstream from Gurmarritu, which is likely the same as Surmarräti (Samarra) on the Tigris River to the north of Baghdad. This suggests that Akkadê was likely somewhere near the region of Baghdad. After the rule of Sargon the region of Middle Mesopotamia would for millennia be known as Akkadê, with Lower and Middle Mesopotamia known as Sumer and Akkadê.

Šarru-Ukīn – Šarru-Kēn – Lugal-Úkin – Sargon (2100–2086–2046 BC) – is the first recorded king of the city of Akkadê. His name is possibly a throne-name, with the word *šarru* being the Akkadian for king and the word *lugal* being the Sumerian word for king.

Sargon was recorded in the *Sumerian Sargon Legend* (*SSL*) as the son of La-Ibum, who the *SKL* describes as a gardener. The Neo-Assyrian *Legend of Sargon* chronicle says for him "My mother was lowly, my father I knew not", and includes the myth of him having been placed in a reed basket in the Euphrates River at Azupiânu. This is notably to the myth of Moses, a founding father of the Hebrews. St. Jerome identified him as Ninus son of Belus, dating he start of his reign to 2016 BC and saying that he was the first to reign over all Asia except for the Indies, for 52 years.[1081]

The suggestion by Rowton that the differences in his reign lengths in the *SKL* of 54/56 years and 40 years accounts for his time as king of Akkadê before subjugating Kiš is accepted here.[1082] The *SSL, SKL* and *Weidner Chronicle* describe him as originally a vassal of Ur-Zababa of Kiš (2092–2086 BC), with the *SSL* also referring to Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (2089–2064 BC).

It is proposed that in 2086 BC he defeated Ur-Zababa of Kiš after which his successor Zimudar of Kiš (c.2086–2056 BC) recognised Sargon as his overlord. It is proposed that his was the event recorded at Ebla in Year 4 of the vizier Ibrium (2086 BC), which was followed in Year 9 (2081 BC) by news of Sargon's defeat of Šū-Sîn I of Akšak (c.2088–2081 BC), then in the next three years his conquering of "the cities of Kiš", which was a reference to the conquering of all of Kienĝir (Sumer), the king of which would often use the title king of Kiš. [1083]

Tablets record Sargon's later use of the title of king of Kiš, which was a term used to broadly refer to Sumer, and therefore refers not only to his being overlord

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[1081] St. Jerome, §B2016.
[1082] Rowton, pp.219–220.
[1083] Frayne (2008), p.337–338; Archi (2015a), pp.8, 23.

of Kiš but also to his defeat of Lugal-zage-si, who he took as prisoner and brought him in a neck-stock to the gate of Enlil. He also defeated Luḫi-Išan of Elam (2175–2160 BC).[1084]

The *Legend of Sargon* states that he reigned for [..]4 years, having conquered the upper and the lower mountains, the Sealand region on three occasions, and as far as Dilmun. His defeat of Lagaš (by the sea) is confirmed on tablets and the *Chronicle of Early Kings* confirms his rule of the Sealand region, which also states that he ruled "the western land at its farthest point" (Upper Mesopotamia), from where he ferried his booty down the river on barges. A tablet states that he moored the ships of Meluhha, Magan, and Tilmun at the quay of Akkadê, and tablets also refer to him ruling from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. They also state that he ruled Mari, Iarnmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains.[1085]

Tablets record him having victories with nine contingents (5,400 men) from Akkadê in 34 battles over 50 cities, including Uruk, Ur, Eninmar, Umma, Mari, Ngurzam, Elam and Paraḫšum.[1086] His four known year-names refer to his defeats of Simurrum, Uru'a, Elam and Mari. The *Chronicle of Early Kings* also makes a point of him having defeated Kazallu, and then in his old age having defeated a rebellious Subartu.

Both the *Chronicle of Early Kings* and the *Weidner Chronicle* state that he founded Babylon in Sumer as a counterpart to Akkadê (i.e. as a second capital), which is no doubt a myth created during Babylonian times. The *Weidner Chronicle* sates that he was King of the Four Corners of the World, which is consistent with his title on inscriptions.

A solar eclipse (EAE tablet 20) on 14 Nisannu which was a portent to the death of the king is identified as the penumbral eclipse of 27 May 2046 BC, noting that the penumbral eclipse of 15 May 2045 BC could equally be applicable.[1087] The *SKL* gives him a reign of either 40 or 54/56 years.

Rimuš I (2046–2039 BC) – is recorded on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Sargon as king of Akkadê. Tablets record his victories against Mes-Kigala of Adab (2145–2120 BC), Lugal-Galzu of Zabala, Ur and Kitušid of Lagaš. He called himself king of Kiš, king of the World, and conqueror of Elam and Paraḫšum.[1088] The *SKL* gave him a reign of either seven, nine or 15 years.

[1084] Frayne (1993), pp.10, 13–14, 16, 20–21, 23; Kramer, p.324.
[1085] Frayne (1993), pp.11, 14, 28, 30, 32.
[1086] Frayne (1993), pp.11–31.
[1087] W.A. Mitchell, pp.13–14; Huber (1999), p.64.
[1088] Frayne (1993), pp.42, 44, 59–68.

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Man-Ištūšu (2039–2024 BC) – is recorded on the *SKL* as succeeding his brother Rimuš I as king of Akkadê and with a reign of 15 years. He called himself king of Kiš and king of the World.[1089]

Narām-Sîn I (2024–1968 BC) – is recorded on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Man-Ištušu as king of Akkadê. The *Chronicle of Early Kings* incorrectly describes him as the son of Sargon. It says that he fought against Rīš-Adad of Apišal, Mannu-Dannu of Magan, and Dungi, the son of Ur-Engur of Eridu. A considerable number of records exit from his reign and there are several different versions of events known as the 'Great Revolt Against Narām-Sîn I'.[1090]

The *Weidner Chronicle* states that he was ultimatly defeated by the Gutians, who then became prominent in Sumer. The *SKL* gives him a reign of 56 years.

Šar-kali-šarri (1968–1943 BC) – is recorded on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Narām-Sîn I as king and with a reign of 25 years. He is attested by numerous inscriptions.[1091]

Irgigi, Nanum, Imi and Ilulu (1943–1940 BC) – are named on the *SKL* as kings of Akkadê with reigns for a combined period of three years. It is proposed that Ilulu is the same person as Lilulu-DAN who is attested as king of Akkadê on a copper spear point and bronze bowl.[1092]

Dudu (1940–1919 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Akkadê with a reign of 21 years. He is attested on vases and inscriptions.[1093]

Šū-Durul (1919–1904 BC) – is recorded on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Dudu as king of Akkadê and reigning for 15 years. He is attested on a copper axe, a hammer head and clay inscriptions.[1094]

5.1.6 Assyrians

The Assyrians were an Akkadian speaking people, and it appears that their city of Aššur was founded during the Akkadian Empire Period. Although for most of its history Aššur was independent, for a long time its rulers did not have extra-regional

[1089] Frayne (1993), pp.74–82.
[1090] Frayne (1993), pp.84–181; Westenholz, pp.173–368
[1091] Frayne (1993), pp.182–208.
[1092] Frayne (1993), p.218.
[1093] Frayne (1993), pp.210–213.
[1094] Frayne (1993), pp.214–217.

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political ambitions and were called in Akkadian *Išši'ak* (prince) of Aššur. Accordingly, while the princes of Aššur were initially subordinate to the *šarru* (king) of Akkadê, following the demise of the Akkadian Empire they became independent and instead recognised their god Aššur as the *šarru* of the city.

Aššur lost its independence to the Ur III Empire and for a short period appears to have been ruled by a Sumerian *ensi* (viceroy) appointed by Ur. Independence and stability then returned until the city was captured by the Amorite king Šamši-Adad I. Neither Šamši-Adad I (1602–1548 BC) nor his successors ruled from Aššur but instead remained actively involved in the rule of the city. This changed following the death of Šamši-Adad I's son Išme-Dagān I when his successor Asīnum promptly lost control of Aššur. Following the demise of Šamši-Adad I's kingdom the Assyrians not only regained their independence but began to expand their own political control of other cities in which they had gained administrative and economic advantages during the Amorite period.

The stability of the post-Amorite period changed in the Early Brone Age Period with the emergence of the large regional empires of Egypt, the Hittites, Mitanni and Babylon. During this period Aššur once again lost its independence, this time to the Hurrian Mitanni Empire. The loss of political independence also meant that Aššur lost control of its trade networks and therefore economic prosperity. Following the demise of Mitanni after its defeat by the Hittites who captured the western regions of the empire, the Assyrians under Aššur-Uballiṭ I (1250–1214 BC) asserted their independence from Mitanni and began to actively campaign abroad, with Aššur-Uballiṭ I defeating Mitanni and absorbing the Khabur Valley into his domain. While he did not drop title of *Išši'ak* of Aššur he was the first Assyrian ruler to use the titles of *šarru* and *šar māt* (king), and even took the old Akkadian title *šar kiššatim* (king of the Universe) which had last been used by the Amorite Šamši-Adad I (1602–1548 BC), titles which would all be used by subsequent rulers.

Aššur – Akkadê Period

Ininlaba (c.2100–2075 BC) – was the father of Ititi. It is proposed that he was prince of Aššur subordinate to the king of Akkadê.[1095]

Ititi (c.2075–2050 BC) – was prince of Aššur. He is named on a dedication to the goddess Ištar found at Aššur, which Grayson noted is similar to inscriptions of Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC).[1096]

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[1095] Frayne (1993), p.239.
[1096] Grayson (1987), p.7; Frayne (1993), pp.238–239.

Azuzu (c.2050–2025 BC) – was the 'servant' of Man-Ištūšu of Akkadê (2120–2105 BC) named on a copper spearhead discovered in the Istar temple at Aššur.[1097] This suggests that he was prince of Aššur.

Aššur – Old Assyrian Period

Ušpia (c.2025–2000 BC) – was recorded by Shalmaneser I as the first prince of Aššur who built E-ḫar-sag-kurkura, the temple of Aššur. He is named on the *AKL*.

Apiašal (c.2000–1975 BC) – succeeded his father Ušpia as prince of Aššur. He is named on the *AKL*.

Ḫale (c.1975–1950 BC) – succeeded his father Apiašal as prince of Aššur. He is named on the *AKL*.

Dakiki (c.1950–1925) – is known from a scribe's seal, where he is recorded as the father of Sulili. It is proposed that he was prince of Aššur.[1098]

Sulili (c.1925–1900 BC) – is said on the *AKL* to have succeeded his father Aminun as ruler. This is not correct as Aminun was the son of Ila-Kabkabu and therefore brother of Šamši-Adad I. He is instead identified as the *ensi* (prince) Sulili the son of Dakiki named on several seal impressions.[1099]

Kikkiya (1900–1875 BC) – is named as prince of Aššur on the *AKL* and from building inscriptions of his successors.

Akiya (c.1875–1850 BC) – is named as prince of Aššur on the *AKL*.

Aššur – Sumerian Ur III Period

Ila-Baandu (c.1850–1830 BC) – is mentioned as *ensi* (governor) of Aššur on a fragmentary list found at Ur.[1100] He is not mentioned on the *AKL* and was therefore likely a Sumerian appointed by Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).

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[1097] Grayson (1987), p.8.
[1098] Grayson (1987), p.11.
[1099] Grayson (1987), p.12–13.
[1100] Foster, p.63.

Zariqum (c.1830–1810 BC) – was the GÌR.ARAD (military governor) of Aššur when it was under the control of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1101] He is not mentioned on the *AKL* and was therefore likely a Sumerian appointee.

Aššur – Middle Assyrian Period

Puzur-Aššur I (c.1810–1785 BC) – was prince of Aššur who likely gained independence upon the death of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC). He was recorded by his successors as having renewed the city walls of Aššur begun by Kikkiya.

Šalim-Aḫum (c.1785–1760 BC) – succeeded his father Puzur-Aššur I as prince of Aššur. He is recorded on an Alabaster block associated with a temple.

Ilu-Šūma (c.1760–1743 BC) – succeeded his father Šalim-Aḫum as prince of Aššur. There is currently no evident way to reconcile the statement in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* that Ilu-Šūma was prince at the time of 'Su-Abu'. This at first appears to be a reference to the Amorite Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC), but the reference is placed in the Chronicle after references to Erra-Imittī (1643–1635 BC) and Enlil-Bāni (1635–1611 BC) of Isin. It is proposed that he reigned for about 17 years.

Erišum I (1743–1703 BC) – succeeded his father Ilu-Šūma as prince of Aššur. While the *AKLb* gives him a reign of 40 years, the *AKLc* gives only 30 years. A reign of 40 years is however recorded on *KEL A*, which starts with his accession as king and confirms that there were 40 *limmus* during his reign before Ikunum succeeded him.

Ikūnum (1703–1688 BC) – succeeded his father Erišum I as prince of Aššur. *KEL A* gives him a reign of 15 years.

Šarru-Kīn – Sargon I (1688–1648 BC) – succeeded his father Ikūnum as prince of Aššur. *KEL A* gives him a reign of 40 years.

Puzur-Aššur II (1648–1640 BC) – succeeded his father Sargon I as prince of Aššur. *KEL A* gives him a reign of eight years.

Narām-Sîn II (1640–1606 BC) – succeeded his father Puzur-Aššur II as prince of Aššur. *KEL A* confirms that he had a reign of a minimum 27 years, and the *AKLa* has his reign ending on a four, which suggests a reign of 34 years.

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[1101] Grayson (1987), p.9; Michalowski (2009), pp.150–152; Frayne (1997), p.xliv, 278.

Erišum II (1606–1581 BC) – succeeded his father Narām-Sîn II as prince of Aššur. The *AKL* states that he was deposed by Šamši-Adad I in the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar, which Bloch demonstrates must be a reference to the eponymy of Amur-Aššur, dated here to 1581 BC.[1102]

Aššur – Post-Amorite Period

Puzur-Sîn III – recorded on a tablet that he ousted Asīnum as ruler of Aššur. He does not appear on the *AKL* and is therefore unlikely to have held the position of prince of Aššur.

Aššur-Dugul (1537–1531 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as being a son of a nobody with no right to the throne, who ruled as prince of Aššur for six years.

The *AKLb* and *AKLc* state that in the time of Aššur-Dugul, Aššur-apla-idi, Nāṣir-Sîn, Sîn-Nāmir, Ipqi-Ištar, Adad-Ṣalulu and Adasi, six sons of nobodies, also ruled in *ṭuppišu* during his reign. The use of the word *ṭuppišu* appears to indicate a form of co-regency. Newgrosh suggests they were all likely *limmus* during the six years reign of Aššur-Dugul.[1103] While this seems unlikely given that they are not listed on the *KEL G* eponymy list, it appears that Aššur-Dugul was a figurehead with the six *ṭuppišu* rulers, whose positions are unknown, exercising actual control. The last *ṭuppišu* ruler Adasi is named on the *SyKL.*

Bēlu-Bāni (1531–1521 BC) – was the son of Adasi, who was the last of the six *limmus* who had *ṭuppišu* reigns during the reign of Aššur-Dugul. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 10 years.

Bāzāya (1521–1493 BC) – is listed in all the king lists as the son of Bēlu-Bāni. Newgrosh notes that there is likely an error in the *AKL* in this section with a need for a parallel dynasty.[1104] It is proposed that he installed his brother Libaya as prince of Ekallatum in 1500 BC. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 28 years.

Lullaya (1493–1487 BC) – is recorded as the son of Bāzāya on the *AKLa* but as a son of a nobody on the later *AKLb* and *AKLc*.[1105] He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of six years.

[1102] Bloch (2014), pp.191–210.
[1103] Newgrosh (2007), p.226.
[1104] Newgrosh (1999), p.79.
[1105] Nassouhi, p.3; Poebel, (1942) p.470, (1943) p.86; Gelb (1954), pp.214–215, 225.

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Šu-Ninua (1487–1473 BC) – was the son of Bāzāya and succeeded his brother Lullaya as prince of Aššur. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 14 years.

Šarma-Adad II (1473–1470 BC) – is named on the *SyKL*. He is recorded on the *AKL* as succeeding his father Šu-Ninua as prince of Aššur and ruling for three years.

Erišum III (1470–1457 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as the son of Šu-Ninua and ruling for 13 years.

Šamši-Adad II (1457–1451 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as succeeding his father Erišum III as prince of Aššur and ruling for six years.

Išme-Dagān II (1451–1435 BC) – is named on the *SyKL* as prince of Aššur. There appears to be an error on the *AKLa* saying that Išme-Dagān II was the son of Šamši-Adad II, which does not work from a genealogical perspective.[1106] It seems that later scribes tried to fix the error in the *AKLb* by saying that Išme-Dagān the father of Šamši-Adad III was a different Išme-Dagān, being the son of Šu-Ninua and not a king.[1107] But the 'correction' was not accurate as Aššur-Nārāri I, the brother of Šamši-Adad III, has left multiple records which state that their father Išme-Dagān was a king.[1108] The clearest way to resolve these issues is to identify their father as Išme-Dagān II and as a brother, instead of a son, of Šamši-Adad II. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 16 years.

Šamši-Adad III (1435–1419 BC) – succeeded his father Išme-Dagān II as prince of Aššur. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 16 years.

Aššur-Nārāri I (1419–1393 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as the son of Išme-Dagān II and ruling for 26 years.

Puzur-Aššur III (1393–1369 BC) – was the son of Aššur-Nārāri I. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* states that Puzur-Aššur III had a treaty with Burna-Buriyåš I of Babylon (1335–1310 BC), which does not appear to be correct, especially as they are listed after the reigns of Kara-Indaš of Babylon (1285–1275 BC) and Aššur-Bēl-nišešu of Assyria (1286–1277 BC). Chen notes that Janssen also thought that this

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[1106] Nassouhi, p.3.
[1107] Poebel, p.86; Gelb (1954), pp.214–217, 226.
[1108] Grayson (1987), pp.83-89.

was false.[1109] He is provided a reign of 14 years on the *AKLa*, with no reign length on the *AKLb* and 24 years on the later *AKLc*. The earlier record of 14 years is accepted given that the preceding generation ruled for 42 years.

Enlil-Nāsir I (1369–1356 BC) – succeeded his father Puzur-Aššur III as prince of Aššur. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 13 years.

Nur-Ilī (1356–1344 BC) – is named on the *SyKL* as the successor of Enlil-Nāsir I as prince of Aššur. He is not recognised on the Nassouhi version of the *AKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 12 years.

Aššur-Šaduni (1344 BC) – is named on the *AKL* as the son of Nur-Ilī and ruling for one month.

Aššur-Rabi I (1344–1330 BC) – is named on the *AKL* as the son of Enlil-Nāsir I who usurped the throne from Aššur-Šaduni. It is proposed that he reigned for about nine years.

Ekallatum

Libaya (1500–1483 BC) – was the son of Bēlu-Bāni of Aššur (1531–1521 BC). He is not included on the *AKLa*, but does appear with Šarma-Adad I and Iptar-Sîn on the later *AKLb* and *AKLc* as the successors of Bēlu-Bāni in a father-son sequence for a combined period of 41 years, which gives him a reign of 17 years.

If Bāzāya was also the son of Bēlu-Bāni and reigned for 28 years, then he can't have waited 41 years to rule. It is therefore proposed that like Mut-Aškur and Rimuš II before him, Libaya and his successors were princes of Ekallatum added to the King Lists. Having Libaya start his reign 15 years after the death of his father Bēlu-Bāni has also resolved a previous genealogical concern regarding the direct father-son succession and short length of reigns.

He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 17 years.

Šarma-Adad I (1483–1471 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded his father Libaya as prince of Ekallatum. He is named on the *SyKL.* The *AKL* gives him a reign of 12 years.

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[1109] Chen, p.23.

Iptar-Sîn (1471–1459 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded his father as prince of Ekallatum. He is named on the *SyKL* as LIK.KUD-Šamaš. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 12 years.

Aššur – Mitanni Period

Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē I (1330–1317 BC) – is named on the *AKL* as the son of Aššur-Rabi I. He likely became subordinate to Parattarna of Mitanni (c.1340–1315 BC). A letter survives which he sent to Thutmose III of Egypt (1365–1311 BC) congratulating him on his victories in Palestine and Syria.[1110] It is proposed that he reigned for about seven years.

Enlil-Nāsir II (1317–1311 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as usurping the throne from his brother and ruling for six years.

Aššur-Nārāri II (1311–1304 BC) – while the *AKL* records him as the son of Enlil-Nāsir II, his own son Aššur-rā'im-nišešu recorded that his father was the son of Aššur-Rabi I and was therefore the brother of Enlil-Nāsir II.[1111] The *AKL* gives him a reign of seven years.

Aššur-rā'im-nišešu (1304–1296 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as the son of Aššur-bēl-nišešu, however a contemporary inscription on a dedicatory cone records that he was the son of Aššur-Nārāri II. It is proposed that he succeeded his father as prince of Aššur. The *AKL* gives him a reign of eight years.

Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II (1296–1286 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* as succeeding his father Aššur-rā'im-nišešu as prince of Aššur with a reign of 10 years.

Aššur-bēl-nišešu (1286–1277 BC) – was the son of Aššur-Nārāri II. It is proposed that he succeeded his nephew Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II as prince of Aššur. His treaty with Kara-Indaš of Babylon (1285–1275 BC) is recorded in the *Synchronistic Chronicle*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of nine years.

Erība-Adad I (1277–1250 BC) – is recorded on the *AKLa* as the son of Aššur-rā'im-nišešu. However, the later *AKLb* and *AKLc* state that he was the son of Aššur-bēl-nišešu, which Erība-Adad I confirmed on tablets.[1112] It is not agreed with Grayson

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[1110] Bertman, p.79.
[1111] Grayson (1987), p.101; Luckenbill (2012), p.173.
[1112] Grayson (1987), p.107–108.

that his brother Ber-nādin-aḫḫe became prince of Aššur, being instead a 'supreme magistrate' and *limmu*.[1113] While it is accepted that he likely immediately succeeded his father, Newgrosh's suggestion that Aššur-rā'im-nišešu and Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē II were parallel rulers is not accepted, particularly as the removal of 18 years does not work from a genealogical perspective.[1114] The *AKL* gave him a reign of 27 years.

Aššur – Assyrian Kingdom Period

Aššur-Uballiṭ I (1250–1214 BC) – succeeded his father Erība-Adad I as prince of Aššur. He asserted independence from Mitanni, becoming affectively the first king of Assyria.

He sent Amarna letter EA 16 to Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC). The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he was the grandfather of Kara-Ḫardaš of Babylon (1216–1215 BC), whose death he avenged by killing Nazi-Bugaš/Šuzigaš and installing Kurigalzu II (1215–1185 BC) on the throne. Over time he claimed the titles *šar māt* (king) and *šar kiššatim* (King of the Universe), which would be used by subsequent kings of Assyria. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 36 years.

Enlil-Nārāri (1214–1204 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-Uballiṭ I as king of Assyria. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* and *Chronicle of Enlil-Nārāri* confirm that he was contemporary with Kurigalzu II of Babylon (1215–1185 BC). The *AKL* gives him a reign of 10 years.

Arik-den-ili (1204–1192 BC) – succeeded his father Enlil-Nārāri as king of Assyria. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 12 years.

Adad-Nārāri I (1192–1160 BC) – succeeded his father Arik-den-ili as king of Assyria. *Chronicle P* records that he was defeated by Kurigalzu II of Babylon (1215–1185 BC) and the *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he defeated Nazi-Maruttaš (1185–1159 BC). When Šattuara I of Mitanni (c.1190–1185 BC) rebelled against him he seized Šattuara I and brought him to Aššur, where he was forced to make an oath and made to pay tribute for as long as he lived. He claimed in his correspondence with the Hittites to be a Great King and 'brother'.[1115] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 32 years.

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[1113] Grayson (1972), p.37.
[1114] Newgrosh (1999), p.80.
[1115] Grayson (1987), p.136; Bryce (2005a), p.258.

Šulmānu-Ašarēdu – Shalmaneser I (1160–1130 BC) – was the son of Adad-Nārāri I. He defeated Šattuara II of Mitanni (1180–1177 BC) in his second year of independent reign, annexed the kingdom and installed Qibi-Aššur (1188–1159–1158 BC), who was likely already a king of Ḫanigalbat, as king at Dūr-Katlimmu. Dietrich reads Shalmaneser I as the author of a letter to Ibirānu VI of Ugarit (1130–1100 BC) which referred to his defeat of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (1130–1100 BC) at the Battle of Niḫriya.[1116] Shalmaneser I himself adopted the title of *šar kiššat nišē* (King of All People). The *AKL* gives him a reign of 30 years.

Tukultī-Ninurta I (1130–1093 BC) – succeeded his father Shalmaneser I as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *Tukultī-Ninurta Epic* describes the war between Tukultī-Ninurta I and Kaštiliašu III of Babylon (1115–1107 BC), which also appears to be mentioned in a broken section of the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, and *Chronicle P*, which refers to his defeat of Babylon and rule of that city via governors for seven years.

He was the first Assyrian king to move the capital from Aššur, which he moved to Kar-Tukultī-Ninurta following deteriorating relations with the priesthood at Aššur.

He adopted the titles *šar māt Šumeri u Akkadi* (King of Sumer and Akkadê), *šar kiššat nišē* (King of All People), *šar šarrāni* (King of Kings) and *šar kullat kibrāt erbetti* (King of All the Four Corners of the World). However, Chronicle P records that his son Aššur-nādin-apli rebelled against him and besieged him in his new city. During the siege, he was murdered. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 37 years.

Aššur-nādin-apli (1093–1090 BC) – killed his father Tukultī-Ninurta I who he succeeded as king of Assyria and returned the capital to Aššur. He is named on the *SyKL*. He used the title King of Kings.[1117] The *AKLa* gives him a reign of four years while the *AKLb* and *AKLc* give him three years.

Aššur-Nārāri III (1090–1084 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-nādin-apli as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of six years.

Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur (1084–1079 BC) – was the son of Tukultī-Ninurta I. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he was defeated by Adad-šuma-uṣur of Babylon (1107–1098–1077 BC). The *AKL* gives him a reign of five years.

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[1116] Dietrich, p.113; Bryce (2005a), p.317.
[1117] Hagens (2005), p.37.

Ninurta-apil-Ekur (c.1089–1079–1076 BC) – succeeded his father Ilī-Padâ II as king of Ḫanigalbat and Grand Vizier of Assyria, then later succeeded Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur as king of Assyria at Aššur.

He is named on the *SyKL*. The details of his obtaining kingship at Aššur can be pieced together from two chronicles. From the *Walker Chronicle* it appears that Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur led a campaign against Adad-šuma-user of Babylon (1107–1077 BC), who counter-attacked and defeated him, following which the officers of Assyria seized Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur and gave him to Adad-šuma-user. As the Grand Vizier and subordinate 'second king' of Assyria, Ninurta-apil-Ekur's agents were no doubt involved in the campaign and therefore likely involved in the handing over of Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* then adds that as Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur and Adad-šuma-user were engaged in battle Ninurta-apil-Ekur went home and mustered his numerous troops and marched to conquer Aššur. It seems from the *Synchronistic Chronicle* that Adad-šuma-user also made a play at capturing Aššur, but with the arrival of Ninurta-apil-Ekur he 'turned and went home'.

Ninurta-apil-Ekur did not install a replacement king at Ḫanigalbat but did install his distant cousin Eru-apla-iddina (usur), the prince of Ḫalaḫḫi as Grand Vizier.[1118] The *SyKL* records him as being contemporary with Meli-Šipak of Babylon (1077–1062 BC), which is confirmed by a document which lists items including horses sent from Meli-Šipak to Ninurta-apil-Ekur.[1119]

Ninurta-apil-Ekur adopted the titles Supreme Judge and King of the Universe. He also had the title of Prince of Enlil and Ninurta, which is similar to the original Prince of Aššur title held by earlier rulers of Aššur and may be a title associated with his initial rule from Dūr-Katlimmu in Ḫanigalbat.[1120] While the *AKLb* and *AKLc* provide him with a reign of three years, *AKLa* provides him a reign of 13 years. Although Freydank ascribed 13 eponyms to his reign, Gasche notes that this was circumstantial and seemed 'to be based on the *a priori* assumption of a 13-year reign for this king', noting that Saporetti had not assigned any eponyms to his reign.[1121] It is proposed that he reigned for 10 years as king of Ḫanigalbat and then three years as king of Assyria at Aššur.

Aššur-Dān I (1076–1030 BC) – succeeded his father Ninurta-apil-Ekur as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with both Zababa-šuma-iddina (1069–1068 BC) and Enlil-nādin-aḫḫē (1048–1045 BC) of Babylon. This is

[1118] Called Eru-apla-usur by May (p.493), Fales calls him Eru-apla-iddina, a name also noted by Fine (pp.113–114) as a *limmu* on tablet KAJ 265, while Llop-Raduà (p.257) provides both names. Given the use of '-iddina' in the name of his grandfather Aššur-zēra-iddina, the name Eru-apla-iddina is chosen here.
[1119] Llop-Raduà, p.257.
[1120] Newgrosh (1999), p.91
[1121] Gasche, p.51 (n.224).

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confirmed by the *Synchronic King List* which records him attacking Babylon during the reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 46 years.

Mutakkil-Nusku (1031–1030 BC) – is recorded in the *AKL*, which describes him as having had a *ṭuppišu* reign before passing away. The *AKL* had earlier described six people (who I had earlier suggested were *limmus*), as having had *ṭuppišu* reigns during the reign of Aššur-Dugul (1537–1531 BC), in which they wielded affective control as co-regents. Accordingly, it is again suggested that Mutakkil-Nusku was a coregent during the reign of his father and did not have an independent reign.

He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* records that he fought with his brother Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur, who he carried off to Babylon. It is proposed that Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur, who also had a *ṭuppišu* reign, was not king of Aššur as inferred by the *AKL*, but was instead Mutakkil-Nusku's younger brother, who was possibly the king of Ḫanigalbat and Grand Vizier.

Tiglath-Pileser I would later describe Mutakkil-Nusku as appointed by the god Aššur and King of the Universe, and himself as the legitimate heir of Aššur-Dān I.[1122]

Aššur-reša-iši I (1030–1012 BC) – succeeded his father Mutakkil-Nusku as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar I. This is confirmed by the *Synchronistic Chronicle* which records that he defeated Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylon (1030–1008 BC). He was called prince of Aššur, strong king, conqueror of enemy lands, subduer of all fierce (enemies), and King of the Universe.[1123] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 18 years.

Tukultī-apil-Ešarra – Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-reša-iši I as king of Assyria. He waged extensive military campaigns abroad. Shalmaneser III would later recapture the cities of Pitru and Mutkin in the Ḫābūr Region of which he stated had previously been colonised by Tiglath-Pileser I but lost to Arameans in the time of Aššur-Rabi II (1012–971 BC), who it is proposed was the brother of Tiglath-Pileser I. These attacks by the Arameans are recorded in the *Tiglath-Pileser I Chronicle* as having begun during a period of drought in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I ("The people ate one another's flesh to save their lives"), and continued into the reign of Aššur-bēl-kala.[1124]

He is named on the *SyKL* and the *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he defeated Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē of Babylon (1004–986 BC), who is recorded in the

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[1122] Grayson (1991a), pp.27; 36.
[1123] Grayson (1987), pp.309– ; Grayson (1991a), pp.27; 36.
[1124] Grayson, (1991, pp.86–89; Newgrosh (1999), pp.93–94.

Tiglath-Pileser I Chronicle as dying within his reign. He is recorded on the *Walker Chronicle* as annexing Babylon and on *Chronicle P* as destroying the wall of Babylon and taking the statue of Marduk to Aššur. *Chronicle P* further says that he ruled Babylon via governors for seven years and was killed by Assyrian officers and his son Aššur-nādin-apli. His kingship over Babylon was reflected in his use of the title King of Sumer and Akkadê.

He called himself Strong King, Unrivalled King of the Universe, King of the Four Quarters, King of all Princes, Lord of Lords, Chief Herdsman, King of Kings and Attentive Purification Priest.[1125] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 39 years.

Ašarēd-apil-Ekur (973–971 BC) – succeeded his father Tiglath-Pileser I as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of two years.

Aššur-bēl-kala (971–953 BC) – was the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he was contemporary with Marduk-šāpik-zēri (986–973 BC) and that he installed Adad-apla-iddina II (973–951 BC) as king of Babylon. His records indicate that he campaigned abroad.[1126] He called himself Great King, King of the Universe and King of all the Four Quarters.[1127] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 18 years.

Erība-Adad II (953–951 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-bēl-kala as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. He called himself King of the Universe, King of the Four Quarters and Holy Priest.[1128] The *AKL* gives him a reign of two years.

Šamši-Adad IV (951–947 BC) – was the son of Tiglath-Pileser I. He usurped the throne from his nephew Erība-Adad II. He is named on the *SyKL*. He repaired the Ishtar Temple at Nineveh and the *bīt nāmeru* (gate-tower) at Aššur. He called himself Strong King and King of the Universe.[1129] The *AKL* gives him a reign of four years.

Aššur-nāsir-apli – Ashurnasirpal I (947–928 BC) – succeeded his father Šamši-Adad IV as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. He called himself King of the Universe and Holy Priest.[1130] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 19 years.[1131]

[1125] Grayson (1991a), pp.13, 33.
[1126] Grayson (1991a), pp.86–112.
[1127] Grayson (1991a), pp.95, 106, 109.
[1128] Grayson (1991a), pp.114–116; Newgrosh (1999), p.96.
[1129] Grayson (1991a), p.118.
[1130] Grayson (1991a), p.123; Newgrosh (1999), p.96.
[1131] Grayson (1980–1983), p.113.

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Šulmānu-Ašarēdu – Shalmaneser II (928–916 BC) – succeeded his father Ashur-nasirpal I as king of Assyria. He is named on the *SyKL*. He was contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser II who was at the time king of Ḫanigalbat. He called himself Great King, King of the Universe and Holy Priest.[1132] It is proposed that he became incapacitated (perhaps through illness) in his penultimate year and that Tiglath-Pileser II became the leading king of Assyria, as discussed earlier and consistent with Furlong's proposal. Shalmaneser II was not named on the *AKLa*. The *AKLb* suggests a reign of 12 years, which is consistent with the eponymy list KAV 21/22.

Aššur-Nārāri IV (916–910 BC) – succeeded his father Shalmaneser II as king of Assyria while still a child. He is named on the *SyKL*. There are no royal inscriptions from his reign and the *limmu* lists confirm that there are no known limmus datable to his reign.[1133] This strongly suggests that he was subordinate to Tiglath-Pileser II (966–934 BC) and then Aššur-Dān II (934–911 BC) of Ḫanigalbat, who were likely officially his Grand Viziers and therefore regents. The *AKL* gives him a reign of six years and therefore he possibly died before he became of age to rule.

Aššur-Dān II (934–911 BC) – succeeded his father Tiglath-Pileser II as king of Assyria. It is proposed that he was Grand Vizier to Shalmaneser II of Aššur and that when Shalmaneser II was succeeded by his young son Aššur-Nārāri IV in 916 BC, Aššur-Dān II became the child's regent and was therefore effectively the main king of Assyria. He referred to each of his ancestors back to and including Aššur-Rabi II as Strong King, King of the Universe, which is not supported by any contemporary records. He used the titles Great King and King of the Universe. He is named on the *SyKL*. The *AKL* gives him a reign of 23 years.

Ḫanigalbat

When Shalmaneser I subjugated Mitanni he created a new regional capital at Dūr-Katlimmu in Ḫanigalbat. This was likely necessitated by a need to maintain a royal presence in the eastern section of the former Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni as a counterbalance to the Hittites having established a royal presence in the western section at Karkamiš.

Ibašši-Ilī (c.1216–1188 BC) – is noted by Cancik-Kirshbaum to have been Grand Vizier of Assyria. Assyriologists normally follow the suggestion of Cancik-

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[1132] Grayson (1991a), p.124.; Newgrosh (1999), p.96.
[1133] Newgrosh (1999), p.82.

Kirshbaum that Ibašši-Ilī was the brother of Shalmaneser I and therefore son of Adad-Nārāri I (1192–1160 BC).[1134] However, this does not make genealogical sense as it does not leave enough time for later generations, as text VAT 20328 records that Ilī-Padâ II, the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, was the son of Aššur-iddin and grandson of Qibi-Aššur, who was himself the son of Ibašši-Ilī.[1135] Furthermore, the descendants of Ibašši-Ilī did not claim descent from Adad-Nārāri I (1192–1160 BC) or even from Aššur-Uballiṭ I, but instead from Erība-Adad I (1277–1250 BC). I therefore propose that this Ibašši-Ilī is the same person as Ibašši-Ilī the father of Bābu-aḫa-iddina (a high official and likely Grand Vizier from the time of Shalmaneser I) and son of Ilī-Padâ I, who Llop-Raduà suggested was contemporary with Adad-Nārāri I and brought a present from a certain Hurrian king [..]-Šarruma to the Assyrian king, and propose that Ilī-Padâ I was the son of Erība-Adad I.[1136] As Ibašši-Ilī was communicating with a Hurrian king he was likely governor of a city either in or bordering Ḫanigalbat, which he would possilby have inherited from his father Ilī-Padâ I.

Qibi-Aššur (c.1188–1159–1158 BC) – is known from text VAT 20328 to have been the son of succeed his father Ibašši-Ilī as ruler of Ḫanigalbat. In 1159 BC he was elevated by Shalmaneser I as king at Dūr-Katlimmu. He had the double title *sukkallu rabi'u /šar (māt) Ḫanigalbat* (Grand Vizier and king of Ḫanigalbat.[1137]

Aššur-Iddina (c.1158–1132 BC) – is known from text VAT 20328 to have succeed his father Qibi-Aššur as king of Ḫanigalbat.

Ilī-Padâ II (c.1132–1089 BC) – succeeded Aššur-Iddina as king of Ḫanigalbat. He was king at the time of the death of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC). Adad-šuma-uṣur of Babylon (1098–1077 BC) referred to him as joint king of Assyria with Aššur-Nārāri III (1090–1084 BC).[1138] He had the double title *sukkallu rabi'u /šar (māt) Ḫanigalbat* (Grand Vizier and king of Ḫanigalbat).[1139]

Ninurta-apil-Ekur (c.1089–1079 BC) – see Ninurta-apil-Ekur, king of Aššur.

Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur (c.1054–1031 BC) – was the son of Aššur-Dān I of Aššur (1076–1030 BC). He is named on the *SyKL* and *Chronicle P* records that he was

[1134] Cancik-Kirshbaum, pp.214–215; Fales, pp.226–227; Jakob, pp.59, 64; Kolinski, p.12; Shibata, p.498.
[1135] Fales, p.227; Llop-Raduà, p.256
[1136] Frahm (2002), pp.82–83; Llop-Raduà, p.246
[1137] Fales, pp.226–227.
[1138] Fales, pp.228–229; May, p.492
[1139] Fales, pp.226–227.

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responsible for returning the statue of Bel to Babylon, 66 years after it had been taken by Tukultī-Ninurta I (1130–1093 BC).

While the *AKL* infers that he was king of Aššur, it also describes him as having had a *ṭuppišu* reign. The *AKL* had earlier described six people (who I had earlier suggested were *limmus*), as having had *ṭuppišu* reigns during the reign of Aššur-Dugul (1537–1531 BC), in which they wielded affective control as co-regents. Accordingly, it is proposed that Aššur-Dān I instead installed him as king of Ḫanigalbat and successor of Eru-apla-usur of Ḫalaḫḫi as Grand Vizier. It appears from records at Aššur that as the Grand Vizier he became regent during the final period of his father's very long reign. As regent he wielded effective control at Aššur at the expense of his older brother Mutakkil-Nusku, the Crown Prince, and received vast quantities of tribute.[1140] The *AKL* records that he fought with Mutakkil-Nusku who also had a *ṭuppišu* reign and carried him off to Babylon.

Aššur-Rabi II (1012–971 BC) – is described in the *AKL* as the son of Ashurnasirpal I (947–928 BC) and succeeding his nephew Aššur-Nārāri IV (916–910 BC), before reigning himself for 41 years. Hagens notes that it is unrealistic to believe that Aššur-Rabi II died 59 years after his father and suggests that he was installed as king of Ḫanigalbat by his father and ruled there until he succeeded Aššur-Nārāri IV.[1141]

In this chronology it is instead proposed that the description of him as the son of Ashurnasirpal I is a corruption made by scribes who both read the king list as linear and understood that the kings of Assyria were the descendants of Eriba-Adad I and therefore assumed that Aššur-Rabi II was the son of Aššur-Nārāri IV. who wished to further legitimise their rule of Assyria by portraying him has a king who had ruled from Aššur. This is supported by Aššur-Dān II referring to each of his ancestors back to and including Aššur-Rabi II as Strong King, King of the Universe, which is not supported by any contemporary records. It is suggested that he was instead the son of Aššur-reša-iši I (1030–1012 BC) and brother of Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC), who appointed him as king of Ḫanigalbat.

He is named on the *SyKL*. There are no contemporary records of Aššur-Rabi II from Aššur. He is instead attested as having constructed the Bīt-nathi, which was part of the temple of Ištar at Nineveh. That his authority covered Ḫanigalbat is confirmed on the cylinder of Bēl-Ēreš, a *šangû* (governor) of Šadikanni on the Ḫārbūr River.[1142] That the cylinder was found at Aššur and refers to both Aššur-Rabi II and his son Aššur-reša-iši II as kings of Assyria does not necessitate them

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[1140] Fine, p.110–111; Newgrosh (1999), p.101–102; Hagens (2005), p.29.
[1141] Hagens (2002), p.64, 67; (2005), p.34.
[1142] Grayson (2002), pp.126–128.

being independent kings at Aššur, as Ilī-Padâ II, who was also king of Ḫanigalbat, had also been referred to as a king of Assyria.

While Shalmaneser III confirms that Aššur-Rabi II was king at the time that parts of the Ḫābūr Region were settled by Arameans, it was noted earlier that this occurred during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I, which supports the suggestion that the two kings were contemporary.

The KAV 21/22 Eponym Lists indicates that the kings of Ḫanigalbat from the time of Aššur-Rabi II onwards had *limmus* at Dūr-Katlimmu.[1143] The *AKL* gives him a reign of 41 years.

Aššur-reša-iši II (971–966 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-Rabi II as king of Ḫanigalbat. He is named on the *SyKL*. There are no contemporary records to support the claim by his grandson Aššur-Dān II that he was Strong King, King of the Universe, which seems to have been an attempt by Aššur-Dān II to embellish his ancestors.

He is recorded on the abovementioned cylinder of Bēl-Ēreš, *šangû* (governor) of Šadikanni on the Ḫārbūr River. He is also recorded a stela (VA Ass1202, Ass15549, Ass ph4526) found in the row of stelae at Aššur, which appears to read 'Monument of [Aššur-r]eša-iši, king of Assyria, [son of Aš]šur-[R]abi (II), king of Assyria'.[1144] While on face value this suggests that both Aššur-Rabi II and Aššur-reša-iši II ruled from Aššur, it is reasonable that if Aššur-Dān II found it necessary to have the two kings included in the *AKL* as kings of Aššur, he would have found it equally necessary to relocate a stela erected for them to Aššur. The *AKL* gives him a reign of five years.

Tukultī-apil-Ešarra – Tiglath-Pileser II (966–934 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-reša-iši II as king of Ḫanigalbat. He is named on the *SyKL* and is recorded on stele Ass 15550 found in the row of steles at Aššur.[1145] During his time the Ḫābūr Region city of Gidara was taken by the Arameans.[1146] His grandson Adad-Nārāri II (911–890 BC) referred to him as King of the Universe, King of Assyria.

Aššur – Assyrian Empire Period

Adad-Nārāri II (911–890 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-Dān II as king of Assyria. His reign marks the beginning of the Assyrian Empire Period.

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[1143] Newgrosh (1999), p.83; Hagens (2005), p.34.
[1144] Grayson (1991a), p.126.
[1145] Grayson (1991a), p.129.
[1146] Grayson (1991a), pp.147, 150, 160.

Tukultī-Ninurta II (890–883 BC) – succeeded his father Adad-Nārāri II as king of Assyria.

Nimrud – Assyrian Empire Period

Aššur-nāṣir-apli – Ashurnasirpal II (883–858 BC) – succeeded his father Tukultī-Ninurta II as king of Assyria. He moved the capital of Assyria to Nimrud, with Aššur remaining as the spiritual centre of the empire

Šulmānu-Ašarēdu – Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) – succeeded his father Ashurnasirpal II as king of Assyria.

Šamši-Adad V (823–810 BC) – succeeded his father Shalmaneser III as king of Assyria. He conducted two campaigns against Marduk-balāssu-iqbi of Babylon. On the second occasion in 814 BC he captured Marduk-balāssu-iqbi and took him back to Assyria in chains. When Baba-aha-iddina (812–811 BC) subsequently claimed kingship in Babylon he returned to Babylon and defeated Baba-aha-iddina. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records his defeats of both Marduk-balāssu-iqbi and Baba-aha-iddina.

Adad-Nārāri III (810–782 BC) – succeeded his father Šamši-Adad V as king of Assyria. His mother Sammu-Rāmat was very prominent in the running of the empire until her death (811–805 BC) and was immortalized in later literary tradition as the legendary warrior-queen and heroine Semiramis. He maintained control of Babylon for the length of his reign.

Šulmānu-Ašarēdu – Shalmaneser IV (782–772 BC) – succeeded his father Adad-Nārāri III as king of Assyria.

Aššur-Dān III (772–754 BC) – succeeded his brother Shalmaneser IV as king of Assyria. It is notable that the eponym list of Aššur-Dān III does not follow the normal sequence of eponyms during this period, failing to name the palace herald, chief butler and chamberlain after the commander. This was however likely deliberate and not an indication of missing eponyms as suggested by Kolberg.[1147] For while the primary purpose of the synonym system was to record years, it had a secondary purpose of honouring important dignitaries within the realm. It stands to reason that Aššur-Dān III would have seen the necessity to name a second eponym

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[1147] Kolberg, pp.22, 28, 75–76

after Šamši-Ilu the commander, but it would not have been important to do the same for the palace herald, chief butler and chamberlain, beking more important to return to naming eponyms after those governors who would otherwise been about to be so honoured had Shalmaneser IV still been king, which Kolberg noted had been proposed by Smith and is accepted by Assyriologists. In his Year 10 (eponymy of Būr-Saggile of Guzana) a solar eclipse occurred in the month Samanu which is dated to 15 June 763 BC.

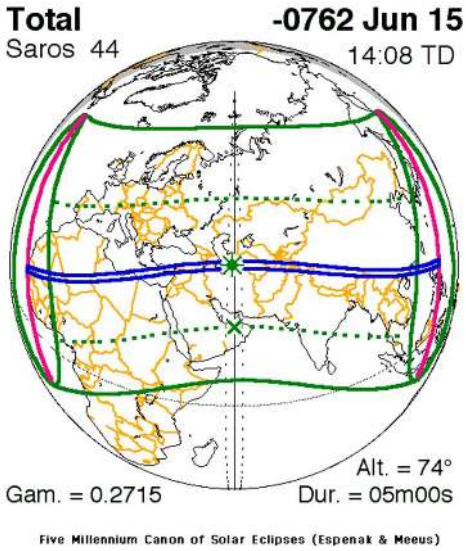


Figure 22 – Solar eclipse of 15 June 763 BC

Aššur-Nārāri V (754–744 BC) – succeeded his brother Aššur-Dān III as king of Assyria. He was defeated by Sarduri II of Urartu (753–735 BC).[1148]

Tukultī-apil-Ešarra – Pulu – Tiglath-Pileser III (745–744–727–724 BC) – was recorded on the eponymy lists as having had a one-year coregency with his father Aššur-Nārāri V, during which time he was known by his birth name Pulu, before succeeded his father as king of Assyria, and then at the end of his reign he had a coregency with his son commencing in 727 BC until his death in 724 BC. The first was demonstrated by Davenport who noted that there are lines in the eponym list two years apart, both above the year for 745 BC when he began to reign and again above the year of his eponym, after a reference to the 10-years reign of Aššur-Nārāri V.[1149] This explains why his eponym year was 743 BC, which was the first full year of his independent rule, and why there would otherwise be a missing eponym around

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[1148] Grayson (1996), p.246.
[1149] Davenport, pp.37–39

this period. This is repeated for the period 727–724 BC. He is named on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Walker Chronicle*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign at Babylon of two years (729–727 BC), and the Assyrian King list gives him a reign of 18 years, which is confirmed by the eponym list as the period between when he commenced his coregency with his father and commenced his coregency with his son.

Šulmānu-Ašarēdu – Ulūlāyu – Iloulaios – Shalmaneser V (727–724–720 BC) – was the crown prince Ulūlāyu. Heis recorded on the eponymy lists as having had a coregency with his father Tiglath-Pileser III for three years before succeeded his father as king of Assyria. He is named on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *BKLa* which gives him a reign at Babylon of five years, which is mirrored in the *Ptolemaic Canon*, and covers the full length of his reign. In the Bible he is called Šlmnʾsr (Shalmaneser) and in the Ptolemaic Canon he is called Iloulaios.[1150]

Governors of Aššur

Ilu-Issīya (c.810–785 BC) – was governor of Aššur with the eponym year of 804 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).

Pan-Aššur-lamur (c.785–760 BC) – was governor of Aššur with the eponym year of 776 BC named after him during the reign of Shalmaneser IV of Assyria (782–772 BC).

Adad-bela-ka'in (c.760–735 BC) – was governor of Aššur with the eponym years 748 & 738 BC named after him during the reigns of Aššur-Nārāri V (755–745 BC) and Tiglath-Pileser III (745–724 BC) of Assyria.

Governors of Nineveh

Nergal-Mudammiq (c.850–825 BC) – was governor of Nineveh with the eponym year of 834 BC named after him during the reign of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC).

Inūrta-mukīn-aḫi (c.800–775 BC) – was governor of Nineveh with the eponym year of 789 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (811–783 BC).

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[1150] Yamada & Yamada, pp.388, 396–401.

Nabû-múkîn-apli II (c.775–750 BC) – was governor of Nineveh with the eponym year of 761 BC named after him during the reign of Aššur-Dān III of Assyria (773–755 BC).

Mahde (c.750–725 BC) – was governor of Nineveh with the eponym year of 725 BC named after him during the reign of Shalmaneser V of Assyria (727–720 BC).

Nabû-deni-epuš (c.725–700 BC) – was governor of Nineveh with the eponym year of 704 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).

Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) – Assyrian Empire Period

Šarru-Kīn – Arkeanos – Sargon II (722–720–705 BC) – ruled from Khorsabad (Fortress of Sargon). It appears from the eponymy lists that he had a coregency with his brother Shalmaneser V, from whom he appears to have usurped as king of Assyria in 720 BC. He is named as king of Babylon on the *BKLa* which gives him a reign of five years (710–705 BC), repeated in the *Ptolemaic Canon* where he is called Arkeanos.

Nineveh – Assyrian Empire Period

Sîn-aḫḫē-erība – Senekʿerim – Sennacherib (705–681 BC) – succeeded his father Sargon II as king of Assyria. He is named on the *BKLa* which gives him reigns at Babylon of two years and a second reign of eight years (705–703, 689–681 BC). He moved the capital of Assyria from Dur-Sharrukin to Nineveh. He was killed by his son Arda-Mulissu.

Aššur-aḫa-iddina – ʾĒsar-Ḥaddōn – Axerdis – Asaridinos – Esarhaddon (681–669 BC) – succeeded his father Sennacherib as king of Assyria. He is named on the *BKLa* as a king of Babylon, and on the *Ptolemaic Canon* as Asaridinos with a reign at Babylon of 13 years, which was the full length of his reign. In the Bible he is called ʾĒsar-Ḥaddōn and Abydenus called him Axerdis

Aššur-bāni-apli – Ashurbanipal (669–631 BC) – succeeded his father Esarhaddon as king of Assyria.

Aššur-etil-ilāni (631–627 BC) – succeeded his father Ashurbanipal as king of Assyria.

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Sîn-šar-iškun – Saracus (627–612 BC) – succeeded his brother Aššur-etil-ilāni as king of Assyria. He made several unsuccessful attempts to regain Babylon from Nabopolassar of Babylon (626–605 BC). In 614 BC the Mede Cyaxares I (636–596 BC) captured and sacked Aššur, the ceremonial and religious heart of the Assyrian Empire, and in 612 BC the combined armies of Cyaxares I and Nabopolassar attacked and razed the Assyrian capital Nineveh. Sîn-šar-iškun is assumed to have died in the attack. Abydenus called him Saracus.[1151]

Babylon

Aššur-nādin-šumi – Aparanadios (700–694 BC) – was installed as king of Babylon by his father Sennacherib of Assyria. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of six years, which is mirrored in the *Ptolemaic Canon*.

Šamaš-šuma-ukīn – Saosdouchinos (668–648 BC) – was installed as king of Babylon by his brother Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668–631 BC), to whom he was subordinate. He was recorded on the *UrKL* and the *BKLa* as a king of Babylon, and on the *Ptolemaic Canon* which gives him a reign of 20 years, while the *UrKL* gives him a reign of 21 years.

Kandalānu – Kineladanos (648–627 BC) – was an Assyrian vassal noted on the *BKLa* as a king of Babylon. It is unclear if his heritage was Babylonian or Assyrian. The *UrKL* gives him a reign of 21 years while the *Ptolemaic Canon* gives him a reign of 22 years.

Sîn-šumu-līšir (627–626 BC) – was the *rab ša rēši* (great/chief eunuch) of unknown background who was a prominent courtier and general during the reign of Aššur-etil-ilāni of Assyria (631–627 BC). He installed himself as king of Babylon and northern Babylonia following the deaths of Aššur-etil-ilāni and Kandalānu of Babylon. He is said to have reigned for about three months until his defeat by Sîn-šar-iškun of Assyria (627-612 BC). He is noted on the *UrKL* with a reign of one year.

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[1151] Grayson (1975), pp.93–94.

Harran

Aššur-Uballiṭ II (c.612–609 BC) – was possibly the son of Sîn-šar-iškun, who he succeeded as ruler of the Assyrians. As Aššur had been destroyed he was not able to be crowned as king of Aššur and is considered to have been crown prince of Harran. He had an alliance with Egypt but lost Harran to Mede-Babylonian forces in 810 BC and is last recorded as attempting to retake the city in 809 BC.

5.2 Sumerians - Kienĝir

Kienĝir was the area of Lower Mesopotamia and was the cradle of Mesopotamian civilization. Over time it became known by its Akkadian name Sumer.

Having established the chronology for Assyria and Babylonia it is possible to go back yet further in time to provide a chronology for Kienĝir. The primary source of information for the chronology of this period is the *SKL*, which describes kingship in Kienĝir as lineal, with Kiš as the most dominant kingdom, but with significant amounts of time during which it lost its kingship to other cities. The reality however is that except perhaps during the Kiš I Period there was always multiple kingships in Kienĝir at any given time, with dominant and independent kings usually using the tile of *lugal* (king), while less dominant or even subordinate kings using lesser titles such as *ensi* (prince or governor).

That we don't have details of any other rulers in Kienĝir for approximately the first 500 years of the Kiš I Period suggests that Kiš ruled all of Kienĝir during this period, although there were no doubt *ensis* administering the other cities at the time. Towards the end of the Kiš I Period the city of Sippar shared power in North-west Sumer with Kiš at the same time that Larak rose to power in North-central Sumer and Šuruppag rose to power in Central Kienĝir before the rise of Uruk in South-east Kienĝir.

Such was the enduring legacy of the Kiš I Period that the Kings of Kienĝir during subsequent periods would refer to themselves as 'King of Kiš' despite the fact that there was an actual king of Kiš ruling at the same time. Kiš I was the only period when Kiš ruled all of Kienĝir and it was immediately succeeded by the Kiš II Period, after which there was a break of about 100 years to the start of the Kiš III Period, as revealed by synchronisms with the kings of Uruk and Ur. During this 100-years period the city of Akšak was the dominant city in North-west Kienĝir. In South-east Kienĝir the cities of Eridu, Bad-Tibera, Uruk, Ur and Adab all rose to power and succeeded each other at various times.

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The below chronologies have been constructed and dated relative to the reign of Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC), who defeated Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC), and are underpinned by lunar eclipses associated with the defeat of the of the Gutians by Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk V and with the reigns of all the kings of Ur III. It is constructed based on the following:
Gilgameš of Uruk (c.2436–2410 BC) defeated Aga of Kiš (2455–2430 BC).
Enna-Il of Ur (k. of Kiš, 2410–2385) succeeded Gilgameš of Uruk (c.2436–2410 BC) as king of Kienĝir.
Ur-Zage of Adab (2315–2295) succeeded Mesh-Ane-pada of Ur (2335–2311) as king of Kiš.
Lugal-ša-engur of Lagaš (c.2270–2245 BC) contemporary with Me-Silim of Šuruppag (2255–2230).
En-Metena of Lagaš (c.2170–2145 BC) cont. Lugal-kiniše-dudu of Uruk (2193–2165).
Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046) seceded from Ur-Zababa of Kiš (2092–2086).
Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (2105–2080) defeated Urukagina of Lagaš (2115–2090).
Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046) defeated Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (2105–2080).
Erridu-Pizir the Gutian (1968–1956) cont. with Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968).
Ur-Nigin of Uruk (1910–1903 BC) defeated Šu-Durul of Akkadê (1919–1904 BC).
Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1880–1873) defeated Tirigan the Gutian (1877).
Ur-Nammu of Ur (1878–1860) married dau. of Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1870–1863).
Ishbi-Erra of Isin (1792–1758) seceded from Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770).
Sin-Iqisham of Larsa (1613–1608) defeated Zambīya of Isin (1611–1608).
Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522) defeated Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535).

Table 48 – Kings of Sumer

Eridu
Alulim
c.2675–2650

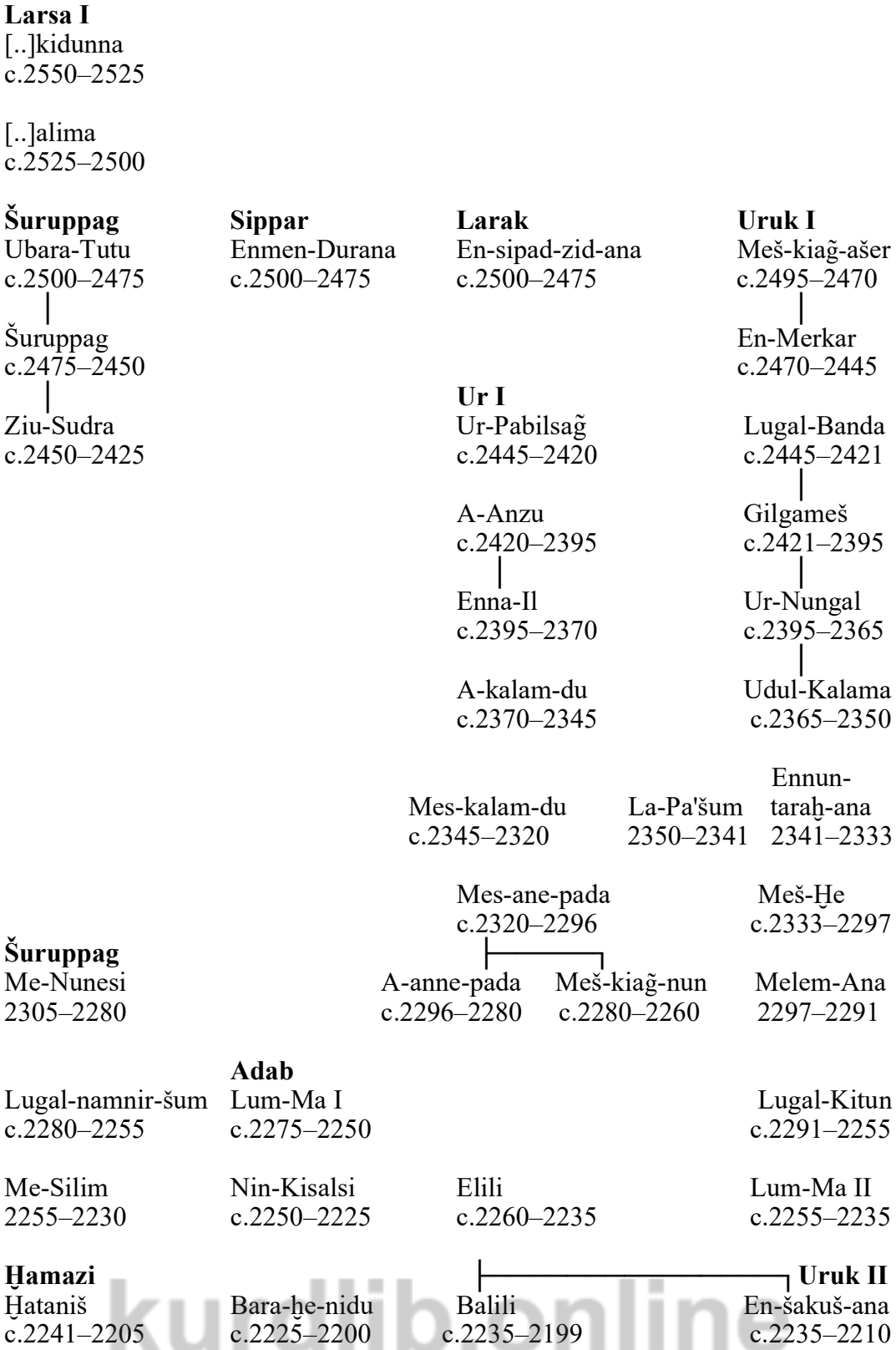
Alalĝar
c.2650–2625

Bad-Tibira
Enmen-Luana
c.2625–2600

Ammenon
2600–2575

Enmen-Galana
2575–2550

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Mug-Si
c.2200–2180

E-iginimpa'e
c.2180–2160

Lugal-Dalu
c.2160–2135

Ur-Zage
c.2135–2110

Lugal-anne-mundu
c.2110–2085

Medurbar
c.2085–2060

Mes-Kigala
c.2060–2035

Sarru-uru-kili
c.2035–2010

Lugal-Amu
c.2010–1985

Lugal-Giš
c.1985–1960

Ur-dud-ašgik
1960–1935

[..]-Ab
1935–1910

Ur II
Nanni
2125–2100
|
Meš-kiaĝ-Nanna
2100–2080

Lu-Nanna
c.2080–2055 BC

Kaku I
c.2055–2030

Lugal-Ane
c.2030–2005

Ur-Utu I
2005-1980

Lu-Saga
1980-1955

Lugal-Ure
c.2210–2192

Arkandea
2192–2185

Lugal-kiniše-dudu
c.2185–2160
|
Lugal-Kisalsi
c.2160–2135
|

Uruk III
Lugal-Tar
c.2135–2111

Urni
2111–2095

Ĝirim-Si
2095–2080

Lugal-zage-si
c.2089–2080–2064

Uruk
Lugal-Girid
c.2030–2005

Amar-Girida
c.2005–1980

Šuruppag
Dada
c.1905–1880
|
Ḫala-Adda
c.1880–1855

Lugal-Ḫedu
c.1855–1830

Uruk IV
Ur-Nigin
1910–1903

Ur-Gigir
1903–1897

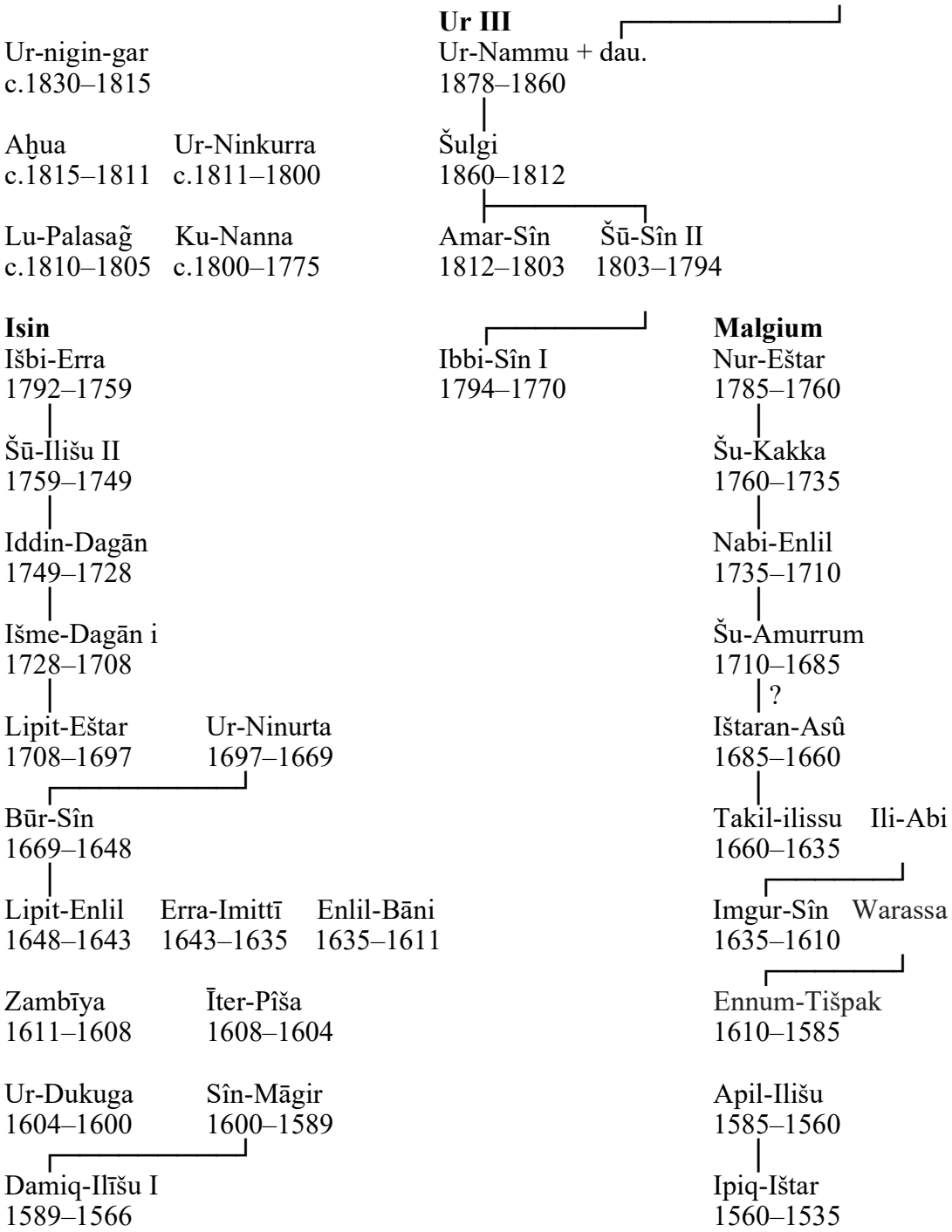
Kuda
1897–1891

Puzur-Ili
1891–1886

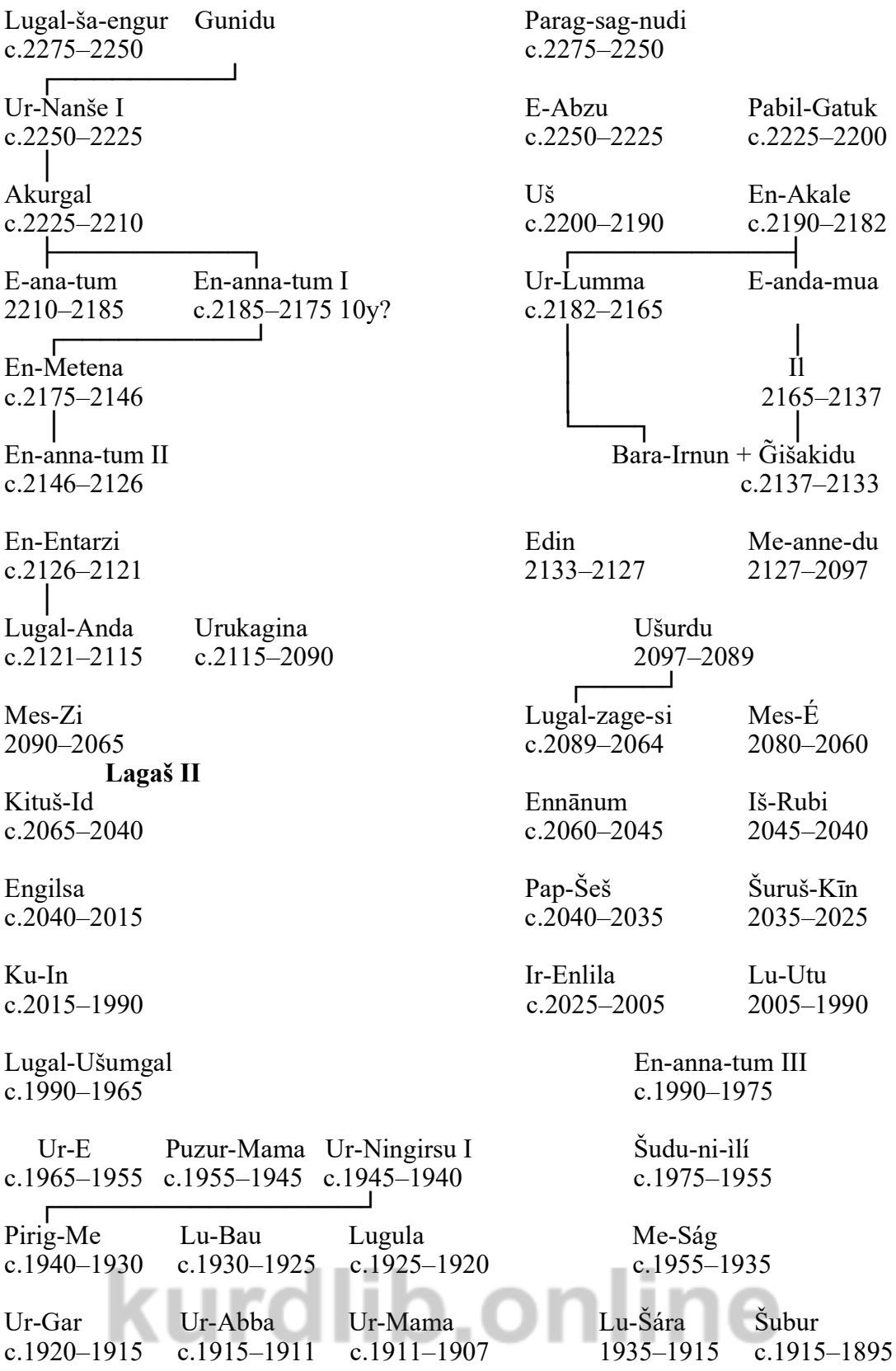
Ur-Utu II
1886–1880

Utu-Ḫengal
1880–1873

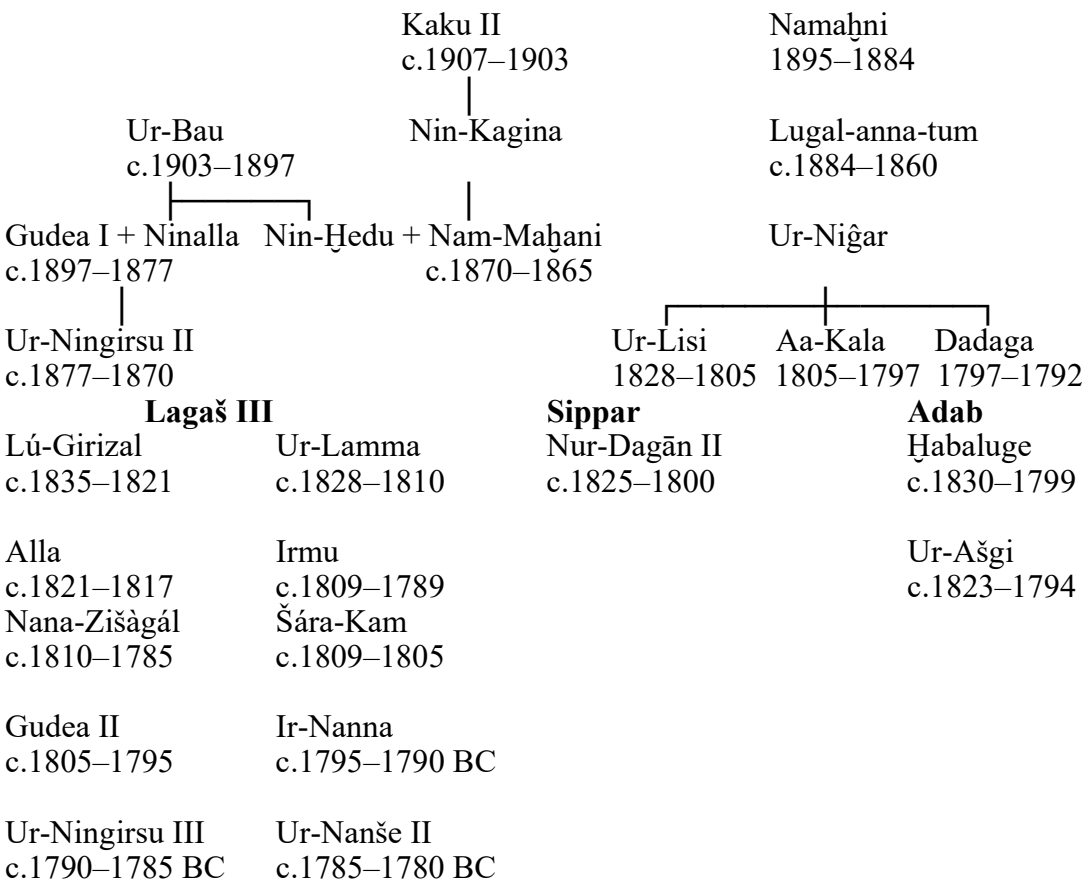
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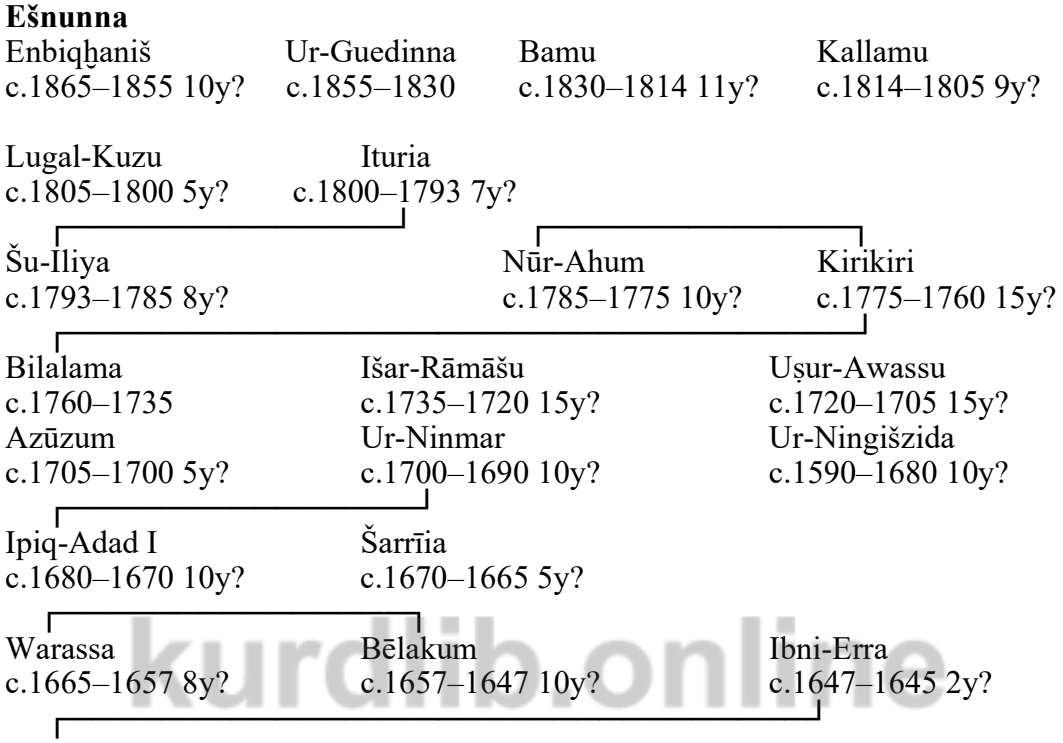


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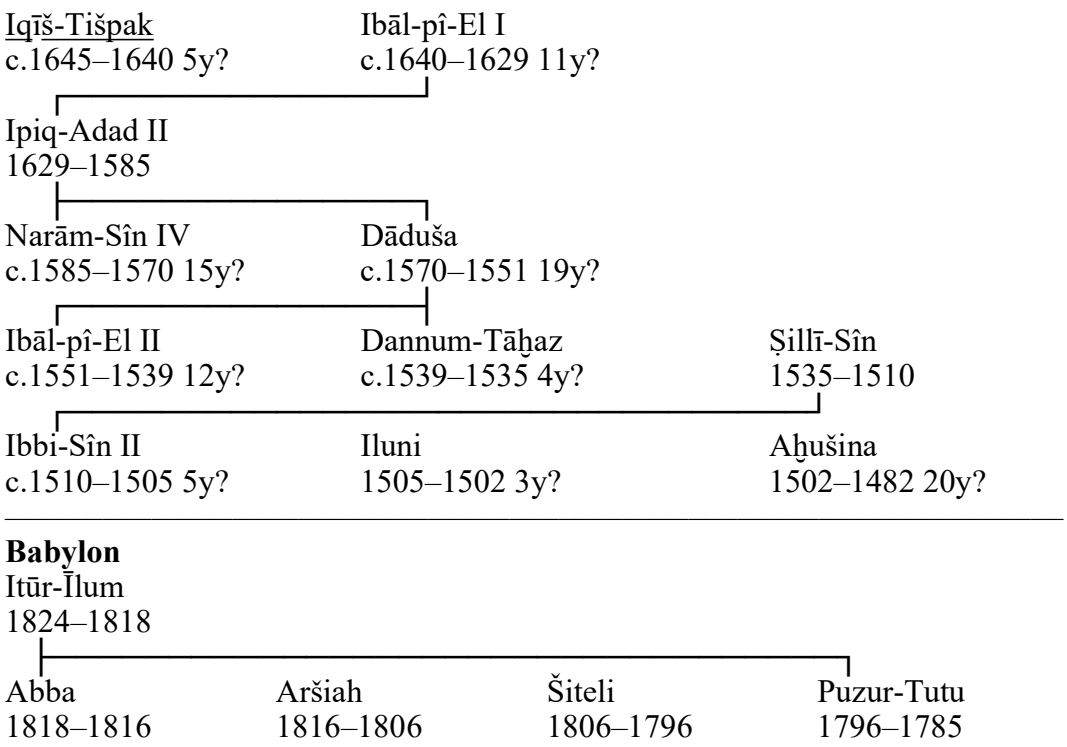


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While Kienĝir had multiple kings in its several key cities it invariably always had a king who would rise above his peers and would claim during his own lifetime to be the most powerful king of his time. For about 10 generations from 2920 BC to 2675 BC (245 years), the leading city in Kienĝir was Kiš. It is proposed that this was followed by a period of seven generations (c.2675–2500 BC) in which the eastern lower region was ruled independently by a series of kings at Eridu, Bad-Tibira and Larsa. The region controlled by Kiš was then further reduced for the following three generations (c.2500–2425 BC) when Larak and Zimbar (each for one generation) and Šuruppag (for three generations) also had kings who ruled autonomously from Kiš. During this period the control of the lower region passed from Bad-Tibira to Eanna/Uruk.

The situation then changed significantly when for a short period of time Aga of Kiš (2440–2415 BC) reasserted Kiš's control of all of Kienĝir. However, his hegemony was short-lived for he was soon defeated by Gilgameš of Uruk (2421–2395 BC) who then became king of all of Kienĝir independent of Aga. Osterman notes that the idea of Kienĝir as a political rather than just a geographical entity was first postulated in 1957 by Jacobsen, who referred to the "Kienĝir League" as an alliance of the six cities of Šuruppag, Uruk, Adab, Lagaš, Umma and Nippur.[1152] It

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[1152] Osterman, p.48.

is clear that Ur was also initially a part of the alliance until its political subjugation by Uruk.

It is proposed that following the death of Gilgameš the next king to rise to prominence was Enna-Il of Ur (2395–2370 BC). Enna-Il used the title king of Kiš, even though he was not actually king at Kiš, which was ruled during his time by Dadase (2394–2386 BC) and Munuš-Adgal (2386–2350 BC). This curious situation is explained by Jacobsen, who notes that 'the title of "king of Kish" was so highly prized that rulers of other cities preferred to style themselves as "king of Kish" rather than king of their own city if they could claim that Kish acknowledged their suzerainty.'[1153] Accordingly, no less than 13 kings who did not rule from Kiš, down to the time of Man-Ištušu of Akkadê (2039–2024 BC), used the title king of Kiš (in Akkadian the title became *šar kiššati*), while another called himself lord of Kienĝir and three other kings, who also held hegemony during this period, are assumed in this chronology to have also used the title.

Frayne notes that the Kienĝir League is thought by many scholars to have been an amphictyony.[1154] This is a reasonable conclusion given that the members of the league met at the holy city of Nippur, and that the anointment by the god Enlil of Nippur to become king of Kienĝir was likely paramount, noting that in later times both Ur-Nammu of Ur and Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon had year-names named after their receiving kingship from Nippur. However, religion does not seem to have been the unifying factor. This is evident by the fact that En-Meparagesi of Kiš (2465–2440 BC) is recorded on the *Tummal Chronicle* as being the first king to have built Enlil's temple at Nippur, and yet rather than Kiš being a member of the league, the ruler of the league used the title of king of Kiš at the same time that the city of Kiš also had an independent king.

One of the purposes of the league was therefore no doubt to create a unified political entity to counter the ever-present threat of Kiš to the north, which had previously dominated Kienĝir for about 550 years. To this end the league was successful for more than 300 years until a conqueror arose from within the land of Kiš by the name of Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC).

While the formation of a political institution with the ability to create a unified defence of the region supported cooperation amongst the cities, conflict still arose, such as the multi-generational conflict over land and water between Lagaš and Umma. For the most part however the Kienĝir League resulted in a period of cooperation with a large focus on trade. Osterman demonstrates that the administration documents from the Šuruppag archive reveals that Kienĝir

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[1153] Jacobsen (1939), p.182.
[1154] Frayne (2008), pp.7–8

functioned on occasions under a coordinated administration, with workers assigned to (or collected from) all of the six cities noted by Jacobsen.[1155]

Frayne notes that the league functioned by use of an assembly, which was led in the divine sphere by Enlil, through the assembly's secular head who was the "leader of the assembly". The symbol of the leader's authority, to judge from the "Divine Lady of the sceptre of the leader of the assembly", was an august sceptre.[1156] It is therefore almost certain that the position of the leader was elected by the assembly. It will be demonstrated that the answer to Osterman's question of 'whether the ruler of some city was at the head of that alliance, or an independent leader was appointed', is that there was universally a ruler of a city at the head of the alliance.[1157]

An outline of the kings after Aga of Kiš down to the start of the Akkadian Empire, who could rightly be described as 'king of Kienĝir' is provided as follows, including En-šakuš-ana of Uruk, who used the title lord of Kienĝir. The Kienĝir league ended with the capture of Lugal-zage-si by Sargon of Akkadê.

5.2.1 Kings of Kienĝir

Gilgameš (c.2421–2395 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk and the son of an invisible being, the lord of Kulaba, and in the *Epic of Gilgameš* as the son of king Lugal-Banda and the goddess Ninsun. The poem *Gilgameš and Aga* refers to his defeat of and subsequent gaining of independence from Aga of Kiš (2440–2415 BC). After defeating Aga he was the dominant king in Kienĝir. He is also named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*.[1158] The *SKL* gives him a reign of 126 years, which it is proposed be shortened to 26 years.

Enna-Il (c.2395–2370 BC) – succeeded his father A-Anzu as king of Ur and Gilgameš as king of Kienĝir. He is recorded on a tablet from Nippur and a fragment of a limestone statue, which records his defeat of Elam and setting up of the statue for the goddess Inanna, as having the title 'king of Kiš'.[1159]

A-kalam-du (c.2370–2345 BC) – is known from a seal inscription for his wife Ašu-Šikilam from the Royal Cemetery at Ur.[1160] It is proposed that he succeeded Enna-Il

[1155] Osterman, p.50.
[1156] Frayne (2008), p.8
[1157] Osterman, p.48.
[1158] Frahm (2018), p.278.
[1159] Frayne (2008), pp.75–76.
[1160] Frayne (2008), p.389.

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as king of both Ur and Kiš given that his successor Mes-kalam-du also had these titles.

Mes-kalam-du (c.2345–2320 BC) – is attested on a seal from a royal tomb at Ur and two spear heads from Ur. His son Mes-ane-pada recorded that he was 'king of Kiš'.[1161]

Mes-ane-pada (c.2320–2296 BC) – succeeded his father Mes-kalam-du as king of Ur. He is named on the *Tummal Chronicle* as building the Buršušua of Enlil's temple at Nippur. He recorded on a bead found at Mari that his father used the title 'king of Kiš' and a clay sealing from Ur records him also using the title.[1162] His reign length on the *SKL* of 80 years has been reduced to 24 years.

Me-Nunesi (c.2305–2280 BC) – is proposed to have been king of Šuruppag, which became the main administrative centre of Kienĝir with a large archive. He is recorded on one of the Šuruppag texts as 'king of Kiš', which indicates that he became king of Kienĝir following the death of Mes-ane-pada in 2296 BC. The text records a land transfer which involved Ayaĝeštin, the land registrar of Uruk, which suggests that the land was within the domain of Uruk and indicates that he had hegemony over Uruk.[1163]

Lugal-namnir-šum (2280–2255 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Me-Nunesi as king of Šuruppag and Kienĝir. He is attested on the sleeve of a bronze word from Girsu near Lagaš, bearing the title 'king of Kiš'.[1164]

Me-Silim (c.2255–2230 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Lugal-namnir-šum as king of Šuruppag and Kienĝir. He is attested on a stone mace-head from Girsu near Lagaš and fragments of a bowl from Adab, bearing the title 'king of Kiš'. The bowl also mentions Nin-Kisalsi of Adab (2250–2225 BC). His hegemony over the cities of Lagaš and Umma is confirmed by his interceding in a border dispute and irrigation rights between the two cities during the time of Lugal-ša-engur of Lagaš (2275–2250 BC).[1165]

[1161] Frayne (1989), pp.385-386, 392.
[1162] Frayne (2008), p.392.
[1163] Marchesi (2015), pp.140 (n.14), 153.
[1164] Frayne (2008), p.73
[1165] Frayne (2008), pp.69–71, 141–143, 195–196.

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En-šakuš-ana (c.2235–2210 BC) – was the son of Elili of Ur. Upon the death of his father he became king of Uruk, which had been a part of his father's kingdom. It is proposed that he became king of Kienĝir upon the death of Me-Silim of Šuruppag in 2230 BC. He defeated Akkadê, Akshak and Enbi-Ištar of Kiš (c.2241–2212 BC). He captured Enbi-Ištar and dedicated the city's statues, precious metals, lapis lazuli, timber and treasure to the god Enlil at Nippur. He had year-names which recorded his defeats of Akkadê and Kiš. He referred to himself as lord of Kienĝir and king of All Lands.[1166] It is notable that he did not record any need for conflict with any of the other five major cities of Kienĝir to achieve recognition as king of Kienĝir.

E-ana-tum (c.2210–2185 BC) – succeeded his father Akurgal as prince of Lagaš.[1167] It is proposed that he also became king of Kienĝir upon the death of En-šakuš-ana of Uruk in 2210 BC.

He defeated Uš of Ĝiša (Umma) (2225–2200 BC) in a boundary dispute which had previously been settled by Me-Silim (2255–2230 BC).[1168] He recorded that he killed Zuzu I of Akšak (2212–2185 BC) and claimed to have conquered Elam, Subartu, Arawa, Susa, Kiš, Mari, Uruk and Ur.

While he continued to use the title *ensi* of Lagaš, he is called *lugal* (king) of Lagaš on a bowl-shaped clay fragment and he repeatedly called himself 'king of Kiš'.[1169]

Lugal-kiniše-dudu – Lugal-kiĝine-dudu (c.2185–2160 BC) – was king of Uruk. It is proposed that he became king of Kienĝir upon the death of E-ana-tum of Lagaš in 2174 BC. He had a peace treaty with En-Metena of Lagaš (2175–2146 BC). He referred to himself as king of Uruk and Ur, and 'king of Kiš'.[1170]

Lugal-Kisalsi – Lugal-Silâsi (c.2160–2135 BC) – succeeded his father Lugal-kiniše-dudu as king of Uruk and king of Ur. He is attested on various vessel fragment, a stone foundation peg and a stone bowl and a statue fragment. A tablet that appears to have come from Uruk records his building the courtyard wall of the temple of Inanna at Uruk and refers to him as 'king of Kiš'.[1171]

Ur-Zage – Ur-Saĝkešak (c.2135–2110 BC) – it is proposed that Ur-Zage is the same person as Ur-Saĝkeša, who is attested as ruler at Adab, and that he succeeded Lugal-Dalu as king of Adab and then became king of Kienĝir following the death of Lugal-

[1166] Rowton, p.223; Frayne (2008), p.429–432.
[1167] Frayne (2008), pp.142, 144, 146–148.
[1168] Frayne (2008), pp.128-145, 195–196.
[1169] Frayne (2008), pp.128–130, 139–140, 147–162.
[1170] Frayne (2008), pp.200–202, 414–415, 418–419.
[1171] Frayne (2008), pp. 411–412, 421–425.

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Kisalsi. Ur-Zage is attested on three vase fragments from Nippur with the title of 'king of Kiš' and king of another city, the name of which is lost. Frayne suggested that Ur-Zage was king of Uruk on the basis of a judicial document published by Lambert, however as king of Kienĝir it would not have been strange for Ur-Zage to be named on legal documents at Uruk without ruling from there.[1172]

Enme'annu – Lugal-anne-mundu (c.2110–2085 BC) – succeeded Ur-Zage (Ur-Saĝkeša) as king of Adad and Kienĝir. Lugal-anne-mundu is named on the *SKL* as king of Adab with a reign of 90 years. It is proposed that he is the same king as Enme'annu who is attested on contemporary records. Marchesi notes that the very same official – the town crier E-du, the herald – was active under both Ur-Sangkeša and Enme'annu.[1173]

Lugal-anne-mundu is recorded on three Old Babylonian tablet copies of his pseudo-autobiography, which say that he ruled the provinces of Elam, Marhashi, Gutium, Subartu, the "Cedar Mountain land" and Amurru. The exaggerated reign length in the *SKL* is an element of fiction mirroring the reigns given for earlier kings.[1174]

Lugal-zage-si (c.2089–2080–2064 BC) – is recorded on stone bowl fragments from Nipper as the son of U-U, and on a vase and tablet as the son of Bu-Bu (also read as U-Kuš), who he succeeded as *ensi* of Umma and *lumaḫ* priest of the goddess Nissaba.[1175] He is recorded in the *Sumerian Sargon Legend* as being contemporary with Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC) and Ur-Zababa of Kiš (2092–2086 BC).

It is proposed that he attacked Lagaš during the reign of Urukagina of Lagaš (2115–2090 BC) and looted the treasures of all its temples.[1176] He then succeeded Lugal-anne-mundu (2110–2085 BC) as king of Kienĝir and Ĝirim-Si (2095–2080 BC) as king of Uruk. He recorded that he controlled the roads from the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea, and that he was king of Uruk and was recognised by the rulers of Kienĝir and of other lands as the princely upholder of the laws of the gods.[1177] While he used the title King of the Land there is no evidence that he used the title king of Kiš. Sargon of Akkadê is said to have captured him and took him to the gate of Enlil in a neck stock.[1178] The *SKL* records him as king of Uruk with a reign of 25 years.

[1172] Frayne (2008), p.427; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 145, 152.
[1173] Marchesi (2015), p.152.
[1174] Frayne (2008), p.31;
[1175] Frayne (2008), pp.376, 435–436; Zólyomi, p.1.
[1176] Frayne (2998), pp.277–279; Zólyomi, pp.1–3.
[1177] Zólyomi, pp.1–4; Frayne (2008), p.436.
[1178] Zólyomi, p.2.

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Sargon (2102–2046 BC), Rimuš I (2046–2039 BC) and Man-Ištušu (2039–2024 BC) of Akkadê – all used the titles 'king of Kiš' and king of Sumer (Kienĝir) and Akkadê.

5.2.2 Eridu and Bad-Tibira

Eridu

The city of Eridu was described during ancient times as being on the shore of the sea.

Alulim – Alorus (c.2675–2650 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle*, the *SKL* and the *ADKLc* as king of Eridu, and on the *ADKLa* as king of Ku'ara. He is also named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers* and *The Eridu Genesis*. Pseudo-Apollodorus called him Alorus.[1179]

Alalĝar – Alaparus (c. 2650–2625 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL*. Berosus called him Alaparus.

Ur-Engur – is recorded in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* as the father of Dungi. It is proposed that he was king of Eridu.

Dungi – the son of Ur-Engur, is recorded in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* as king of Eridu, who attacked Esagila and Babylon sometime between the time of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) and Erra-Imittī of Isin (1643–1635 BC).

Bad-Tibira

Enmen-Luana – Amelon (c.2625–2600 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle*, the *SKL and the ADKL* as king of Bad-Tibira. Berosus called him Amelon.

Ammenon (c.2600–2575 BC) – was named by Berosus as the successor of Enmen-Luana as king of Bad-Tibira.

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[1179] Frahm (2018), p.278; Peterson, pp.38, 44; Eusebius, *Chronography* §3.

Enmen-Galana – Amegalarus (c.2575–2550 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL* as king of Bad-Tibira. Berosus called him Amegalarus and he was the antediluvian *apkallu* Enme-Galamma.[1180]

Dumuzid the shepherd – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL* as king of Bad-Tibira. He was a god of shepherds and agriculture. He is unlikely to be a deified a king and is not assigned a reign in this chronology. Berosus called him Daonus.

5.2.3 Larsa, Sippar and Larak

Larsa I Period

[..]kidunna (c.2550–2525 BC) – is named on the *ADKLc* as king of Larsa and successor of Alalĝar of Eridu (2585–2560 BC) as king.[1181]

[..]alima (c.2525–2500 BC) – is named on the *ADKLc* as king of Larsa.[1182]

Sippar (Zimbir)

Enmen-Durana – Emmeduranki - Euedoreschus (c.2500–2475 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL*, where he is said to have succeeded En-sipad-zid-ana of Larak (2500–2475 BC) as king of Sippar. As Kiš is between Sippar and Larak and was ruled at this time by Ilku of Kiš (2500–2475 BC), it is proposed that he was instead contemporary with both En-sipad-zid-ana and Ilku, as well as Ubara-Tutu of Šuruppag (2500–2475 BC). He is said to have been the inventor of lecanomancy and hepatoscopy.[1183] Berosus called him Euedoreschus and said that he came from Bad-Tibira and he was likely the antediluvian *apkallu* Enme-Dugga.[1184]

Nur-Dagān II (c.1825–1800 BC) – was *ensi* (governor) of Sippar during the reign of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1185]

[1180] Kilmer, p.40.
[1181] Glassner, p.57.
[1182] Glassner, p.57.
[1183] Glassner, p.58.
[1184] Kilmer, p.40.
[1185] Frayne (1997), p.xliii.

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Larak

As Larak and Sippar were separated by Kiš they could not have ruled over each other. It is therefore proposed that their earliest named kings were contemporaries.
En-sipad-zid-ana - Amempsinus (c.2500–2475 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL* as king of Larak, where he is said to have succeeded Dumuzid as king. Berososus called him Amempsinus of Laranchae.

5.2.4 Šuruppag

Ubara-Tutu – Otiartes (c.2500–2475 BC) – is named on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *SKL* as king of Šuruppag, where he is said to have succeeded En-sipad-zid-ana of Sippar as king. As Kiš is between Sippar and Larak it is proposed that he was instead contemporary with En-sipad-zid-ana, as well as Samug of Kiš (2675–2650 BC) and En-sipad-zid-ana of Larak (2675–2650 BC). He is also named in the *Ballad of Early Rulers*. Berosus called him Otiartes from Lanchara (Larak) and he was likely the antediluvian *apkallu* Utuabzu.[1186]

Šuruppag (c.2475–2450 BC) – is named on the *ADKLc* and on the *Instructions of Šuruppag*, which is a collection of maxims and aphorisms, as the son of Ubara-Tutu.[1187]

Ziu-Sudra – Xisuthrus (c.2450–2425 BC) – was also called either Utnapishtim or Atra-ḫasīs. He succeeded his father as king of Šuruppag. While the *ADKLc* named him as the son of Šuruppag, the *ADKLa* and the *Dynastic Chronicle* named him as the son of Ubara-Tutu, as did Berosus, who called him Xisuthrus. He was king at the time of the Great Flood.

Me-Nunesi (c.2305–2280 BC) – see Me-Nunesi, king of Kienĝir.

Lugal-namnir-šum (2280–2255 BC) – see Lugal-namnir-šum, king of Kienĝir.

Me-Silim (c.2255–2230 BC) – see Me-Silim, king of Kienĝir.

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[1186] Frahm (2018), p.278; Kilmer, p.40.
[1187] Glassner, p.58.

Dada (c.1905–1880 BC) – is attested on a clay cone found at Šuruppag as prince of Šuruppag. Frayne suggests that he may date to late Akkadê/Gutian times (1968–1904 BC).[1188]

Ḫala-Adda (c.1880–1855 BC) – is attested on a clay cone found at Šuruppag as the son of Dada who he succeeded as prince of Šuruppag. Frayne suggests that he may date to late Akkadê/Gutian times (1968–1904 BC).[1189]

Lugal-Ḫedu (1855–1830 BC) – was governor of Šuruppag in Year 31 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1190]

Ur-nigin-gar (1830–1815 BC) – was the son of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) who was governor of Šuruppag in his Year 39.[1191]

Aḫua (1815–1811 BC) – was governor of Šuruppag in Year 2 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1192]

Ur-Ninkurra (c.1811–1810, 1805–1800 BC) – was governor of Šuruppag in Years 3 and 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC) and Years 2–4 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC).[1193]

Lu-Palasaĝ (1810–1805 BC) – was governor of Šuruppag in Years 5 and 7 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1194]

Ku-Nanna (1800–1775 BC) – was governor of Šuruppag in Years 6 and 9 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC).[1195]

[1188] Frayne (1993), pp.259–260.
[1189] Frayne (1993), pp.259–260.
[1190] Frayne (1997), p.194.
[1191] Frayne (1997), pp.xl, 194.
[1192] Frayne (1997), p.277.
[1193] Frayne (1997), p.277.
[1194] Frayne (1997), p.xlii.
[1195] Frayne (1997), p.xlii.

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5.2.5 Uruk

Uruk I Period

Meš-kiaĝ-ašer (c.2495–2470 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of the sun-god Utu. The *SKL* says that he ruled from Eanna, which was the Temple of Inanna at Uruk.

En-Merkar (c.2470–2445 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Meš-kiaĝ-ašer who he succeeded as king of Uruk. The *SKL* says that he built Uruk. He is noted on the *Weidner Chronicle*.

Lugal-Banda (c.2445–2421 BC) – the shepherd, is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk. He became a vassal of Aga of Kiš (2410–2385 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 24 years.

Dumuzid the fisherman – is named on the *SKL* as coming from Kuara and ruling at Uruk as king, with the *SKLc* stating that he was taken captive by En-Meparagesi of Kiš (c.2575–2550 BC). Dumuzid was actually a god who had a cult centre in Kuara. Like Dumuzid the shepherd at Bad-Tibira he is unlikely to be a deified a king and is not assigned a reign in this chronology.

Gilgameš (c.2421–2395 BC) – see Gilgameš, king of Kienĝir.

Ur-Nungal (c.2395–2365 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Gilgameš who he succeeded as king of Uruk with a reign of 30 years.

Udul-Kalama (c.2365–2350 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Ur-Nungal who he succeeded as king of Uruk with a reign of 15 years.

La-Pa'šum (c.2350–2341 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk with a reign of nine years.

Ennun-taraḫ-ana (c.2341–2333 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk with a reign of eight years.

Meš-Ḫe (c.2333–2297 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk with a reign of 36 years.

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Melem-Ana (c.2297–2291 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk with a reign of six years.

Lugal-Kitun (c.2291–2255 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Uruk with a reign of 36 years.

Lum-Ma II (c.2255–2235 BC) – is noted by Marchesi, who states that he was named as ruler of Uruk on the colophon of *TSŠ* 302, and that he was of the time of the Šuruppag archives, which was from the time of Me-Nunesi, Lugal-namnir-sum and Me-Silim of Šuruppag (c.2255–2230 BC).[1196]

Uruk II Period

The exaggerated reign lengths for this period in the *SKL* have been reduced to average reign lengths.

En-šakuš-ana (c.2235–2210 BC) – see En-šakuš-ana, king of Kienĝir.

Lugal-Ure (c.2210–2192 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the successor of En-šakuš-ana as king of Uruk with a reign of 120 years. It is proposed that he reigned for about 18 years.

Arkandea (c.2185–2178 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the successor of Lugal-Ure as king of Uruk with a reign of seven years. He is possibly the same person as Lugal-kiniše-dudu.

Lugal-kiniše-dudu (c.2185–2160 BC) – see Lugal-kiniše-dudu, king of Kienĝir.

Lugal-Kisalsi (c.2160–2135 BC) – see Lugal-Kisalsi, king of Kienĝir.

Uruk III Period

Lugal-Tar (c.2135–2111 BC) – is attested on a clay vessel fragment as prince of Uruk.[1197] It is proposed that he preceded Silim-Utu, who was a grandson of Lugal-Kisalsi, which suggests that he was himself the son of Lugal-Kisalsi. He was

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[1196] Marchesi (2015), p.144.
[1197] Rowton, p.223; Frayne (2008), pp.290–291, 439.

subordinate to Nanni of Ur (c.2120–2095 BC), who succeeded Lugal-Kisalsi as king and relocated the kingship from Uruk to Ur.

Urni (c.2111–2095 BC) – is named on two texts from Lagaš which record him leading the first two of three assaults by Uruk against Lagaš between Years 5 & 7 of Urukagina of Lagaš (2115–2090 BC).[1198] It is proposed that he reigned for about 16 years.

Ğirim-Si (c.2095–2080) – is attested on a stone statue fragment as ensi-ĞAR (supreme governor) of Uruk, recorded by Silim-Utu, grandson of king Lugal-Kisalsi.[1199] It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Lugal-zage-si (c.2089–2080–2064 BC) – was prince of Umma who occupied and became king of Uruk in 2080 BC – see Lugal-zage-si, king of Kienğir.

Lugal-Gírid (c.2030–2005) – is noted by Westenholz to have been king of Uruk during the early part of the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1200]

Amar-Gírida (c.2005–1980 BC) – was defeated, along with Lugal-Ane of Ur (2010–1985 BC) and Ipḫur-Kiši of Kiš (2005–1980 BC), by Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1201]

Uruk IV Period

Ur-Nigin (1910–1903 BC) – defeated Šu-Durul of Akkadê (1919–1904 BC). He is attested on an inscription by his son Ur-Gigir and is named on the *SKL* with a reign of seven years.[1202]

Ur-Gigir (1903–1897 BC) – succeeded his father Ur-Nigin as king of Uruk. He is attested on a cone inscription and a mace head and is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years.[1203]

[1198] Marchesi (2015), p.146.
[1199] Frayne (2008), p.425.
[1200] Westenholz, p.173.
[1201] Westenholz, pp.225–229, 245.
[1202] Frayne (1993), pp.274–275.
[1203] Frayne (1993), pp.275–276.

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Kuda (1897–1891 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years. He is attested on a bowl fragment and a seal.[1204]

Puzur-Ili (1891–1886 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of five years.

Ur-Utu II (1886–1880 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years. He is attested by a seal.[1205]

Utu-Ḫengal (1880–1873 BC) – defeated the Gutian Tirigan (1877 BC). The lunar eclipse (EAE tablet 21)[1206] on 14 Dumuzu, which is identified as 28 March 1875 BC, was considered a portent to the event. His daughter married Ur-Nammu of Ur (1878–1860 BC), who used a year-name which refers to the destruction of the land of Guti (by Utu-Ḫengal). The event is also recorded in the *SKL* and the *Weidner Chronicle*, and on a victory stele, which was copied in the time of the Dynasty of Isin. He used the titles Great Man, King of Uruk, and King of the Four Quarters of the World.[1207]

The *SKL* says that following his death kingship passed to his son-in-law Ur-Nammu of Ur. While most versions of the *SKL* give him reign of 420 years and seven days, *SKLh* gave him 26 years [..] months 15 days, *SKLl* and *SKLm* gave him seven years, six months and seven days, and *SKLp* gave him seven years.

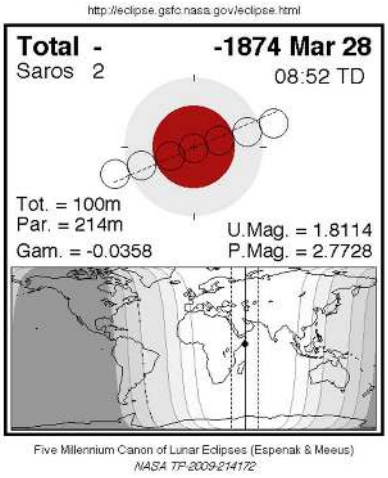


Figure 13 – Lunar eclipse of 28 March 1875 BC

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[1204] Frayne (1993), pp.276–277.
[1205] Frayne (1993), p.279.
[1206] W.A. Mitchell, p.13; Huber (1999), pp.62–63.
[1207] Frayne (1993), pp.280–296.

5.2.6 Ur

Ur I Period

Ur-Pabilsağ (c.2445–2420 BC) – is known from a bowl fragment and seal found in the royal tombs at Ur.[1208]

A-Anzu (c.2420–2395 BC) – also read as A-Imdugud, is known from an inscribed seal found in a tomb in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, and an Ur III period copy of an inscription which mentions him as the father of Enna-Il.[1209]

Enna-Il (c.2395–2370) – see Enna-Il, king of Kienĝir.

A-kalam-du (c.2370–2345 BC) – see A-kalam-du, king of Kienĝir.

Mes-kalam-du (c.2345–2320 BC) – see Mes-kalam-du, king of Kienĝir.

Mes-ane-pada (c.2320–2296 BC) – see Mes-ane-pada, king of Kienĝir.

A-anne-pada (c.2296–2280 BC) – was the son of Mes-ane-pada who he succeeded as king. He is not named on the *SKL*. It is proposed that he reigned for about 16 of the 36 years provided by the *SKL* to his brother Meš-kiağ-nun.

Meš-kiağ-nun (c.2280–2260 BC) – is named on the *Tummal Chronicle* as the son of Mes-ane-pada. The *SKL* gives him a reign of 36 years, which has been split with his older brother who preceded him. It is proposed that the reigned for 20 years.

Elili (c.2260–2235 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of 25 years. Two clay cones record his building of Enki's Abzu temple in Eridu.[1210]

Balili (c.2235–2199 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of 36 years.

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[1208] Frayne (2008), pp.378, 381–382; Marchesi (2015), pp.141, 144.
[1209] Frayne (2008), pp.75, 379; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 153.
[1210] Frayne (2008), p.405.

Ur II Period

Nanni (c.2125–2100 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of 54+years. He returned kingship from Uruk to Ur. It is proposed that he reigned for 25 years.

Meš-kiaĝ-Nanna (c.2100–2080 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Nanni as king of Ur. It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.

Lu-Nanna (c.2080–2055 BC) – was king of Ur. He was recorded by Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC) as being contemporary with Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (c.2089–2064 BC), Mes-Zi of Lagaš (c.2090–2065 BC) and Mes-É of Umma (c.2080–2060 BC).[1211]

Kaku I (c.2055–2030 BC) – was king of Ur. He is recorded on tablets as having been captured, along with Kituš-Id of Lagaš (2065–2040 BC) by Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC).[1212]

Lugal-Ane (c.2030–2005 BC) – was king of Ur. He was any ally of Ipḫur-Kīši of Kiš (c.2005 BC) and Amar-Girida of Uruk (c.2005–1980 BC). They rebelled against and were defeated by Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1213]

Ur-Utu I (c.2005–1980 BC) – was governor of Ur during the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1214]

Lu-Saga (c.1980–1955 BC) – was governor of Ur during the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC). He is attested on a cone inscription[1215]

Ur III Period

Ur-Nammu (1878–1860 BC) – is recorded in the *Uruk Chronicle Concerning the Kings of Ur* as having married a daughter of Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1880–1873 BC). One of his year-names is named after Utu-Ḫengal's defeat of the Gutians, which it is proposed occurred in 1877 BC. Upon the death of Utu-Ḫengal he united the kingdoms of Ur and Uruk. He defeated Nam-Maḫani of Lagaš (1883–1863 BC). A

[1211] Frayne (1993), pp.31
[1212] Frayne (1993), pp.46–47, 50, 299.
[1213] Westenholz, pp.222–227
[1214] Frayne (1993), p.299.
[1215] Frayne (1993), p.299.

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lunar eclipse (EAE tablet 20)[1216] on 14 Simanu or Dumuzu dated to 9 June 1860 BC was a portent to his death and the seizure of the throne by his son Šulgi (1860–1812 BC). He is recorded on the *Tummal Chronicle* as building the Ekur at Nippur. The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of 18 years.

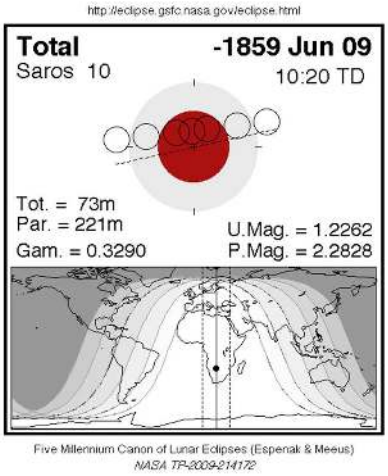


Figure 14 – Lunar eclipse of 9 June 1860 BC

Šulgi (1860–1812 BC) – is named on the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, on the *Tummal Chronicle* and on the *SKL* as the son of Ur-Nammu, who he succeeded as king. The *Weidner Chronicle* states that he followed Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1875–1868 BC) as the dominant king in Sumer. He married a daughter of Apil-Kîn II of Mari (c.1887–1852 BC). The *SKL* gives him a reign of 46 years and the *UIKL* gives him a reign of 48 years.

Amar-Sîn (1812–1803 BC) – is mentioned on the *Weidner Chronicle* and the *SKL* as the son of Šulgi, who he succeeded as king. He is also named on the *Tummal Chronicle*. A lunar eclipse (EAE tablet 20)[1217] on 14 Ayaru dated to 10 May 1803 BC was a portent to the death of the king of Ur. The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of nine years.

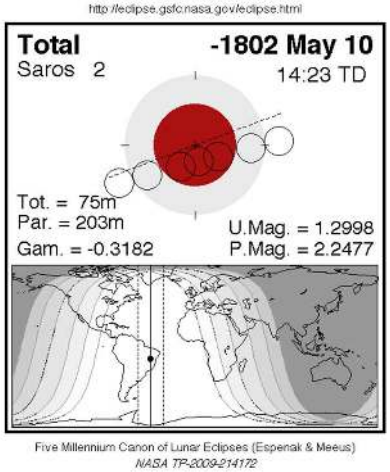


Figure 15 – Lunar eclipse of 10 May 1803 BC

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[1216] Huber (1999), p.61.
[1217] Lafont, pp.191, 201; Huber (1999), p.61.

Šū-Sîn II (1812–1803–1794 BC) – was named on the *SKL* as the son of Šulgi. He was regent of Der prior to succeeding his brother Amar-Sîn as king of Ur. He is noted on the *Weidner Chronicle*. A lunar eclipse (EAE tablet 20) on 14 Simanu or Damuzi dated to 10 June 1795 BC was a portent to the death of the king by his son, and subsequent seizing of the throne by another son. The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of nine years. [1218]

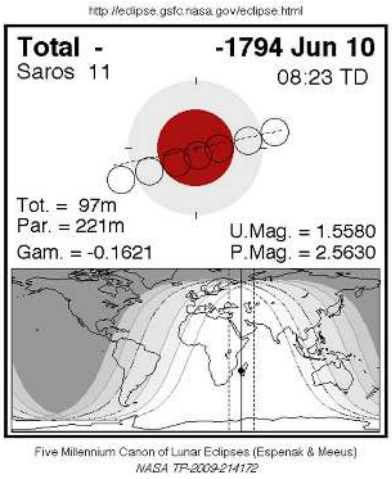


Figure 16 – Lunar eclipse of 10 June 1795 BC

Ibbi-Sîn I (1794–1770 BC) – is named on the *SKL* and the *Weidner Chronicle* as the son of Šulgi, who he succeeded as king. He is also named on the *Tummal Chronicle*. He appointed Išbi-Erra (1792–1759 BC) as governor of Isin who gained independence in Year 8 (1787 BC).[1219] A lunar eclipse (EAE tablet 21)[1220] on 14 Addaru dated to 6 February 1770 BC was a portent to the destruction of Ur. The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of 24 years.

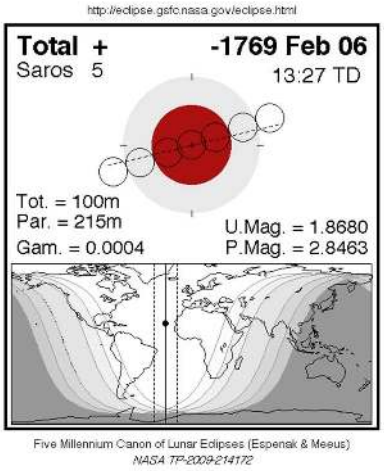


Figure 17 – Lunar eclipse of 6 February 1770 BC

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[1218] Huber (1999), p.60.
[1219] Fitzgerald, p.5.pp
[1220] Huber (1999), p.60.

5.2.7 Lagaš

Many of the rulers of Lagaš used the title *ensi* (prince) rather than the title *lugal* (king) and are not included in the *SKL*. The *Royal Chronicle of Lagaš*, which provides a list if kings spanning the period from the time of the Flood to the start of the Lagaš I Period, is rightly considered to be a parody of the *SKL*.[1221]

Lagaš I Period

Šid-Malru (2325–2300 BC) – is noted by Barton as being named as king of Lagaš on a land sale tablet. The suggestion by Powell, which is supported by Sallaberger & Schrakamp, that at Lagaš the term *lugal* uniquely referred to a landowner rather than a king, is not supported.[1222]

En-Ḫegal (c.2300–2275 BC) – is named as king of Lagaš on the land sale tablet referred to above.

Lugal-ša-engur (c.2275–2250 BC) – was prince of Lagaš. He was recorded on a mace head dedicated by 'Me-Silim of Kiš', which indicates that he was subordinate to Me-Silim (2255–2230 BC), who was king of Šuruppag.[1223]

Ur-Nanše I (c.2250–2225 BC) – son of a certain Gunidu son of Gursar, was king of Lagaš. He recorded his numerous building projects and referred to ships of Dilmun bringing him timber from foreign lands as tribute. He recorded that he defended Lagaš against the Amorites and defeated Giša (Umma) and Ur, and captured Pabil-Gatuk of Umma (2225–2200 BC).[1224]

Akurgal (c.2225–2210 BC) – Succeeded his father Ur-Nanše I as prince of Lagaš.[1225]

E-ana-tum (c.2210–2185 BC) – see E-ana-tum, king of Kienĝir.

En-anna-tum I (c.2185–2175 BC) – succeeded his brother E-ana-tum as prince of Lagaš. He recorded his victory against Ur-Lumma of Umma (2182–2165 BC) over

[1221] Glassner, pp.147–155.
[1222] Barton, p.13; Powell, 101; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.67.
[1223] Frayne (2008), p.70.
[1224] Frayne (2008), pp.81–119; Marchesi (2015), p.149.
[1225] Frayne (2008), pp.84–87, 121–123, 128.

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the longstanding boundary dispute between the two cities, which was further described by his son En-Metena.[1226] It is proposed that he reigned for 15 years.

En-Metena (c.2175–2146 BC) – succeeded his father En-Annatum I as prince of Lagaš. He built canals in the region disputed by Umma and shrines and temples, and made a number of administrative reforms, including the cancellation of obligations for the citizens of Uruk, Larsa and Bad-Tibira. He had a treaty with Lugal-kiniše-dudu of Uruk (c.2185–2160 BC).[1227] Frayne referring to En-Entarzi being *sağa* priest in his Year 29.[1228]

En-anna-tum II (c.2146–2126 BC) – succeeded his father En-Metena as prince of Lagaš.[1229] Rowton notes that his highest confirmed date is Year 5 and Buer suggests that he was likely killed in that year when Lagaš was attacked by 600 men from Elam.[1230] It is instead proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.

En-Entarzi (c.2126–2121 BC) – was *sağa* priest in Years 17–19 of En-Metena. He later ruled as prince of Lagaš for five years.[1231]

Lugal-anda-nuḫungá – Lugal-Anda (c.2121–2115 BC) – succeeded his father En-Entarzi as prince of Lagaš. He ruled for six years and one month.[1232]

Urukagina (c.2115–2090 BC) – succeeded Lugal-Anda as prince of Lagaš. He recorded that he made extensive reforms at Lagaš, including immediately changing his title to king of Lagaš and then later to king of Ğirsu.[1233] He also did extensive work on numerous temples.

Two tablets from Lagaš refer to three attacks against the city by Uruk between Years 5 & 7 of Urukagina. The last of these three attacks is normally considered to have been the successful attack by Lugal-zage-si (c.2089–2064 BC), who plundered many of Lagaš's temples and sanctuaries.[1234] Marchesi however notes that the first two attack were led by Urni (c.2111–2095 BC), who he suggests was an otherwise

[1226] Frayne (2008), pp.170–173, 179–183, 196–197.
[1227] Frayne (2008), pp.193–235.
[1228] Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.35; Frayne (2008), pp.13, 239, n.b. while I could not find '29' on his Thureau-Dangin reference, I have accepted it in this chronology.
[1229] Frayne (2008), p.238.
[1230] Rowton, pp.220; Bauer, p.474.
[1231] Frayne (2008), p.239; Bauer, p.474.
[1232] Frayne (2008), pp.241–243, 246.
[1233] Frayne (2008), pp.246–247, 259–269, 272–273.
[1234] Frayne (2998), pp.277–279.

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unknown king of Uruk.[1235] I make the further note that while the records from Lagaš state that the attacks between Years 5 & 7 were from Uruk, the other record from Lagaš which records the successful attack by Lugal-zage-si states he was from Umma. While Lugal-zage-si would later style himself as king of Uruk it is unlikely that the scribes of Lagaš would have described an attack in Year 7 as being from both Uruk and the king of Umma. It is therefore suggested that the successful attack by Lugal-zage-si occurred after the attacks from Uruk.

Lagaš II Period

Mes-Zi (c.2090–2065 BC) – was prince of Lagaš during the time of Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC).[1236]

Kituš-Id (c.2065–2040 BC) – was prince of Lagaš. He is recorded on tablets as having been captured, along with Kaku I of Ur (2055–2030 BC), by Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC).[1237]

Engilsa (c.2040–2015 BC) – was recorded as prince of Lagaš on the *Manishtushu Obelisk* from the reign of Man-Ištušu of Akkadê (2039–2024 BC).[1238]

Ku-In (c.2015–1990 BC) – was a prince of Lagaš defeated by Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1239]

Lugal-Ušumgal (1990–1965 BC) – was a prince of Lagaš who was subordinate to both Narām-Sîn I (2024–1968 BC) and Šar-kali-šarri (1968–1943 BC) of Akkadê.[1240]

Ur-E (c.1965–1955 BC) – was prince of Lagaš during the reign of Šar-kali-šarri of Akkadê (1968–1943 BC). He retook the cities of Sulum and E-apin, which had been sold to Ur-Utu I of Ur during the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê.[1241] It is proposed that he reigned for 10 years.

[1235] Marchesi (2015), p.146.
[1236] Frayne (1993), pp.31, 269.
[1237] Frayne (1993), pp.44, 46, 269.
[1238] Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.72.
[1239] Frayne (1993), p.93.
[1240] Frayne (1993), pp.166, 200, 269–270.
[1241] Frayne (1993), p.269; Foster, p.169.

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Puzur-Mama (1955–1945 BC) – was prince of Lagaš during the reign of Šar-kali-šarri of Akkadê (1968–1943 BC). He also used the title of king and was contemporary with Puzur-Inšušinak of Susa (c.1875–1850 BC). He was the author of the letter which mentioned his predecessor Ur-E. [1242] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Ur-Ningirsu I 'the elder' (c.1945–1940 BC) – was recorded on the offering list BM 18474 and a number of objects as prince of Lagaš.[1243] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Pirig-Me (c.1940–1930 BC BC) – succeeded his father Ur-Ningirsu I as prince of Lagaš. He is known from an inscription on a block.[1244] Seven of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Lu-Bau (c.1930–1925 BC) – is listed by Edzard as the successor to Pirig-Me as prince of Lagaš. He is known only from his initial year-name.[1245] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Lugula (c.1925–1920 BC) – is listed by Edzard as the successor to Lu-Bau as prince of Lagaš. He is known only from his initial year-name.[1246] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Ur-Gar (c.1920–1915 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Lugula as prince of Lagaš. He is known from the offering list BM 18474 and three inscriptions.[1247] His first year-name is recorded. It is proposed that he reigned for five years.

Ur-Ayabba – Ur-Abba (c.1915–1911 BC) – is attested by his initial year-name and is named on the offering list BM 18474 after Ur-Gar.[1248] It is proposed that he reigned for about four years.

[1242] Frayne (1993), p.269, 271–273; Foster, p.169.
[1243] Edzard, pp.7–11.
[1244] Edzard, pp.12–13.
[1245] Edzard, pp.3, 14.
[1246] Edzard, pp.3, 14.
[1247] Edzard, pp.3, 189–192.
[1248] Edzard, pp.3,192.

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Ur-Mama (c.1911–1907 BC) – is attested by his initial year-name and is named on the offering list BM 18474 after Ur-Ayabba and on an onyx bowl.[1249] It is proposed that he reigned for about four years.

Kaku II (c.1907–1903 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Ur-Mama as prince of Lagaš. He is known only from his initial year-name.[1250] It is proposed that he reigned for about four years.

Ur-Bau (c.1903–1897 BC) – is listed by Edzard as the successor to Kaku II as prince of Lagaš. He is known from several inscriptions which record his numerous building projects.[1251] Six of his year-names are known.

Gudea I (c.1897–1877 BC) – was married to Ninalla, the daughter of Ur-Bau, who he succeeded as prince of Lagaš. His rule was considered a golden age, and he was honoured as a god after his death. He is known from about 25 statues, cylinders and numerous other items. In his Year 6 he defeated Anšan in Elam. Twenty of his year-names are known.[1252]

Ur-Ningirsu II (c.1877–1870 BC) – succeeded his father Gudea as prince of Lagaš. He is known from several items.[1253] Seven of his year-names are known.

Nam-Maḫani (c.1870–1865 BC) – was married to Nin-Ḫedu, the daughter of Ur-Bau. His mother was likely Nin-Kagina the daughter of Kaku II. He succeeded his nephew Ur-Ningirsu II as prince of Lagaš. He is named on the offering list BM 18474 and on numerous inscriptions. He is recorded on the *Code of Ur-Namma* as being killed by Ur-Nammu of Ur (1878–1860 BC).[1254] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Lagaš III Period

Lú-Girizal (c.1835–28, 1823–1821 BC) – was governor of Lagaš in Years 28–32 & 40 of the reign of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC). He is attested by several different types of items.[1255]

[1249] Edzard, pp.3,192–193.
[1250] Edzard, pp.3, 14.
[1251] Edzard, pp.3, 15–25.
[1252] Edzard, pp.26–180.
[1253] Edzard, pp.181–188.
[1254] Edzard, pp.192, 194–207; Finkelstein, J.J. (1968), p.67.
[1255] Frayne (1997), pp.191–192, 201–206.

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Ur-Lamma (c.1828–1823, 1817–1810 BC) – is attested on seal impressions as governor of Lagaš in Years 33–38 & 44–47 of the reign of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC), and Years 1–3 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1256]

Alla (c.1821–1817 BC) – is attested on a seal inscription as governor of Lagaš in Year 40 of the reign of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1257]

Irmu (c.1809, 1805–1802, 1800–1798, 1791–1789 BC) – is attested on seal impressions as governor of Lagaš in Years 4 and 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC), Year 1 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC) and Year 4 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1258]

Nana-Zišàgál (c.1810–1809, 1789–1785 BC) – is attested on a seal impression as governor of Lagaš in Year 4 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC), having been governor of Šarākum in Year 2.[1259]

Šára-Kam (c.1809–1805 BC) – is attested on seal impressions as governor of Lagaš in Years 4–7 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1260]

Gudea II (c. 1805, 1802–1800, 1798–1795 BC) – is attested on seal impressions as governor of Lagaš in Year 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC) and Years 3 & 6 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC). It seems unlikely that he was the same person as the Gudea who was governor of Kutha between Year 3 of Amar-Sîn and Year 6 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC.[1261]

Ir-Nanna – Arad-Nanna (c.1795–1790 BC) – son of the grand vizier Ur-Šulpae, was grand vizier and governor of Lagaš in the reign of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC) and Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1262]

Ur-Ningirsu III (c.1790–1785 BC) – was *šennu* (priest-ruler) of Girsu.[1263]

Ur-Nanše II (c.1785–1780 BC) – was *šennu* (priest-ruler) of Lagaš.[1264]

[1256] Frayne (1997), pp.191, 193, 206–207, 273.
[1257] Frayne (1997), pp.192, 207–208.
[1258] Frayne (1997), pp.274–275.
[1259] Frayne (1997), pp.274.
[1260] Frayne (1997), pp.274–275.
[1261] Frayne (1997), pp.279, 343, 348.
[1262] Frayne (1997), pp.323–324, 344–347, 381.
[1263] Frayne (1997), pp.427–428.
[1264] Frayne (1997), pp.427–428.

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5.2.8 Adab

Lum-Ma I (c.2275–2250 BC) – was *ensi-GAR* (grand-prince) of Adab, named on a steatite cup and likely also on a stone vessel.[1265]

Nin-Kisalsi (c.2250–2225 BC) – was grand-prince of Adab during the time of Me-Silim of Šuruppag (c.2255–2230 BC).[1266]

Bara-ḫe-nidu – Para-gan-nêdu (c.2225–2200 BC) – is attested as grand-prince of Adab on a statue.[1267]

Mug-si (c.2200–2180 BC) – is attested as grand-prince of Adab on an economic text.[1268]

E-iginimpa'e – E-pa'e (c.2180–2160 BC) – is attested as grand-prince of Adab on a land sale document, a ram figurine and foundation tablets.[1269]

Lugal-Dalu (c.2160–2135 BC) – is attested as *lugal* (king) of Adab on a stone statuette.[1270]

Ur-Sangkeš – Ur-Zage (c.2135–2110 BC) – see Ur-Zage, king of Kienĝir.

Lugal-anne-mundu (c.2110–2085 BC) – see Lugal-anne-mundu, king of Kienĝir.

Medurbar (c.2085–2060 BC) – is attested as king of Adab on fragments of a bowl and vase.[1271] It is proposed that he was the last king of Adab and was defeated by Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC), with the event being recorded at Ebla in the time of Išar-Dāmu (c.2089–2054).[1272]

Mes-Kigala (c.2060–2035 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on a statue fragment. He rebelled against and was defeated by Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC).[1273]

[1265] Frayne (2008), pp.25–26; Marchesi (2015), pp.141, 151.
[1266] Frayne (2008), pp.19, 71; Marchesi (2015), pp.141, 151.
[1267] Frayne (2008), pp.21–22; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 151.
[1268] Frayne (2008), p.27; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 151.
[1269] Frayne (2008), pp.29–30; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 151.
[1270] Frayne (2008), p.23; Marchesi (2015), pp.142, 151.
[1271] Frayne (2008), p.19–20 'Me-ba-LAK'; Marchesi (2015), pp.141, 151; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.42–43.
[1272] Marchesi (2015), p.147.
[1273] Frayne (2008), p.33–34, (1993), p.42, 252–253; Marchesi (2015), pp.143, 152.

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Sarru-uru-kili (c.2035–2010 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on two unpublished texts, one of which dates him to the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1274]

Lugal-Amu (c.2010–1985 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on a foundation cone. The cone records that prior to becoming prince he was temple administrator of Iškur, the same position that he was recorded as holding on a text naming Sarru-uru-kili.[1275]

Lugal-Giš (c.1985–1960 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on a cylinder seal and a seal impression which date him to the reign of Šar-kali-šarri of Akkadê (1968–1943 BC).[1276]

Ur-Tur – Ur-dud-ašgik (c.1960–1935 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on a seal.[1277]

[..]-Ab (c.1935–1910 BC) – is attested as prince of Adab on a clay bulla.[1278]

Ḫabaluge (c.1830–1823, 1821–1822, 1814–1799 BC) – was governor of Adab in Years 38, 40 and 47 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC), Years 1–6 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC), and Years 2–5 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC).[1279]

Ur-Ašgi (c.1823–1821, 1822–1814, 1799–1794 BC) – was governor of Adab in Years 39 and 41 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC), Year 8 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC), and Year 1 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1280]

5.2.9 Ḫamazi

Ḫataniš (2241–2205 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as king of Ḫamazi with a reign of 360 years. It is proposed that he reigned for 36 years.

[1274] Biga, p.34.
[1275] Biga, p.34.
[1276] Frayne (1993), pp.201, 254–255.
[1277] Frayne (1993), pp.256; Marchesi (2015), p.152.
[1278] Frayne (1993), p.257.
[1279] Frayne (1997), p.191–193, 197–199.
[1280] Frayne (1997), p.191–197.

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5.2.10 Umma / Ğiša

Aga-Inanna (c.2300–2275 BC) – is attested as king of Ğiša on a lapis-lazuli bead.[1281]

Parag-sag-nudi (c.2275–2250 BC) –is attested as king of Ğiša.[1282]

E-Abzu (c.2250–2225 BC) – is attested as king of Ğiša on limestone statuette fragments.[1283]

Pabil-Gatuk (c.2225–2200 BC) – was king of Umma. He is recorded on a statue fragment and was captured by Ur-Nanše of Lagaš (2235–2210 BC).[1284]

Uš – Ninta (c.2200–2190 BC) – was defeated by E-ana-tum of Lagaš (2190–2174 BC) in a battle over a boundary dispute which had previously been settled by Me-Silim of Šuruppag (2255–2230 BC). The defeat was recorded by both E-ana-tum and his nephew En-Metena of Lagaš.[1285]

En-Akale (c.2190–2182 BC) – is recorded as signing a treaty with E-ana-tum of Lagaš (2190–2174 BC) over the border dispute. His highest attested date is Year 8, Month 9.[1286]

Ur-Lumma (c.2182–2165 BC) – succeeded his father En-Akale as king of Umma. He is attested on lapis lazuli and silver tablets. He was defeated by En-anna-tum I of Lagaš (2174–2159 BC) over the longstanding boundary dispute between the two cities. En-Metena of Lagaš records that he escaped but was killed when he returned to Umma.[1287]

Il (c.2165–2137 BC) – is attested on a foundation tablet as king of Umma, son of E-anda-mua and grandson of En-Akale. He is recorded by En-Metena of Lagaš (2159–2130 BC) as having been the temple-estate administrator of Zabala who escaped the defeat by En-anna-tum I and took the throne of Umma. He continued the border and water dispute with En-Metena.[1288]

[1281] Frayne (2008), p.363.
[1282] Marchesi (2015), pp.141, 149.
[1283] Frayne (2008), p.365.
[1284] Frayne (2008), pp.92, 361–362; Marchesi (2015), p.149; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.74.
[1285] Frayne (2008), pp.128–145, 195–196; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.74–75.
[1286] Frayne (2008), pp.196; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.36, 75.
[1287] Frayne (2008), pp.170–173, 179, 196–197, 367–368; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.75–77.
[1288] Frayne (2008), pp.197, 369; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.77–78.

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Ĝišakidu (c.2137–2133 BC) – succeeded his father Il as king of Umma. He is attested on a gold plaque dedicated by his wife Bara-Irnun and on other items. He reigned at least four years.[1289]

Edin (c.2133–2127 BC) – is attested on a text as prince of Umma with a date of Year 6, Month 14 (sic).[1290] While the reading of the name is uncertain it is thought that if could be Edin, who was attested as *sukkal* during the reign of Il.[1291] It is unclear why he used the title of prince rather than king, as used by his predecessors.

Me-anne-du (c.2127–2097 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Edin as prince of Umma. He is attested by two texts dated to his Years 5 and 27. It is likely that other texts dated to Years 28 to 30 are also from his reign.[1292]

U_2-U_2 – Ukuš – Ušurdu (c.2097–2089 BC) – Ukuš is recorded on stone bowl fragments from Nipper and on a tablet as prince of Umma and *lumaḫ* priest of the goddess Nissaba, and the father of Lugal-zage-si. As there are no contemporary records for Ukuš it is proposed that he is the same person as Ušurdu, who is attested on several administrative texts up until his Year 9. Ušurdu is recorded as being linked with the name UD.MUD.NUN, which is discussed by Almamori, who noted that Marchesi & Marchetti suggested that it may be a political title. It is proposed that the title UD.MUD.NUN is associated with Ukuš/Ušurdu being a priest-ruler.[1293]

Lugal-zage-si (c.2089–2064 BC) – see Lugal-zage-si, king of Kienĝir.

Mes-É (c.2080–2060 BC) – was installed as prince of Umma when Lugal-zage-si became king of Uruk. He was recorded as prince of Umma by Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC) and being contemporary with Lugal-zage-si of Uruk (c.2105–2080 BC), Mes-Zi of Lagaš (c.2084–2055 BC) and Lu-Nanna of Ur (c.2080–2055 BC). Sargon said that he captured Umma and destroyed its walls.[1294]

[1289] Frayne (2008), pp.371–374; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.78.
[1290] Marchesi (2015), p.150; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.78.
[1291] Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.78; Monaco, p.748; Marchesi (2015), p.150.
[1292] Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.78–79; Monaco, p.748; Marchesi (2015), p.150.
[1293] Frayne (2008), pp.375–376, 435; Marchesi (2015), pp.150–151; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.79–81; Alamori, pp.6, 26.
[1294] Frayne (1993), pp.11, 12, 14, 17, 31, 261.

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Ennānum (c.2060–2045 BC) – is attested as prince of Umma on a seal and appears to be named by Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC), who captured him and destroyed the walls of the city.[1295]

Iš-Rubi (c.2045–2040 BC) – was prince of Umma.[1296]

Pap-Šeš (c.2040–2035 BC) – was prince of Umma.[1297]

Šuruš-Kīn (c.2035–2025 BC) – is attested as prince of Umma on a tenon.[1298]

Ir-Enlila (c.2025–2005 BC) – is named as king of Umma on the Geneva version of the *Great Revolt against Namar-Sin* of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC). He is named alongside Lugal-Ane 'of Uruk' (2030–2005 BC) and Ipḫur-Kīši of Kiš (c.2005–1980 BC).[1299]

Lu-Utu (c.2005–1990 BC) – is attested as prince of Umma on cone inscriptions.[1300]

En-anna-tum III (c.1990–1975 BC) – was prince of Umma.[1301]

Šudu-ni-ìlí (c.1975–1955 BC) – was prince of Umma.[1302]

Me-Ság (c.1955–1935 BC) – is attested on a cylinder seal as *dub-sar ensi* of Umma.[1303]

Lu-Šára (c.1935–1915 BC) – was prince of Umma.[1304]

Šul – Šubur (c.1915–1895 BC) – is attested as prince of Umma on a seal.[1305]

Namaḫni (c.1895–1884 BC) – was prince of Umma attested on a temple restoration inscription as being contemporary with the Gutian king Yarlaganda (1891–1884).[1306]

[1295] Frayne (1993), pp.43-44, 50, 261–262.
[1296] Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1297] Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1298] Frayne (1993), pp.261, 263.
[1299] Westenholz, p.245.
[1300] Frayne (1993), pp.264–266.
[1301] Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1302] Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1303] Foster, B.R, pp.41, 48 (n.60), 73; Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1304] Frayne (1993), p.261; Cripps, p.10.
[1305] Frayne (1993), p.266.
[1306] Frayne (1993), p.267.

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Lugal-anna-tum (c.1884–1860 BC) – was prince of Umma attested on an inscription as being contemporary with the Gutian king Si'um (c.1884–1877 BC). The inscription records that it had been 35 years since the land of Umma had been divided-up.[1307]

Ur-Lisi 1828–1805 BC) – the son of Ur-Niĝar šùš (chief cattle administrator) of Umma, was governor of Umma from Year 33 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) to Year 8 of Amar-Sîn (1812–1803 BC).[1308]

Aa-Kala (1805–1797 BC) – succeeded his brother Ur-Lisi as governor of Umma from Year 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC) to Year 7 of Šū-Sîn II (1803–1794 BC).[1309]

Dadaga (1797–1792 BC) – succeeded his brother Aa-Kala as governor of Umma from Year 7 of Šū-Sîn II (1803–1794 BC) to Year 3 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1310]

5.2.11 Der

Šū-Sîn II (1812–1803 BC) – see Šū-Sîn II, king of Ur.

Nidnuša (1785–1760 BC) – was a prince of Der attested on a piece of limestone.[1311]

Ilum-Muttabbil (c.1760–1735 BC) – was prince of Der attested on a cylinder seal and a mace head and stone block recording his victory against Anshan, Elam and Šimaški in support of Marḫaši. Frayne stated that he was contemporary with Bilalama of Ešnunna (1760–1735 BC) and Šū-Ilišu II of Isin (1759–1749 BC).[1312]

[..]-Ba (c.1735–1710 BC) – was prince of Der attested on a seal impression

Yašūb-Yaḫad (c.1550–1525 BC) – was king of Der. A letter discovered at Mari (which was a declaration or war) was addressed to him from Yarīm-Līm I of Yamḫad (1553–1539 BC).[1313]

[1307] Frayne (1993), p.270.
[1308] Frayne (1997), pp.xliii, 190, 214–215, 271, 281–282; Pomponio, p.228
[1309] Frayne (1997), pp.xli, 271, 282, 342, 354–356; Pomponio, p.228
[1310] Frayne (1997), pp.xli, 342, 356, 379, 387–388; Pomponio, p.228
[1311] Frayne (1990), p.676.
[1312] Frayne (1990), pp.677–679.
[1313] Sasson, J.M. (1969), pp.2–3.

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5.2.11 Malgium

Nur-Eštar (c.1785–1760 BC) – was likely the first king of Malgium who asserted independence from Ur. Accordingly, he would have led the capture of Irisaĝrig sometime after Year 4 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC). He has three known year-names.[1314]

Šu-Kakka (c.1760–1735 BC) – was likely the successor of Nur-Eštar as king of Malgium, who Ozaki suggested was possibly his father. He has seven known year-names. Whiting suggested that he was contemporary with Bilalama of Ešnunna (1760–1735 BC) based on a tablet which records an issue of oil that was meant as a gift from Bilalama to Šu-Kakka.[1315]

Nabi-Enlil (1735–1710 BC) – succeeded his father Šu-Kakka as king of Malgium. Only one of his year-names in known.[1316]

Šu-Amurrum (c.1710–1685 BC) – succeeded his father Nabi-Enlil as king of Malgium. He has two known year-names. It is proposed that he was the king who was defeated by Larsa in Year 19 of Gungunum (1705–1678 BC).[1317]

Ištaran-Asû (c.1685–1660 BC) – has two known year names. It is proposed that he was the attested son of Šu-Amurrum whose name is lost.[1318]

Takil-ilissu (c.1660–1635 BC) – succeeded his father Ištaran-Asû as king of Malgium. He is attested on two inscriptions.[1319]

Imgur-Sîn (c.1635–1610 BC) – the son of Ili-Abi is proposed to have succeeded Takil-ilissu as king of Malgium. He has two known year-names and is attested on bricks. It is proposed that he was the king who was defeated by Larsa in Year 5 of Sîn-Iddinam (1622–1615 BC).[1320]

[1314] Ozaki, pp.30–31, 35.
[1315] Ozaki, pp.31, 35.
[1316] Ozaki, p.32.
[1317] Ozaki, p.32.
[1318] Ozaki, pp.28, 33.
[1319] Ozaki, pp.28, 33; Frayne (1990), pp.671–674.
[1320] Ozaki, pp.28, 33.

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Ennum-Tišpak (c.1610–1585 BC) – the son of Warassa is proposed to have succeeded Imgur-Sîn as king of Malgium. He is attested at Irisaĝrig.[1321]

Apil-Ilišu (c.1585–1560 BC) – is attested on a clay cone by his son Ipiq-Ištar. It is proposed that he was a king of Malgium and succeeded Ennum-Tišpak.[1322]

Ipiq-Ištar (c.1560–1535 BC) – succeeded his father Apil-Ilišu as king of Malgium. He is attested on a clay cone. De Boer notes that he was likely the king who was defeated by Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) in the same year as Mari.[1323]

5.2.12 Ešnunna

The earliest known rulers of Ešnunna were governors under the control of Ur. While the kings of Ur would refer to them with the Sumerian title of *ensi*, the rulers of Ešnunna used for themselves the Akkadian title of *Išši'ak* (vice-regent), which was also used by the Akkadian rulers of Aššur. The kings of Ur assumed divine status and originally the rulers of Ešnunna attributed the title of *lugal* (king) to the king at Ur. However, Šu-Iliya upon his succession enacted reforms which including replacing the Ur calendar with a local one and assumed the title of *lugal* himself.[1324] Subsequent rulers however returned to the use of the title *Išši'ak* and instead referred to the local god Tishpak as king, in the same way that the god Aššur was referred to as the king of the city of Aššur.

Enbiqḫaniš (c.1865–1855) – is the first recorded governor of Ešnunna. Jacobsen states that while Lutz published the text with tablets from Ur III, 'it clearly belongs to the period of Agade as shown by both script and language.'[1325]

Ur-Gúedinna (1855–1830 BC) – was governor of Ešnunna during Year 31 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1326]

Bamu (1830–1814 BC) – was governor of Ešnunna in Years 45 & 46 (1816–1817 BC) of Šulgi of Ur.[1327] It is proposed that he ruled for 16 years.

[1321] Ozaki, p.28.
[1322] Frayne (1990), p.669.
[1323] Frayne (1990), pp.669–670; De Boer (2013), p.20
[1324] Reichel, p.136.
[1325] Jacobsen (1934), p.2 (n.3).
[1326] Frayne (1997), p.191.
[1327] Frayne (1997), p.192.

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Kallamu (1814–1805 BC) – was governor of Ešnunna from Year 47 of Šulgi of Ur to Year 7 of Amar-Sîn (1812–1803 BC).[1328] It is proposed that he ruled for about nine years.

Lugal-Kùzu (1805–1800 BC) – was governor of Ešnunna in Year 2 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC). It is proposed that he ruled for about five years.[1329]

Itūrīia (1800–1793 BC) – was governor of Ešnunna in Year 9 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC) and Years 1–2 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1330] It is proposed that he ruled for about seven years.

Šu-Iliya (1993–1785 BC) – succeeded his father Ituria as governor during the reign of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1331] He quickly styled himself as *šarru* (king) of Ešnunna. Subsequent rulers would instead call themselves stewards of the god Tishpak, in the same way that the early Assyrian rulers would call themselves the *Iššiʾak* (vice-regent) of the god Aššur. There are six known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 22 years.

Nūr-Ahum (c.1785–1775 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna who changed his allegiance from Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC) to Išbi-Erra of Isin (1792–1759 BC). There are eight known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 10 years.[1332]

Kirikiri (c.1775–1760 BC) – succeeded his brother Nūr-Ahum as prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on a cylinder seal and there are nine known year-names for him. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years. [1333]

Bilalama (c.1760–1735 BC) – succeeded his father Kirikiri as prince of Ešnunna. His daughter Me-Kubi married Tan-Ruḫuratir I of Elam (1740–1715 BC). There are 14 known year-names for about him.[1334]

[1328] Frayne (1997), pp.193, 201, 273–275; Lance, pp.117, 122.
[1329] Frayne (1997), p.343.
[1330] Frayne (1997), pp.322–323, 343, 378; Reichel, pp.136.
[1331] Frayne (1997), p.380.
[1332] Frayne (1990), pp.485–488; Michalowski (2011), pp.435, 441.
[1333] Frayne (1990), pp.489–490.
[1334] Frayne (1990), pp.490–499.

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Išar-Rāmāšu (c.1735–1720 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna. There are seven known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 15 years.[1335]

Usur-Awassu (c.1720–1705 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on bricks and tablets. There are two known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 15 years.[1336]

Azūzum (c.1705–1700 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on a brick and seal impressions. There is one known year-name for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about five years.[1337]

Ur-Ninmar (c.1700–1690 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on bricks and seals. There are three known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 10 years.[1338]

Ur-Ningišzida (c.1690–1680 BC) – succeeded Ur-Ninmar, who was not his father, as prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on bricks and seal impressions and there are four year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for 10 years.[1339]

Ipiq-Adad I (1680–1670 BC) – was the son of Ur-Ninmar. He succeeded Ur-Ningišzida as prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on tablets, bricks and seal impressions. While up to 13 known year-names may be from his reign, De Boer notes that only three of them can attributed to his reign with certainty. It is proposed that he ruled for about 10 years.[1340]

Šarrīia (c.1670–1665 BC) – was a prince of Ešnunna who is described by his first year-name as having 'seized' (usurped) the throne. He is attested on bricks and there are two certain year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for five years.[1341]

Warassa (c.1665–1657 BC) – was a prince of Ešnunna who is described by his first year-name as having 'seized' (usurped) the throne. He is attested on seals and there are six suggested year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for eight years.[1342]

[1335] Frayne (1990), p.500.
[1336] Frayne (1990), pp.501–504.
[1337] Frayne (1990), pp.505–508.
[1338] Frayne (1990), pp.509–515.
[1339] Frayne (1990), pp.516–521.
[1340] Frayne (1990), pp.522–530; De Boer (2014), p.201.
[1341] Frayne (1990), p.531.
[1342] Frayne (1990), pp.532–533.

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Bēlakum (c.1657–1647 BC) – succeeded Warassa as prince of Ešnunna, who Frayne states that he was apparently his brother. His first year-name reveals that he 'seized' (usurped) the throne. He is attested on bricks and seal impressions and there are seven certain year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about ten years.[1343]

Ibni-Erra (c.1647–1645 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Bēlakum as prince of Ešnunna. A single year-name, providing only his name, has been found. It is proposed that the ruled for about two years.[1344]

Iqīš-Tišpak (c.1645–1640) – succeeded his father Ibni-Erra as prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on a brick and a seal impression, and two certain year-names are known for him. It is proposed that the ruled for about five years.[1345]

Ibāl-pî-El I (c.1640–1629 BC) – was prince of Ešnunna. He is attested on bricks and seal impressions and there are possibly eight known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 11 years.[1346]

Ipiq-Adad II (1629–1585 BC) – succeeded his father Ibāl-pî-El I as prince of Ešnunna. The *MEC* states that he succeeded his father in the eponymy of Ennam-Aššur (dated 1629 BC) and that two years later he was defeated by the Amorite Aminum, the son of Ila-kabkabu, who had taken Šaduppum five years earlier, but then he defeated Aminum two years later (1625 BC). The following year he took Ziqquratum and was active in the following year. He was defeated by Elam in the eponymy of Šarrum-Adad, the year Šamši-Adad succeed Ila-Kabkabu (1602 BC). Then in the eponymy of Dadaya (1598 BC) he took Arrapḫa and was again active in the eponymy of Atanah (1588 BC) when he had another victory. He was the first ruler since Šu-Iliya to use the title of *šarru* (king) and later described himself as *šar kiššati* 'King of the Universe'. He died in the eponymy of Inib-Ištar (1585 BC), having ruled for 44 years.[1347]

Narām-Sîn IV (1585–1570 BC) – succeeded his father Ipiq-Adad II as king of Ešnunna. He was contemporary with Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC). He is attested on bricks and other items with the titles Might King, King of Ešnunna

[1343] Frayne (1990), pp.534–538.
[1344] Frayne (1990), p.559.
[1345] Frayne (1990), pp.560–561.
[1346] Frayne (1990), pp.560–561.
[1347] Frayne (1990), pp.544–552.

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and King of the Universe and there are 11 known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 15 years.[1348]

Dāduša (c.1570–1551 BC) – succeeded his brother Narām-Sîn IV as king of Ešnunna. He is attested on a stele which confirms that he was the son of Ipiq-Adad II and on several seal impressions. He campaigned with his ally Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC) during the period of the eponymy of Aššur-Imitti to the eponymy of Aššur-Malik (1556–1551 BC). There are about 10 known year-names for him. It is proposed that he ruled for about 19 years.[1349]

Ibāl-pî-El II (c.1551–1539 BC) – succeeded his father Dāduša as king of Ešnunna. He is attested on bricks and seal impressions with the tiles Mighty King and King of Ešnunna. He was contemporary with Yarīm-Līm I of Yamhad (1553–1539 BC), Amut-Piʾel II of Qatna (1550–1525 BC) , Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC), Šamši-Adad I of Assyria **(**1602–1548 BC), Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) and Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC). He was killed by Siwe-Palar-ḫuppak of Elam (1565–1535 BC). There are 12 known year-names for him, with Year 5 following the death of Šamši-Adad I. It is proposed that he ruled for about 12 years.[1350]

Dannum-Tāḫaz (c.1539–1535 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded Ibāl-pî-El II as king of Ešnunna. His first year-name records that he was the son of a king of Ešnunna, who it is proposed was Dāduša. He is attested on three seals and there are three known year-names for him. He is also mentioned on a letter dated to Year 10 (1538 BC) of Zimrī-Līm of Mari. It is proposed that he ruled for about four years.[1351]

Sillī-Sîn (c.1535–1510 BC) – was king of Ešnunna. One of his year-names records his marriage to a daughter of Hammurabi of Babylon (1565–1522 BC). He is attested on a brick, where he has the title of prince, and seal impressions, and there are six possible known year-names for him, where he is referred to as king.[1352]

Ibbi-Sîn II (c.1510–1505 BC) – was a king of Ešnunna who Frayne suggests succeeded Ṣillī-Sîn. He is attested by a year-name which says that he succeeded his father. It is proposed that he ruled for about five years.[1353]

[1348] Frayne (1990), pp.553–556.
[1349] Frayne (1990), pp.562–572; Glassner, p.165; Bloch (2014), p.206; Pruzinsky (2010), p.162.
[1350] Frayne (1990), pp.573–586; Whiting, p.169.
[1351] Frayne (1990), pp.557–558; Sasson (2015), p.475.
[1352] Frayne (1990), pp.587–589.
[1353] Frayne (1990), p.590.

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Iluni (c.1525–1502 BC) – was king of Ešnunna. He is attested on a seal impression. He was killed by Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) in his Year 20. It is proposed that he ruled for about 23 years.[1354]

Aḫušina (c.1502–1482 BC) – was king of Ešnunna. A year-name on a tablet records his defeat and capture by Abī-Ešuḫ of Babylon (1484–1456 BC). While Beaulieu tentatively dated the year-name to Abī-Ešuḫ's Year 17, this seems too late and is more likely to have been early in his reign. It is proposed that he ruled for about 20 years.[1355]

5.2.13 Babylon

Itūr-Īlum (1824–1818 BC) – was governor of Babylon in Years 37 & 43 of Shulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1356]

Abba (1818–1816 BC) – succeeded his father Itūr-Īlum as governor of Babylon. He is attested in Year 44 of Shulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1357]

Aršiah (1816–1806 BC) – was governor of Babylon from Year 45 of Shulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) to Year 7 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1358]

SIG$_4$te-li - Šiteli (1806–1796 BC) – was governor of Babylon in Years 8 & 9 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1359]

Puzur-Tutu (1796–1786 BC) – was governor of Babylon in Year 2 of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).[1360]

5.2.14 Isin

Išbi-Erra (1792–1759 BC) – was appointed governor of Isin by Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC) and gained independence in Year 8 of Ibbi-Sîn I (1787 BC). He is attested on seals and a text dealing with the construction of a great lyre for the god

[1354] Frayne (1990), p.591.
[1355] Frayne (1990), p.592; Beaulieu (2018), p.112.
[1356] Frayne (1997), pp.192, 199; De Boer (2014), p.425; Beaulieu (2018), p.57; Lance, pp.116, 122-123.
[1357] Frayne (1997), pp.192, 200; De Boer (2014), p.425; Beaulieu (2018), p.57; Lance, pp.116, 122-123.
[1358] Frayne (1997), pp.192, 272; De Boer (2014), p.425; Beaulieu (2018), p.57; Lance, pp.122-123.
[1359] Frayne (1997), p.272; De Boer (2014), p.425; Beaulieu (2018), p.57.
[1360] Frayne (1997), p.378; De Boer (2014), p.425; Beaulieu (2018), p.57; Lance, pp.116, 122.

Enlil. He used the title King of the Four Quarters. The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of 33 years, while *SKLd* gives him 32 years.[1361]

Šū-Ilišu II (1759–1749 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Išbi-Erra who he succeeded as king. He is attested on three monumental texts and other items. He used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. Most version of the *SKL* give him a reign of 20 years while *SKLi* gives him 15 years. However, the *SKLd–e* and the *UIKL* give him a reign of 10 years, which is supported by extant year-names.[1362]

Iddin-Dagān (1749–1728 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Šū-Ilišu II who he succeeded as king. He is attested on monumental texts. He used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. Most versions of the *SKL* and the *UIKL* give him a reign of 21 years, however the *SKLi* gives him a reign of 25 years.[1363]

Išme-Dagān i (1728–1708 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Iddin-Dagān who he succeeded as king of Isin He is attested on several inscriptions. He used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. While most versions of the *SKL* give him a reign of 20 years, the *UIKL* gives him a reign of 19 years, and the *SKLe* gives him a reign of eight years.[1364]

Lipit-Eštar (1708–1697 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Išme-Dagān i who he succeeded as king. He is attested on several inscriptions. He used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. The *SKL* and the *UIKL* give him a reign of 11 years.[1365]

Ur-Ninurta (1697–1669 BC) – succeeded Lipit-Eštar as king of Isin. He is attested on two inscriptions and used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on most versions of the *SKL* and the *UIKL* with a reign of 28 years, but on *SKLi* with a reign of 21 years.[1366]

Būr-Sîn (1669–1648 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Ur-Ninurta who he succeeded as king. He is attested on inscriptions and seals and used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. While the *SKL* gives him a reign of 21 years the *UIKL* gives him a reign of 22 years. [1367]

[1361] Frayne (1990), pp.6–14; Fitzgerald, p.5.
[1362] Frayne (1990), pp.15–21; Fitzgerald, p.158.
[1363] Frayne (1990), pp.22–25.
[1364] Frayne (1990), pp.26–46.
[1365] Frayne (1990), pp.47–63.
[1366] Frayne (1990), pp.64–68.
[1367] Frayne (1990), pp.69–74.

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Lipit-Enlil (1648–1643 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the son of Būr-Sîn who he succeeded as king The *SKL* and *UIKL* give him a reign of five years.

Erra-Imittī (1643–1635 BC) – is said on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* to have installed Enlil-Bāni, the gardener, as substitute king on his throne then died in his palace when he sipped a hot soup. The story is clearly an attempt to try to mask his assassination by his successor. He is attested on a cylinder seal. He is named on most versions of the *SKL* and the *UIKL* with a reign of eight years, but on the *SKLd* with a reign of seven years.[1368]

Enlil-Bāni (1635–1611 BC) – is named on the *Chronicle of Early Kings*. He is attested on several inscriptions and used the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. It appears that he assassinated Erra-Imittī who he succeeded as king. He is named on the *SKL* and the *UIKL* with a reign of 24 years.[1369]

Zambīya (1611–1608 BC) – is named on the *SKL* and the *UIKL* with a reign of three years. He is attested on several cone inscriptions with the title King of Sumer and Akkadê.[1370]

Īter-Pîša (1608–1604 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of four years and on the *UIKL* with a reign of three years. Four year-names are known for this king, but no inscriptions.[1371]

Ur-Dukuga (1604–1600 BC) – is attested on a few inscriptions with the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *SKL* with a reign of four years and on the *UIKL* with a reign of three years.[1372]

Sîn-Māgir (1600–1589 BC) – is attested on six inscriptions with the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *SKL* and the *UIKL* with a reign of 11 years.[1373]

Damiq-Ilīšu I (1589–1566 BC) – is attested on four inscriptions with the title King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *SKL* as the son of Sîn-Māgir who he succeeded as king. He is recorded in the *Weidner Chronicle* as corresponding with

[1368] Frayne (1990), p.76.
[1369] Frayne (1990), p.77–90.
[1370] Frayne (1990), p.91–92.
[1371] Frayne (1990), p.93.
[1372] Frayne (1990), pp.94–96.
[1373] Frayne (1990), pp.97–101.

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Apil-Sîn of Babylon (1603–1585 BC). Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC) defeated him in his Year 30. While the *SKL* gives him a reign of 23 years, the *UIKL* gives him a reign of four years.[1374]

5.3 Elamites and Iranians

Having provided chronologies for Mesopotamia, it is now possible to create a chronology for neighbouring Elam and Persia, which were located to the east of the Tigris River in Iran. Detailing the Universal Chronology for Iran does not provide any challenges, for in the Conventional Chronology Elam is provided an artificially long Dark Age, which is simply significantly reduced in duration with only a small break between the end of the Šutrukid Dynasty and the start of the Sugirs of Anšan. Kings are given average reign lengths to create a timeline spanning over 1650 years.

Table 50 – Kings of the Elamites and Iranians

Awan
[..]-Lu
c.2325–2311

Kul[..]
c.2311–2275

Peli
c.2275–2250

Tata I
c.2250–2225

Ukku-Taḫieš
c.2225–2200

Ḫišutaš
c.2200–2175

Šušun-Tarana
c.2175–2150

Napi-Ilḫuš
c.2150–2125

Kikku-sime-temti
c. 2125–2100

Marḫaši
Migir-Enlil
c.2125–2100

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[1374] Frayne (1990), pp.102–106.

Ḫišip-Rasini
c.2100–2075 BC

Luḫi-Išan
c.2075–2060

Susa

Emaḫsini c.2060–2045	Ešpum c.2045–2025	Abalgamaš c.2060–2035
Epirmupi c.2025–2000		Ḫupšumkibi c.2035–2010
Iliš-Mani c.2000–1975		[..]-en c.2010–1985

Awan

Ḫišep-Ratep
c.1975–1950

Ḫiʾelu
c.1950–1925

Ḫitaʾa
c.1925–1900

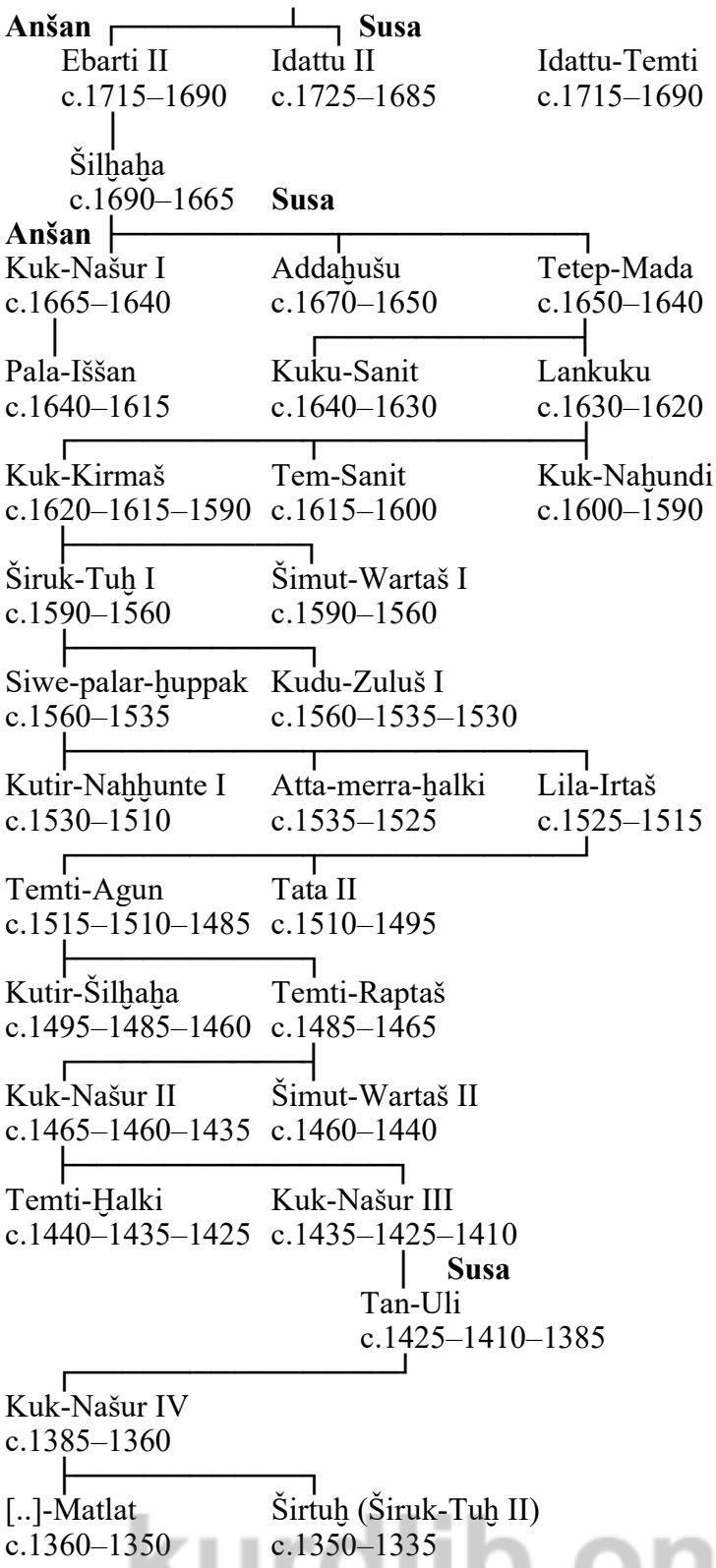
Susa

Šimpišḫuk
c.1900–1875

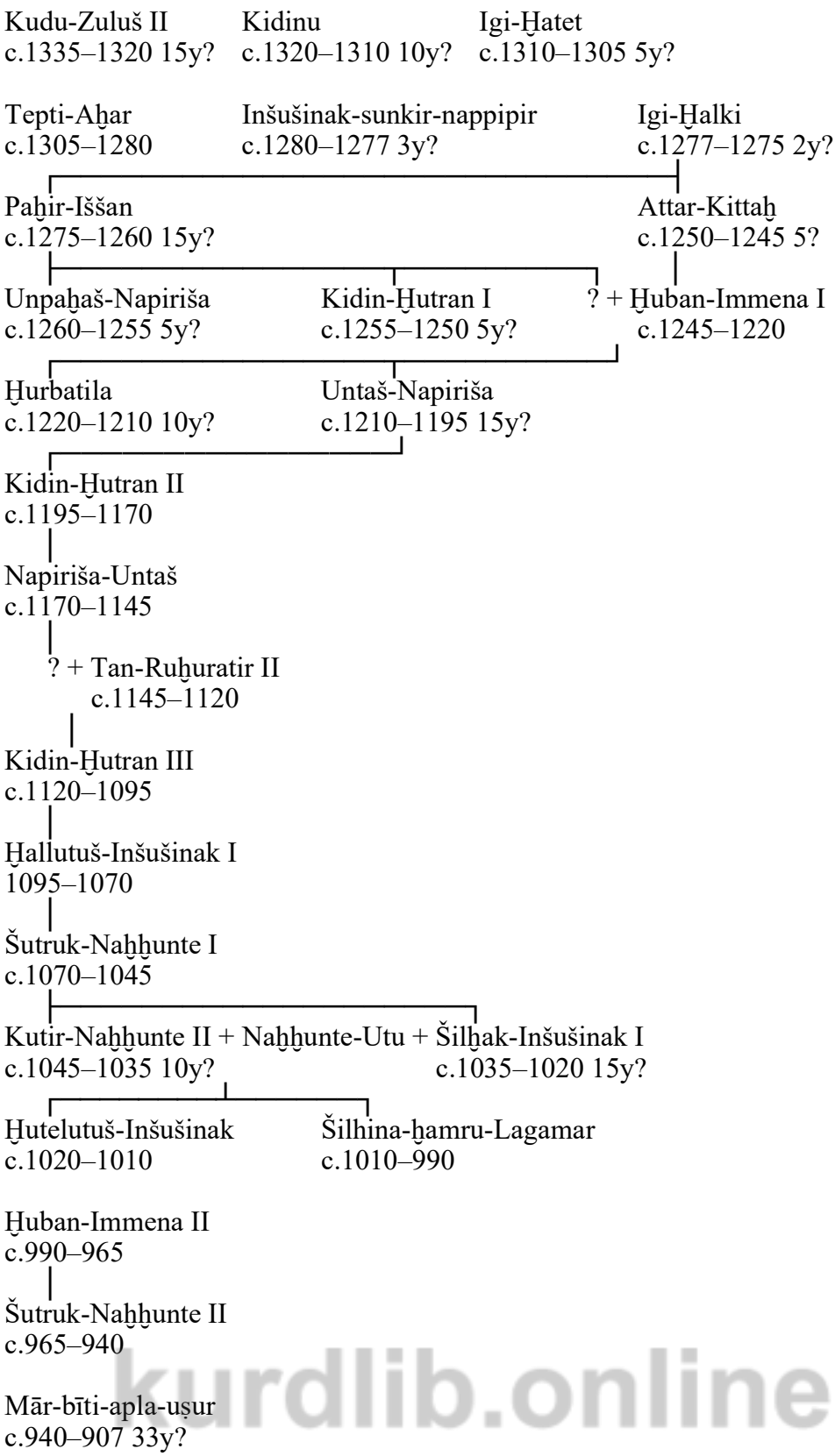
Puzur-Inšušinak
c.1875–1850

	Anšan	**Šimaski**	
Urkiʾum c.1850–1825	Šalabum 1850–1820	Girnamme c.1820–1795	
			Marḫaši
Zaríqùm c.1825–1804	Tazitta I c.1820–1790	Ebarti I c.1820–1790	Arbimazbi c.1835–1810
	Kindattu c.1790–1765	Tazitta II c.1790–1765	Libanugšabaš c.1810–1785
Susa			
Imazu c.1765–1745	Idattu I c.1765–1740	Lu[..]ak-Luḫḫan c.1765–1740	Mašḫundaḫli c.1785–1760
	Tan-Ruḫuratir I c.1755–1740–1715	Idattu-Napir c.1740–1715	

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Anšan
Šutruk(-)ša-[..]
c.875–850

Akhir-‘ditto’
c.850–825

Akšir-[..]
c.825–800

Ḫu-[..]
c.800–775

Susa
Ḫuban-Taḫraḫ
c.775–744 31y?

Ḫuban-Nikaš I
744–718

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte III
718–700

Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak II
700–694

Madaktu
Kutir-Naḫḫunte III
694–693

Ḫuban-Menanu I
693–688

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš I
688–681

Ḫidalu
Šutruk-Naḫḫunte IV
c.675–653

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II
681–676

Urtak
676–663

Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I
663–653

Madaktu-Susa
Tammarītu II
651–649, 647

Ḫuban-Nikaš II
653–651

Ḫidalu
Tammarītu I
653–630

Madaktu
Idattu-Nikaš
649–648

Madaktu-Susa
Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III
648–645

Bubilu
Ḫuban-Ḫapua
647

Susa
Paʾê
646

Susa
Šutur-Naḫḫunte
c.645–630 15y?

Atta-ḫamiti-Inšušinak
c.630–615 15y?

Ḫuban-Šuturuk
c.615–599 16y?

Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak III
c.599–580 19y?

Ḫuban-Menanu II
c.580–575 5y?

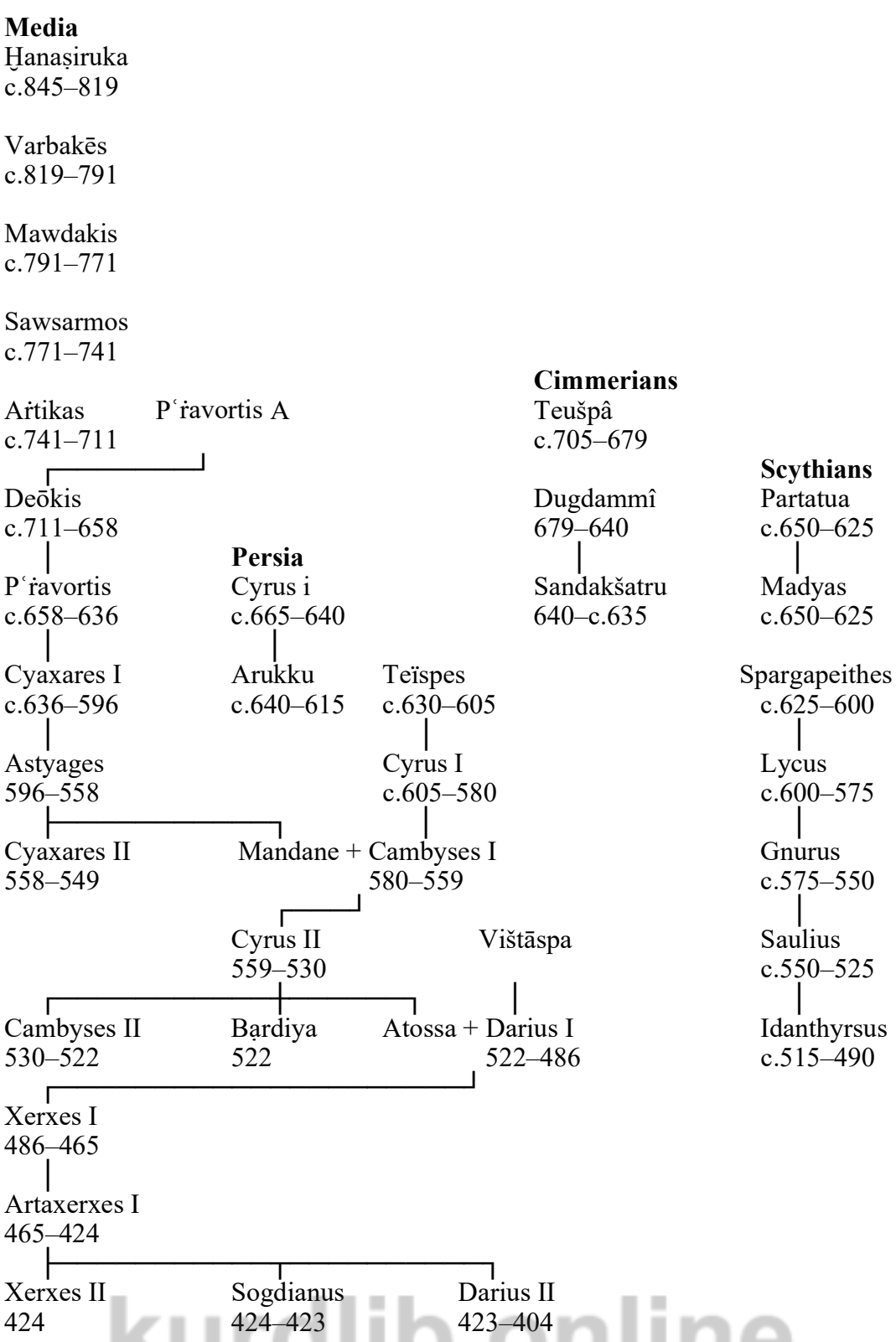
Šilḫak-Inšušinak II
c.575–550

Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak II
c.550–525

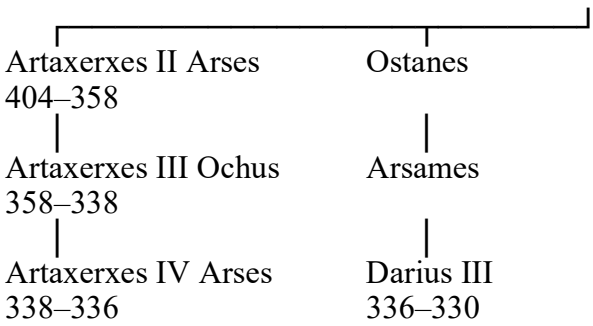
Elam
Hasina
c.525–522

Atta-Ḫamiti
521

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In Elam and Šimaški the term for king was *sugir*/*sunki* and its variants. In the Middle Bronze Age during the primacy of the city of Anšan, the rulers stopped referring to themselves in first the instance as kings and referred to themselves instead as the *sukkalmah* (grand prince/regent) with subordinates who were a *sukkal* (prince/regent) on behalf of the supreme god, similar to how the rulers of Ešnunna and Assyria styled themselves during this period.

It is suggested that the *sukkalmah* would have been deemed as the son of the supreme god and his chief wife as the daughter of the god, so that as the son and daughter of the god they were brother and sister. It is proposed that this manifested in the recording of filiations, when if a ruler wanted to express his pedigree as being a descendant of the son and daughter of the god (the *sukkalmah* and his chief wife), the ruler would describe himself as the 'sister's son' of the royal ancestor. Even if a ruler was a descendant of a subsequent ruler, they would sometimes prefer to attribute their pedigree to Šilḫaḫa, who was the first *sukkalmah* of the god.

5.3.1 Awan

[..]-Lu (c.2325–2311 BC) – is named as the second king of Awan on the *SKL*, with the first name missing.

Kul[..] (c.2311–2275 BC) – is named as the third king of Awan on the *SKL* with a reign of 36 years.

Peli (c.2275–2250 BC) – is named on the *Awan King List* (*AwKL*).

Tata I (c.2250–2225 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Ukku-Taḫieš (c.2225–2200 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Ḫišutaš (c.2200–2175 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

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Šušun-Tarana (c.2175–2150 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Napi-Ilhuš (c.2150–2125 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Kikku-sime-temti (c. 2125–2100 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Ḫišip-Rasini (c.2100–2075 BC) – is attested on inscriptions for Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC) as the father of Luḫi-Išan. Sallaberger & Schrakamp reject the suggestion by Potts that he is likely the same person as Ḫišep-Ratep.[1375] It is suggested that he was therefore likely a king of Awan.

Luḫi-Išan (c.2075–2060 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan. He was defeated by Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC) who described him as the son of Ḫišip-Rasini and king of Elam.[1376]

Ḫišep-Ratep (1975–1950 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan. He likely started his reign as governor of Elam subordinate to Akkadê and became king of Awan at about the time that the Gutians became prominent in Sumar.

Ḫiʾelu (1950–1925 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

Ḫitaʾa (1925–1900 BC) – is named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan.

5.3.2 Marḫaši

Marḫaši was called Paraḫšum in Akkadian.

Migir-Enlil (c.2125–2100 BC) – is recorded as one of 13 kings who rebelled against Lugal-anne-mundu of Adab (c.2125–2100 BC).[1377]

Abalgamaš (c.2050–2025 BC) – revolted against Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC) and was defeated by Rimuš I at Marḫaši. Both Emaḫsini of Susa (2050–2045 BC) and Sidgaʾu, general of Marḫaši, were captured by Rimuš I. Sidgaʾu and Sanam-Šimut, the general of Susa, had previously been involved in a battle against Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC).[1378]

[1375] Frayne (1993), pp.23, 25, 26; Potts, pp.88, 102; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.23.
[1376] Frayne (1993), p.23, 25, 26; Potts, p.102.
[1377] Steinkeller (2018), p.181.
[1378] Potts, p.105; Frayne (1993), pp.25, 52–53.

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Ḫupšumkibi (c.2025–2000 BC) – was named along with Migir-Dagān of Mari (2030–2005 BC) and Lugal-Ane of Ur (2030–2005 BC) as revolting against Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1379]

[..]-en (c.2000–1975 BC) – was named as king of Marḫaši on the *Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Narām-Sîn I* of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1380]

Arbimazbi (c.1835–1810 BC) – was governor of Marḫaši between Year 40 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) and Year 9 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1381]

Libanugšabaš (1810–1785 BC) – was governor of Marḫaši in Years 4 & 6 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1382]

Mašhundaḫli (1785–1760 BC) – was contemporary with Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC).

5.3.3 Susa

Sanam-Šimut – is suggested by Frayne to have been a governor of Elam appointed by Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC). However, while it is clear that Sanam-Šimut was in the forces opposing Sargon, and one inscription may refer to him as an *ensi* (governor), another inscription refers to him as an Elamite general, along with Sidgaʾu, the general of Marḫaši.[1383]

Emaḫsini (2060–2045 BC) – was not named on the *AwKL* as king of Awan but was referred to as a king by Rimuš I of Akkadê (2046–2039 BC). He was likely a king of Elam at Susa subordinate to Akkadê. He rebelled against Akkadê following the death of Sargon and was captured by Rimuš I in his Year 2.[1384]

Ešpum (c.2045–2025 BC) – is attested on a clay sealing from Susa as governor of Elam. Frayne and Roach date him to the reign of Man-Ištūšu of Akkadê (2039–2024 BC). He was contemporary with Ilšu-Rabi, the prince of Pašime who is recorded on the Man-Ištūšu Obelisk.[1385]

[1379] Cameron, p.33; Westenholz, p.245.
[1380] Westenholz, p.251.
[1381] Potts, p.140.
[1382] Cameron, p.97, Potts, pp.138, 140.
[1383] Frayne (1993), pp.23, 25, 303.
[1384] Frayne (1993), pp.53, 303; Potts, p.105, Foster, p.324; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, p.24.
[1385] Frayne (1993), pp.303–305; Roach, p.713; Pittman, pp.589–590.

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Epirmupi (c.2025–2000 BC) – is attested on a tablet and seal inscriptions from Susa as prince of Elam. Roach notes that he was recorded on 14 seals dated to the reign of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) [1386]

Iliš-Mani (c.2000–1975 BC) – is attested on a bronze axe from Susa as prince of Elam.[1387] He was subordinate to Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).

Šimpišḫuk (c.1900–1875 BC) – was the father of Puzur-Inšušinak.[1388] As he is not name on the *AwKL* he was likely a prince of Elam at Susa, subordinate to Gudea of Lagaš

Puzur-Inšušinak (1875–1850 BC) – is named on the *AwKL*. He was the son of Šimpišḫuk. All of his known inscriptions come from Susa and they indicate that his earlier titles were prince of Susa and general of the land of Elam. He is attested by seals datable to the reign of Ur-Nammu of Ur (1879–1861 BC). He gained independence from Lagaš. His attacks on Gutian territory contributed towards the defeat of the Gutians by Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1870–1863 BC) in about 1870 BC, after which Puzur-Inšušinak captured large areas of central Mesopotamia formally occupied by the Gutians. He later battled with Ur-Nammu of Ur, who eventually captured Susa.[1389]

Urkiʾum (c.1850–1825 BC) – was governor of Elam at Susa in Year 33 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC).[1390]

Zaríqùm (c.1825–1800 BC) – was governor of Elam at Susa in Year 40 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) and Years 3–9 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[1391]

Sukkalmah Dynasty – Princes of Susa

Imazu (c.1770–1755 BC) – likely governed Susa, where he is attested on a cylinder seal impression as the son of Kindatttu, the king of Anšan, datable to the reigns of Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC) and Išbi-Erra of Isin (1792–1759 BC).[1392]

[1386] Frayne (1993), pp.305–307, 335; Roach, pp.713–714.
[1387] Frayne (1993), pp.308, 335.
[1388] Desset, pp.408, 410.' Steinkeller (2018), p293.
[1389] Steinkeller (2018), pp.295, 298; Frayne (1997), p.65; Roach, p.713.
[1390] Frayne (1997), pp.xliii, 194.
[1391] Frayne (1997), pp.xliv, 194, 277.
[1392] Roach, p.714.

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Tan-Ruḫuratir I (c.1755–1740) – see Tan-Ruḫuratir I, king of Anšan and Susa.

Idattu II (c.1725–1685 BC) – was the son of Tan-Ruḫuratir I. He was prince of Susa and is the tenth named ruler on the *ŠKL*.[1393]

Addaḫušu (c.1670–1650 BC) – was prince of Susa. He was a 'sister's son' of Šilḫaḫa of Anšan (c.1690–1665 BC). He used the titles shepherd and *sukkal* of Susa. He is attested on seals datable to the reigns of Gungunum of Larsa (1705–1678 BC) and the Amorite tribal king Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC).[1394]

Tetep-Mada (c.1650–1640 BC) – used the same titles as Addaḫušu, being shepherd of Susa and 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'.[1395]

Kuku-Sanit (c.1640–1630 BC) – was named by Potts.[1396] He was possibly the son of Tetep-Mada and succeeded him as prince of Susa.

Lankuku (c.1630–1620 BC) – was the father of the future *sukkalmah* Kuk-Kirmaš, who is recorded as a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. This suggests that Lankuku himself must have been a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa' and was likely the son of Tetep-Mada and brother of Kuku-Sanit. Accordingly, it is proposed that Lankuku succeeded Kuku-Sanit as prince of Susa.

Kuk-Kirmaš (c.1620–1615 BC) – see Kuk-Kirmaš, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Tem-Sanit (c.1615–1600 BC) – was prince of Susa during the reign of Kuk-Kirmaš of Anšan (1615–1590 BC).[1397] It is proposed that he was the son of Lankuku.

Kuk-Naḫundi (c.1600–1590 BC) – was prince of Susa during the reign of Kuk-Kirmaš of Anšan (1615–1590 BC).[1398] It is proposed that he was the son of Lankuku.

Šimut-Wartaš I (c.1590–1560 BC) – was prince of Susa during the reign of Širuk-Tuḫ I of Anšan (1590–1565 BC). Potts noted that he was a close relative of Širuk-

[1393] Potts, p.145; Steinkeller (2007), p.229 (n.50); Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25.
[1394] Cameron, pp.80–81; Roach, pp.713–714.
[1395] Potts, pp.164, 182; Peyronel, p.219.
[1396] Potts, p.164.
[1397] Cameron, p.87; Hinz, pp.270, 272; Potts, p.164.
[1398] Cameron, p.87; Hinz, pp.270, 272; Potts, p.164.

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Tuḫ I, suggesting that he was a son. It is proposed that he was instead a brother of Širuk-Tuḫ I.[1399]

Kudu-Zuluš I (c.1560–1535 BC) – see Kudu-Zuluš I, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Atta-merra-ḫalki (c.1535–1525 BC) – was according to Cameron prince of Elam and Šimaški. It is proposed here that he was prince of Susa.[1400]

Lila-Irtaš (c.1525–1515 BC) – is referred to by Hinz as a prince of Elam and Šimaški who became *sukkalmah*. It is proposed here that he was instead prince of Susa. He is recorded on a temple brick by Temti-Agun, along with Kutir-Naḫḫunte I of Anšan (c.1535–1510 BC) and Welkiša, the mother of Temti-Agun. It is further prosed that he was the father of Temti-Agun and therefore the husband of Welkiša.[1401]

Temti-Agun (c.1515–1510 BC) – see Temti-Agun, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Tata II (c.1510–1495 BC) – was prince of Susa. While often noted as being contemporary with Kutir-Naḫḫunte I of Anšan (c.1535–1510 BC), Cameron notes that he was recorded as being contemporary with Temti-Agun (c.1515–1510–1485 BC). It is proposed that he was a brother of Temti-Agun.[1402]

Kutir-Šilḫaḫa (c.1495–1485 BC) – see Kutir-Šilḫaḫa, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Temti-Raptaš (c.1485–1465 BC) – is noted by Cameron as prince of Susa. It is proposed that he was the brother of Kutir-Šilḫaḫa.[1403]

Kuk-Našur II (c.1465–1460 BC) – see Kuk-Našur II, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Šimut-Wartaš II (c.1460–1440 BC) – is noted by Potts as being contemporary with Kuk-Našur II. It is proposed that he was the brother of Kuk-Našur II and succeeded him as prince of Susa.[1404]

[1399] Hinz, p.272; Potts, p.164.
[1400] Cameron, pp.81, 229; Hinz, p.278; Potts, p.164.
[1401] Cameron, p.82 (n.33); Hinz, pp.266, 272, 820; Potts, pp.164, 174.
[1402] Cameron, p.81 (n.32); Potts, p.164.
[1403] Cameron, p.83; Hinz, p.272; Pots, p.165.
[1404] Potts, p.165.

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Temti-Ḫalki (c.1440–1435 BC) – see Temti-Ḫalki, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Kuk-Našur III (c.1435–1425 BC) – see Kuk-Našur III, grand prince of Anšan and Susa.

Grand Princes of Susa

Tan-Uli (c.1425–1410–1385 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. It is proposed that he was the son of Kuk-Našur III. He is recorded a being a *sukkal* before becoming *sukkalmah*, which suggests that he was prince of Susa before becoming *sukkalmah* (grand prince). It is further proposed that unlike all the previous *sukkalmahs*, Tan-Uli did not rule from Anšan, but instead stayed at Susa and was therefore the first grand prince of Susa and Anšan, without a subordinate prince of Susa.[1405]

Kuk-Našur IV (c.1385–1360 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Tan-Uli'. He succeeded his father Tan-Uli as grand prince of Susa and Anšan.[1406]

Kings of Susa

[..]-Matlat (c.1360–1350 BC) – is named as king of Susa on a tablet bearing the seal of Kuk-Našur IV. Vallat lists him as the successor of Kuk-Našur IV. It is proposed that he was the son of Kuk-Našur IV.[1407] Accordingly, he appears to be the first king of Elam since Ebarti II of Anšan (c.1715–1690 BC) to not use the title of *sukkalmah* (grand prince).

Širtuḫ – Širuk-Tuḫ II (c.1350–1335 BC) – is noted by Potts to have been a 'sister's son of Kuk-Našur' and king of Susa. Scheil refers to a document which names Širtuḫ in place of Širuk-Tuḫ I, before Siwe-palar-ḫuppak, in a list of the predecessor of Temti-Agun. He notes that this demonstrates that the name Širtuḫ is a shortening of Širuk-Tuḫ.[1408]

Kudu-Zuluš II (c.1335–1320 BC) – is noted by Potts and Peyronel to have been king of Susa. It is proposed that he succeeded Širtuḫ and reigned for about 15 years.[1409]

[1405] Potts, pp.165, 173, 189; Peyronel, p.219.
[1406] Potts, pp.165, 173.
[1407] Vallat (1994), p.13; Steve, pp.26–27; Gasche, p.22.
[1408] Scheil, p.152; Potts, p.165; Vallat (2000), p.15.
[1409] Potts, pp.165, 173; Peyronel, p.219; Vallat (2000), p.15.

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Kidinu (c.1320–1310 BC) – was king of Susa and Anšan and attested on a tablet found in a house at Susa linked to the end of the *sukkalmahs* period. He names his father as a certain Adad-sharru-rabu.[1410] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Igi-Ḫatet (c.1310–1305 BC) – is attested on bricks from Dehno with the title of king of Susa and Anšan.[1411] It is proposed that he reigned about 5 years.

Tepti-Aḫar (c.1305–1280 BC) – built a new royal residence at Kabnak (Haft Tepe). He is attested on about 55 tablets from Kabnak, one of which bearing the impression of a cylinder seal with the name and title of Tepti-Aḫar king of Susa, is dated "Year in which the king repulsed Kadašman-^{d}KUR.GAL." Cole & De Meyer argue that this can be a reference to a king of Babylon named either Kadašman-Ḫarbe I (1270–1265 BC) or.Kadašman-Enlil I (1257–1242 BC).[1412]

Inšušinak-sunkir-nappipir – Inšušinak-šar-ili (c.1280–1277 BC) – is attested on inscribed bricks found at Susa as king of Susa. He is also attested on three seal impressions from Kabnak, which suggests that he succeeded Tepti-Aḫar and continued to rule from Kabnak.[1413] It is proposed that he reigned for about 5 years.

Igi-Ḫalki (c.1277–1275 BC) – is recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as the father of Paḫir-Iššan and Attar-Kittaḫ.[1414] While there are no records of him being king (temple bricks found at Dehno previously attributed to him have subsequently been found to refer to Igi-Ḫatet) he still likely had a short-reign as king.

Paḫir-Iššan (c.1275–1260 BC) – was recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as the son of Igi-Ḫalki. It is also recorded on the *Berlin letter* that he married a daughter of Kurigalzu I of Babylon (1265–1257 BC).[1415] It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Unpaḫaš-Napiriša (c.1260–1255 BC) – was recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as the son of Paḫir-Iššan.[1416] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

[1410] Potts, pp.172–173, 189, 191.
[1411] Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.233.
[1412] Potts, p.192; Daucé, p.576; Cole & De Meyer, pp.44–45.
[1413] Potts, pp.192.
[1414] Potts, pp.206, 209, ; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.234; Roach, pp.142, 169.
[1415] Potts, pp.207–208; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, pp.234–235; Zadok, pp.304, 307.
[1416] Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.234.

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Kidin-Ḫutran I (c.1255–1250 BC) – was recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as the son of Paḫir-Iššan.[1417] He succeeded his brother Unpaḫaš-Napiriša as king of Susa and Anšan. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Attar-Kittaḫ (c.1250–1245 BC) – was recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as the son of Igi-Ḫalki.[1418] He succeeded his nephew Kidin-Ḫutran I as king of Susa and Anšan. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Ḫuban-Immena I (c.1245–1220 BC) – is attested on inscriptions from Susa and Bushire as the son of Attar-Kittaḫ, who he succeeded as king of Susa and Anšan, as also later recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I. It is also recorded on the *Berlin letter* that he married a daughter of Paḫir-Iššan. [1419]

Ḫurbatila (c.1220–1210 BC) – is named on *Chronicle P* as being defeated by Kurigalzu II of Babylon (1215–1185 BC). Given that this successor Untaš-Napiriša was the son of his predecessor Ḫuban-Immena I, he too must have been a son of Ḫuban-Immena I. It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Untaš-Napiriša (c.1210–1195 BC) – is attested on inscriptions from Susa as the son of Ḫuban-Immena I. He was recorded on the inscription of Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as king of Anšan and Susa. It is also recorded on the *Berlin letter* that he married a daughter of Burna-Buriyåš II of Babylon (1242–1216 BC), which was likely his wife Napir-Asu.[1420] He built a new capital of Al-Untaš-Napiriša. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Kidin-Ḫutran II (c.1195–1170 BC) – was a king of Susa who was recorded on the *Berlin letter* as the son of Untaš-Napiriša.[1421]

Napiriša-Untaš (c.1170–1145 BC) – was a king of Susa who was recorded on the *Berlin letter* as the son of Kidin-Ḫutran II.[1422]

Tan-Ruḫuratir II (c.1145–1120 BC) – is attested on a cylinder seal and some two dozen inscribed bricks from Susa as king of Susa and Anšan. On the *Berlin letter* Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I claims that he is the descendant of the kings of Babylon via the

[1417] Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.234.
[1418] Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.234.
[1419] Potts, p.209; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, pp.234–235.
[1420] Potts, pp.207–210; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, pp.234–235.
[1421] Potts, pp.207–208; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.235.
[1422] Potts, pp.207–208; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, p.235.

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daughter of Napiriša-Untaš. This suggests that Tan-Ruḫuratir II became king through marriage to the daughter of Napiriša-Untaš, and that the couple became the ancestors of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I. [1423]

Kidin-Ḫutran III (c.1120–1095 BC) – is named on *Chronicle P* as having deposed Enlil-nādin-šumi (1105 BC) and defeated Adad-šuma-iddina (1104–1098 BC) of Babylon. On the basis that Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I claimed on the *Berlin letter* to be the descendant of Napiriša-Untaš it is proposed that Kidin-Ḫutran III was the son of Tan-Ruḫuratir II and grandson of Napiriša-Untaš.[1424]

Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I (1095–1070 BC) – is recorded on more than 450 bricks as the father of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I. On the basis of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte's claim on the *Berlin letter* of descent from Napiriša-Untaš, it is proposed that Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I was the son of Kidin-Ḫutran III.[1425]

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I (1070–1045 BC) – married a daughter of Meli-Šipak of Babylon (1077–1062 BC). On the *Berlin letter* he claimed descent from Kurigalzu I of Babylon (c.1265–1257 BC) as the descendant of the daughter of Untaš-Napiriša. He subsequently invaded Babylon. The *Prophecy A* tablet appears to indicate that the king he defeated was his brother-in-law Marduk-apla-iddina I (c.1062–1049 BC).[1426]

Kutir-Naḫḫunte II (c.1045–1035 BC) – succeeded his father Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I as king. He invaded Babylon and removed the cult statue of Marduk from Babylon, which prompted a retaliatory attack from Babylon in the following generation in which they reclaimed the statue.[1427]

Šilḫak-Inšušinak I (c.1035–1020 BC) – married Naḫḫunte-Utu, the wife of his brother Kutir-Naḫḫunte II, who he succeeded as king in an arrangement in which he recognised Kutir-Naḫḫunte II's son Ḫutelutuš-Inšušinak as the heir to the throne. His reign marked a high point for Elam during this period. It is agreed with Cameron that he reigned for about 15 years.[1428]

[1423] Potts, pp.191–192, 207–208.
[1424] Potts, pp.207–208.
[1425] Potts, pp.207–208, 220, 232.
[1426] Potts, pp.207–208, 233; Zadok, p.305.
[1427] Potts, pp.188.
[1428] Cameron, pp.113–130, 230.

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Ḫutelutuš-Inšušinak (c.1020–1010 BC) – was the son of Kutir-Naḫḫunte II. He succeeded his uncle Šilḫak-Inšušinak I as king. He was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar I of Babylon (1030–1008 BC).[1429]

Šilhina-ḫamru-Lagamar (c.1000–990 BC) – succeeded his brother Ḫutelutuš-Inšušinak as king.[1430]

Ḫuban-Immena II (c.990–965 BC) – is named on tablet EKI 72 as king of Elam and the father of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II, along with his predecessors Ḫutelutuš-Inšušinak and Šilhina-ḫamru-Lagamar.[1431]

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II (c.965–940 BC) – is attested on tablet EKI 72 as the son of Ḫuban-Immena II, on which he names his predecessors Ḫutelutuš-Inšušinak, Šilhina-ḫamru-Lagamar and Ḫuban-Immena.

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II has long been identified as a Neo-Elamite king, the successor to Ḫuban-Nikaš I (c.744–718 BC), with the suggestion that his father Ḫuban-Immena was not king Ḫuban-Immena II, but was instead a brother-in-law of Ḫuban-Nikaš I. It has long been realised however that that the titles of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II matches the titles of the Middle Elamite Period and not the Neo-Elamite Period, which was explained-away by the suggestion that Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II was trying to link his reign to the kings of the distant past.

The suggestion that he was the immediate successor to king Ḫuban-Immena II, which was first made by Quintana and was subsequently supported in detail by Khramov, is supported here. He is therefore distinguishable from Šutruk-Naḫḫunte III, the successor to Ḫuban-Nikaš I, and inscriptions which date that king to the Neo-Elamite Period. [1432]

Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur (940–913–907 BC) – is attested on four bronze arrow heads inscribed with his name and the title ‘king of the World’, now in the Iranian collection of antiquities.[1433] Despite having an Akkadian name “O Marbīti (war god of Der), protect the heir”, he was recorded in Babylonian sources as an Elamite king of Babylon. He is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and on the *Dynastic Chronicle* as ruling Babylon for six years and being buried in the palace of Sargon, which is where the kings of the Second Sealand Dynasty were buried. The *BKLa* also

[1429] Cameron, pp.130–133; Zadok, p.316.
[1430] Cameron, p.135.
[1431] Cameron, p.158; Potts, p.255; Quintana, p.65 (n.129); Khramov, p.1; Gorris, p.23.
[1432] Cameron, p.158; Potts, p.255; Quintana, p.65 (n.129); Khramov, p.1; Gorris, pp.23, 32.
[1433] Potts, p.262.

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possibly gave him a reign of six years. It is proposed that he was king of Elam for about 28 years, including control of the Sealand area of Babylon for six years.

Neo-Elamite Period

The kings of the Neo-Elamite Period are provided with both their Elamite and Akkadian names where known.

Ḫuban-Taḫraḫ – Umbadara (770–744 BC) – was the father of Huban-Nikaš I. In the absence of contradictory evidence, it is accepted that he was likely king and it is proposed that he reigned for about 26 years. It appears that he had close ties to Babylon, as Gorris and Wicks note that the Babylonian king Nabû-šuma-iškun (761–748 BC) transferred inhabitants, women and/or precious gems to Elam on two different occasions, which was likely because of threats from Assyria.[1434]

Ḫuban-Nikaš I – Ummanigaš (c.744–718 BC) – was the son of Ḫuban-Taḫraḫ.[1435] He is named on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.i.9–10) as becoming king in Year 5 of Nabonassar of Babylon (c.748–734 BC). It later states (1.i.33–39) that he fought at the Battle of Der in Year 2 of Marduk-apla-iddina II of Babylon (722–710, 703 BC) against Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC), and died in Year 5 of Marduk-apla-iddina II, having reigned for 26 years.

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte III – Šutur-Naḫundu – Ištar-Ḫundu 718–700 BC) – is noted on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.i.40) as having been the 'sister's son of Ḫuban-Nikaš I'. As noted previously, the term 'sister's son' was a prolific term in Elam, which it was suggested indicated that a ruler was the son of the king and his royal wife, who together were the son and daughter of the supreme god and therefore siblings.

He is mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) who said that he took payment from and provided troops in support to the Chaldean Marduk-apla-iddina II of Babylon (722–710, 703 BC).[1436] The *Babylonian Chronicles* later state (1.ii.32–35) that in Year 1 of Aššur-nādin-šumi of Assyria (700–694 BC), Šutruk-Naḫḫunte III was seized by his brother Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I, who 'shut the door in his face', having ruled for 18 years.

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[1434] Potts, p.263; Gorris and Wicks, p.251.
[1435] Potts, p.263.
[1436] Grayson & Novotny (2014), p.294.

Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak II – Ḫallušu (700–694 BC) – was the brother of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte III, who the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.ii.32–35) records killed his brother and ascended to the throne of Elam.

Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) records in his annals that in the reign of Ḫallušu he destroyed several Elamite cities. This is repeated in the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.ii.36–44) where it records that in Year 6 of Aššur-nādin-šumi of Babylon (700–694 BC), his father Sennacherib plundered four cities of Elam, and that Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I retaliated by capturing the city of Sippar and transporting Aššur-nādin-šumi to Elam and placing Nergal-Ušezib (694–693 BC) on the throne of Babylon. It further records (1.iii.6–8) that the Elamites rebelled against Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak II and 'shut the door in his face' and killed him, having reigned for six years.

Paʾê (646 BC) – took control of Elam after the second campaign in 646 BC by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) against Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III (648–645 BC). Gorris states that he likely claimed kingship at Susa while Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III was returning from his mountain fortress to his capital Madaktu. He however soon fled to Assyria where he is recorded along with other captured Elamite kings as pulling the royal carriage in a triumph parade.[1437]

Šutur-Naḫḫunte (645–630 BC) – the son of a certain Indada/Indattu, is attested on a large rock inscription by Hanne of Ayapir, a cornelian bead, a golden disk and a cylinder seal. There is no reason to propose that his father Indada was a king as contemplated by Gorris and Wicks. It appears that Wicks's proposed dates for Šutur-Naḫḫunte of 635–610 BC are in part intended to provide a window of time for the reign of Indada as king. It is instead proposed that Šutur-Naḫḫunte succeeded Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III as king of Elam at Susa in 645 BC.[1438] There is equally no need to propose that his son prince Ḫuban-Kitin, who is attested on a seal impression, succeeded him as king.[1439] It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Atta-ḫamiti-Inšušinak (c.630–615 BC) – was the son of a certain Hutran-Tepti. While he is attested on a limestone stele with the use of titles similar to Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II and other kings of the Middle Elamite Period, identifying him as king of Anšan and Susa, Gorris & Wicks date the stele to the Late Elamite Period based on the orthographic and paleographic features.[1440] His claim to be king of both

[1437] Gorris, pp.58-59; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.25, 261, 351, 353.
[1438] Tavernier (2004), pp.17–21; Gorris and Wicks, p.255; Wicks, pp.30, 44, 60–64.
[1439] Potts, pp.295–297, 299; Tavernier (2004), pp.30–31, 36; Wicks, pp.31,
[1440] Gorris & Wicks, pp.255–256; Gorris, p.32.

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Anšan and Susa suggests that he claimed to have hegemony over the Persian king Cišpiš (Teïspes) who was king at Anšan during this time.

The possibility remains however that he could have ruled in the late Middle Elamite Period either before or following Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur (940–913–907 BC), where there are no otherwise known kings. Dating him prior to Mār-bīti-apla-uṣur is supported by Vallet's reference, noted by Gorris, to a supposed unpublished text in which Atta-ḫamiti-Inšušinak states that he battled against the army of Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Huban-Immena, which would be a reference to Šutruk-Naḫḫunte II (c.965–940 BC), the son of Ḫuban-Immena II. Gorris however noted that Vallet gave no supporting information, and that 14 years on (now 18 years) the supposed text has still not been further sighted or published and questions the authenticity of the inscription.[1441]

Accordingly, it is accepted here that he likely succeeded Šutur-Naḫḫunte, the son of Indada. This is supported for a further detail in the stele which records his contribution to a project started by a predecessor Halkataš 'in the time of my father'.[1442] This would therefore be a reference to a project began by Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III (648–645 BC) following the destruction of Susa in 646 BC. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Ḫuban-Šuturuk (c.615–599 BC) – was the son of a certain Šati-Ḫupiti. He is attested on the Ururu Bronze Plaque. Gorris & Wicks describe him as likely having been king of Elam at Susa.[1443] It is proposed that he reigned for about 16 years.

Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak III – Ḫallušu (599–580 BC) – was the son of a certain Ḫuban-Taḫraḫ, who is attested on a wall knob where he describes himself as king of Anšan and Susa. His claim to be king of Anšan suggests that he claimed to have hegemony over the Persian king Kuruš (Cyrus) I who ruled at this time.

He is recorded on document A33248 from Sumundanas, which was found at Nippur and mentions Year 15 of Ḫallušu of Elam, and VAS 4 1 which refers to a loan in the reign of Ḫallušu which is thought to have been from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC).[1444] Tavernier argues that the name Ḫallušu is a hypocoristic of Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak.[1445] These documents cannot be from the reign of Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak II, who was killed by his subjects after a reign of only six years (699–693 BC BC) and must be for Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak III as noted by

[1441] Gorris, p.84 (n.73).
[1442] Potts, p.297; Álvarez-Mon, p.228.
[1443] Gorris & Wicks, p.255; Gorris, pp.97–100.
[1444] Weisberg, p.214–215.
[1445] Tavernier (2014), p.64.

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Gorris & Wicks. Gorris states that he must have ascended the throne in 599 BC.[1446] It is proposed that he reigned for about 19 years.

Ḫuban-Menanu II – Ummanunu (c.580–575) – is attested as king in the Susa Acropale texts. Tavernier identified him as king at Susa.[1447] He did not use the title of king of Anšan and Susa as used by his predecessor, with the Persian king Cambyses I at Anšan having become independent of Elam and free to pursue his own foreign policy by marrying Mandane, the daughter of the Median king Astyages. It is proposed that he reigned for about 5 years.

Šilḫak-Inšušinak II (575–550 BC) – is attested on a bronze doorknob from Susa, where he is described as both king and the son of Ḫuban-Menanu II. He was contemporary with the Median king Astyages and the Persian king Cambyses I at Anšan. Gorris notes that Vallet identified Šilḫak-Inšušinak II as the son of Ḫuban-Menanu II and father of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak II. Gorris also however dismisses both Ḫuban-Menanu II and Šilḫak-Inšušinak II as having been kings at Susa despite being attested at Susa, to be replaced by Šuturuk-Inšušinak who has no known connection with Susa, which does not seem convincing.[1448]

Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak II (c.550–525 BC) – is attested on several inscribed bricks and steles, which state that he was the son of Šilḫak-Inšušinak II, who he succeeded as rule of Susa.[1449] Although there is no extant inscription referring to him as a king, the extent and type of inscriptions strongly suggest that he was ruler and therefore prince of Susa. His refraining from the use of the title of king reflects that he was subordinate to Cyrus the Great of Persia (559–530 BC), as suggested by Tavernier.[1450]

Hasina – Açina (c.525–522 BC) – the son of a certain Upadarma, succeeded Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak II as prince of Susa. He is attested on the Behistun inscription as having revolted against Darius I of Persia (522–486 BC) when he obtained the throne, claiming to be king of Elam. He was captured and taken to Darius, who killed him.[1451]

[1446] Weisberg, p.214; Gorris and Wicks, p.251; Gorris, pp.73–80.
[1447] Tavernier (2004), pp.6, 31, 37, 39; Gorris, p.71.
[1448] Gorris, pp.71–73.
[1449] Gorris, p.85.
[1450] Tavernier (2004), pp.25, 37.
[1451] Kuhrt, p.144.

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Atta-Ḫamiti – Aθamaita (521 BC) – is attested on the Behistun inscription as having revolted against Darius I of Persia (522–486 BC). He was captured and taken to Darius, who killed him[1452]

5.3.4 Šimaski

Following the demise of Awan, the Elamite region of Šimaški became more prominent. It is unlikely that Šimaški was an actual city, as there were multiple kings of Šimaški contemporary with each other. The earliest recorded use of the name is found in an inscription on a statue of Puzur-Inšušinak of Susa (1875–1850 BC), recording that a king of Šimaški rendered homage to him.[1453] On the same document containing the list of the 12 kings of Awan (*AwKL*) is a list of 12 kings of Šimaški (*ŠKL*).[1454] Some of these rulers were kings of Anšan and Susa. Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794) claimed to be king of Šimaški, having destroyed the lands of Zabšali and Šimaški and received tribute from Anšan.[1455]

Kirname – Girnamme (1820–1795 BC) – is the first named king of Šimaški on the *ŠKL*. It is not known which city he ruled. Although not supported by Sallaberger & Schrakamp, Steinkeller suggests that he was likely the Guriname whose slaves were named on a document dated to Year 46 of Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC). He was further recorded in Years 3 to 6 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794), where he is called Kirname. Steinkeller notes that his envoys to Šū-Sîn II were on both occasions accompanied with the envoys of the Šimaški king Ebarti I of Su (1820–1795 BC).[1456] He was also contemporary with the Šimaški king Tazitta I of Anšan (1805–1780 BC), and the Ur appointed governor of Susa, Zaríqùm (c.1825–1804 BC).

Ebarti I (c.1820–1790 BC) – was the third named king on the *ŠKL*. While he was the father of Kindattu and grandfather of Idattu I, who were both kings of Anšan, Potts notes that he was referred to at Ur as ‘Yabrat, the man of Su’, while his contemporary Tazitta I was referred to as the ‘man of Anšan’. This suggests that Ebarti I ruled from ‘Su’, while Tazitta I ruled from Anšan, and the Ur appointed governor Zaríqùm (c.1825–1804 BC) ruled at Susa. He is attested at Ur in Year 44

[1452] Gorris, p.83; Kuhrt, p.149.
[1453] Stolper & André-Salvini, p.262.
[1454] Stolper (1982), p.43; Potts, p.144; Peyronel, p.213; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25.
[1455] Frayne (1997), pp.309, 313.
[1456] Potts, p.147; Steinkeller (2007), pp.216 (n.5), 220; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25; Peyronel, pp.208, 214.

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of Šulgi (1860–1812 BC), Year 6 of Amar-Sîn (1812–1803 BC) and Years 6 & 8 of Šū-Sîn II (1803–1794).[1457]

Tazitta II (c.1790–1765 BC) – is the fourth named king on the *ŠKL*. It is not known which city he ruled or who he succeeded.

Lu[..]ak-Luḫḫan (c.1765–1740 BC) – is the fifth named king on the *ŠKL*. It is not known which city he ruled or who he succeeded.

Idattu-Napir (c.1740–1715 BC) – is the eleventh named ruler on the *ŠKL*. It is not known which city he ruled or who he succeeded.

Idattu-Temti (c.1715–1690 BC) – is the twelfth named ruler on the *ŠKL*. It is not known which city he ruled or who he succeeded.

5.3.5 Anšan

Šalabum – Libum (1850–1820 BC) – is identified by Cameron as a ruler of Anšan to whom it is likely that Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) gave his daughter as wife in his Year 28.[1458]

Šimaški Dynasty

Tazitta I (c.1820–1790 BC) – is the second named king on the *Šimaški King List* (*ŠKL*). He was recorded in Year 8 of Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803) and Year 2 of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794), where he is referred to as the 'man of Anšan'.[1459] He was contemporary with the Šimaški kings Girnamme (1820–1795 BC) and Ebarti I (1820–1795 BC), the 'man of Su', as well as the Ur appointed Zaríqùm of Susa (c.1825–1800 BC).

Kindattu (c.1790–1765) – was the sixth named king on the *ŠKL*. His son Idattu I, who succeeded him as king of Anšan, records that he was the son of Ebarti I, a Šimaški king who was referred to at Ur as the 'man of Su'. A second son Imazu confirmed on a cylinder seal impression from Susa that Kindatttu was king of

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[1457] Stolper (1982), p.49; Potts, pp.144–147; Steinkeller (2007), pp.216, 221–222, 230–232; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25; Peyronel, p.214; Roach, p.714.
[1458] Cameron, pp.48–49.
[1459] Potts, p.147; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25, Peyronel, p.208.

Anšan. The *Hymn of Išbi-Erra of Isin* (1792–1759 BC) records that he defeated Ibbi-Sîn I of Ur (1794–1770 BC), resulting in the destruction of the Ur III Empire.[1460]

Idattu I (1765–1740 BC) – succeeded his father Kindattu as king of Anšan, confirmed by his recording that he was the son of Kindattu and grandson of Ebarti I. He was the seventh named king on the *ŠKL*. He described himself as king of Anšan and king of Šimaški and Elam, indicating that he retained the hegemony over the other kings of Šimaški that had previously been wielded by his father. He is attested by seals dateable to Išbi-Erra of Isin (1792–1759 BC).[1461]

Tan-Ruḫuratir I (c.1755–1740–1715 BC) – is the eighth named ruler on the *ŠKL*. He was recorded on inscriptions as prince of Susa and son of the Šimaški king Idattu I of Anšan. It is proposed that he was prince of Susa during his father's reign and then succeeded his father as king of Anšan and Susa. Roach notes that he was recorded on six seals dated to the reign of Shu-ilishu II of Isin (1759–1749 BC). He married Me-Kubi, the daughter of Bilalama of Ešnunna (1750–1725 BC). [1462]

Ebarti II (c.1715–1690 BC) – is named as the ninth king on the *ŠKL*. He was likely the son of Tan-Ruḫuratir I of Anšan as suggested by Steinkeller.[1463] He appears to have married Mātum-Niattum, the daughter of Iddin-Dagān of Isin (1749–1728 BC). He is recorded on bricks as building at the temple of Inšušinak at Susa. He is described on a seal as king of Anšan and Susa.[1464]

Sukkalmah Dynasty – grand princes of Anšan and Susa

Šilḫaḫa (c.1690–1665 BC) – was grand prince of Anšan and Susa. He the first ruler to use the title of *sukkalmah* (grand prince) rather than the earlier Elamite title of *sugir* (king). He referred to himself as the 'chosen son of Ebarti'.[1465]

Kuk-Našur I (c.1695–1670 BC) – succeeded his father Šilḫaḫa as grand prince of Anšan and Susa. He is attested on seals datable to the reign of Gungunum of Larsa (1705–1678 BC).[1466]

[1460] Potts, pp.145–147; Steinkeller (2007), pp.216, 221–222; Steinkeller (2018), p.196; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25; Peyronel, p.214.
[1461] Potts, pp.145–147, 149; Steinkeller (2007), pp.216, 221–222; Peyronel, p.214; Roach, p.713.
[1462] Potts, p.145; Sallaberger & Schrakamp, pp.24–25; Roach, pp.713–714.
[1463] Steinkeller, p.229 (n.50).
[1464] Cameron, p.70; Peyronel, p.218.
[1465] Potts, pp.162, 164; Peyronel, p.218.
[1466] Potts, p.164; Peyronel, p.218.

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Pala-Iššan (c.1670–1645 BC) – succeeded Kuk-Našur I as grand prince of Anšan and Susa.[1467]

Kuk-Kirmaš (c.1620–1615–1590 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa', being the son of Lankuku, who is it proposed was prince of Susa. As the recognised crown prince he was *sukkal* of Susa, Elam and Šimaški before succeeding Palar-Iššan as grand prince of Anšan and Susa.[1468]

Širuk-Tuḫ I (1590–1565 BC) – succeeded Kuk-Kirmaš as grand prince of Anšan and Susa. He was not the son of Kuk-Kirmaš but instead claimed royal ancestry as a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'.[1469] This in turn suggests that he was the son of a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa', which it is proposed must have been Kuk-Naḫundi, prince of Susa. It is on this basis that it was suggested earlier that both Tem-Sanit and Kuk-Naḫundi were brothers of Kuk-Kirmaš, who was himself a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. He was contemporary with Šamši-Adad of Assyria (1602–1548 BC).

Siwe-palar-ḫuppak (c.1565–1535 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Širuk-Tuḫ' and prince of Elam. Peyronel refers to him as king of Anšan. He was defeated by a collation of Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) and Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1470]

Kudu-Zuluš I (c.1560–1535–1530 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Širuk-Tuḫ'. He was prince of Susa during the reign of Siwe-palar-ḫuppak of Anšan. Potts notes that he also used the title *sukkalmah*, which suggests that he briefly succeeded Siwe-palar-ḫuppak as grand prince of Anšan and Susa. This is supported by a record from Tempti-Agum noted by Schiel.[1471]

Kutir-Naḫḫunte I (c.1530–1510 BC) – is suggested by Potts to have been the son of Kudu-Zuluš I, who he succeeded as grand prince of Anšan and Susa. The reference by Peyronel to him being a son of Širuk-Tuḫ appears to be an error for 'sister's son of Širuk-Tuḫ'. He is recorded on a temple brick along with Lila-Irtaš of Susa (c.1530–1505 BC) by Temti-Agun, who was at the time prince of Susa.[1472]

[1467] Potts, pp.164, 236; Peyronel, p.218.
[1468] Potts, p.164; Peyronel, p.218.
[1469] Peyronel, p.219.
[1470] Potts, p.164; Hinz, p.272; Peyronel, p.219.
[1471] Hinz, p.272; Potts, p.164; Peyronel, p.219.
[1472] Cameron, pp.81–82; Hinz, p.272; Potts, p.164.

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Temti-Agun (c.1515–1510–1485 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Širuk-Tuḫ' and prince of Susa when he recorded on a temple brick a dedication to Kutir-Naḫḫunte I of Anšan (c.1535–1510 BC), his mother Welkiša, and Lila-Irtaš, who it is proposed was his father who he succeeded as prince. It is further proposed that he then succeeded Kutir-Naḫḫunte I as grand prince of Anšan and Susa on the basis that Kuk-Naḫḫunte II would later refer to himself as 'sister's son of Temti-Agun'.[1473]

Kutir-Šilḫaḫa (c.1495–1485–1460 BC) – is noted by Potts to have been a *sukkal* before becoming *sukkalmah*. He was therefore likely prince of Susa before becoming grand prince of Anšan and Susa.[1474]

Kuk-Našur II (c.1465–1460–1435 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Tempt-Agun' and 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. He was prince of Susa and Elam before becoming *sukkalmah*. It is proposed that he was the son of Temti-Raptaš, who he succeeded as prince of Susa before succeeding his uncle Kutir-Šilḫaḫa as grand prince of Anšan and Susa.[1475]

Temti-Ḫalki (c.1440–1435–1425 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. He was prince of Elam, Šimaški and Susa before becoming grand prince of Anšan and Susa.[1476]

Kuk-Našur III (c.1440–1435–1410 BC) – was a 'sister's son of Šilḫaḫa'. It is proposed that the was the son of Šimut-Wartaš II, who he succeeded as prince of Susa. He was prince of Elam and prince of Šimaški and Susa before becoming grand prince of Anšan and Susa. He is attested on seals dated to Ammi-Saduqa of Babylon (1419–1393 BC).[1477]

Kings of Anšan

Šutruk(-)ša-[..] (c.875–850 BC) – is named on tablet M-603 as *sugir* (king) of Anšan.[1478]

Akšir-'ditto' (850–825 BC) – is named on tablet M-603 as king of Anšan.[1479]

[1473] Cameron, p.82; Hinz, p.272; Potts, pp.164–165; Peyronel, p.219; Roach, p.73; Vallat (2000), p.15.
[1474] Cameron, p.279; Potts, p.164–165; Peyronel, p.219; Roach, p.73
[1475] Cameron, p.82; Potts, p.165; Peyronel, p.219.
[1476] Potts, pp.165, 173; Peyronel, p.219.
[1477] Cameron, p.82; Potts, pp.165, 173; Peyronel, p.219; Roach, p.714.
[1478] Stolper (2013), pp.400, 404.
[1479] Stolper (2013), pp.400, 404.

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Akšir-[..] (c.825–800 BC) – is named on tablet M-1157 as king of Anšan. Stolper describes him as a different king to Akšir-'ditto'.[1480]

Ḫu-[..] (850–825 BC) – is named on tablet TTM I 86:30 as king of Anšan.[1481]

5.3.6 Ḫidalu and Bubilu

Ḫidalu

The kings of the Neo-Elamite Period are recorded by both their Elamite and Akkadian names.

Šutruk-Naḫḫunte IV – Ištar-Nandi (c.675–653 BC) – was beheaded by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) along with Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I of Elam (664–653 BC) and his son when trying to flee the battlefield.[1482]

Tammarītu I (653–630 BC) – was the third son of Urtak (676–663 BC) king of Elam. The Elamite form of his name is unknown. He was forced to flee to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–630 BC) when his uncle Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I (663–653 BC) usurped the throne. Ashurbanipal installed him as king in the city of Ḫidalu in 653 BC, at the same time that he installed Tammarītu's eldest brother Ḫuban-Nikaš II as king of Elam at Madaktu.[1483] There is no record of him after his investiture as king, including no detail of his fate or record of any retaliation when Tammarītu II killed Ḫuban-Nikaš II and usurped the throne of Elam. A legal contract from Hidalu dated to the accession year of Tammarītu II does not however necessarily suggest that Tammarītu I had been killed as proposed by Gorris, but rather instead that he accepted the suzerainty of Tammarītu II, his uncle, as king of Elam.[1484]

Bubilu

Ḫuban-Ḫapua – Umbahabua (647 BC) – following the flight from Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669-631 BC) of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III from his residence at Madaktu, Ḫuban-

[1480] Stolper (2013), pp.401, 404.
[1481] Stolper (2013), pp.401–402 (n.3), 404.
[1482] Glassner, p.78.
[1483] Winkler, p.528; Luckenbill (1927), p.300; Novotny & Jeffers, p.71.
[1484] Gorris, p.47.

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Ḫabua seized the throne and briefly established himself at Bubila before he too was forced to flee from Ashurbanipal.[1485]

5.3.7 Madaktu

The kings of the Neo-Elamite Period are recorded by both their Elamite and Akkadian names.

Kutir-Naḫḫunte III – Kudurru (694–693 BC) – is named on the annals of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) as the son of Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I, whom the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iii.9) records him as succeeding as king of Elam. The *Chronicles* later state (1.iii.14–15) that he was taken prisoner in a rebellion and killed after a rule of 10 months. Gorris notes that he moved the capital to Madaktu, the location of which is currently unknown.[1486]

Ḫuban-Menanu I – Umman-Menanu (693–689 BC) – is named on the annals of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) as the son of Ḫallutuš-Inšušinak I and on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iii.15–16) as succeeding his brother Kutir-Naḫḫunte III as king of Elam. The *Chronicles* (1.iii.25–26) states that he ruled for four years.[1487]

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš I – Ḫumba-Ḫaldašu (689–681 BC) – is named on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iii.27) as succeeding Ḫuban-Menanu as king of Elam. They also state (1.iii.30–32) that he became paralysed and died having ruled for eight years.

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II – Ḫumba-Ḫaldašu (681–676 BC) – is named on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iii.33) as succeeding Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš I, who it appears was his father. It records (1.iii.39–42, iv.9–12) that he killed Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir of Sealand (681 BC) in Year 1 of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and that in Year 6 he attacked Sippar but then died after a reign of five years.

Urtak (675–664 BC) – is named on the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iv.13) as the brother of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II, who he succeeded as king of Elam. Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) recorded in his annals that he gave grain to Urtak during a period of famine, and that Urtak later attacked Babylonia, which Ashurbanipal considered his own territory, which provoked Ashurbanipal to march against Urtak in his sixth campaign. Ashurbanipal states that Urtak died on a day that was "not his

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[1485] Cameron, p.199; Potts, p.283; Dubovský, pp.330, 353; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.161, 178.
[1486] Grayson & Novotny (2014), pp.330–331; Gorris, p.36.
[1487] Grayson & Novotny (2014), pp.330–331.

fate, who came to end withered away while wailing", indicating that he died by unnatural means.[1488]

Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I – Te-Umman (664–653 BC) – succeeded Urtak as king of Elam. He was likely involved in the death of Urtak and usurped the throne as the children of both Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II and Hutran-Tepti, together with sixty members of the royal family, countless archers, and nobles of the land, fled to Assyria for protection by Ashurbanipal (669–631 BC), who described Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I as "the (very) image of a *gallû*-demon." He was defeated by Ashurbanipal, who beheaded him along with his son when trying to flee the battlefield.[1489]

Ḫuban-Nikaš II – Ummanigaš (653–651 BC) – was the son of Urtak, who Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) installed as the successor of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I at Madaktu at the same time that Tammarītu I (653–652 BC) was installed as king of Ḫidalu. Ashurbanipal records that Ḫuban-Nikaš II later rebelled against him by siding with his rebellious brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn of Babylon (668–648 BC) and that he defeated the Elamites at Mangisu. Gorris states that in the aftermath of the defeat Ḫuban-Nikaš II abandoned his army and tried to flee to Hidalu. He subsequently lost support and was killed by his successor Tammarītu II.[1490]

Tammarītu II (651–649, 647 BC) – executed Ḫuban-Nikaš II and succeeded him as king of Elam at Madaktu.[1491] The Elamite form of his name is unknown.

The identity of Tammarītu II, the successor of Ḫuban-Nikaš II, has remained unresolved amongst scholars. It appears from the annals of Ashurbanipal that he was not the same person as Tammarītu I, the brother of Ḫuban-Nikaš II and king of Ḫidalu, since when Ashurbanipal defeated Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III and took 32 statues of former kings, he referred to the taking of a statue of the later Tammarītu, indicating that Ashurbanipal recognised Tammarītu I, king of Ḫidalu, as the earlier Tammarītu.

While Potts suggests that Tammarītu II may have been the son of Ummanappa, the brother of Ḫuban-Nikaš II, Gorris argues that he was the son of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš, the son of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I.[1492] From a genealogical perspective neither of these suggestions seem correct, given the relatively short time-frames for the events

[1488] Potts, p.297; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.66–67.
[1489] Glassner, p.78 ; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.67–71.
[1490] Álvarez-Mon, pp.9, 195; Dubovský, p.329; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.71, 73–75; Gorris, pp.46–47.
[1491] Álvarez-Mon, pp.9, 195; Dubovský, p.329.
[1492] Potts, pp.281–282; Gorris and Wicks, p.253; Gorris, pp.48–53.

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of the dynasty and the recent deaths of their grandfathers (particularly of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I).

Crucial for understanding the relationship between Ḫuban-Nikaš II and his successor Tammarītu II is an Akkadian text which reads:

> *ina* ŠUII *dištam-ma-ri-tu* IBILA *dišum-man-ni-gaš-ma* ŠEŠ AD-*šú um-mu-ú-šú dištam-ma-ri-tu ša* EGIR-*šú ú-ši-bu ina giš*GU. ZA KUR.NIM. MA.KI. *šá ki-ma šá-a-šu-ma*
>
> They delivered him (Huban-Nikaš II) in the hands of Tammarītu, heir of Huban-nikaš, and the brother of his father. Tammarītu, who installed his own rulership on the throne of Elam after him. (K2654:18', translation CAD M/10, 226)

The difficulty of understanding the passage is the uncertain reading of the cuneiform sign DUMU/IBILA, which is proposed by some scholars to be read as 'heir' and others as 'son', and in the fact that Tammarītu as well as Huban-Nikaš can be connected to the genitive chain 'brother of his father' (ŠEŠ AD-*šú*).

As noted above, the interpretation of Huban-Nikaš II being the brother of the father of Tammarītu makes the lengths of the generations too short, and scholars have not been able to propose a practical solution interpreting DUMU/IBILA as either 'heir' or 'son'. It is therefore proposed that the term IBILA should be interpreted as 'successor' rather than 'heir', and that it was Tammarītu who was the brother of the father of Huban-Nikaš II, i.e., was the uncle of Huban-Nikaš II. As the youngest and last remaining son of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš I, Tammarītu II was the elder statesman of the family to whom Huban-Nikaš II was brought after abandoning the battlefield, who executed him for his treachery and rightfully assumed the kingship. That Tammarītu II was the brother of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I explains why he spoke 'insolent word(s)' to Ashurbanipal on account of the cutting off of the head of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I.[1493]

Treachery however remained close to Tammarītu II, as he was turned against by his general Idattu-Nikaš, who killed one of Tammarītu II's family members. Tammarītu II was subsequently forced, along with his extended family comprising of his son Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš and the children and grandchildren of his three brothers Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II, Urtak and Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I, along with numerous supporters, to flee to Assyria.[1494]

When Ashurbanipal's army confronted Elam to reinstate Tammarītu II as king, the Elamites killed Idattu-Nikaš and installed Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III (648–645 BC) as king.

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[1493] Novotny & Jeffers, p.75.
[1494] Gorris, p.48; Novotny & Jeffers, p.75.

Ashurbanipal however returned to Elam the following year, forcing Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III to retreat to the Elamite highlands, which enabled Ashurbanipal to reinstall Tammarītu II as king at Susa.[1495] His second tenure as king, however, did not last long. According to Ashurbanipal he tried to conquer the troops that Ashurbanipal had stationed at Susa and was taken back to Nineveh.[1496]

Idattu-Nikaš – Indabigaš (649–648 BC) – although until 1984 this king was known as Indabigaš, he is now often referred to as Indabibi. Gorris follows the naming of this king as Indabibi and suggests that there is no record of this king's Elamite name.

The popular naming of this king follows the proposition by Brinkman that the king's name be read as Indabibi rather than Indabigaš on the basis of a certain person called Indapipi, who is noted by Hallock as having been active in grain distribution at Kurdušan. Brinkman provides no further explanation for the changing of the name, other than that the suggestion was made to him by M. Stolper and E. Reiner. Given that there does not seem to be any argument put forward for changing the name to Indabibi, and that the name Indabigaš appears to be the Akkadian form of the Elamite name Idattu-Nikaš, the name Idattu-Nikaš is preferred here, ever though there is no known Elamite record of the use of the name by a king, attributable to the shortness of the king's reign. [1497]

Idattu-Nikaš was an Elamite general who overthrew Tammarītu II, forcing Tammarītu II to flee to Assyria. Idattu-Nikaš then sued for peace with Assyria by sending back to Assyria the prisoners which had been handed to Elam by the Sealand king Nabû-bel-šumati (c.670–650 BC), who was himself now hiding from Assyria in Elam.[1498] The gesture however failed on account of Idattu-Nikaš's inability to hand over Nabû-bel-šumati himself, and in the face of Ashurbanipal's impending attack the people of Elam killed Idattu-Nikaš and installed Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III as king.[1499]

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III – Ummanaldaš (648–645 BC) – was the son of a certain Attametu, who it is recorded in the annals of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) became king of Elam after the assassination of Idattu-Nikaš.[1500] His father Attametu was possibly the same Attametu who was the chief archer killed at the battle of Mangisu at the end of the reign of Ḫuban-Nikaš II (653–651 BC). Scholars typically equate

[1495] Cameron, pp.193–195; Potts, p.282–283; Novotny & Jeffers, p.199.
[1496] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.24, 199.
[1497] Gorris, p.14; Brinkman (1984), p.101 (n.506); Brinkman (1991), p.57 (n.401); Hallock, pp.147, 306–307, 507, 512, 702.
[1498] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.75–76.
[1499] Cameron, pp.193–195; Potts, p.282; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.75–76, .133–134, 159.
[1500] Potts, p.282; Novotny & Jeffers, p.134.

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the name Attametu with the Elamite name Atta-ḫamiti-Inšušinak. While there is no need to equate Attametu with that king's name, it does appear to equate with the name Atta-Ḫamiti.

Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III's taking of the throne did now however go unchallenged, with Bel-Ibni, who was Ashurbanipal's general stationed in the Sealand, reporting that a certain Ummanigash (Ḫuban-Nikaš) son of a certain Amedirra, had fomented a revolt against Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III, which he repressed.

The issue of Ashurbanipal's demands for the handing over of the fugitive Sealand king Nabû-bel-šumati (c.660–650 BC) dogged the reign of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III just as much as it had the reign of his two predecessors. In the midst of a second revolt the following year (647 BC) Ashurbanipal decided to attack Elam, taking the city of Bīt-Imbi, where he captured Imbappa, the brother-in-law of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III, and family members of Tepti-Ḫuban-Inšušinak I, all of whom he took back to Assyria.[1501] Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III was forced to flee from Madaktu and took refuge in the mountains. This prompted a certain Umbahabua (Ḫuban-Ḫapua) to seize the throne, establishing himself at Bubilu, but who soon fled as well 'and like a fish, sought the depths of distant waters'. [1502]

Ashurbanipal had with him Tammarītu II, who he then reinstated as king at Susa. Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III still however failed to satisfy Ashurbanipal's demands, and when Tammarītu II tried to overthrow the troops which Ashurbanipal had stationed at Susa, Tammarītu II was taken back to Assyria and Ashurbanipal again attacked Elam in two campaigns, conquering many Elamite cities including Susa and Madaktu. On the second of these campaigns Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III abandoned Madaktu and was forced back to the city Dūr-Undāsi, establishing the Idide River as his defensive position. Ashurbanipal defeated Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III at Dūr-Undāsi, forcing him to again flee to the mountains.[1503]

Upon his return home Ashurbanipal looted Susa of all its treasures, including statues and practical items. He also destroyed the ziggurat and stripped the city of its gods and religious equipment and priests. He also burned the sacred groves and destroyed the tombs of the kings and took their bones to Assyria. Interestingly, Ashurbanipal said that he also took the goddess Nanāya, who went to live in Elam 1,635 years earlier (2280 BC), which in this chronology aligns with the reign of Kul[..] of Awan (c.2311–2275 BC), who is recorded in the Sumerian King List as having had hegemony over Sumer.[1504]

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[1501] Potts, p.283.
[1502] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.161, 178.
[1503] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.200–201.
[1504] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.199–205.

Following the retreat of Ashurbanipal a certain Paʾê established himself as king in opposition to Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III, which was likely in the city of Susa. Ashurbanipal again confronted Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III regarding the fugitive Nabû-bel-šumati, who in light of the recent devastation of Elam and hearing of the continued demands for his extradition, committed suicide. Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III then packed the body of Nabû-bel-šumati with salt and sent it to Assyria as proof that he was no longer being harboured in Elam. With the threat of Ashurbanipal now resolved, Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III turned his attention to Paʾê, who under threat of attack fled to Assyria.

The situation did not improve for Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III, with Ashurbanipal recording that the Elamites once again rebelled, and that this time when he fled to the mountains he was captured (supposedly by the Assyrians) and sent to Assyria where he joined Tammarītu II and Paʾê in serving Ashurbanipal.[1505]

5.3.8 Media

Ḫanaṣiruka (c.845–819 BC) – was defeated by Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria (824–811 BC) in his third campaign.[1506]

Varbakēs – Arbaces (c.819–791 BC) – is described by Khorenatsi, Eusebius, Ctesias of Cnidus, and St. Jerome as the first king of Media with a reign of 28 years.[1507]

Mawdakis – Maudaces (c.791–771 BC) – is described by Khorenatsi Eusebius, Ctesias of Cnidus, and St. Jerome as the second king of Media with a reign of 20 years.[1508]

Sawsarmos – Sosarmus (c.771–741BC) – is described by Khorenatsi Eusebius, Ctesias of Cnidus, and St. Jerome as the third king of Media with a reign of 30 years.[1509]

Aṙtikas (c.741–711BC) – is described by Eusebius, Ctesias of Cnidus, and St. Jerome as the fourth king of Media with a reign of 30 years.[1510]

Deōkis – Deiokes (711–658 BC) – is described by Herodotus as the son of a certain Pʿṙavortis who was chosen as king and established the capital at Ecbatana. Diodorus

[1505] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.25, 261.
[1506] Cameron, p.145; Grayson (1996), p.185–186.
[1507] Eusebius, *Chronography* §19; Khorenatsi, p.110.
[1508] Eusebius, *Chronography* §19; Khorenatsi, p.110.
[1509] Eusebius, *Chronography* §19; Khorenatsi, p.110.
[1510] Eusebius, *Chronography* §19.

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(who calls him Cyaxares) dated the start of his reign to the second year of the 17th Olympiad (711 BC). Herodotus said he reigned 53 years while Eusebius said he reigned for 54 years.[1511]

Fravartiš – Pʿŕavortis – Phraortes (658–636 BC) – was said by Eusebius and St. Jerome to have been the 6th king of Media and to have reigned for 24 years, while Herodotus said that he reigned for 22 years.[1512]

Ḫuvaxšaθra – Knaxarēs – Cyaxares I (636–596 BC) – according to Herodotus Cyaxares I's first act as king was to march against Nineveh, but that while he was besieging the Assyrians he was attacked by the Scythian king Madyas (c.650–625 BC) son of Partatua. The Scythians subsequently ruled Asia for 28 years but left Egypt alone because Psamtik I (664–610 BC) paid a tribute to be left alone. Cyaxares I regained his independence from the Scythians by getting their rulers drunk and murdering them. The *Babylonian Chronicle 3* records that Cyaxares I destroyed Aššur in Year 12 (614 BC) of Nabopolassar (626–605 BC), after which the two kings made am entente cordiale and in 612 BC the combined armies of Cyaxares I and Nabopolassar attacked and razed the Assyrian capital Nineveh. Herodotus says that he reigned for 40 years while Eusebius and St. Jerome provided him a reign of 32 years.[1513]

Ašdahak – Astyages (596–558 BC) – was said by Herodotus to have reigned for 35 years whereas Eusebius gave him a reign of 38 years. He married Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes III of Lydia (609–560 BC). Herodotus said that he was dethroned by Cyrus II of Persia (559–530 BC).[1514]

Ḫuvaxšaθra – Knaxarēs – Cyaxares II (558–549 BC) – was said by Xenophon to have succeeded his father Astyages as king of Media.[1515] His reign fills the 8 years gap between the death of Astyages and the reign of Cyrus II. He was succeeded by his nephew Cyrus II (559–530 BC) who was already the Persian king of Anšan.

5.3.9 Scythians

Targitaus – was named by Herodotus as the first king of the Scythians.[1516]

[1511] Herodotus, 1.96–102; Diodorus, 2.32.3; Eusebius, *Chronography* §19; Khorenatsi, p.110.
[1512] Jerome, §B654; Herodotus, 1.102; Eusebius, *Chronography* §19.
[1513] Herodotus, 1.106; Jerome, §B630; Eusebius, *Chronography* §19; Grayson (1975), pp.93–94.
[1514] Herodotus, 1.130; Eusebius, *Chronography* §19.
[1515] Xenophon, 1.5.2.
[1516] Herodotus, 4.5.

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Colaxais – was named by Herodotus as having succeeded his father Targitaus as king of the Scythians.[1517]

Scoloti – was named by Herodotus as an eponymous king of the Scythians.[1518]

Sagillus – was named by Justin as king of the Scythians, contemporary with the Amazon queen Orithya.[1519]

Tanaus – was named by Justin as a king of the Scythians before the time of Ninus (Šamši-Adad V) of Assyria (823–810 BC).[1520]

Partatua – Protothyes (c.650–625 BC) – was king of the Scythians named by Herodotus as the father of Madyas.[1521]

Madyas (c.650–625 BC) – was named by Herodotus as the son of Partatua and king of the Scythians who invaded Media during the reign of Cyaxares I of Media (636–596 BC), having entered Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians.[1522]

Spargapeithes (c.625–600 BC) – was king of the Scythians named by Herodotus as the father of Lycus.[1523]

Lycus (c.600–575 BC) – was king of the Scythians named by Herodotus as the father of Gnurus. [1524]

Gnurus (c.575–550 BC) – was king of the Scythians named by Herodotus as the father of Saulius.[1525]

Saulius (c.550–525 BC) – succeeded his father Gnurus as a king of the Scythians. Herodotus said he killed Anacharsis for performing a Greek religious ceremony.[1526]

[1517] Herodotus, 4.5.
[1518] Herodotus, 4.6.
[1519] Justin, 2.4.
[1520] Justin, 1.1.
[1521] Herodotus, 1.103.
[1522] Herodotus, 1.103.
[1523] Herodotus, 4.76.
[1524] Herodotus, 4.76.
[1525] Herodotus, 4.76.
[1526] Herodotus, 4.76.

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Idanthyrsus – Iancyrus (c.525–500 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Saulius as king of the Scythians. Justin called him Iancyrus. He was king at the time that Darius I of Persia (522–486 BC) attacked the Scythians in retribution for their previous invasion of Media.[1527]

5.3.10 Cimmerians

Teušpâ (c.705–679 BC) – was defeated and killed by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC).[1528]

Lygdamis – Dugdammî – Tugdammî, (679–640 BC) – was king of the Cimmerians. He was killed during a period of hostility with Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) when 'fire fell from the sky' (lightning?) and burned him.[1529]

Sandakšatru – Sandak-Kurru (640–c.635 BC) – is recorded by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) as succeeding his father Tugdammî as king of the Cimmerians.[1530]

5.3.11 Persia

Kuráš – Cyrus i (c.665–640 BC) – was king of the land of Pārsumas (Persia). Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) said he sent his eldest son Arukku to Nineveh to pay tribute and do obeisance, following his destruction of Elam in 646 BC during the reign of Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III of Elam (648–645 BC).[1531]

Arukku (c.640–615 BC) – was named by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) as the eldest son of Kuráš i, who he likely succeeded as king of Pārsumas (Persia).[1532]

Cišpiš – Teïspes (c.630–615–605) – was perhaps a prince of Anšan who likely became king of Pārsumas and Anšan in about 615 BC following the deaths of Arukku of Pārsumas (c.640–615 BC) and Atta-ḫamiti-Inšušinak of Elam (c.630–615 BC).

[1527] Herodotus, 4.76; Justin, 2.5.
[1528] Luckenbill (1927), pp.206, 212, 217; Leichty, pp.18, 37.
[1529] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.309.
[1530] Jeffers & Novotny, p.337.
[1531] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.269, 703.
[1532] Novotny & Jeffers, p.269.

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Kuráš – Cyrus I (c.605–580 BC) – succeeded his father Teïspes as king of Persia.

Kambūjiya – Cambyses I (580–559 BC) – succeeded his father Cyrus I as king of Persia. He married Mandánē, the daughter of Astyages of Media (596–558 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 21 years.

Kuráš – Cyrus II (559–530 BC) – succeeded his father Cambyses I as king of Persia. His mother was Mandane, the daughter of Astyages of Media. In 549 BC he succeeded his uncle Cyaxares II (558–549 BC) as king of Media, marking the beginning of the Persian Empire. He moved the capital to Pasargadae. Herodotus gave him a reign of 29 years and Eusebius gave him 31 years.[1533]

Kabūjiya – Cambyses II (538–530–522 BC) – was the son of Cyrus II who appointed him as king of Babylon in about 538 BC and then as joint king of Persia in 530 BC before Cyrus II died in a campaign against the Massagetae Iranians. He conquered Egypt in 525 BC. Herodotus says that he reigned for 7 years and 5 months, while Babylonian documents say that he reigned for 7 years and 7 months and Eusebius described the length as 8 years.[1534]

Bardiya – Smérdis (522 BC) – succeeded his brother Cambyses II as king of Persia. He was assassinated in a coup led by Darius I, who tried to legitimise his usurpation by claiming that Bardiya had been killed by Cambyses II in a fit of madness and that the person who had ruled in his name was a pretender. Eusebius said that he ruled for about 7 months.[1535]

Dārayava^{h}uš – Darius I (522–486 BC) – was the son of a certain Vištāspa (Hustáspēs) who was involved in the assassination of Bardiya and usurped the throne of Persia.

His usurping of the throne appears to have sparked several revolts with the empire which he quashed as recorded on the Behistun inscription. He sought to legitimise his rule in several ways, firstly by marrying Atossa the eldest daughter of Cyrus II and widow of Cambyses II, as well as her sister Artustőnē and also later married Uparviyā the daughter Bardiya. This not only meant that he became the son-in-law of Cyrus II but more importantly ensured that none of the three women could bear a rival claimant to the throne. His other action was to provide what is likely a fictitious genealogy on the Behistun inscription extending back to a certain

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[1533] Herodotus, 1.214; Eusebius, *Chronography* §21.
[1534] Kuhrt, pp.53 (n.16), 162–163 (n.12); Herodotus, 3.66; Eusebius, *Chronography* §21.
[1535] Herodotus, 3.30, 3.61–79; Eusebius, *Chronography* §21.

Hâkamannuiš (Achaemenes), who he claimed was king of the Persians and father of king Teïspes. He furthermore He moved the capital to Susa. Eusebius said that he reigned for 36 years.[1536]

Xerxes I (486–465 BC) – succeeded his father Darius I as king of Persia. He famously failed in his attempt to conquer Greece.[1537]

Artaxerxes I (465–424 BC) – succeeded his father Xerxes I as king of Persia.[1538]

Xerxes II (424 BC) – succeeded his father Artaxerxes I as king of Persia. He ruled for 45 days and was assassinated by his brother Sogdianus.

Sogdianus (424–423 BC) – usurped the throne of Persia from his brother Xerxes II. He reigned for six months and 15 days and was assassinated by his brother Ochus.

Ochus – Darius II (423–404 BC) – succeeded his brother Sogdianus as king of Persia.

Arses – Artaxerxes II (404–358 BC) – succeeded his father Darius II as king of Persia.

Ochus – Artaxerxes III (358–338 BC) – succeeded his father Artaxerxes II as king of Persia. He too was poisoned by the vizier Bagoas who installed his son Artaxerxes IV as king.

Arses – Artaxerxes IV (338–336 BC) – succeeded his father Artaxerxes III as king of Persia. He too was poisoned by then vizier Bagoas.

Artašiyāta Dārayavaʿuš – Darius III (336–330 BC) – succeeded his second-cousin Artaxerxes III as king of Persia. He was defeated by Alexander III the Great of Macedonia (336–323 BC) in the Battle of Issus (333 BC) and the Battle of Gaugámēla (331 BC) and subsequently assassinated by Bessus satrap of Bactria.

Bayaçā Artaxšaçā – Artaxerxes V Bessus (330–329 BC) – was strap of Bactria who killed and usurped the throne of Persia from Darius III. He was arrested by his own

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[1536] Herodotus, 3.88, 6.98; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20, §41; Kuhrt, pp.141–143.
[1537] Herodotus, 6.98.
[1538] Herodotus, 6.98, 7.106, 7.151-152.

officers, who handed him over to Alexander the Great, who had him executed at Ecbatana.

5.4 Caucasians

Table 47 – Kings of the Caucasians

Lulluban
Immaškuš
c.2050–2025

[..]-a-El
c.2025–2000

Gutians (Adab)

Anu-Banini c.2000–1975	Gula-AN c.1990–1968	Erridu-Pizir c.1968–1958	Nibia c.1958–1955
Sidur c.1975–1965	Ingišū c.1955–1949	Zarlagaba c.1949–1943	Šulme c.1943–1937
Ikkid-Samad c.1965–1940	Silulumeš c.1937–1931	Inimabakeš c.1931–1926	Ige'a'uš c.1926–1920
Tardunni c.1940–1915	Yarlagab c.1918–1915	Ibate c.1915–1912	Yarla c.1912–1909
	Kurum 1909–1908	Apil-Kîn I 1908–1905	La'arābum 1905–1903
	Irarum 1903–1901	Ibranum 1901–1900	Ḫablum 1900–1898

Puzur-Sîn II 1898–1891	Yarlaganda 1891–1884	Si'um 1884–1877	Tirigan 1877

Lulluban
Darianam
c.1800

Zamua

Nūr-Adad c.890–880	Araštua c.890–875	Ameka c.890–875	Ṣabīni c.890–875

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Māzamua

Bēl-qate-sabat c.825–800	Inūrta-Nāṣir c.800–775	Aplaya c.775–750	Aššur-Daʾʾinanni I c.750–725

Šarru-Ēmuranni	Adad-Issiya	Larkutla
c.725–710	c.710–695	c.695–675

Armenia
Skayordi
c.680–650
|
Paroyr
c.650–625
|
Hrachʿeay
c.625–600
|
Pʿaṙnavaz
c.600–575
|
Pachoych
c.575–550
|
Koṙnak — Bạrdiya
c.550–530 — c.530–523

Hydarnes I
c.523–585
|
Hydarnes II
485–455
|
Hydarnes III
455–425
|
Teritouchmes — ? + Ardashir
425–401
|
Orontes I
401–344
|
Orontes II
336–331

5.4.1 Lulluban / Māzamua

Immaškuš (c.2050–2025 BC) – is named as king of Lulluban on a text from Ḫattuša among references to predecessors of Man-Ištūšu of Akkadê (2039–2024 BC).[1539]

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[1539] Cameron (1936), pp.29, 35.

[..]-a-El (c.2025–2000 BC) – is named as king of Lulluban on the *Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Narām-Sîn I* of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) as having been defeated by Narām-Sîn I.[1540]

Anu-Banini (c.2000–1975 BC) – is attested on the Sarpol-i-Zohab relief as Mighty King and king of the Lulluban. He is also named on the Standard Babylonian Recension of *"Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes": The "Cuthean Legend" of Naram-Sin* as the leader of a rebellion against Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1541]

Sidu[r-x] – Sidur (c.1975–1965 BC) – is named on the Victory Stele of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) as a ruler of the Lulluban who 'gathered together' the Lulluban and made war against him.[1542]

Ikkid-Samad – Ikki (c.1965–1940 BC) – was the father of Tardunni. He was likely king of the Lulluban.

Lisir-Pirini – Tardunni (c.1940–1915 BC) – is attested on a relief found not far from the inscription of Anu-Banini. Cameron proposed that he was likely king of the Lulluban.[1543]

Darianam (c.1800 BC) – is named as the 'man of Lullubu' on an Ur III economic tablet.[1544]

Nūr-Adad (c.890–880 BC) – was a Zamuan king of the land Dagara who rebelled against Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC) in the eponymy of Aššur-Iddin.[1545]

Araštua (c.890–875 BC) – was a Zamuan king of Ammali who was defeated by Ashur-nasirpal II of Assyria (883–859 BC) after withholding tribute in the eponymy of Miqti-adur.[1546]

[1540] Westenholz, p.251.
[1541] Frayne (1990), pp.702–706; Westenholz, pp.250, 310; Cameron, pp.40–41.
[1542] Frayne (1993), pp.143–144.
[1543] Cameron (1936), p.41.
[1544] Taş & Adalı, p.377.
[1545] Grayson (1991a), p.203, 244.
[1546] Grayson (1991a), pp.205, 246.

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Ameka (c.890–875 BC) – was a Zamuan king of Zamru who was defeated by Ashur-nasirpal II of Assyria (883–859 BC) after withholding tribute in the eponymy of Miqti-adur.[1547]

Sabīni (c.890–875 BC) – was a Zamuan king of Kiṣirtu who was defeated by Ashur-nasirpal II of Assyria (883–859 BC).[1548]

Bēl-qate-sabat (825–800 BC) – was governor of Māzamua with the eponym year of 810 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).

Inūrta-Nāṣir (c.800–775 BC) – was governor of Māzamua with the eponym year of 783 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).

Aplaya (c.775–750 BC) – was governor of Māzamua with the eponym year of 768 BC named after him during the reign of Aššur-Dan III of Assyria (773–755 BC).

Aššur-Daʾʾinanni I (c.750–725 BC) – was governor of Māzamua in Years 8–13 of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). He was limmu in Year 13.[1549]

Šarru-Ēmuranni (c.725–710 BC) – was governor of Māzamua/Zamua/Lullumû in Year 10 of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).[1550]

Adad-Issiya (c.710–695 BC) – was governor of Māzamua during the reign of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).[1551]

Larkutla (c.695–675 BC) – was governor of Māzamua during the reign of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC).[1552]

5.4.2 Gutians

The *Weidner Chronicle* states that the Gutians defeated Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) and then became predominant in the land until they were defeated

[1547] Grayson (1991a), pp.205–207, 246–247.
[1548] Grayson (1991a), pp.206, 246.
[1549] Tadmor & Yamada, p.16–17; Vér, p.218 (n.3)
[1550] Frame (2021), pp.39, 363; Vér, p.226.
[1551] Postgate, pp.89–90.
[1552] Vér, p.226.

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by Utu-Ḫengal the fisherman of Uruk (1875–1868 BC). Various versions of the *SKL* differ regarding the number of kings, the names of the kings, and the total period of the dynasty. This chronology uses the most common data of 21 kings for a period of 91 years, while *SKLa* has 12 kings for 124 years, *SKLb* has 21 kings for 125 years, and *SKLc* has 23 kings for 99 years. *SKLp* adds a dynasty at Adab with four kings, the last being Tirigin, who is known to have been the last of the Gutian kings. This suggests that the Gutians ruled from Adab. Given that several of the kings are attested in other sources it is not agreed with Glassner that the dynasty was a fiction.[1553]

Gula-AN (c.1990–1968 BC) – is named on the *Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Narām-Sîn I* of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) as having been defeated by Narām-Sîn I.[1554]

Erridu-Pizir (c.1968–1958 BC) – is not named on the *SKL* but is attested on an inscription from Nippur on which he calls himself King of Guti, King of the Four Quarters.[1555] Accordingly, he is assigned as the king of the Gutians who defeated Narām-Sîn I and commenced the Gutium rule of Sumer, occupying the space where the *SKL* says "king without a name" and is given a reign of 10 years to bring the length of the dynasty to 91 years in accordance with the SKL.

Imta – Nibia (c.1958–1955 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of three years.

Inkišuš – Ingišū (c.1955–1949 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years.

Zarlagaba – Šarlak (c.1949–1943 BC) – is recorded on a year-name of Šar-kali-šarri of Akkadê (1968–1943 BC) named "In the year in which Šar-kali-šarri laid the foundations of the temples of the goddess Annunitum and of the god Aba in Babylon and took prisoner Szarlag(ab) the king of Gutium". The *SKL* gives him a reign of six years.

Šulme (c.1943–1937 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years.

Silulumeš – Elulmeš (c.1937–1931 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years.

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[1553] Glassner, p.98.
[1554] Westenholz, p.251.
[1555] Frayne (1993), pp.220–228.

Inimabakeš (c.1931–1926 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of five years.

Ige'a'uš (c.1926–1920 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of six years.

Yarlagab (c.1920–1915 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of five years.

Ibate (c.1915–1912 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of three years.

Yarlagaš – Yarla (c.1912–1909 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of three years.

Kurum (c.1909–1908 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of one year.

Apil-Kîn I (c.1908–1905 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of three years.

La'arābum (c.1905–1903 BC) – is attested on a votive macehead from Sippar.[1556] The *SKL* gives him a reign of two years.

Irarum (c.1903–1901 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of two years.

Ibranum (c.1901–1900 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of one year.

Ḫablum (c.1900–1898 BC) – is named on the *SKL* with a reign of two years.

Puzur-Sîn II (c.1898–1891 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as succeeding his father Hablum with a reign of seven years.

Yarlaganda – Arandagaba (c.1891–1884 BC) – is recorded on a tablet written for Namaḫni of Umma (1895–1884 BC).[1557] The *SKL* gives him a reign of seven years.

Si'um – Silulu (c.1884–1877 BC) – is recorded on a tablet written for Lugal-Anatum of Umma (1884–1860 BC).[1558] The *SKL* gives him a reign of seven years.

Tirigan (1877 BC) – is named on the *SKL* as the last Gutian king with a reign of 40 days. He was defeated by Utu-Ḫengal of Uruk (1880–1873 BC) who captured him and forced him to withdraw the Gutians from Sumer.

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[1556] Frayne (1993), pp.228–229.
[1557] Frayne (1993), pp.229, 267.
[1558] Frayne (1993), pp.230, 270.

5.4.3 Kassite Tribe

The earliest reference to the Kassites is the naming of the Kassite tribal king [..-i]t-lu-uh on the *Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Naram-Sin I* of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1559] The Kassites are next named in a year-name which records the anointment of Rīm-Sîn II of Larsa (1515–1509 BC) as king and mentions "the enemy, the evil Kassites from the barbarous country, who could not be driven back to the mountains".[1560] This indicates that the Kassites came from the Zagros Mountains. They were also mentioned the following year in the Year 9 year-name of Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) who recorded that he defeated the strength of the troops of the Kassites.[1561] These references align with the proposed dates for Malab-Ḫarbe (c.1535–1510 BC), the first recorded ruler of the Kassites. They were mentioned again in the Year 4 (1481 BC) year-name of Abī-Ešuḫ (1484–1456 BC) who records that he "subdued the Kassites".

Two of the Kassite kings Kaštiliašu and Ya'usa (identified by Rouault with Ušši) are recorded as having hegemony at Terqa.[1562] This suggests that prior to their occupation of Babylon, the Kassites created a kingdom in Middle Mesopotamia. Given that the location of their capital is unknown, that they had only recently migrated to Middle Mesopotamia, and that they would soon migrate again to Babylon, it appears that during this period they had a tribal structure without a fixed capital, similar to many of the Amorites not long before them.

While Rouault suggests that the Kaštiliašu attested on five contracts at Terqa was Kaštiliašu II, he also notes that the contracts resembled texts written during the period of Yadiḫ-Abu of Terqa (1510–1485 BC). Podany also noted that Athrens concluded that a scarab buried in the temple during or shortly before the reign of Kaštiliašu was of a type datable to around the time of Abī-Ešuḫ of Babylon (1484–1456 BC).[1563] In this chronology the Kaštiliašu II referred to by Rouault is not recognised as an actual person, with Kaštiliašu instead being identified with Kaštiliašu I (1437–1415 BC), who was the father of Ušši (Ya'usa) (1415–1407 BC), who in turn is noted by Rouault and Podany as being mentioned on an oath formula with Ḫanaya of Terqa (1435–1410 BC).

When Muršili I attacked Babylon he must have passed through the Kassite kingdom, which raises the possibility that he attacked Babylon with the Kassites as allies, as noted by Rouault and others.[1564] It is therefore likely that the Kassite

[1559] Westenholz, p.251.
[1560] Stol (1976), pp.48, 54.
[1561] Stol (1976), pp.44–45.
[1562] Rouault, p.55.
[1563] Rouault, p.55; Podany (2014), pp.53–54.
[1564] Rouault, pp.52, 55–56.

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occupation of Babylon, which they renamed Karduniaš, occurred either immediately or soon after the assault by Muršili I in 1362 BC.

The *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* (1350–1335 BC) records Agum-Kakrime's ancestry back to Agum-Ramu (1459–1437 BC) and claims that he restored the god Marduk in his temple in Babylon following the destruction of Babylon in 1362 BC.[1565] The part of the inscription of particular interest is at Column II.8, which states:

> "I asked the king Shamash by means of the lamb of the diviner. I sent a message to the distant land, to the Haneans, Marduk and Zarpanitu indeed seized the hand and I indeed returned them–Marduk and Zarpanitu, those who love my reign–to Eagila and Babylon. I indeed brought them back to the building which Shamash confirmed during the examination of the facts."[1566]

There has been some discussion in the past regarding the return of Marduk to Babylon.[1567] In addition to the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* there is also a tablet from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh, which contains the following passage:

> "I am Marduk the great lord; … I am he who traverses all the lands from sunrise to sunset. I commanded (?) to go to the land of Ḫatti; the Hittites I asked; I set the throne of my godhead there. Twenty-four years I lived there and I organized caravans of the Children of Babylon there; its …and its property and it wealth … Sippar, Nippur…"[1568]

Albright expresses the issue clearly when he says that it is hard to separate Marduk's exile from the Hittite raid on Babylon, or his return from Agum-Kakrime's description of his mission to the "distant land of the *Ḫaneans*" in order to bring Marduk back from his exile as recorded in the abovementioned *Agum-Kakrime Inscription*. If we add 24 years to the 1362 BC date for the sack of Babylon we arrive at 1338 BC for Aum-Kakrime's restoration of the Temple of Marduk. This is supported by the timelines in this Universal Chronology.

While the events in the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* match the dates for Babylon in this Universal Chronology, the accuracy of the document as a copy of an original from the time of Agum-Kakrime has been unnecessarily challenged by some scholars. The first issue with the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* is that it refers to the land of Ḫana. But while the Hittite king Muršili I may have been responsible for the defeat of Babylon, it is very likely that both the Kassites and the king of Terqa (Hana) participated in the attack. For the Kassites had previously been in conflict with Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon, who subsequently had hegemony over Terqa. It is therefore reasonable that if Terqa (Hana) did participate in the attack that they would

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[1565] Sayce, p.15; Oshima, pp.241–245.
[1566] Oshima, p.242.
[1567] Albright (1952), pp.25–26; Brinkman (1976), pp.8, 97.
[1568] Albright (1952), p.25.

take the statue of the god Marduk back to Terqa, the land of the Haneans. The second issue is the genealogy in the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription*, which states that Agum-Kakrime was the son of Tazzigurumaš, the son of Abirattaš. Tazzigurumaš was no doubt the same person as Urzigurumaš, as noted by both Brinkman and Oshima.[1569]

An economic text found at Babylon is dated to Year 38 of Babylon's resettlement, in which "fruit" (i.e. the moon) was eclipsed on Day 10 (likely an error for Day 14) of the month Abu (July-August).[1570] Accordingly, the resettlement of Babylon can be dated from the eclipse of 31 August 1325 BC as occurring 37 years earlier in 1362 BC, the same year as the destruction by Muršili I. Another economic text from about the same time recorded the moon becoming invisible by an eclipse in the month of Nisannu (March-April). The year of this text is uncertain and was possibly an eclipse which occurred the year before on 19 March 1326 BC.

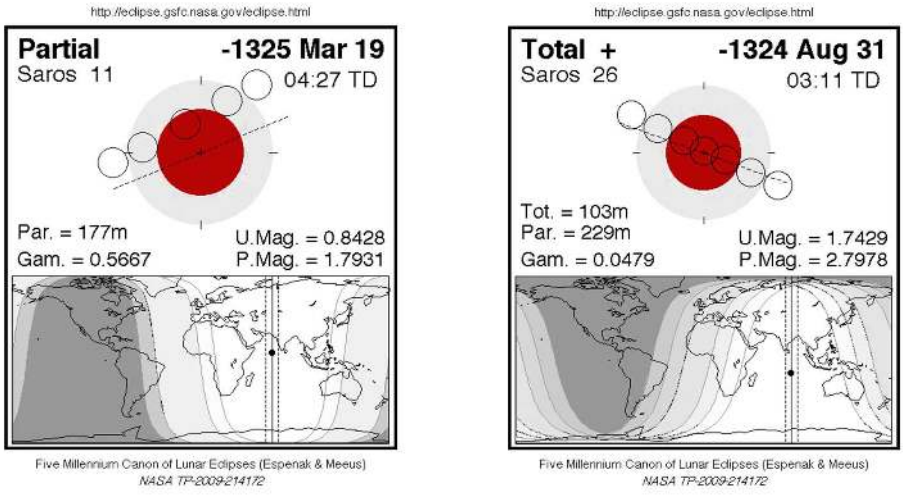


Figure 11 – Lunar eclipses 19 March 1326 BC and 31 August 1325 BC

Malab-Ḫarbe (c.1535–1510 BC) – was the father of Ḫašmar-Galšu. He is noted by Brinkman to have likely been an early Kassite king and is tentatively dated here two generations before Gandaš.[1571]

Ḫašmar-Galšu (c.1510–1485 BC) – is attested on four inscriptions referring to work on the Ekur for Enlil and on a shrine for the Sibitti. Brinkman notes that he used the title 'mighty man' which was only used by kings and that the privilege of recording

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[1569] Brinkman (1976), pp.10; Oshima, p.245.
[1570] Gasche, p.86
[1571] Brinkman (1976), pp.325–226.

work on temples was also the reserve of kings, indicating that he was likely an early Kassite king. He is tentatively dated here to the generation before Gandaš.[1572]

Gandaš (c.1485–1459 BC) – is named on the *BKLa* as the first tribal king of the Kassites. He is also recorded on the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of either 16 years (Sayce and Rogers) or 26 years (Grayson).

Agum-Ramu (c.1459–1437 BC) – is named on the *BKLa* as the son of Gandaš, who he succeeded as tribal king. He is also recorded on the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 22 years.

Kaštiliašu I (c.1437–1415 BC) – is recorded on the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* as the son of Agum-Ramu who he succeeded as tribal king.[1573] He is also named on the *SyKL* and provided guarantee for Kassites at Terqa on five contracts. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 22 years.

Ušši (c.1415–1407 BC) – is named on the *BKLa* as the son of Kaštiliašu I, who he succeeded as tribal king. It is not agreed with Chen, Mahieu and Gertoux that the name Ušši is a distortion of the name Kaštiliašu. In line with the suggestion by Rouault he is identified with Ya'usa, who is noted by Rouault and Podany as being mentioned on an oath formula with Ḫanaya of Terqa (1435–1410 BC). [1574] The *BKLa* gives him a reign of eight years.

Abī-Rattaš (c.1407–1390 BC) is recorded on the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* as the son of Kaštiliašu I.[1575] He is named on the *BKLa* as the successor of Ušši as tribal king. He is also named on the *SyKL*. It is proposed that he reigned for about 17 years.

Kaštiliašu Ia– is named on the *SyKL* from Aššur as a tribal king of the Kassites both before and after Abī-Rattaš. This is likely an error as he is not recorded on the Babylonian *BKLa*.

Urzigurumaš – Tazzigurumaš (c.1390–1365 BC) – is recorded on *BKLa* as the successor of Abī-Rattaš, who the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* confirms was his father.[1576] He is also named on the *SyKL*.

[1572] Brinkman (1976), pp.325–226.
[1573] Oshima, pp.228, 233, 242
[1574] Gertoux (2024), pp.23–24; Rouault, p.55.
[1575] Oshima, pp.228, 233, 242
[1576] Oshima, pp.228, 233, 242

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5.4.4 Kassite Babylon

Ḫarba-Šipak – Ḫarba-Šiḫu – Ḫurbaḫ (c.1365–1360 BC) – is named on the *SyKL.* He was the son of Urzigurumaš who he succeeded as king of Babylon. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years. It is proposed that he participated in the Hittite defeat of Babylon in 1362 BC and then subsequently settled the Kassites at Babylon.

Šipta'ulzi – Tiptakzi (c.1360–1355 BC) – is named on the *SyKL.* He succeeded his brother Ḫarba-Šipak as king of Babylon. He is recorded on an economic text dated after Year 30 of the resettlement, which indicates that he was king at Babylon.[1577] It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Agum-Kakrime (c.1355–1338 BC) – is named on the *SyKL.* He is the first Kassite king at Babylon attested by contemporary records. The genealogy in the *Agum-Kakrime Inscription* states that he was the son of Tazzigurumaš, the son of Abirattaš. He stated that he returned the god Marduk to Babylon.[1578] From a tablet from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh it is believed that this happened 24 years after the destruction of Babylon (1338 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 17 years.

Burna-Buriyåš I – Ur[...]iaš (c.1338–1315 BC) – is recorded on the *Kaštiliaš Royal Inscription* as the son of Agum-Kakrime, who he succeeded as king. It is suggested that the name Ur[...]iaš as found on the King List Tablet is a distortion of the name Burna-Buriyåš. He is also named on the *SyKL.* The *Synchronistic Chronicle* states that Burna-Buriyåš I had a treaty with Puzur-Aššur III of Babylon (1393–1369 BC), which does not appear to be correct, especially as they are listed after the reigns of Kara-Indaš of Babylon (1285–1275 BC) and Aššur-Bēl-nišešu of Assyria (1286–1277 BC). Chen notes that Janssen also thought that this was false.[1579] It is proposed that he reigned for about 23 years.

Kaštiliašu II (c.1315–1290 BC) – is recorded on the *Kaštiliaš Royal Inscription* as the son of Burna-Buriyåš I and grandson of Agum-Kakrime.[1580] He is also named on the *SyKL*.

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[1577] Gasche, p.86.
[1578] Oshima, pp.228, 233, 242
[1579] Chen, p.23.
[1580] Abraham, p.184.

Kara-Indaš (c.1290–1280 BC) – is proposed to have been the son of Kaštiliašu II who he succeeded as king. The *Synchronistic Chronical* records a treaty between Kara-Indaš and Aššur-bēl-nišešu of Assyria (1286–1277 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Agum (c.1280–1270 BC) – is recorded on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* as the son of Kaštiliašu II and having marched to the Sealand and seized Dur Enlil following the reign of Ulam-Buriyåš (c.1274–1272 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years

Kadašman-Ḫarbe I – Kadašman-Saḫ (c.1270–1265 BC) – succeeded Agum, who was likely his father, as king of Babylon. The name Kadašman-Saḫ from the King List Tablet appears to have been a corruption of Kadašman-Ḫarbe as suggested by Gertoux.[1581] It is proposed that he reigned for about 5 years.

Kurigalzu I (c.1265–1257 BC) – recorded on his chronicles that he was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, who he succeeded as king. *Chronicle P* also states that he was the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe I, but was installed as king by Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria, which is a confusion with Kurigalzu II. He moved the capital to Dur-Kurigalzu. It is proposed that he reigned for about eight years.[1582]

Kadašman-Enlil I (c.1257–1242 BC) – was likely the son of Agum. He sent Amarna letters EA 2–4 to Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC). His highest known date is Year 15, 18 Tašrītu, on economic text Ni.437 from Nippur.[1583] He is normally given a reign of 15 years.

Burna-Buriyåš II (c.1242–1216 BC) – wrote Amarna letter EA 6 to Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC) and letter EA 7–11 to Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC). It appears from the Amarna letters that he must have succeeded Kadašman-Enlil as king of Babylon. This is supported by an inscription on a lapis lazuli block of the name of a king that end in [..]riaš, eldest son of Kadašman-Enlil.[1584] His daughter Malnigal married Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) and another daughter (Napir-Asu?) married Untaš-Napiriša of Elam (1210–1195 BC). The *Synchronic Chronical* states that Burna-Buriyåš and Puzur-Aššur III of Assyria (1393–1379 BC) had a treaty. This seems to be an error which it appears should be a

[1581] Gertoux (2024), p.24.
[1582] Brinkman (1976), pp.205–246; Longman, pp.88–91, 224–225.
[1583] Brinkman (1976), pp.139, 387.
[1584] Brinkman (1976), p.107, 139.

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reference to his treaty with Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria (1251–1214 BC) which resulted in his marriage to Aššur-Uballiṭ's daughter Muballit-Šerua. His highest known date is Year 27 on an economic text.[1585] It is proposed that he reigned for about 26 years.

Kara-Ḫardaš (c.1216–1215 BC) – the *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he was the son of Muballit-Šerua, the daughter of Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria (1250–1214 BC). It states that he was killed by the Kassite troops and that Aššur-Uballiṭ I avenged his death and placed Kurigalzu II, the son of Burna-Buriyåš II on his father's throne. This suggests that Kara-Ḫardaš was also the son of Burna-Buriyåš II. It is proposed that he reigned for one year.

Šuzigaš – Nazi-Bugaš (c.1215 BC) – is called Šuzigaš on *Chronicle P*. Both the *Synchronistic Chronicle* and *Chronicle P* record that he was installed as king by Kassite troops who had killed his predecessor Kara-Ḫardaš. He was promptly killed by Kara-Ḫardaš' grandfather Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria (1250–1214 BC).

Kurigalzu II (c.1215–1185 BC) – was recorded on the *Synchronistic Chronicle* as the son of Burna-Buriyåš II, who was installed as king by Aššur-Uballiṭ I of Assyria (1250–1214 BC) after killing the usurper Nazi-Bugaš. There are conflicting accounts of his military successes. The Assyrian *Synchronistic Chronicle* records that he was defeated at the Battle of Sugagi by Enlil-Nārāri of Assyria (1214–1204 BC), whereas the Babylonian *Chronicle P* states that he was victorious at the Battle of Sugagi against Adad-Nārāri I of Assyria (1192–1160 BC). The *Chronicle of Enlil-Nārāri* also mentions a battle between the two. *Chronicle P* also states that he captured Ḫurbatila of Elam (1220–1210 BC). While early readings of the *BKLa* gave him a reign of 22 years, Brinkman said that this is incorrect and should be read as either 25 or 28 years, which is supported by a Year 24 economic text. While Grayson used 25 years it is proposed that he reigned for about 30 years to facilitate Kadašman-Turgu being contemporary with Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti.[1586]

Nazi-Maruttaš (c.1185–1159 BC) – is recorded on *Chronicle P*. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records his defeat by Adad-Nārāri I of Assyria (1192–1160 BC). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 26 years.

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[1585] Brinkman (1976), p.100.
[1586] Brinkman (1976), pp.205, 207.

Kadašman-Turgu (c.1159–1141 BC) – corresponded with Ḫattušili II of Ḫakpiš before he became king of Ḫatti (1162–52–1130 BC). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 18 years (Grayson) or 17 years (Sayce and Rogers).

Kadašman-Enlil II (c.1141–1134 BC) – succeeded his father Kadašman-Turgu as king of Babylon while still a child. While Sayce and Rogers have the *BKLa* giving him a reign of 2+ years, Grayson does not read a reign length. He is usually attributed a reign of 8 years in line Brinkman, who refers to economic texts for each of his years into the beginning of his Year 8. Brinkman suggests that the Year 15 text Ni.437 should instead be attributed to Kadašman-Enlil I, as utilised above.[1587] The beginning of an eighth year indicates that he reigned for seven full years.

Kudur-Enlil (c.1134–1128 BC) – succeeded Kadašman-Enlil II as king of Babylon. The *BKLa* indicates that he was the son of a king who must therefore have been Kadašman-Turgu. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of six years.

Šagarakti-Šuriaš (c.1128–1115 BC) – succeeded Kudur-Enlil as king of Babylon. The *BKLa* indicates that he was the son of a king who therefore was likely Kadašman-Turgu. While the *BKLa* says that he was the son of Kudur-Enlil this is difficult to accept based on lengths of reigns. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 13 years.

Kaštiliašu III (c.1115–1107 BC) – succeeded his father Šagarakti-Šuriaš as king of Babylon. He is named on the *SyKL* and was recorded on the *Religious Chronicle* as having a battle. The *BKLa* records his filiation and gives him a reign of eight years.

Enlil-nādin-šumi (c.1107–1105 BC) – was king of Babylon who was likely a vassal of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC). He is recorded in *Chronicle P* as being killed by Kidin-Ḫutran III of Elam (1120–1095 BC). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 1y, 6m.

Kadašman-Ḫarbe II (c.1105–1104 BC) – was king of Babylon who was likely a vassal of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC). He is likely recorded on the *SyKL*. The *BKLA* gives him a reign of 1y, 6m.

Adad-šuma-iddina (c.1104–1098 BC) – was king of Babylon who was likely a vassal of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC) who became independent in

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[1587] Brinkman (1976), pp.130–145.

his Year 5 (1120 BC). He is recorded in *Chronicle P* as being attacked by Kidin-Ḫutran III of Elam (c.1120–1095 BC). He is also named on the *SyKL* and the *BKLa* gives him a reign of six years.

Adad-šuma-uṣur (c.1107–1098–1077 BC) – normally thought to have been the son of Kaštiliašu III (1115–1107 BC), it is proposed that he was instead the brother of Kaštiliašu III and son of Šagarakti-Šuriaš. He is called Adad-šuma-nasir on the *SyKL*.

In the Conventional Chronology there is an eight-year separation in the Kassite Dynasty between the end of the reign of Kaštiliašu III and the start of the reign of Adad-šuma-uṣur, with the period filled in part by the reigns of Enlil-nādin-šumi, Kadašman-Ḫarbe II and Adad-šuma-iddina. From the *Walker Chronicle* it is clear however that Adad-šuma-uṣur was ruling in Nippur before he retook his father's throne at Babylon. Furthermore, *Chronicle P* reveals that he was 'installed' on the throne at Nippur soon after Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC) defeated Kaštiliašu III and before the reign of Enlil-nādin-šumi at Babylon. It is proposed that he was king at Nippur for nine years before returning to Babylon after the death of Adad-šuma-iddina.

The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records his battle with Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur of Assyria (1105–1100 BC) who he defeated, with the *Walker Chronicle* saying that the officers of Assyria handed Enlil-kudurrī-uṣur over to him. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 30 years.

Meli-Šiḫu – Meli-Šipak (c.1077–1062 BC) – is recorded on a kudurrus as the son of Adad-šuma-uṣur, who he succeeded as king. The *SyKL* records him as being contemporary with Ninurta-apil-Ekur of Assyria (1079–1076 BC), which is confirmed by a document which lists items including horses sent from Meli-Šipak to Ninurta-apil-Ekur.[1588] The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 15 years.

Marduk-apla-iddina I (c.1062–1049 BC) – is named on the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* records him as the son of Meli-Šipak and gives him a reign of either 17 years (Rogers) or 13 years (Sayce and Grayson). The *Prophecy A* tablet appears to indicate that he was defeated by the king of Elam (who was his brother-in-law Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I, 1075–1050 BC) which led to chaos, upset, and trouble in the land, and resulted in an unknown person seizing power as if a king, and killing off the nobility.

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[1588] Llop-Raduà, p.257.

Zababa-šuma-iddina (c.1049–1048 BC) – is recorded on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Aššur-dan I of Assyria (1077–1031 BC). This is confirmed by the *Synchronic King List* which records that he lost cities to Aššur-dan I. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of one year.

Enlil-nādin-aḫḫē (c.1048–1045 BC) – is recorded on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Aššur-dan I of Assyria (1077–1031 BC). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of three years.

5.4.4 Armenia

Armenia

Hsgaivorti – Skayordi (c.680–650 BC) – was named by Khorenatsi as an early king of the Armenians who gave sanctuary to Adramele‘ (Arda-Mulišši) and Sanasar (Nabu-šar-usur), who killed their father Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) . Chahin said that his name means ‘son of the giant’ and suggests that he was ruler of the Armenians in Shupria.[1589]

Paroyr (c.650–625 BC) – the son of Skayordi, was described by Khorenatsi as having helped the Median king Varbakes (c.819–791 BC) to defeat Sardanapalus of Assyria and became king of Armenia. The reference to Varbakes is consistent with Diodorus, Eusebius, Ctesias of Cnidus, and St. Jerome, who said that Varbakes was the Median king who gained independence from Assyria. This reference to Varbakes is consistent with the confused Greek use of the name Sardanapalus as used by Diodorus, who said that he was before the first Olympics (776 BC) in which case he was likely referring to Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC). The name Sardanapalus was however also clearly used to refer to Ashurbanipal/Shin-shar-ishkun (669–612 BC), the last king of the Assyrian Empire who was defeated by the Median king Knaxarēs (Cyaxares I, 636–596 BC).[1590]

Hrach‘eay (c.625–595 BC) – succeeded his father Paroyr as king of Armenia. Khorenatsi said that he was contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar’s of Babylon (605–562 BC) defeat of the Hebrews, which occurred in 597 BC. [1591]

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[1589] Khorenatsi, p.106, 108; Chahin, pp.181–182.
[1590] Khorenatsi, pp.108–109; Chahin, p.181.
[1591] Khorenatsi, p.110.

Pʿaṙnavaz (c.595–575 BC) – succeeded his father Hrachʿeay as king of Armenia.[1592]

Pachoych (c.575–550 BC) – succeeded his father Pʿaṙnavaz as king of Armenia.[1593]

Koṙnak (c.550–530 BC) – succeeded his father Pachoych as king of Armenia.[1594]

Satraps of Armenia

Pʿaros – Tanaoxares – Bạrdiya – Vardes (c.530–523 BC) – Pʿaros was said by Khorenatsi to have succeeded his father Koṙnak as king of Armenia. Xenophon however had stated that upon his death Cyrus II of Persia (559–530 BC) had appointed his son Tanaoxares (Bạrdiya) as satrap of Media, Armenia and Cadusia. Chahin suggests that the two are therefore the same person. Bạrdiya succeeded his brother Cambyses II (530–522 BC) as king of Persia.[1595]

Haykak – Vidṛna – Hydarnes I (c.523–485 BC) – Haykak was named by Khorenatsi as having succeeded his father Pʿaros as king of Armenia. But if Pʿaros was Bạrdiya as suggested by Chahin, then Haykak was unlikely to have been his son. While Chahin suggested that Haykak seized power in Western Armenia he acknowledged that Hydarnes I was likely satrap in Eastern Armenia, noting that there is evidence that he was satrap of Media. Hydarnes I was recorded by Herodotus one of the seven conspirators who overthrew Bạrdiya as king of Persia (522 BC) and installed Darius I (522–486 BC) as king. Strabo said that he was an ancestor of the satrap Orontes I (c.401–344 BC). It is proposed instead that Haykak and Hydarnes I was the same person. Herodotus implied that he was involved in the Battle of Marathon (490 BC).[1596]

Vidṛna – Hydarnes II (c.485–455 BC) – was described by Herodotus as the son of Hydarnes I who was the general who led the "Immortals" in the army of Xerxes I of Persia (486–465 BC) in the Battle of Thermopylae against Leonidas I of Sparta (c.490–480 BC). Herodotus said that he was the commander of those who dwelt on the seacoasts of Asia, which suggest that he was likely satrap of Armenia, which he likely inherited from his father.[1597]

[1592] Khorenatsi, p.111.
[1593] Khorenatsi, p.111.
[1594] Khorenatsi, p.111.
[1595] Khorenatsi, p.111; Chahin, p.182.
[1596] Khorenatsi, p.111; Herodotus, 3.70, 6.133; Strabo, 11.14.15; Chahi, p.182.
[1597] Herodotus, 7.83, 7.135, 7.211.

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Vidṛna – Idernes – Hydarnes III (c.455–425 BC) – was likely the son of Hydarnes II who he likely succeeded as satrap of Armenia. His daughter Stateira married Artaxerxes II of Persia (404–358 BC).

Teritouchmes (c.425–401 BC) – succeeded his father Hydarnes III as satrap of Armenia. He married Amestris, a daughter of Darius II of Persia (423–404 BC)

Arvanta – Ervand – Orontes I (c.401–344 BC) – the son of the high-ranking Bactrian nobleman Artasyrus, was satrap of Armenia. Strabo said that he was a descendant of Hydanes I, which must have been on his maternal side. He was married to Rhodogune, the daughter of Artaxerxes II of Persia (405–359 BC). He was first recorded as participating in the Battle of Cunaxa (401 BC) between Artaxerxes II and his brother Cyrus the Younger satrap of Lydia, as recorded by Xenophon of Athens, who had participated on the side of Cyrus. Although the Greek forces won the battle, Cyrus was himself was killed, making their victory irrelevant.[1598]

Arvanta – Ervand – Orontes II (c.344–331 BC) – was satrap of Armenia who died in the Battle of Gaugámēla (Árbēla) against Alexander III the Great of Macedonia (336–323 BC).

5.5 Hurrians

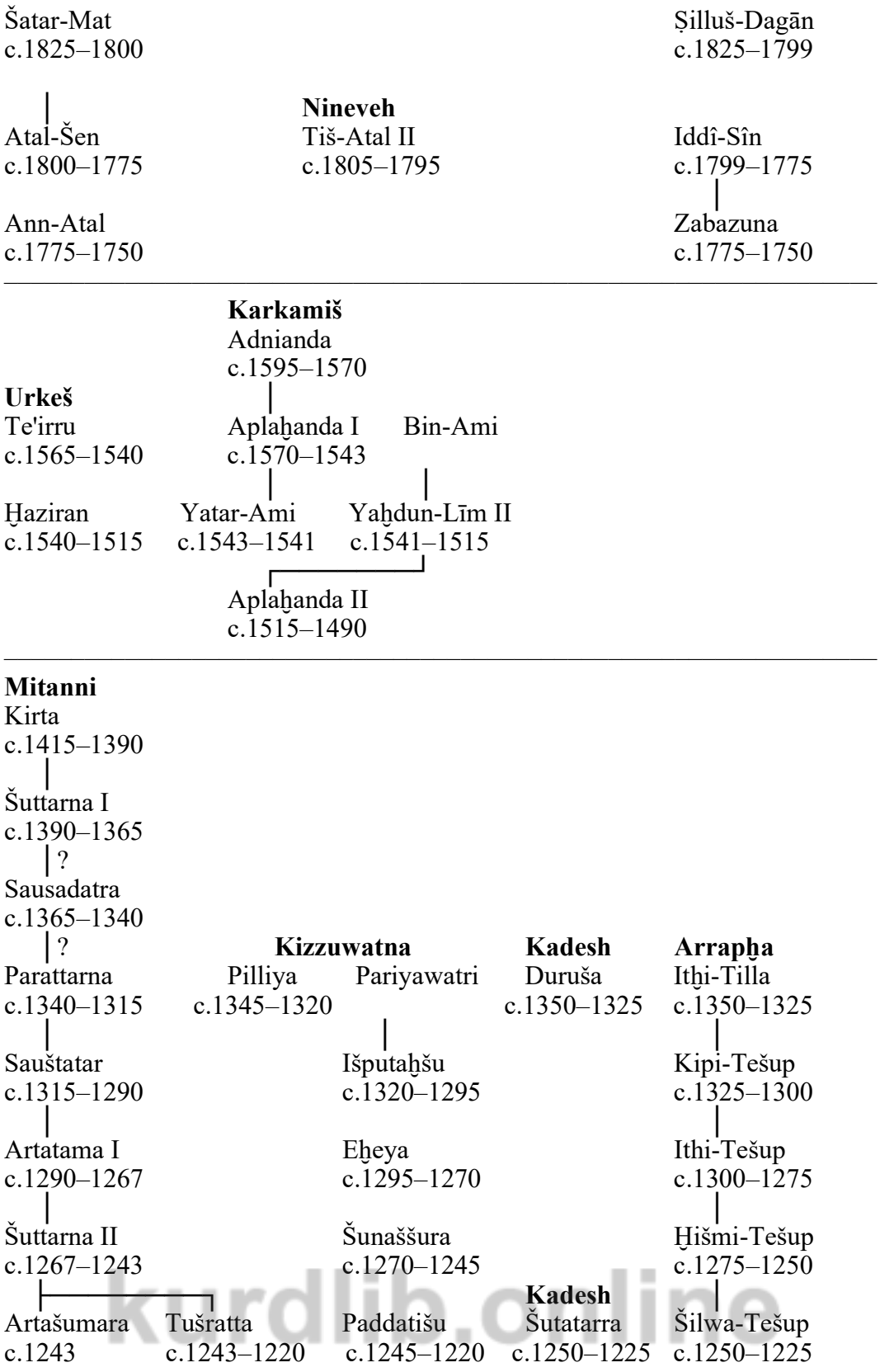
In the discussion so far, there has been several references to kings of Mitanni, who were Hurrians. The known Hurrian kings, including of Mitanni, were as follows.

Table 53 – Kings of the Hurrians and Apum

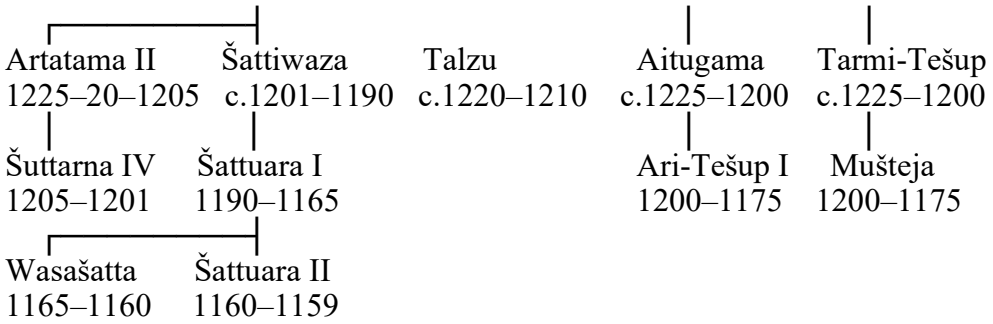
Urkeš		**Simurrum**
Tupkiš + Uqnitum c.2025–2000	Narām-Sîn I *Akkadê*	Puttim-Atal c.2025–2000
Išar-Kīnum + Tar'am-Akkadê c.2000–1975		Baba c.2000–1975
Išar-Napšum c.1975–1950		Ka-Nisba c.1975–1950
Tiš-Atal I c.1850–1825		Tappa-Daraḫ c.1850–1825

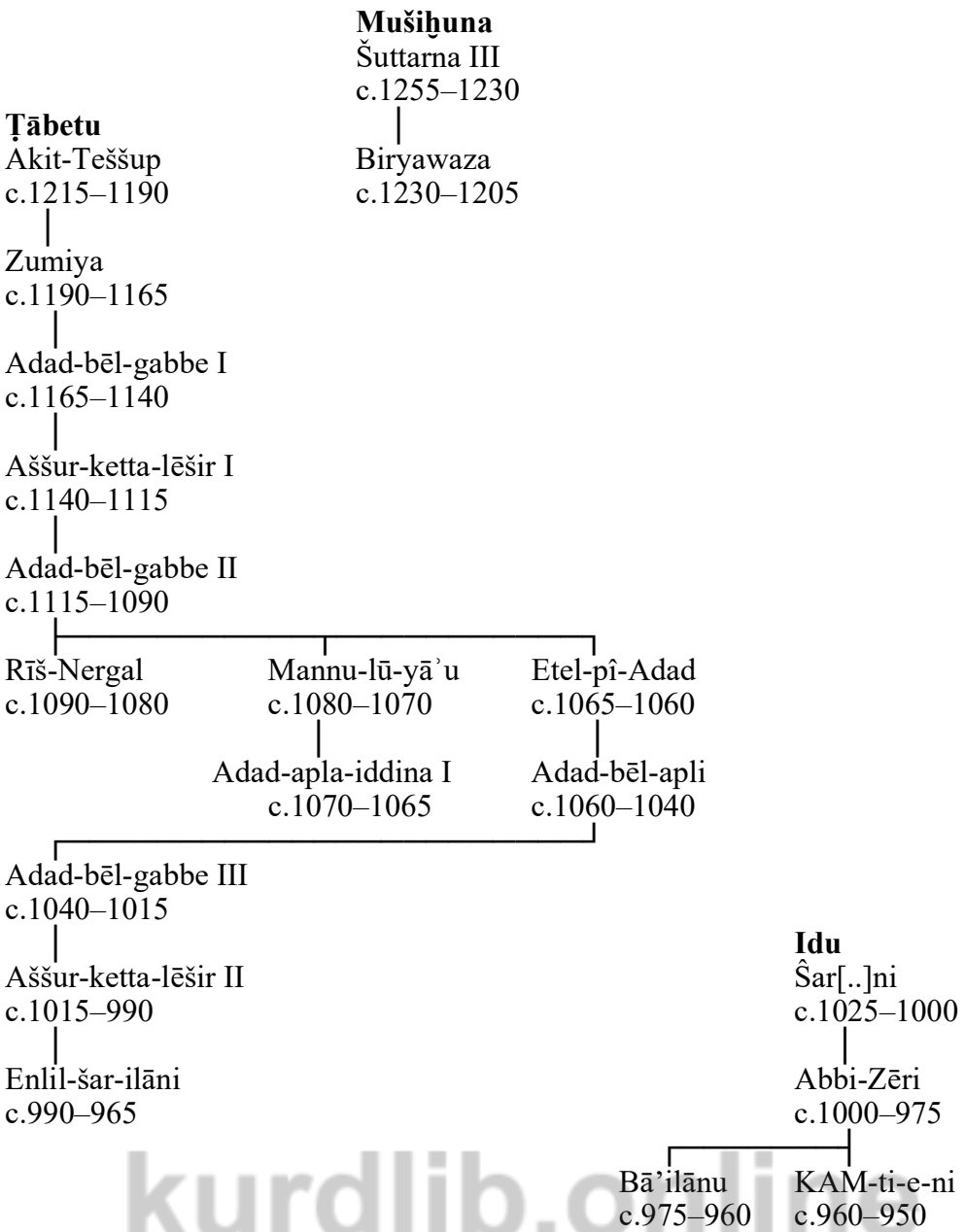
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[1598] Strabo, 11.14.15; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 2.4.8, 3.4.13, 3.5.17, 14.3.4.

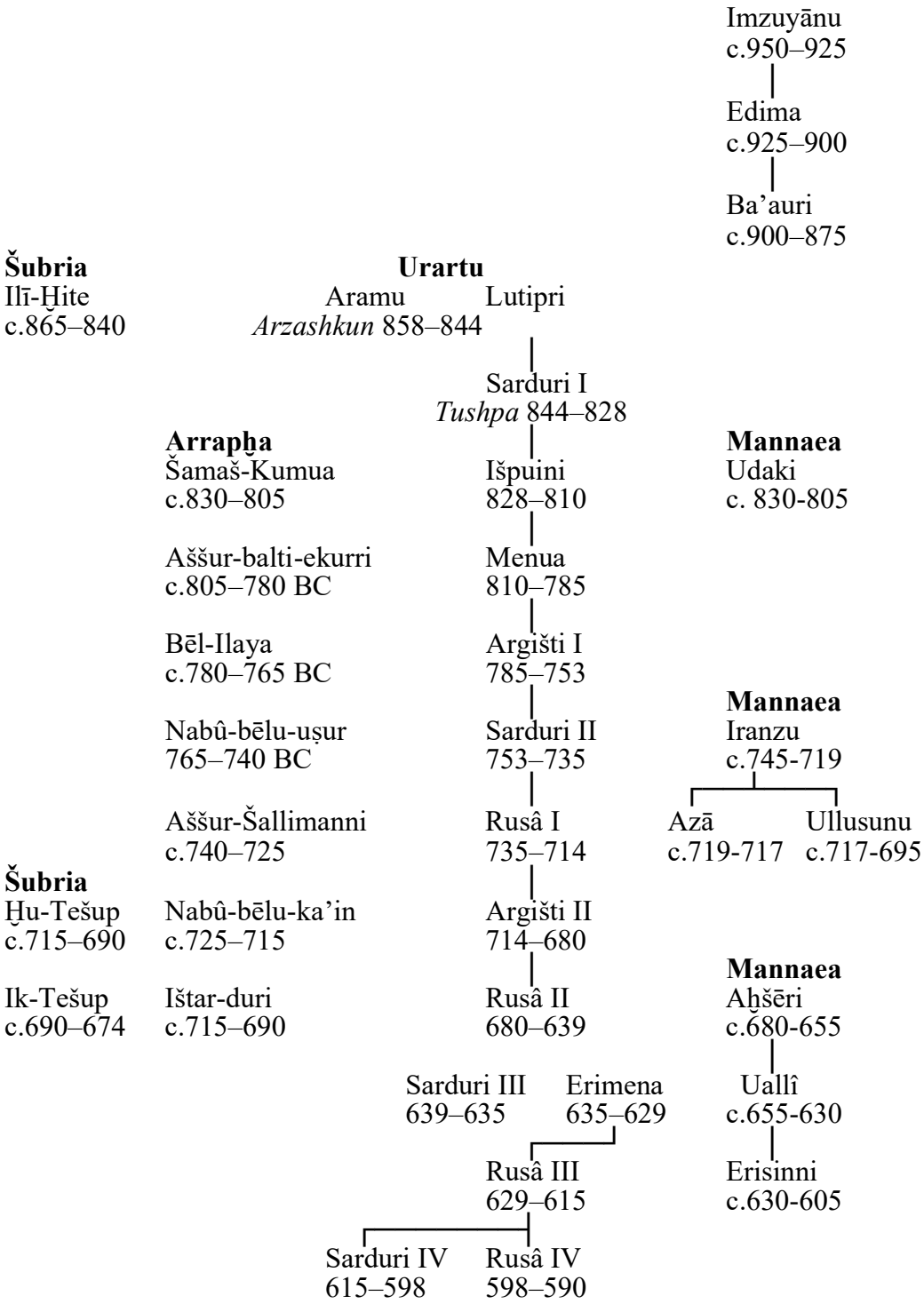


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5.5.1 Urkeš

Tupkiš (c.2025–2000 BC) – and his wife queen Uqnitum are known from four seal inscriptions datable to the ascendancy of the Akkadian Empire. He used the Hurrian title *endan* (prince) of Urkeš and Nagar.[1599]

Išar-Kīnum (c.2000–1975 BC) – is suggested by Buccellati to have been the son of Tupkiš. It is proposed that his wife was Tar'am-Agade, the daughter of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) who is known from a seal at Urkeš datable to after the time of Tupkiš. Buccellati suggests that she married an *endan* of Urkeš.[1600]

Išar-Napšum (c.1975–1950 BC) – was said by Buccellati to have used the palace built by Tupkiš.[1601]

Tiš-Atal I (c.1850–1825 BC) – was prince of Urkeš during the Ur III period.[1602]

Šatar-Mat (c.1825–1800 BC) – succeeded his father Tiš-Atal I as prince of Urkeš. He is datable to Phase 4 of Urkeš.[1603]

Atal-Šen (c.1800–1775 BC) – was prince of Urkeš. He is datable to Phase 4 of Urkeš.[1604]

Ann-Atal (c.1775–1750 BC) – was prince of Urkeš. He is datable to Phase 4 of Urkeš.[1605]

Te'irru (c.1565–1540 BC) – was a prince of Urkeš during the reign of Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1606]

Ḫaziran (c.1540–1515 BC) – was a prince of Urkeš during the reign of Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1607]

[1599] Buccellati (1995), pp.9–23, 28.
[1600] Buccellati (2005), p.40; Buccellati (2002), p.13.
[1601] Buccellati (2004), p.15.
[1602] Salvini, p.107.
[1603] Buccellati (2004), p.15.
[1604] Buccellati (2004), p.15.
[1605] Buccellati (2004), p.15.
[1606] Buccellati (2005), p.59; Buccellati (2013), p.86.
[1607] Buccellati (2005), pp.42, 59; Buccellati (2013), p.86.

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5.5.2 Simurrum

Simurrum is named on a year-name of Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC) as the focus of a military campaign.[1608]

Puttim-Atal (c.2025–2000 BC) – was named as king of Simurrum who revolted against Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).[1609]

Baba (c.2000–1975 BC) – was a governor of Simurrum attested on a year-name of Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC). He is also attested on a mace head.[1610]

Ka-Nisba (c.1975–1950 BC) – was king of Simurrum who instigated the people of Simurrum and Lullubi to revolt against Erridu-Pizir of Guti (1968–1956 BC).[1611]

Tappa-Daraḫ (c.1850–1825 BC) – was captured by Šulgi of Ur (1860–1812 BC) who sent him to exile in Drehem.[1612]

Silluš-Dagān (c.1825–1799 BC) – was recorded as governor of Simurrum in Year 44 of Šulgi (1860–1812 BC) and Year 6 of Amar-Sîn (1812–1803 BC) of Ur. He sent an envoy to Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC) in his Year 4 and is further recorded in Year 5.[1613]

Iddî-Sîn (c.1799–1775 BC) – is attested as king of Simurrum on inscriptions commissioned by his son Zabazuna.[1614]

Zabazuna (c.1775–1750 BC) – succeeded his father Iddî-Sîn as king of Simurrum. As well as the inscriptions he commissioned during the reign of his father there are two inscriptions which refer to him as king. Frayne notes that one of the inscriptions found at Ešnunna is thought to have been before the time of Bilalama of Ešnunna (1750–1725 BC) and that he may be the Zabazuna mentioned in a letter to Bilalama.[1615]

[1608] Frayne (1993), p.8.
[1609] Gelb (1944), p.55; Westenholz, p.243.
[1610] Cohen, p.227; Frayne (1993), pp.87, 144–145.
[1611] Hamblin, pp.104–105; Frayne (1993), pp.223–226.
[1612] Westenholz, p.311(n.40–46); Frayne (1997), pp.104–105.
[1613] Frayne (1997), pp.194, 276, 281, 292, 344, 353–354.
[1614] Frayne (1990), pp.708–714.
[1615] Frayne (1990), pp.708–716.

Knowledge online

5.5.3 Nineveh

Tiš-Atal II (c.1805–1795 BC) – was a vassal of Šū-Sîn II of Ur (1803–1794 BC).[1616]

5.5.4 Karkamiš (Carchemish)

Adnianda (1595–1570 BC) – was the father of Aplaḫanda.[1617] He was likely king of Karkamiš.

Aplaḫanda I (1570–1543 BC) – is recorded in the Mari archives.[1618] According to Hamblin he was contemporary with Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC).[1619]

Yatar-Ami (1543–1541 BC) – succeeded his father Aplaḫanda I as king of Karkamiš and was contemporary with Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1620] According to Hamblin he reigned for two years.

Yaḫdun-Līm II (1541–1515 BC) – succeeded Yatar-Ami as king of Karkamiš. While Hambil calls him Yaḫdul-Līm and Frayne refers to him as the brother of Yatar-Ami, Marchesi argues that he was the son of a certain Bin-Ami.[1621]

Aplaḫanda II (1515–1490 BC) – was said by Marchesi to have ruled at Karkamiš after the end of the Mari archives (1533 BC).[1622]

5.5.5 Mitanni (Ḫanigalbat)

Was a Hurrian kingdom to the north-west of Assyria known as both Mitanni and Ḫanigalbat. It was the successor to the Hurrian kingdom of Urkeš and its capital was at Waš̲ukanni.

Kirta (c.1415–1390 BC) – is named on a seal impression from Alalaḫ as the father of Šuttarna I.[1623] It is presumed that he was king of Mitanni.

[1616] Michalowski (2009), p.153.
[1617] Marchesi (2019), p.259, 262.
[1618] Frayne (1990), pp.774–776.
[1619] Hamblin, 'Carchemish (Karkamish; Jerablus).
[1620] Frayne (1990), p.777.
[1621] Hamblin, 'Carchemish (Karkamish; Jerablus); Frayne (1990), p.778; Marchesi (2019), p.259, 262.
[1622] Marchesi (2019), p.259, 262.
[1623] Stein, p.40.

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Šuttarna I (c.1390–1365 BC) – was the son of Kirta named on a seal impression from Alalaḫ. He was king of Mitanni.[1624]

Sausadatra (c.1365–1340 BC) – is recorded at Terqa. He was possibly the son of Šuttarna I who he succeeded as king of Mitanni. While Rouault identified the name as a possible variation of Šauštatar, Podany notes that he must be an earlier king than Šauštatar the son of Parattarna. He was contemporary with Sinia (1345–1320 BC) and Qīš-Addu of Ḫana (1340–1295 BC).[1625]

Parattarna – Paršatatar – Pa(Sa)-i-tar-na (c.1340–1315 BC) – was possibly the son of Sausadatra who he succeeded as king of Mitanni. He was also called Paršatatar (at Nuzi) and Paršatar as argued by Imparati and van Loon and noted by Harrak. At Terqa the name is recorded as *Pa-ra-tar-na* and *Pa-ri-tar-na*. Rouault suggests that another name, *Pa-i-tar-na*, which is very similar to the second above name, should probably be read as *Sa-i-tar-na* and could be a variant of the spelling of Šuttarna. It is suggested here that *Pa-i-tar-na* is instead a variant of *Pa-ri-tar-na.*

Parattarna was contemporary with Qīš-Addu of Terqa (1340–1295 BC), Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (1345–1320 BC), Idrimi of Alalaḫ (1320–1290 BC), Ilim-Ilimma I of Ḫalab (1340–1327 BC) and Zidanta I of Ḫatti (1355–1335 BC). It is not agreed with Mladjov that Paršatatar was a different king to Parattarna, nor that there were two kings called Parattarna.[1626]

Sauštatar (c.1315–1290 BC) – is identified on the *Sauštatar Letter* from Nuzi as the son of Paršatatar (Parattarna), who he succeeded as king of Mitanni.[1627] The letter is written on the reverse side of a letter addressed to one Iṯḫia (Ithi-Tešup of Arrapḫa, c.1300–1275 BC). He was also recorded on two tablets at Alalakh which mention Niqmepa VI of Alalakh (c.1290–1265 BC).[1628] He attacked the city of Aššur and took a door of gold and silver which he used in his palace at Washukanni.[1629]

Artatama I (c.1290–1267 BC) – was likely the son of Sauštatar and was the grandfather of Tušratta. Stein notes that Šattiwaza later evoked Sauštatar as his great grandfather, who was known from other sources to have been Artatama. This further supports the identification of Sauštatar as his father.[1630] He had a treaty with Thutmose IV of Egypt (1285–1275 BC) which is mentioned in Amara letters EA 24

[1624] Lewy, p.182; Stein, p.40.
[1625] Rouault, p.57; Podany (2014), pp.65–66; Stein, p.36.
[1626] Podany (2014), pp.65–66; Mladov, p.34; Harrrak, p.22; Rouault, p.54.
[1627] Grayson (1987), p.333; Podany (2010), p.151.
[1628] Stein, pp.36–40.
[1629] Grayson (1987), p. Bryce (2005a), p.184; Cline (2014), p.31.
[1630] Stein, p.37.

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& EA 29 and involved Artatama I giving a daughter to Thutmose IV as wife.[1631] The giving of a daughter to a foreign king as wife was a strong symbol of treaty, particularly as the daughter could then be used as a hostage, which is likely why no Egyptian king ever gave his daughter to a foreign king as wife.

Šuttarna II (c.1267–1243 BC) – succeeded his father Artatama I as king of Mitanni. He was contemporary with Year 10 (1266 BC) of Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC) when Amenhotep III married his daughter Kilu-Ḫepa, who is recorded on scarabs and was mentioned by his son Tušratta in his correspondence with Amenhotep III.[1632]

Artašumara (c.1243 BC) – succeeded his father Šuttarna II as king of Mitanni. He is recorded on a tablet from Tell Brak and mentioned in Amarna letter EA 17.[1633] He was assassinated by a certain Tuhi and was succeeded by his brother Tušratta.

Tušratta (c.1243–1220 BC) – claimed in his letter EA 17 to Amenhotep III of Egypt that he was not involved in the assassination of his brother Artašumara and that he slew everybody involved in the assassination. He was contemporary with Year 33 (1243 BC) of Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC), who married his daughter Tatu-Ḫepa, and Year 2 (1237 BC) of Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC). Amarna letters reveal that his daughter Tatu-Ḫepa was remarried to Akhenaten following the death of Amenhotep III.[1634]

Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) reveals in his treaty with Šatiwazza that during the reign of Tušratta he made a treaty with Artatama, the king of the land of Hurri. This is a title which would normally be understood to refer to the king of Mitanni, which prompted the suggestion by Beckman that Šuppiluliuma I was cultivating a rival line of Hurrian rulers.[1635]

He was defeated by Šuppiluliuma I and was subsequently killed by a son. While Bryce suggests that this son was possibly Šattiwaza, the same treaty appears to indicate that Šattiwaza remained in Mitanni as a prince for some years after the death of his father, which suggest that he was not involved in the murder.[1636]

[1631] Moran, pp.67, 93.
[1632] Dodson (2004), p.154; Moran, pp.41–42, 93.
[1633] Stein, p.45; Moran, p.41.
[1634] Moran, pp.41, 61, 84, 86, 90, 93.
[1635] Beckman (1996a), pp.37–38.
[1636] Bryce (2003), p.35; Beckman (1996a), p.40.

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Artatama II (c.1225–1220–1205 BC) – was the king of Hurri who entered into a treaty with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) during the reign of Tušratta of Mitanni (c.1243–1220 BC). He later succeeded Tušratta as king of Mitanni.

His relationship (if any) with Tušratta is unclear and the circumstances of his succession to both kingships remain obscure. The most sensible explanation of the eclectic references in the Šuppiluliuma I treaty with Šattiwaza seems to be that he was a second son of Tušratta who had no legitimate right to the throne and subsequently welcomed the support of Šuppiluliuma I in recognizing him as king of Hurri. In this scenario he would be the son who was later responsible for the assassination of Tušratta and likely also of the crown prince, upon whose deaths he became king of Mitanni.[1637] That he did not have any fear of retribution from Prince Šattiwaza suggests that Šattiwaza must have been a minor whose claim to the throne was less than his own.

Šuppiluliuma I further states in his treaty with Šattiwaza (Text B) that the Storm-god found that Artatama II had treated his father "in an evil fashion" and that subsequently the entire land of Mitanni went to ruin and was divided by Alshi and Assyria.[1638] The means by which Artatama II had come to power was however of no concern to Šuppiluliuma I since he himself had usurped power from his own brother-in-law Tudḫaliya the Younger. Šuppiluliuma I assisted Artatama II by sending cattle, sheep and horses to Mitanni.[1639]

Šuttarna IV (c.1205–1201 BC) – was noted by Šattiwaza on his treaty with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti as having succeeded his father Artatama II as king of Mitanni. He was contemporary with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC). Šattiwaza later described Šuttarna IV and his father Artatama II as having used all the treasures of Mitanni as payments to Assyria and Alši. It appears that he felt threatened by Šattiwaza, who fled from Šuttarna IV in fear of his life and found refuge with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti.[1640] The defeat of Šuttarna IV by Šuppiluliuma I appears to be mentioned by Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC) in *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* as having occurred in the Spring following the death of Tutankhamun (1210–1202 BC) and capture of Charchemish, which had occurred just before the winter.[1641]

[1637]Beckman (1996a), pp.37–38, 40; Bryce (2005a), pp.158, 184.
[1638] Beckman (1996a), pp.40, 118 (n.7).
[1639] Beckman (1996a), pp.40.
[1640] Beckman (1996a), pp.40, 44–45, 118 (n.8).
[1641] Güterbock (1956), pp.111, 114.

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Kili-Tešup – Šattiwaza (c.1201–1190 BC) – also called Kurtiwaza and Mattiwaza, appears to have been a minor son of Tušratta. He fled Mitanni in fear of his life from Šuttarna IV, whose father Artatama II, the brother of Šattiwaza, likely killed their father Tušratta. He made a treaty with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) whose daughter he married and installed him on the throne of Mitanni.[1642]

Šattuara I (c.1190–1165 BC) – was likely the son of Šattiwaza who he succeeded as king of Mitanni. He rebelled against Adad-Nārāri I of Assyria (1192–1160 BC), who subdued him.[1643]

Wasašatta (c.1165–1160 BC) – was the son and successor of Šattuara I. Adad-Nārāri I of Assyria (1192–1160 BC) said that he vanquished Wasašatta after he sought help from the Hittites.[1644]

Šattuara II (c.1160–1159 BC) – succeeded Wasašatta as king of Mitanni. He rebelled against Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1160–1130 BC) who annexed his kingdom.[1645]

5.5.6 Arrapḫa

Arrapḫa was a Hurrian kingdom to the east of Assyria. Records from Nuzi indicate that the rulers of Arrapḫa used the term *lugal* (king).[1646] The names of the kings are from Wilhelm and Stein.[1647]

Iṯi-Tilla – (1350–1325 BC) – was king of Arrapḫa.

Kipi-Tešup (1325–1300 BC) – was the father of Ithi-Tešup[1648].

Ithi-Tešup (1300–1275 BC) – was the son of Kipi-Tešup. He is recorded on seals from Nuzi datable to Sauštatar of Mitanni (c.1315–1290 BC) including the use of the name Iṯḫia.[1649]

[1642] Bryce (2003), pp.35, 41; (2005), p.180, 184–185; Beckman (1996a), pp.38–49.
[1643] Grayson (1987), p.136; Munn-Rankin, p.276.
[1644] Grayson (1987), p.136; Bryce (2005a), pp.257.
[1645] Luckenbill (1912), p.189; Grayson (1987), pp.183–184; Bryce (2005a), pp.275, 313–314.
[1646] Grayson (1987), p.335.
[1647] Wilhelm, p.157; Stein, pp.38, 46.
[1648] Grayson (1987), pp.334–335.
[1649] Grayson (1987), pp.334–335; Stein, pp.36, 38.

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Ḫišmi-Tešup (c.1275–1250 BC) – was king of Arrapḫa.[1650]

Šilwa-Tešup (c.1250–1225 BC) – was the son of Ḫišmi-Tešup who he succeeded as king. His archive at Nuzi contained the Sauštatar Letter from the reign of Sauštatar I of Mitanni (1315–1290 BC).[1651]

Tarmi-Tešup (c.1225–1200 BC) – was king of Arrapḫa.

Mušteja (c.1200–1175 BC) – was king of Arrapḫa.

Šamaš-Kumua (c.830–805 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 811 BC named after him, which was the accession year of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).

Aššur-balti-ekurri (c.805–780 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 802 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).

Bēl-Ilaya (c.780–765 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 769 BC named after him during the reign of Aššur-Dan III of Assyria (773–755 BC).

Nabû-bēlu-uṣur (c.765–740 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 745 BC named after him, which was the accession year of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).

Aššur-Šallimanni (c.740–725 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 733 BC named after him during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).

Nabû-bēlu-ka'in (c.725–715 BC) – was a governor of Arrapḫa during the reign of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC). He is attested on a clay barrel cylinder.[1652]

Ištar-duri (c.715–690 BC) – was governor of Arrapḫa with the eponym year of 714 BC named after him during the reign of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).

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[1650] Stein, p.46.
[1651] Stein, pp.42, 46.
[1652] Frayne (2021), pp.7, 36, 493–494.

5.5.7 Kizzuwatna

Pilliya (c.1345–1320 BC) – is the earliest recorded king of Kizzuwatna. Tablet BM131447 records a boarder treaty between Pilliya and Idrimi of Alalaḫ (1320–1290 BC), which also mentions Parattarna of Mitanni (1340–1315 BC). It further mentions that there had been recent conflict with Ḫatti. The conflict with Ḫatti appears to have been resolved as a treaty with Zidanta of Ḫatti is likely to have been subsequent to the treaty with Idrimi. It is proposed that the Hittite treaty was with Zidanta I (1355–1335 BC) rather than with Zidanta II (1270–1269 BC). Bryce however suggests that it was the other way around, and that this indicates that he switched allegiances from Ḫatti to Mitanni. [1653]

Išputaḫšu (c.1320–1295 BC) – was the son of a certain Pariyawatri, who succeeded Pilliya as king of Kizzuwatna and had a treaty with Telipinu I of Ḫatti (1310–1290 BC). While Bryce suggests that his father Pariyawatri may have been king, this does not fit with this chronology given that Pilliya and Indrimi of Alalaḫ were contemporaries.[1654]

Eḫeya (c.1295–1270 BC) – had a treaty with Taḫurwaili of Ḫatti (c.1272–1270 BC).[1655]

Šunaššura (c.1270–1245 BC) – had a treaty with Tudḫaliya II of Ḫatti (1267–1250 BC) and was contemporary with Niqmepa VI of Alalaḫ (1290–1265 BC).[1656]

Paddatišu (c.1245–1220 BC) – had a treaty with a king of Ḫatti, the name of whom is lost.[1657]

Talzu (c.1220–1210 BC) – is recorded on the land-grant document, KUB xl 2 (CTH 641).[1658] In is uncertain if he was the predecessor or successor of Paddatišu. He is not recorded as having a treaty with Ḫatti and it is likely that he was defeated by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) who annexed his kingdom.

[1653] Bryce (2003), pp.32, 40; Bryce (2005a), pp.112, 114, 117–118; Beckman (1996a), p.11.
[1654] Beckman (1996a), p.11; Bryce (2005a), p.105.
[1655] Bryce (2005a), p.112; Beckman (1996a), p.11.
[1656] Beckman (1996a), pp.13–22; Bryce (2005a), p.139; De Martino, p.37.
[1657] Bryce (2005a), p.113.
[1658] Bryce (2005a), p.428 (n.65).

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5.5.8 Kadesh (Qidšu/Kinza)

Duruša (c.1350–1325 BC) – is named on an inventory list as having given several gifts to the goddess Belet-ekallim, the lady of Qatna.[1659] He was perhaps the king of Kadesh who led the opposition forces against Thutmose III of Egypt (1365–1311 BC) at the Battle of Megiddo (11 April 1343 BC).

Šutatarra (c.1250–1225 BC) – was king of Kadesh. Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) mentions Šutatarra in his treaty with Šattiwaza of Mitanni (1201–1185 BC) when he installed Šattiwaza on the throne. He states that during the time of Tušratta of Mitanni (c.1243–1220 BC), Šutatarra and his son Aitugama attacked him in battle when he had entered the land of Apina, and that he drove them off and then captured Šutatarra and his family in the city of Abzuya.

The subsequent reference in Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Šattiwaza, to Šutatarra later opposing Šattiwaza appears to be an error, with Text B instead saying that it was Šuttarna IV of Mitanni (c.1205–1201 BC) who forced Šattiwaza to flee to Ḫatti.[1660]

Aitugama – Etakkama (c.1225–1200 BC) – is recorded by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti as the son of Šutatarra, who he succeeded as king of Kadesh. While in Amarna Letter EA 189 he portrays himself to Akhenaten of Egypt (c.1238–1222 BC) as a loyal vassal of Egypt, he is described in EA 363 by ʿAbdi-Riša of Enišasi as an agent of Ḫatti setting Egyptian cities on fire; in EA 53 & EA 54 by Akizzi of Qatna as a veritable agent of Ḫatti; and in EA 151 by Abī-Milki of Tyre as waring with the Egyptian agent Biryawawa. In EA 162 Aziru of Amurru is admonished by Akhenaten for dining with Aitugama, whom he says that Egypt was fighting with.[1661]

Ari-Tešup I c.1200–1175 BC) – succeeded his father Aitugama as king of Kadesh. He was contemporary with Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–1164 BC).[1662]

5.5.9 Mušiḫuna

Šuttarna III (c.1255–1230 BC) – was king of Mušiḫuna who sent three of the Amarna letters. Vita describes Mušiḫuna as being a part of the 'Beqaʿ Alliance',

[1659] Dalley (2002), p.183
[1660] Pitard (1987), p.67; Beckman (1996a), pp.44–45, 118 (n.8).
[1661] Beckman (1996a), p.39; Moran, pp.269–270, 361, 125–126, 238, 248–249.
[1662] Kitchen (1962), p.37 (n.3); Davey, p.18.

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which was a group of cities from the Beqaʿ Valley in Lebanon to the north of Damascus.[1663]

Biryawaza (c.1230–1205 BC) – features heavily in the Amarna letters. In letter EA 194 he states that he was the son of Šuttarna III, who he described as a loyal servant of Egypt and is known from his own letters to have been king of Mušiḫuna.[1664] It appears that following the defeat of Ariwana of Apina (c.1250–1230 BC) Biryawaza became the leading vassal of Egypt whose area of control included Damascus, where he says in letter EA 196 that he found refuge. In letter EA 197 he says that he was guarding Kumidu, which is thought to have been Kamid el-Loz in the West Beqa Valley.[1665]

5.5.10 Ṭābetu

Ṭābetu (Tell Taban) was originally an Amorite city first recorded during the Amorite Mari IV and Babylon period. Following the destruction of Mari IV and Babylon it became dominated by the Hurrian Mitanni Empire, at which time the rulers of the city adopted Hurrian names, and the city incorporated Hurrian language and customs, losing its distinctly Amorite identity. Following the destruct of the Mitanni empire it then became dominated by the Assyrian Empire, at which time it similarly incorporated Assyrian names and customs. For sake of convenience, it is listed in this chronology with Hurrian cities.

Akit-Teššup (c.1215–1190 BC) – is the earliest known king of Ṭābetu.[1666]

Zumiya (c.1190–1165 BC) – was the son of Akit-Teššup who he succeeded as king of Ṭābetu.[1667]

Adad-bēl-gabbe I (c.1165–1140 BC) – was the son of Zumiya who he succeeded as king of Ṭābetu.[1668] His reign corresponded with the destruction of the Mitanni Empire by Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1160–1130 BC) and subsequent dominance of Ṭābetu by Assyria.

[1663] Moran, pp.264–265; Vita, pp.3–4.
[1664] Moran, p.272.
[1665] Moran, pp.273–275.
[1666] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.170, 179.
[1667] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.170, 179.
[1668] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.

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Aššur-ketta-lēšir I (c.1140–1115 BC) – was the son of Adad-bēl-gabbe I who he succeeded as king of Ṭābetu. His reign corresponded with the 'Middle Assyrian' archive found in the city. He styled himself as the king of Ṭābetu and the Land of Mari. He likely built the fortress Dūr-Aššur-ketta-lēšir (Tell Bderi) located 6 km north of Tell Taban.[1669]

Adad-bēl-gabbe II (c.1115–1090 BC) — was the son of Aššur-ketta-lēšir I who he succeeded as king of Ṭābetu. Hs reign corresponded with the 'Middle Assyrian' archive found in the city. He styled himself as the king of Ṭābetu and the Land of Mari.[1670]

Rīš-Nergal (c.1090–1080 BC) – was the son of Adad-bēl-gabbe II who he succeeded as king of Ṭābetu.[1671] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Mannu-lū-yāʾu (c.1080–1070 BC) – succeeded his brother Rīš-Nergal as king of Ṭābetu. He was contemporary with Ninurta-Tukultī-Aššur of Ḫanigalbat (c.1054–1031 BC), who was regent for his father Aššur-Dān I at Aššur, to whom he sent 10 sheep and 2 lambs as an audience gift.[1672] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Adad-apla-iddina I c.1070–1065 BC – is noted by Shibata to have been a king of Ṭābetu. It is proposed that until proven otherwise that he should be identified with the unnamed son of Mannu-lū-yāʾu who was king of Ṭābetu.[1673] It is proposed that he reigned for about 5 years.

Etel-pî-Adad (c.1065–1060 BC) – succeeded his nephew Adad-apla-iddina I as king of Ṭābetu. He is attested as burying his son Enlil-apla-uṣur.[1674] It is proposed that he reigned for about 5 years.

Adad-bēl-apli (c.1060–1040 BC) – succeeded his father Etel-pî-Adad as king of Ṭābetu.[1675]

[1669] Shibata, pp.491, 492(n.21), 493; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.167 (n.2), 170, 178.
[1670] Shibata, pp.491–492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.170, 178.
[1671] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.
[1672] Shibata, pp.492–494; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.
[1673] Shibata, pp.492–493; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.
[1674] Shibata, pp.492, 499; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170–171, 178.
[1675] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.

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Adad-bēl-gabbe III (c.1040–1015 BC) – succeeded his father Adad-bēl-apli as king of Ṭābetu.[1676]

Aššur-ketta-lēšir II (c.1015–990 BC) – succeeded his father Adad-bēl-gabbe III as king of Ṭābetu. He is attested on numerous inscriptions. He styled himself as King of Mari and was subordinate to Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC).[1677]

Enlil-šar-ilāni (c.990–965 BC) – succeeded his father Aššur-ketta-lēšir II as king of Ṭābetu. He is attested on bricks.[1678]

5.5.11 Idu

Idu was situated on the lower Zab River. Although its inscriptions were written in the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian it had been a part of the Mitanni Empire and it inhabitants were likely of Hurrian origin.

Ŝar[..]ni (c.1025–1000 BC) – was a king of Idu attested on an inscription by his son Abbi-Zēri.[1679]

Abbi-Zēri (c.1000–975 BC) – succeeded his father Ŝar[..]ni as king of idu. He is attested on brick inscriptions.[1680]

Bā'ilānu (c.975–960 BC) – succeeded his father Abbi-Zēri as king of Idu. He is attested on a brick inscription.[1681] It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

KAM-ti-e-ni – Erištēnu? (c.960–950 BC) – succeeded his brother Bā'ilānu as king of Idu. He is attested on a brick inscription.[1682] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Imzuyānu (c.950–925 BC) – possibly succeeded KAM-ti-e-ni as king of Idu. He is attested as king on an inscription of his son Edima.[1683]

[1676] Shibata, p.492; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, p.170.
[1677] Shibata, pp.489 (n.3)–492, 494; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.170, 178.
[1678] Shibata, pp.491 (n.18)–492, 494; Numoto, Shibata & Yamada, pp.170, 178.
[1679] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), p.210.
[1680] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), pp.210, 214.
[1681] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), pp.210–211, 214.
[1682] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), pp.211–212, 214.
[1683] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), p.212.

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Edima (c.925–900 BC) – succeeded his father Imzuyānu as king of Idu.[1684]

Ba'auri (c.900–875 BC) – succeeded his father Edima as king of Idu. He is attested on bricks. The next possible ruler of Idu after Ba'auri is Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC) who is likely attested on a brick.[1685]

5.5.12 Šubria

Ilī-Ḫite – Anḫitti (c.865–840 BC) – was named as being defeated by and then paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in his fifth year.[1686]

Ḫu-Tešup (c.715–690 BC) – was contemporary with Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) and Argišti II of Urartu (714–680 BC).[1687]

Ik-Tešup (c.690–674 BC) – gave refuge to the brothers who assassinated their father Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) killed Ik-Tešup in his Year 8 (674 BC) and absorbed Šubria into Asyria.[1688]

5.5.13 Urartu

Aramu (858–844 BC) – is the earliest known king of Urartu. His capital Arzashkun and the former capital Sagunia were captured by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC.[1689]

Sarduri I (844–828 BC) – the son of a certain Lutipri, was king of Urartu. He moved the capital to Tushpa (Van).

Išpuini (828–810 BC) – succeeded his father Sarduri I as king of Urartu.[1690]

Menua (810-785 BC) – succeeded his father Ishpuini as king of Urartu.[1691]

[1684] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), p.212, 214.
[1685] Van Soldt et. al. (2013), p.212–214.
[1686] Grayson (1996), pp.36, 45, 52, 65, 75, 104.
[1687] Dezső, p.33.
[1688] Leichty, pp.2–3, 7–8, 133; Dezső, p.35.
[1689] Grayson (1996), p.8, Chahin, pp.62–63.
[1690] Chahin, p.71.
[1691] Chahin, p.71.

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Argišti I (785–753 BC) – succeeded his father Menua as king of Urartu.[1692]

Sarduri II (753–735 BC) – succeeded his father Argišti I as king of Urartu. He claimed to have defeated Aššur-Nārāri V of Assyria (754–745 BC). He sided with Matiʿ-El of ʾArpāḏ (c.755–735 BC) and was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[1693]

Rusâ I (735–714 BC) – succeeded his father Sarduri II as king of Urartu. He was defeated by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) in 714 BC.[1694]

Argišti II (714–680 BC) – succeeded his father Rusâ I as king of Urartu.[1695]

Rusâ II (680–639 BC) – succeeded his father Argišti II as king of Urartu.[1696]

Sarduri III (639–635 BC) – succeeded Rusâ II as king of Urartu.[1697]

Erimena (635–629 BC) – succeeded Sarduri III as king of Urartu.[1698]

Rusâ III (629–615 BC) – succeeded his father Erimena as king of Urartu.[1699]

Sarduri IV (615–598 BC) – succeeded his father Rusâ III as king of Urartu.[1700]

Rusâ IV (598–590 BC) – succeeded his brother Sarduri IV as king of Urartu.[1701]

5.5.14 Mannaea (Izirtu)

Udaki (c.830–805 BC) – was defeated by and fled from Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 827 BC.[1702]

[1692] Chahin, p.71.
[1693] Grayson (1996), p.246; Tadmor & Yamada, p.84–85; Chahin, pp.77, 81.
[1694] Frahm (2017), p.182; Fuchs, p.251; Davenport, p.116.; Chahin, p.85.
[1695] Chahin, p.93.
[1696] Chahin, p.97.
[1697] Chahin, p.103.
[1698] Chahin, p.103.
[1699] Chahin, p.103.
[1700] Chahin, p.103.
[1701] Chahin, p.103.
[1702] Grayson (1996), pp.70, 82; Fuchs, p.262.

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Iranzu (c.745–718 BC) – paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745-724 BC).[1703]

Azā (c.718–717 BC) – succeeded his father Iranzu as king of Mannaea. He was assassinated by two governors, who Frame suggests were acting for Rusâ I of Urartu (735–714 BC).[1704]

Ullusunu (c.717–695 BC) – succeeded his assassinated brother Azā as king of Mannaea and gave allegiance to Rusâ I of Urartu (735–714 BC). Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) responded by invading Mannaea in his Year 6 (717 BC), forcing Ullusunu to change allegiance back to Assyria and pay tribute. But then when Ullusunu allowed Rusâ I to take 22 cites, Sargon II recaptured the cities in his Year 7 and incorporated them into Assyria.[1705]

Aḫšēri (c.680–655 BC) – was defeated by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) in his fifth campaign, resulting in a rebellion in which he was assassinated.[1706]

Uallî (c.655–630 BC) – succeeded his father Aḫšēri as king of Mannaea and paid tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[1707]

Erisinni (c.630–605 BC) – was the 'heir designate' who delivered the tribute paid by his father Uallî to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC). He likely became king of Mannaea.[1708]

5.6 Amorites (North-West Semitic)

The Amorites (MAR.TU / Amurru) originated in Syria with their language being classified as North-West Semitic, related to Ugaritic, Aramaic and Canaanite. This is supported by the reference in the Bible to king Ṣihon of the Amorites during the time of the Exodus, whose city of Hešbon appears to have been located to the east of the Jordan River, in the land that would later become Ammon. De Boer notes that the earliest references to the Amorites was when Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) defeated Amorites at Bašar, the 'Amorite mountain', which is identified

[1703] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.53–54, 84, 87, 121; Fuchs, p.262.
[1704] Frame (2021), pp.27, 59–60, 89, 125, 142; Fuchs, p.262.
[1705] Frame (2021), pp.27, 56, 60, 61, 65, 68, 89, 125–126, 142–143, 266–268, 280–284, 359, 364, 449.
[1706] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.19, 63–65, 87–89, 122, 146–147, 182, 195, 238–239, 276.
[1707] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.65, 89, 123, 147, 170, 195, 239, 268, 276, 305.
[1708] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.65, 89, 148, 195, 239, 268, 27

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with Jebel Bišri to the south of the Euphrates River. His successor Šar-kali-šarri next recorded a victory against the Amurru in one of his year-names.[1709]

De Boer notes that the Amorites were also recorded during Ur III times as occupying an area called KUR MAR.TU, which he says appears to have been located in the upper Diyala Valley to the north of the Ur III state, and suggests that they may have originally came from this region.[1710] The suggestion that they originally came from the north of the Tigris River is however inconsistent with their linguistic connection with other North-West-Semitic speaking people.

The Amorite kings of Babylon retained a tribal ancestral list, which included Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC), who it is proposed in this chronology was king of the Rabbeans, that extended back to Aram-Madara (c.2200 BC). The historicity of the list is somewhat supported by Šamši-Adad I of Upper Mesopotamia (1602–1548 BC), the son of the Amorite tribal king Ila-Kabkabu. For while the identity of his tribe remains unknown, Šamši-Adad inserted his Amorite ancestry into the Assyrian king list, which when extracted from the list provides an ancestry for Šamši-Adad I back to Tudiya, who was evidently named on the Babylonian list as the son of Aram-Madara.[1711]

Table 49 – Kings of the Amorites

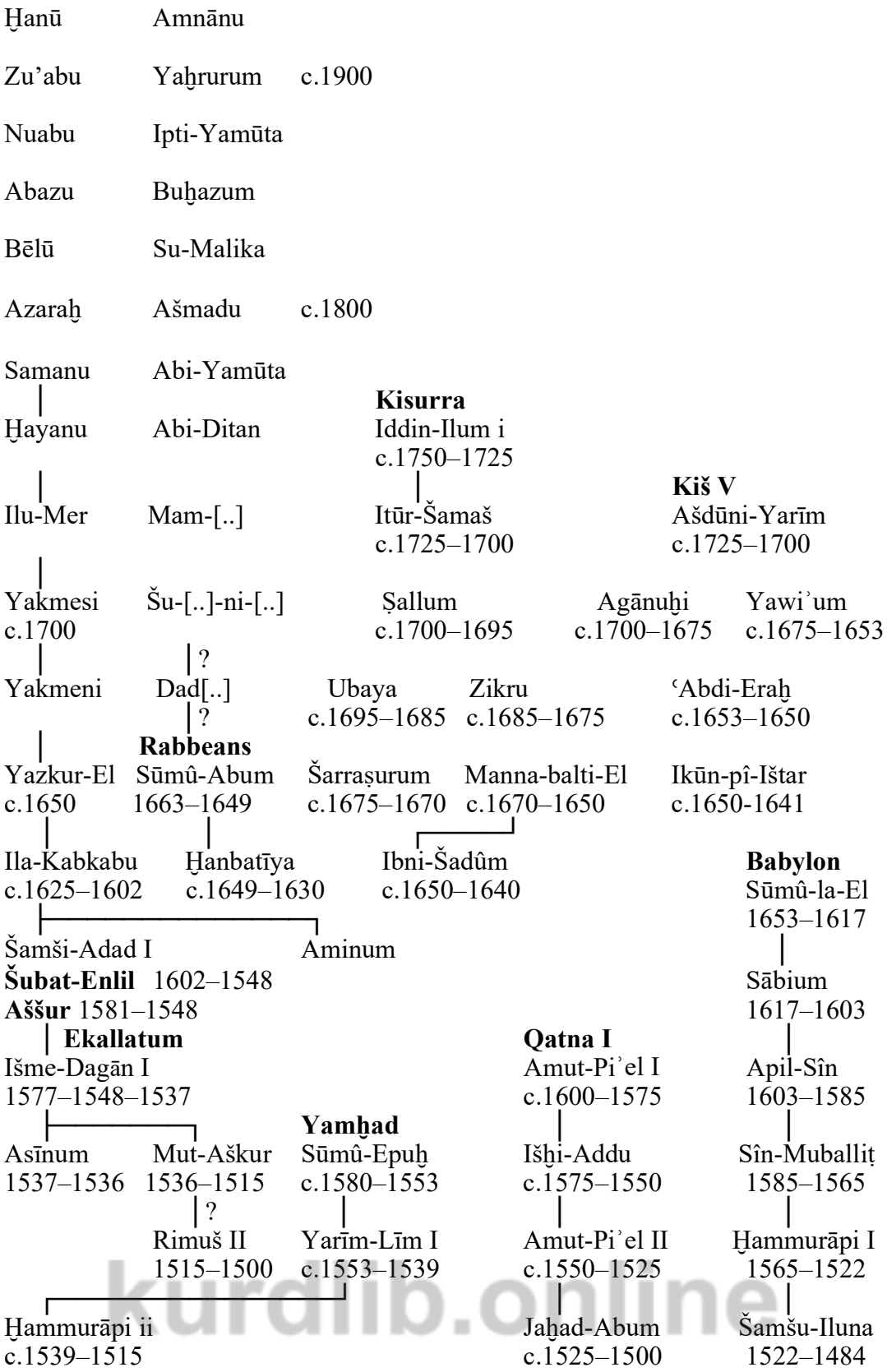
Amorites in Tents

Aram-Madara

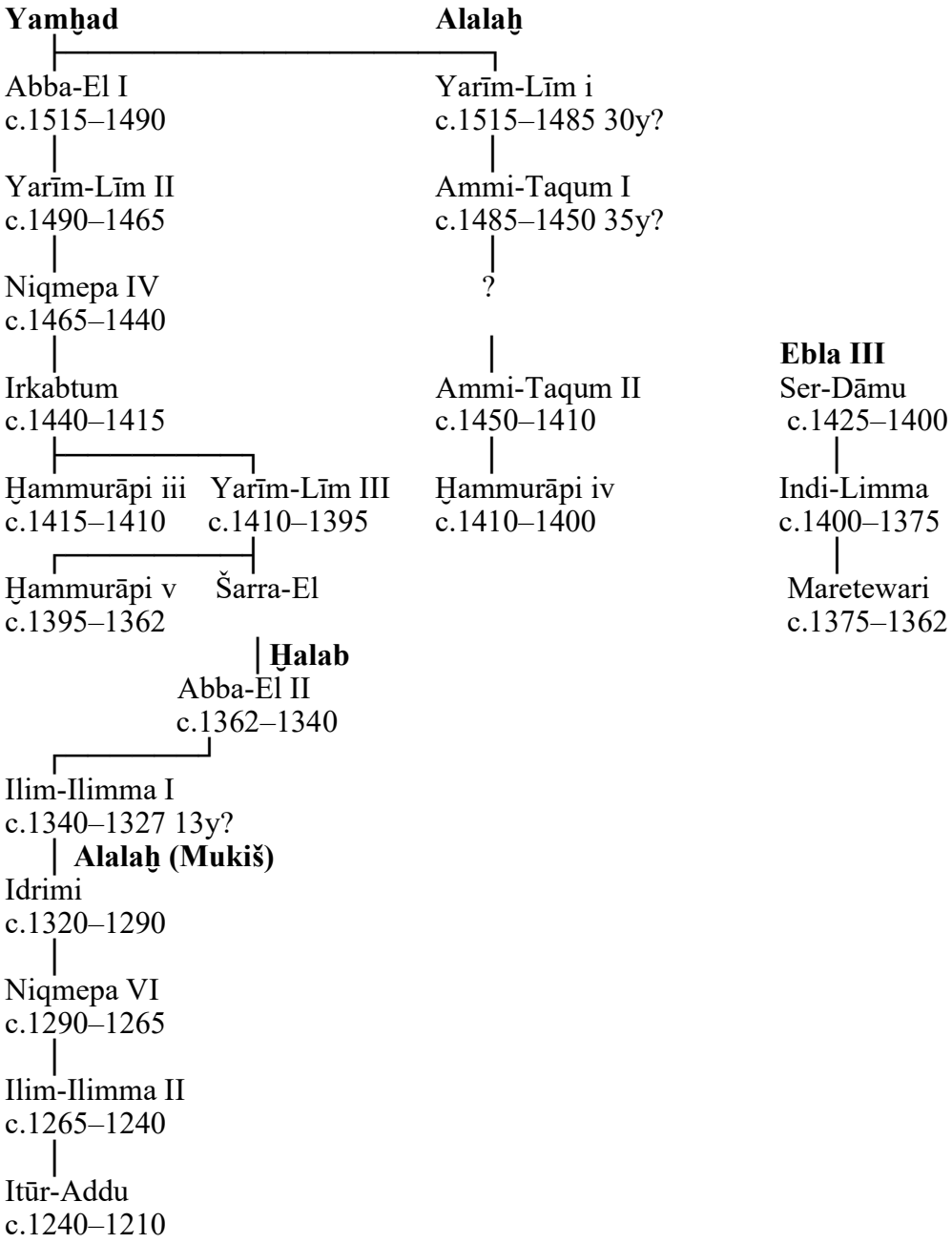
Tudiya	/	Tubtiya	c.2150
Adamu	/	Amuta	
Yangi	/	Yamqu	c.2100
Suḫlamu	/	Suḫlama	
Ḫarḫaru		Ḫeana	
Mandaru		Namṣū	
Emsu		Ditānu	c.2000
Ḫarsu		Zummabu	
Didānu		Namḫu	

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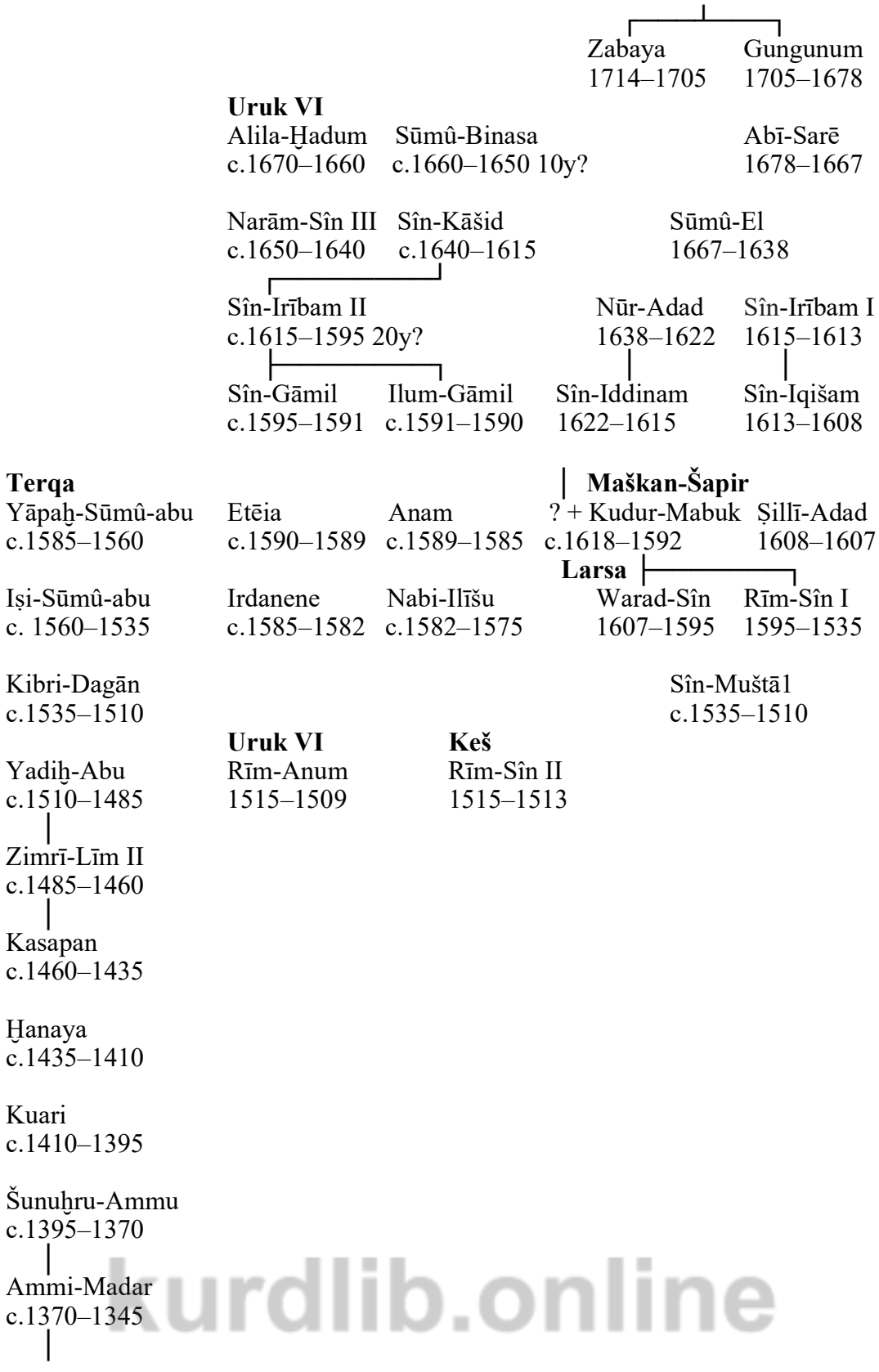
[1709] De Boer (2014), p.21.
[1710] De Boer (2014), pp.162–168.
[1711] Glassner, p. 71; Beaulieu (2018), p.67.



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Sinia
Ḫana c.1345–1320
|
Qīš-Addu
1340–1295

Iddin-Kakka
1295–1270
|
Išar-Līm II
c.1270–1245
|
Iggid-Līm
c.1245–1220
|
Isiḫ-Dagān
c.1220–1195
|
Aḫuni
c.1195–1170
|
Ḫammurāpi II
c.1170–1145
|
Pagiru
c.1145–1120

Ilu-Iqīša
c.1010–985
|
Tukultī-Mēr
c.985–960

Amnānum Tribe

Ḫaliyum	Nāqimum	ʿAbdi-Eraḫ	Mananā	Aḫī-Maraṣ
c.1675–1660	c.1660–1653	c.1653–1650	c.1650–1635	c.1635–1633

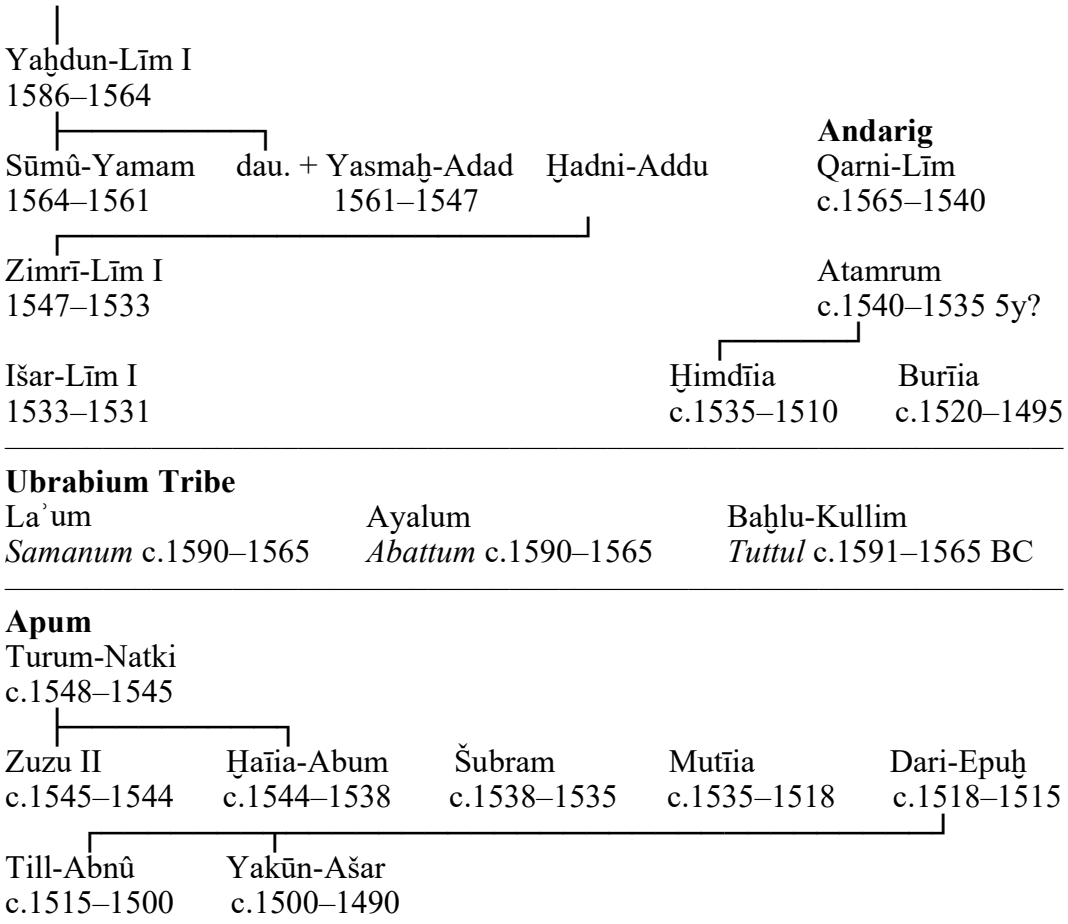
Sūmû-Yamutbal	Manium
c.1633–1623	c.1623–1620

Marad-Kazallu

Sūmû-Ditāna	Ḫalun-pi-umu	Sūmû-Atar	Sūmû-Numḫim	Yamsi-El
c.1661–1651	c.1651–1648	c.1648–1645	c.1645–1638	c.1638–1635

Mari IV
Yaggid-Līm
1610–1586

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5.6.1 Larsa II

Naplānum (1798–1777 BC) – was an Amorite chief who was ruler of Larsa named on the *LKL* with a reign of 21 years.

Emisum – Iemṣium (1777–1749 BC) – was an Amorite chief who was ruler of Larsa named on the *LKL* with a reign of 28 years.

Sāmium (1749–1714 BC) – was an Amorite chief who was ruler of Larsa named on the *LKL* with a reign of 35 years.

Zabaya (1714–1705 BC) – succeeded his father Sāmium as ruler of Larsa. He is attested on a brick and a cone as an Amorite chief and on a dedicatory text. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of nine years.[1712]

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[1712] Frayne (1990), pp.111–113.

Gungunum (1705–1678 BC) – succeeded his father as ruler of Larsa. He gained independence from Lipit-Eštar of Isin (1710–1699 BC) and by Years 10 gained control of Ur and used the titles King of Larsa, King of Ur and King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of 27 years. All of his year-names are known.[1713]

Abī-Sarē (1678–1667 BC) – succeeded Gungunum as king of Larsa. He is attested on inscriptions with the titles King of Larsa, King of Ur and Amorite chief. All of his year-names are known. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of 11 years.[1714]

Sūmû-El (1667–1638 BC) – succeeded Abī-Sarē as king of Larsa. He is attested on inscriptions with the titles King of Ur and King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of 29 years.[1715]

Nūr-Adad (1638–1622 BC) – succeeded Sūmû-El as king of Larsa. He is attested on several inscriptions. He used the titles Provider and Farmer of Ur and King of Larsa. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly 16 years.[1716]

Sîn-Iddinam (1622–1615 BC) – succeeded his father Nūr-Adad as king of Larsa. He is named on a large number of inscriptions with the title Provider of Ur, King of Larsa and King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly seven years.[1717]

Sîn-Irībam I (1615–1613 BC) – was the son of a certain Ga'eš-Rabi. He is attested by two seal impressions and a fragmentary weight stone. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly two years.[1718]

Sîn-Iqišam (1613–1608 BC) – succeeded his father Sîn-Irībam I as king of Larsa. He is attested on inscriptions with the titles Provider of Ur, King of Larsa and King of Sumer and Akkadê. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly five years.[1719]

[1713] Frayne (1990), pp.114–115.
[1714] Frayne (1990), pp.121–129.
[1715] Frayne (1990), pp.130–137.
[1716] Frayne (1990), pp.138–156.
[1717] Frayne (1990), pp.157–187.
[1718] Frayne (1990), pp.188–189.
[1719] Frayne (1990), pp.190–198.

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Sillī-Adad (1608–1607 BC) – succeeded Sîn-Iqišam as king of Larsa. He is attested on bricks and cones with the titles Provider of Nippur and Governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš and the land of Kutalla. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly one year. A years-name indicates that the was deposed.[1720]

Kudur-Mabuk (c.1618–1592 BC) – son of Simti-Šilḫak, who despite having an Elamite name like his father, had the title chief of the Amorites, which had been used by earlier kings of Larsa, and later had the title chief of Yamutbal. He installed his son Warad-Sîn as king of Larsa. It is therefore likely that he married a daughter of Sîn-Iddinam of Larsa (1622–1615 BC), which provided the basis of Warad-Sîn's right to the throne.[1721] He defeated Ṣillī-Eštar of Maškan-Šapir, the 'Enemy of Larsa', and subsequently ruled from Maškan-Šapir.[1722]

Warad-Sîn II (1607–1595 BC) – was the son of Kudur-Mabuk of Maškan-Šapir, who was subordinate to the kings of Larsa, who likely married a daughter of Sîn-Iddinam. He was installed as king of Larsa by his father and called himself Provider of Nippur, Governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš and the land of Kutalla, and King of Larsa. He is attested on numerous inscriptions. He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of possibly12 years.[1723]

Rīm-Sîn I (1595–1535 BC) – succeeded his brother Warad-Sîn as king of Larsa. His fourteenth year-name records his defeat of Irdanene of Uruk (1585–1582 BC) and he defeated Damiq-Ilīšu I of Isin (1589–1566 BC) in his Year 30. He called himself Provider of Nippur, Governor of Ur, Larsa, Lagaš and the land of Kutalla, King of Larsa and King of Sumer and Akkadê. The *Chronicle of Early Kings* calls him king of Ur and records that he was defeated by Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) in his Year 31.[1724] He is named on the *LKL* with a reign of 60 years.

Ḫammurāpi I (1535–1522 BC) – was the king of Babylon who defeated Rīm-Sîn I. The *LKL* then records him as king of Larsa for 13 years.

Šamšu-Iluna (1522–1510 BC) – was the king of Babylon who succeeded his father Ḫammurāpi I. The *LKL* then records him as king of Larsa for 12 years.

[1720] Frayne (1990), pp.199–201; Fiette, p.280.
[1721] Fiette, p.282.
[1722] Frayne (1990), pp.220, 266–269.
[1723] Frayne (1990), pp.202–265.
[1724] Frayne (1990), pp.266–316; Fitzgerald, pp.40, 141, p.164; Van de Mieroop, p.31.

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Sîn-Muštā1 (c.1535–1510 BC) – was governor of Larsa who is attested on a seal impression as the servant of Rīm-Sîn II of Keš (1515–1509 BC).[1725]

5.6.2 Rabbean Tribe

Sippar-Amnānum is noted by Woestenburg & Jagersma to have also been called Sippar-Rabûm, and Wagensonner notes that the chiefs of the Rabbeans were governors of Kissura and that both the Rabbean and Amnānum tribes were related to the Yaminite tribe.

Iddin-Ilum i (c.1750–1725 BC) – see Iddin-Ilum I, prince of Kisurra.

Itūr-Šamaš (c.1725–1700 BC) – see Itūr-Šamaš, prince of Kisurra.

Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC) – is proposed to have been an Amorite tribal king of the Rabbeans, in much the manner described by Yuhong & Dalley without a fixed permanent capital.[1726] De Boer describes him as being portrayed in the *Ikūn-Pîša Letter Archive* (*IPLA*) from Tell ed-Dēr as a pan-tribal Amorite leader (*IPLA* 14).

He had hegemony over Kisurra and Babylon. In his second year the great wall of Babylon was built. The following year he seized the city of Elip. His year dates also indicate that he controlled the cities of Dilbat and Kiš. In his Year 13 (1651 BC) he captured the city of Kazallu, which is also recorded as the Year 3 name for Sūmû-la-El. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 15 years, Babylon date lists indicate that he reigned for 14 years. [1727]

Ḫanbatīya (c.1649–1630 BC) – likely succeeded his father Sūmû-Abum as the tribal king of the Rabbeans. Like his father he does not have an identified fixed capital. His death was commemorated in a year-name on the document *Texts in the Iraq Museum* 7 (*TIM* 7) 22: 11'–13' from Sippar. The *TIM* 7 documents are datable to after the *IPLA*, with *TIM* 7 36 dated to 'Year: the canal Abba-Hegal', which was Year 13 of Sābium of Babylon (1605 BC).[1728]

Ayalum (c.1590–1565 BC) – was king of Abattum and the land of the Rabbum, who along with Laʾum, king of Samanum and the land of the Ubrabium, and Baḫlu-

[1725] Frayne (1990), p.318.
[1726] Yuhong & Dalley, p.164.
[1727] De Boer (2018), pp.53, 60.
[1728] De Boer (2018), p.55; (2021), p.20

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Kullim, king of Tuttul and the land of the Amnānum, rebelled against Yaḫdun-Līm I of Mari (1586–1564 BC).[1729]

5.6.3 Kisurra

Iddin-Ilum i (c.1750–1725 BC) – was prince of Kisurra who was also likely chief of the Rabbeans. He is named on bricks by his son Itūr-Šamaš.[1730]

Itūr-Šamaš (c.1725–1700 BC) – succeeded his father Iddin-Ilum as prince of Kisurra and chief of the Rabbeans. He is named on bricks and 16 of his year-names are known. [1731]

Sallum (c.1700–1695 BC) – was prince of Kissura. Two of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.[1732]

Ubaya (c.1695–1685 BC) – was prince of Kissura. Seven of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about ten years.[1733]

Zikru (c.1685–1675 BC) – was prince of Kissura. Five of his year-names are known, with the first revealing that he usurped the throne. It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years. [1734]

Šarraṣurum (c.1675–1670 BC) – was prince of Kissura. One of his year-names is known. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.

Manna-balti-El (c.1670–1650 BC) – was prince of Kissura. He was subordinate to the Rabbean tribal king Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC). Nine of his year-names are known. It if proposed that the reigned for about 20 years.[1735]

Ibni-Šadûm (c.1650–1640 BC) – succeeded his father Manna-balti-El as prince of Kissura. He married Šat-Sin, the daughter of Sūmû-El of Larsa (1667–1638 BC). Seven of his year-names are known. One of his year-names records rebuilding the wall of Pi-Naratim, which Sūmû-El of Larsa (1667–1638 BC) had destroyed in his

[1729] Wagensonner, p.260.
[1730] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1731] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1732] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1733] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1734] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1735] Wagensonner, p.242.

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Year 8 (1660 BC). He was defeated by Erra-Imittī of Isin (1643–1635 BC) in about his Year 4 (1640 BC), who said that he destroyed the city and subsequently rebuilt it in about his Year 6.[1736]

5.6.4 Kiš V

Ašdūni-Yarīm (c.1725–1700 BC) – was an Old Babylonian Period king of Kiš. De Boer describes him as the earliest king of Kiš for the period following the defeat of Išme-Dagān i of Isin (1730–1710 BC) at Kiš. He is known from three royal inscriptions which recount how he did battle for eight years against 'the four quarters' (of the world) until his enemies 'turned to clay'.[1737]

Agānuḫi (c. 1700–1675 BC) – is noted by De Boer as the king of Kiš after Ašdūni-Yarīm.[1738]

Yawiʾum (c.1675–1660 BC) – was a king of Kiš. He wrote letters to Ikūn-Piša of Sippar during the time of Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC). Nine of his yer-names are known, one of which refers to the construction of the wall of Babylon built by Sūmû-Abum in his Year 1 (1663 BC). He was contemporary with the Amnānum king Mananâ, who in turn was contemporary with Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC). [1739]

ʿAbdi-Eraḫ (c.1660–1650 BC) – see ʿAbdi-Eraḫ, king of the Amnānum.

Ikūn-pî-Ištar (c.1650–1641 BC) – is proposed to have succeeded ʿAbdi-Eraḫ as king of Kiš. He is recorded in the *Sumerian King List* (*SKL*) as the most powerful king in Babylonia following the death of Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC), with the *SKL* manuscript D appearing to suggest that this included direct rule of Isin for six months between the reigns of Erra-Imittti (1643–1635 BC) and Enlil-Bāni.[1740] This however conflicts with the story in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* of the usurper Enlil-Bāni's succession following the death of Erra-Imittti. It therefore appears to be a reference to a short period when Erra-Imittti was forced to acknowledge hegemony to Ikūn-pî-Ištar. Ikūn-pî-Ištar was defeated by Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC) in his Year 13 (1641 BC).

[1736] Wagensonner, p.242.
[1737] Frayne (1990), pp.654–656; De Boer (2014), p.237 (n.1028); (2018), p.60 (n.46); (2021), p.17.
[1738] De Boer (2021), p.17.
[1739] Frayne (1990), p.657; De Boer (2014), p.150, 153; (2021), p.XI.
[1740] De Boer (2014), p.136; Jacobsen (1939), p.8; Glassner, pp.126, 154.

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5.6.5 Uruk VI

Alila-Ḫadum (c.1715–1690 BC) – is the earliest known king of Uruk during the Uruk VI period with two known year-names.[1741]

Sūmû-Binasa (c.1690–1665 BC) – succeeded Alila-Ḫadum as king of Uruk. He is known from oath formulae in extant legal documents.[1742]

Narām-Sîn III (c.1665–1640 BC) – succeeded Sūmû-Binasa as king. He is known from three copies of a royal inscription.[1743]

Sîn-Kāšid (c.1640–1615 BC) – succeeded Narām-Sîn III as king of Uruk. He styled himself as military governor of Dūrum, the Strong Man, King of Uruk, and King of the Amnānum. He married Šallurtum, the daughter of Samu-la-El of Babylon (1653–1647 BC).[1744] He was a prolific builder and was contemporary with Enlil-Bāni of Isin (1635–1611 BC) and Nūr-Adad of Larsa (1638–1622 BC). He is recorded on a treaty with Ibāl-pî-El I of Ešnunna (1635–1629 BC), which also referred to Sîn-Iddinam of Larsa (1622–1615 BC) and Sābium of Babylon (1617–1603 BC).[1745]

Sîn-Irībam II (c.1615–1595 BC) – succeeded his father Sîn-Kāšid as king of Uruk. He is named on a sale contract dated to Year 6 (1602 BC) of Warad-Sîn of Larsa (1607–1595 BC). Like his father he used the title King of the Amnānum.[1746]

Sîn-Gāmil (c.1595–1591 BC) – succeeded his father Sîn-Irībam II as king of Uruk. While only three inscriptions and three year-names are known for him, Wagensonner states that the summary of a fragmentary account of dealing with distributions of oil shows that he must have reigned at least four years. Like his father and grandfather, he used the title King of the Amnānum.[1747]

Ilum-Gāmil (c.1591–1590 BC) – succeeded his brother Sîn-Gāmil as king of Uruk. He is attested on a cone.[1748]

[1741] Wagensonner, pp.243–244, 262.
[1742] Wagensonner, pp.243–244, 262.
[1743] Wagensonner, pp.244, 262–263.
[1744] De Boer (2014), p.262; Wagensonner, pp.193, 242, 259–260, 264; Woestenburg & Jagersma, pp.24–25.
[1745] Frayne (1990), pp.440–464; Wagensonner, pp.251, 260.
[1746] Wagensonner, p.263.
[1747] Frayne (1990), pp.466–468; Wagensonner, p.263.
[1748] Frayne (1990), p.469; Wagensonner, p.263.

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Etēia (c.1590–1589 BC) – is noted by Frayne as succeeding Ilum-Gāmil as king of Uruk. He is attested on an economic text.[1749]

Anam (c.1589–1585 BC) – the son of a certain Ilan-Šemea, was king of Uruk. He is attested by four year-names and seven inscriptions. He wrote a letter to Sîn-Muballiṭ of Babylon (1585–1565 BC) in which he reminds his ally that both kingdoms belong to "one house", being both Amnānum Amorites. [1750]

Ìr-ne-ne – Irdanene (c.1585–1582 BC) – was recorded with four year-names. He was defeated by Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC) in his Year 14 (1582 BC).[1751]

Nabi-Ilīšu (1582–1575 BC) – was a 'servant' of Irdanene who he succeeded as king of Uruk. He ruled until his defeat by Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC) in his Year 21 (1575 BC).[1752]

Rīm-Anum (c.1515–1513 BC) – became king in Year 8 of Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) and reigned for 18 months over three calendar years. He is attested on three seals.[1753] He defeated an invading coalition force comprising of Larsa, Ešnunna, Isin and Kazallu.[1754] Šamšu-Iluna's Year 10 (1513 BC) name records his defeat of Idamaras, Larsa, Isin and Uruk.

5.6.6 Amnānum Tribe

The Amnānum were an Amorite tribe that settled near Sippar-Amnānum. It is proposed that the dynasty typically referred to as the Mananā Dynasty, which is named after its most prominent king on account of it not having an identified capital, was in fact a tribal kingship, in much the manner described by Yuhong & Dalley.[1755] This is supported not only by the fact that the Mananā dynasty did not have an identified capital, but also by the fact that legal documents between tribal Amorites and urban moneylenders would be witnessed by both the local urban king such as from Kiš or Marad, and the 'Mananā'/Amnānum tribal king, which was essential practice for transactions between city and tribal parties. Although these kings were

[1749] Frayne (1990), p.470.
[1750] Frayne (1990), pp.471–477; Wagensonner, p.264.
[1751] Frayne (1990), pp.478–479; Wagensonner, p.266.
[1752] Frayne (1990), pp.479, 483; Wagensonner, p.266.
[1753] Frayne (1990), pp.439, 480–482; Rositani, pp.49–50.
[1754] Rositani, pp.57, 180–182; Michalowski & Beckman, pp.427–428
[1755] Yuhong & Dalley, p.164.

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tribal and had no fixed capital, they controlled a number of minor cities including Dunnum, Akusum and Sagdainpad.

Ḫaliyum (c.1675–1660 BC) – is the earliest recorded king of the Amnānum. Twelve of his year names are known, one of which refers to the defeat/death of Ur-Ninurta of Isin (1697–1669 BC). De Boer notes that he was also contemporary with Sūmû-Ditāna of Marad (1661–1651 BC) and Year 5 of Sūmû-El of Larsa (1667–1638 BC) and records a double oath with Yawiʾum of Kiš (1675–1653 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1756]

Nāqimum (c.1660–1653 BC) – is suggested by De Boer to have been the successor of Ḫaliyum. There are six known year-names for him. It is proposed that he reigned for about seven years.[1757]

ʿAbdi-Eraḫ (c.1653–1650 BC) – the son of Ḫuzu[..] succeeded Nāqimum as king of the Amnānum ruling from Ilip. He has two known year-names which reveal that he seized the throne. Frayne refers to an inscription which also refers to him as king of Kiš and a letter found at Tell Asmar which possibly refers to him is dated to the reign of Ipiq-Adad I of Ešnunna (1680–1670 BC), however this may not be him as there were others with that name, such as the son of Laʾiam who was a servant of a certain Awīl-Ili. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.[1758]

Mananā (c.1650–1635 BC) – succeeded ʿAbdi-Eraḫ as king of the Amnānum. Fourteen of his year-names are known, which reveal that he seized the throne. De Boer notes that he was contemporary with Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1759]

Aḫī-Maraṣ (c.1635–1633 BC) – succeeded Mananā as king of the Amnānum. Only one year-name is known for him. It is proposed that he reigned for about two years.[1760]

Sūmû-Yamutbal (c.1633–1623 BC) – succeeded Aḫī-Maraṣ as king of the Amnānum. He is attested by a seal and nine year-names. De Boer notes that he was

[1756] Frayne (1990), p.661; De Boer (2014), pp.148, 150.
[1757] Frayne (1990), p.664; De Boer (2014), p.150.
[1758] Frayne (1990), p.662; De Boer (2014), p.150.
[1759] Frayne (1990), p.663; De Boer (2014), p.150.
[1760] Frayne (1990), p.665; De Boer (2014), p.151.

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contemporary with Year 24 (1630 BC) of Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about ten years.[1761]

Manium (c.1623–1620 BC) – succeeded Sūmû-Yamutbal as king of the Amnā-num. He is attested by a seal and is dated to Year 32 (1622 BC) of Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about three years.[1762]

Sîn-Kāšid (1630–1615 BC) – see Sîn-Kāšid, king of Uruk.

Sîn-Irībam II (c.1615–1595 BC) – see Sîn-Irībam II, king of Uruk.

Sîn-Gāmil (c.1595–1591 BC) – see Sîn-Gāmil, king of Uruk.

Baḫlu-Kullim (c.1591–1565 BC) – was king of Tuttul and the land of the Amnānum, who along with Laʾum king of Samanum and the land of the Ubrabium, and Ayalum king of Abattum and the land of the Rabbum, rebelled against Yaḫdun-Līm I of Mari (1586–1564 BC).[1763]

5.6.7 Marad-Kazallu

Sūmû-Ditāna (c.1661–1651 BC) – is proposed to have been the first independent king of Marad. De Boer notes that his year-name referring to the digging of the Abgal Canal is likely the same year that the Amnānum tribal king Ḫaliyum (c.1675–1660 BC) said that he dammed the same canal. Eight of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about ten years. It is suggested that he was defeated in Year 3 of Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC), which is named 'The year Alumbiumu (Kazallu) was smitten by weapons.'[1764]

Ḫalun-pi-umu (c.1651–1648 BC) – was king of Dilbat before succeeded Sūmû-Ditāna as king of Marad. Two of his year-names are known. De Boer notes that he was contemporary with the Rabbean tribal king Sūmû-Abum (1663–1649 BC). It is proposed that he reigned at Marad for about three years.[1765]

[1761] Frayne (1990), p.666; De Boer (2014), p.151.
[1762] Frayne (1990), p.667; De Boer (2014), pp.149, 151, 242, 422.
[1763] Wagensonner, p.260.
[1764] De Boer (2014), pp.142, 150, 244
[1765] De Boer (2014), pp.243–244.

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Sūmû-Atar (c.1648–1645 BC) – is known from his second year-name. It is proposed that he reigned for about three years.[1766]

Sūmû-Numḫim (c.1645–1638 BC) – succeeded Sūmû-Atar as king of Marad. Six of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about seven years.[1767]

Yamsi-El (c.1638–1635 BC) – was the last independent king of Marad. Two of his year-names are known. It is proposed that he reigned for about three years, after which years at Marad were named after Sūmû-la-El of Babylon (1653–1617 BC).[1768]

5.6.8 Babylon

Sūmû-la-El (1653–1617 BC) – is the first recorded king of Babylon and founder of the Amorite Dynasty. He is attested on seal impression of his servants. He is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle and the Weidner Chronicle*. De Boer notes that he cannot be the Sūmû-la-El recorded in Year 7 of Gungunum of Larsa (1707–1680 BC). He was recorded as the builder of the walls of Dilbat, which was also recorded as the Year 9 (1655 BC) name of Sūmû-Abum. While two years later Sūmû-Abum installed him as king of Babylon, de Boer notes that *IPLA* 10 reveals that Sūmû-la-El feared him. His Year 3 (1651 BC) name commemorates Sūmû-Abum's Year 13 capture of the city of Kazallu. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 35 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 36 years [1769]

Sābium – Sabūm (1617–1603 BC) – succeeded his father Sūmû-la-El as king of Babylon. He is attested on a tablet and seal impressions and is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle*. The *BKLb* gives him a reign of 14 years, which is matched by date lists.[1770]

Apil-Sîn (1603–1585 BC) – succeeded his father Sābium as king. He is recorded on the *Weidner Chronicle* as being contemporary with Damiq-Ilīšu I of Isin (1589–1566 BC). He is also recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle*. The *BKLb* gives him a reign of 18 years, which is matched by date lists.

[1766] De Boer (2014), pp.137, 244.
[1767] De Boer (2014), p.244.
[1768] De Boer (2014), p.244.
[1769] Frayne (1990), pp.325–326; De Boer (2018), pp.57, 60, 66–67.
[1770] Frayne (1990), pp.327–329.

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Sîn-Muballit (1585–1565 BC) – succeeded his father Apil-Sîn as king. He is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle*. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 30 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 20 years.

Ḫammurāpi I (1565–1522 BC) – succeeded his father Sîn-Muballiṭ as king. He is attested on several inscriptions. The *Chronicle of Early Kings* records his defeat of Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC) which is recorded in his Year 31 year-name (1535 BC).[1771] The following year he sided with Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC) to defeat Siwe-palar-ḫuppak of Elam (1565–1535 BC) but then two years later he later defeated Zimrī-Līm I in his Year 33.

He called himself Mighty King, King of Babylon, King of all the Amorite land, King of Sumer and Akkadê and King of the Four Quarters. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 55 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 43 years.[1772]

Šamšu-Iluna (1522–1484 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫammurāpi I as king of Babylon. His Year 9 (1514 BC) was named after his defeat of the Kassites and his Year 11 was named after his defeat of Rīm-Sîn II of Keš (1515–1509 BC), which is recorded on the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, which also records his defeat by Ilum-ma-ilī of the 1st Sealand Dynasty (1535–1484 BC). He called himself King of Babylon and King of the Four Quarters. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 35 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 38 years.[1773]

Abī-Ešuḫ (1484–1456 BC) – succeeded his father Šamšu-Iluna as king of Babylon. His Year 4 name records his defeat of the Kassites and the *Chronicle of Early Kings* records his defeat of Ilum-ma-ilī of 1st Sealand Dynasty (1535–1484 BC). He called himself King of Babylon and King of Sumer and Akkadê While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 25 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 28 years.[1774]

Ammi-Ditāna (1456–1419 BC) – succeeded his father Abī-Ešuḫ as king of Babylon. He called himself Mighty King, King of Babylon, King of Kiš, King of Sumer and Akkadê and king of the Amorite Land. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 25 years, date lists indicate that he reigned for 37 years.[1775]

[1771] Fitzgerald, p.164; Van de Mieroop, p.31.
[1772] Frayne (1990), pp.332–371.
[1773] Frayne (1990), pp.372–403.
[1774] Frayne (1990), pp.404–410.
[1775] Frayne (1990), pp.411–424.

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Ammi-Saduqa (1419–1393 BC) – succeeded his father Ammi-Ditāna. He called himself Mighty King and King of Babylon. While the *BKLb* gives him a reign of 21 years, it is proposed that based on the *Venus Tablet of Ammi-Saduqa* which as discussed earlier dates the start of his reign to 1419 BC, he reigned for 26 years.[1776]

Samsu-Ditāna (1393–1362 BC) – succeeded his father Ammi-Saduqa as king. He is attested on seal impressions. He was defeated by Muršili I of Ḫatti (1385–1361 BC) in 1362 BC, which is referred to on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* and the Hittite *Telepinu Proclamation,* and is datable from the earlier mentioned lunar eclipse of 25 February 1362 BC and the solar eclipse of 12 March 1362 BC. The *BKLb* gives him a reign of 31 years.[1777]

5.6.9 Upper Mesopotamia - Šubat-Enlil, Ekallatum & Aššur

Ila-Kabkabu (c.1610–1602 BC) – was an Amorite tribal king. As a tribal king he is unlikely to have ruled from any city and remained nomadic in much the manner described by Yuhong & Dalley.[1778] He is recorded in the *MEC* as taking Suprum (location uncertain) in the eponymy of Šu-Bêlum (1603 BC). The *Letter to a God* from Mari records his alliance with Yaggid-Līm of Mari (c.1610–1586 BC).[1779] His son Šamši-Adad I inserted his personal and tribal ancestry, which dated back to the time of the Akkadian Empire, into the *AKL*.

Šamši-Adad I (1602–1581–1548 BC) – was an Amorite, the son of Ila-Kabkabu, who he succeeded as tribal king. He conquered Ekallatum (where he resided for three years) and then Assyria, after which he maintained a palace at Šubat-Enlil. Being a tribal king in much the manner described by Yuhong & Dalley, like his father before him he does not appear to have had a single fixed capital.[1780]

While there is no evidence that he came from the Amorite city of Terqa, he ruled Terqa as king of Upper Mesopotamia and a tablet from Terqa records him commemorating the construction of a temple dedicated to Dagān, the patron god of Terqa.[1781] That he named his son Išme-Dagān I after the patron god of Terqa

[1776] Frayne (1990), pp.425–435.
[1777] Frayne (1990), pp.436–438.
[1778] Yuhong & Dalley, p.164.
[1779] Yuhong & Dalley, p.163.
[1780] Yuhong & Dalley, p.164.
[1781] Rouault, p.52.

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supports a cultural connection with that city, particularly given its proximity to the original homeland of the Amorites in Syria.

The *AKL* makes it clear that Šamši-Adad I annexed Assyria by deposing Erišum II and that his dynasty was ousted from Assyria early in the third generation, although the names Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagān would continue to be used at Assyria in the next dynasty. Despite this and the fact that Šamši-Adad I had restored the temple of Enlil at Aššur, Puzur-Sîn III of Assyria (1536–1535 BC) would describe both Šamši-Adad I and his grandson Asīnum as foreign plagues, not of the flesh of Aššur, who had destroyed the shrines of the city.'[1782]

It was mentioned earlier that the reference in the *MEC* eponymy list to an eclipse indicates that Šamši-Adad I was born in 1617 BC and that he succeeded his father as king in 1602 BC at the age of 15. In the eponymy of Aššur-Tukultī (1590 BC) he defeated Uninni (location uncertain) and he was active in the eponymies of Puzur-Ištar (1589 BC) and Erišum (1587 BC).

The *AKL* states that he went down to Babylon at the time of Narām-Sîn. This was possibly a reference to Narām-Sîn IV of Ešnunna (1585–1575 BC) rather than to Narām-Sîn II of Assyria (1640–1596 BC) or Narām-Sîn III of Uruk (1650–1640 BC). If so, the visit to Babylon was perhaps to visit fellow Amorite Sîn-Muballiṭ of Babylon (1585–1565 BC) to form an alliance against Narām-Sîn IV. As he returned from Babylon, he captured Ekallatum in the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, from where he ruled for three years before capturing Aššur in the eponymy of Atamar-Ištar. Bloch demonstrates that these must be references to the eponyms of Ibni-Ištar (1585 BC) – the year Narām-Sîn IV became king of Ešnunna, and Amur-Aššur (1581 BC).[1783] After capturing Aššur, Šamši-Adad I also built a palace at Šubat-Enlil and it is proposed that he installed his son Išme-Dagān I as king at Ekallatum in 1577 BC.

In the eponymy of Atanum (1563 BC) he defeated twelve kings, including Yaḫdun-Līm I of Mari (1586–1563 BC). He appears to have than defeated Sūmû-Yamam of Mari (1563–1561 BC) in the eponymy of Haya-Malik (1561 BC) and installed his other son Yasmaḫ-Adad on the throne of Mari. He did not install a replacement for Erišum II on the throne at Aššur, with Aššur instead being controlled by Šamši-Adad I himself. He made Yasmaḫ-Adad marry Beltum, the daughter of his ally Išḫi-Addu of Qatna (1575–1550 BC).

It appears from the *MEC* that Šamši-Adad I had military campaigns almost every year (details of which are mostly damaged). In the eponymy of Asqudum (1552 BC) he took Qabra and the following year in the eponymy of Aššur-Malik (1551 BC) he captured Nurrugum and nine kings including Yašub-Adad of Ahazum, who he gave

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[1782] Grayson, (1972) p.29–30, (1987), p.77–78.
[1783] Bloch (2014), p.209.

as booty to his ally Dāduša of Ešnunna (1565–1551 BC). The following year he and Išme-Dagān defeated the Turukkeans.

He used the titles *šar kiššatim* (King of the Universe) and 'Unifier of the Land between the Tigris and Euphrates'. Bloch notes that the Mari documents confirm that Šamši-Adad I died in the eponymy year of Ṭab-ṣilla-Aššur (1548 BC), which he argues is consistent with the *AKL* providing him with a reign at Aššur of 33 years.[1784]

Išme-Dagān I (1577–1548–1537 BC) – was the son of Šamši-Adad I, who installed him as king of Ekallatum. While according to the *AKL* Išme-Dagān I reigned for 40 years, Gashe proposes that he was king of Aššur for 11 years, with the first 29 years covering his kingship at Ekallatum before the death of his father Šamši-Adad I.[1785] The basis for calculating the 11 years is that Zimrī-Līm I (1547–1533 BC) removed Yasmaḫ-Adad from Mari soon after the death of Šamši-Adad I and that Išme-Dagān I is not attested in the records found in the library of Mari after Year 11 of Zimrī-Līm I. This dates his death to 1537 BC and the start of his reign at Ekallatum to 1577 BC.

Asīnum (1537–1536 BC) – appears to have succeeded his father Išme-Dagān I, as king of Upper Mesopotamia. He promptly lost control of Aššur at the hand of a certain Puzur-Sîn, who recorded the event on a tablet which also confirmed that Asīnum was the grandson of Šamši-Adad I.[1786] He is unlikely to have ruled for long before being succeeded by his brother Mut-Aškur of Ekallatum (c.1536–1515 BC). He does not appear on the *AKL*.

Mut-Aškur (c.1536–1515 BC) – is recorded on the *AKL* Fragment KAV 14 as the successor of Išme-Dagān I, who was likely his father. He was likely king of Ekallatum. He married the daughter of Zaziya, who was a Turukkian chieftain.[1787]

Rimuš II (c. 1515–1500 BC) – is mentioned in the *AKL* Fragment KAV 14 as the successor of Mut-Aškur. He was likely king of Ekallatum.

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[1784] Bloch (2014), p.195.
[1785] Gache, pp.52–53.
[1786] Grayson, (1972) pp.29–30. (1987) pp.77–78.
[1787] Kupper, p.4.

5.6.10 Mari IV

Yaggid-Līm (1610–1586 BC) – was the first Amorite king of Mari who Fleming by reference to his son Yaḫdun-Līm I, identifies as from the Simʾalite tribe. He is attested on a seal of a servant. He was contemporary with the Amorite tribal king Ila-Kabkabu (c.1610–1602 BC), the father of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC).[1788]

Yaḫdun-Līm I (1586–1564 BC) – succeeded his father Yaggid-Līm as king of Mari. He is attested by a cone inscription, bricks and seal impressions. He recorded that he defeated seven kings of Ḫana and styled himself as king of Mari, Tutul, and the land of Ḫana. He was defeated by Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC) in his Year 39.[1789]

The library of Mari contained numerous records published by Heimpel from the diviner and diplomat Ašqūdum, who was married to Yamama, the daughter of Yaḫdun-Līm I. Ašqūdum was active during the reigns of Yasmaḫ-Adad (1562–1547 BC) and Zimrī-Līm I (1547–1533 BC). Text 26 81 (Tablet H-A.25-115) records a lunar eclipse which concerned Ašqūdum and occurred on 10 February 1556 BC.[1790]

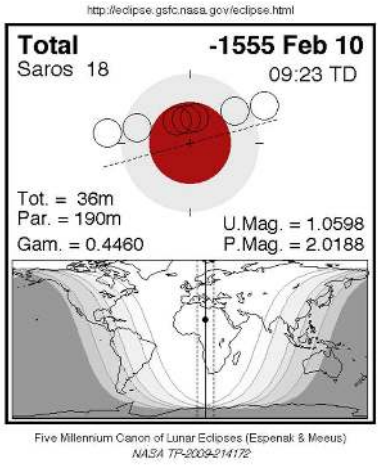


Figure 18 – Lunar eclipse of 10 February 1556 BC

Sūmû-Yamam (1564–1561 BC) – was likely the son of Yaḫdun-Līm I who he succeeded as king of Mari. He had two known year-names. Barjamovic notes that the was likely defeated by Šamšī-Adad I. It is proposed that he reigned for about three years.[1791]

[1788] Frayne (1990), p.601; Fleming, p.206.
[1789] Frayne (1990), pp.602–612.
[1790] Heimpel, p.209; Banjević, p.253; Frayne (1990), p.609.
[1791] Frayne (1990), p.613; Barjamovic, p.7 (n.14).

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Yasmaḫ-Adad (1561–1547 BC) – was installed as king of Mari by his father Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC). He is attested by a statue, clay tablets and seal impressions.[1792]

Ḫadni-Addu – was a Simʾalite tribal king attested on a seal who Frayne said was allied to Atamrum of Andarig (c.1545–1535 BC). Van de Mieroop said that he was the father of Zimrī-Līm I.[1793]

Zimrī-Līm I (1547–1533 BC) – was according to Van de Mieroop the son of the Simʾalite tribal king Ḫadni-Addu. He is attested on bricks and numerous seals impressions. He overthrew Yasmaḫ-Adad to become king of Mari and was defeated by Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC) in his Year 33.[1794]

Išar-Līm I (1533–1531 BC) – was an Amorite military leader originally in the service of Šamši-Adad I (1602–1548 BC) and his sons Išme-Dagān I (1577–1537 BC) of Assyria and Yasmaḫ-Adad of Mari (1561–1547 BC). He was actively involved in taking of a census of the Amorite Yaminites, Rabbeans and Ḫaneans, and the men of Amnānum and Saḫru. He was later in the service of Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC). In Year 24 of Ḫammurāpi I he held the position of 'mayor' of Sippir and he was also involved in the administration of Larsa. His final appointment appears to have been at Mari, where he held the title of "Governor of the Amorites". He must have ruled at Mari for only two years, with Van de Mieroop noting that Ḫammurāpi I destroyed Mari two years after his defeat of Zimrī-Līm I.[1795]

5.6.11 Qatna

Amut-piʾel I (c.1600–1575 BC) – was king of Qatna. He received shipments of tin from Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari (1586–1564 BC).[1796]

Išḫi-Addu (c.1575–1550 BC) – succeeded his father Amut-piʾel I as king of Qatna. He was contemporary with Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC) and his son

[1792] Frayne (1990), pp.615–622.
[1793] Frayne (1990), p.764; Van de Mieroop, p.65.
[1794] Frayne (1990), pp.623–649; Van de Mieroop, pp.78–79.
[1795] Dalley (2002), pp.142–143; Charpin, pp.181, 183; Stol (2004), p.705; Van Koppen, p.19; De Boer (2014), p.82, 188 (n.741); Van de Mieroop, p.76.
[1796] Van Koppen (2015), p.86; Malamat, p.37

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Išme-Dagān I of Ekallatum (1577–1537 BC). His daughter married Yasmaḫ-Adad of Mari (1561–1547 BC).[1797]

Amut-piʾel II (c.1550–1525 BC) – succeeded his father Išḫi-Addu as king of Qatna. He was mentioned in a letter to Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC) along with Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC), Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1595–1535 BC), Ibāl-pî-El II of Ešnunna (c.1560–1538 BC) and Yarīm-Līm I of Yamḫad (1553–1539 BC).[1798]

Jaḫad-Abum (c.1525–1500 BC) – was the son of Amut-piʾel II. He likely succeeded his father as king of Qatna.[1799]

5.6.12 Terqa (Ḫana)

The recognition of the Hittite name Aštata with the region of Ḫana is discussed by Valério.[1800] Proposals which attempts to expand the timeline of Terqa to fill the gaps created by a Mesopotamian 'Middle Chronology' are rejected.

Yāpaḫ-Sūmû-abu (c.1585–1560 BC) – was an early king of Terqa whose full name is confirmed by a tablet from Alalaḫ. He was likely king during the time of Šamši-Adad I (1602–1548 BC).[1801]

Iṣi-Sūmû-abu (c.1560–1535 BC) – was an early king of Terqa.[1802]

Kibri-Dagān (c.1535–1510 BC) – was a governor of Terqa known from a letter he sent to Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC) which mentions Atamrum of Andarig (1545–1535 BC).[1803]

Yadiḫ-Abu – Yadi-Abu – Idi-Abu (c.1510–1485 BC) – was defeated by Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon, (1522–1484 BC) in his Year 28 (1495 BC).[1804]

[1797] Van Koppen (2015), p. 87; Kupper, p.20; Astour (2002), p.130 (n.481); Podany (2010), pp.76–78; Novak, p.312.
[1798] Kupper, pp.10, 20-21; Bryce (2003), p.10; Beaulieu (2018), p.80; Van de Mieroop, p.10; Novak, p.312.
[1799] Van Koppen, p.92.
[1800] Valério, pp.175–176.
[1801] Podany, (1991) pp.53–60, (2014) pp.52, 54; Rouault, p.54.
[1802] Podany, (1991) pp.53–60, (2014) pp.52–58; Rouault, p.54.
[1803] Dalley (2002), pp.90–91.
[1804] Podany, (1991) 53–60; (2014), pp.52–56; Rouault, pp.53–55.

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Zimrī-Līm II (c.1485–1460 BC) – is identified by Rouault as succeeding his father Yadiḫ-Abu as king of Terqa.[1805]

Kasapan (c.1460–1435 BC) – was king of Terqa who is recorded by a year-name which confirms that he sat on the seat of his father.[1806]

Ḫanaya (c.1435–1410 BC) – was king of Terqa. It is proposed that he was contemporary with the Kassite tribal king Kaštiliašu I (c.1437–1415 BC) who provided guarantees for Kassites at Terqa on five contracts. Ḫanaya was also named on oath formula with a king called Ya'usa. Rouault suggest that this name could be the Amorite interpretation for the name of the Kassite tribal king Ušši (1415–1407 BC), who would also have had to provide guarantees for Kassites. It is not accepted that Kaštiliašu was king at Terqa or that Ḫanaya was subordinate to Ya'usa as suggested by Rouault and accepted by Podany.[1807]

Kuari (c.1410–1395) – likely succeeded Ḫanaya as king of Terqa.[1808]

Šunuḫru-Ammu (c.1395–1370) – was king of Terqa. Podany suggested that he was a Babylonian vassal.[1809]

Ammi-Madar (c.1370–1345) – is identified by Rouault as the son of Šunuḫru-Ammu, who he succeeded as king of Terqa.[1810]

Sinia (c.1345–1320 BC) – is identified by Podany as the first king of Terqa to call himself king of Ḫana. He was contemporary with Sausadatra of Mitanni (c.1365–1340 BC).[1811]

Qīš-Addu (1340–1295 BC) – is identified by Podany as having a co-regency with his father Sinia, who he succeeded as king, and was contemporary with Sausadatra (c.1365–1340 BC) and Parattarna (1340–1315 BC) of Mitanni.[1812]

Iddin-Kakka (c.1295–1270 BC) – was king of Ḫana.[1813]

[1805] Rouault, p.54–55; Podany, (1991) pp.53, 55–56, (2014) pp.53, 56, 68.
[1806] Rouault, p.55; Podany (2014) pp.53, 56, 69.
[1807] Rouault, pp.52–56; Podany, (1991) p.59–60; (2014) pp.53–54, 56, 58, 62–65, 72.
[1808] Podany (2014) pp.53, 56, 68–69.
[1809] Podany (1991), pp.55–56, 60; (2014), pp.52, 56; Rouault, pp.53–55.
[1810] Podany, (1991), pp.53–60; (2014) pp.53, 56, 58, 61–63, 68; Rouault, pp.54–55.
[1811] Podany (2014), pp.56, 60–68.
[1812] Rouault, pp.54–57; Podany (2014), pp.53, 56–69.
[1813] Podany, (1991) pp.56, 61; (2014), pp.53, 57–58, 65–69; Rouault, pp.54–56.

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Išar-Līm II (c.1270–1245 BC) – succeed his father Iddin-Kakka as king of Ḫana.[1814]

Iggid-Līm (c.1245–1220 BC) – was 'commander of the Amurru' before succeeding his father Išar-Līm II as king of Ḫana.[1815]

Isiḫ-Dagān (c.1220–1195 BC) – succeeded his father Iggid-Līm as king of Ḫana. During his reign Terqu was annexed from Mitanni by the Hittite Šarri-Kušuḫ of Karkamiš (1201–1180 BC).[1816]

Aḫuni (c.1195–1170 BC) – succeed his father Isiḫ-Dagān as king of Ḫana.[1817]

Ḫammurāpi II (c.1170–1145 BC) – succeed his father Aḫuni as king of Ḫana. A legal text from his reign closely resembles a text from the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC).[1818]

Pagiru (c.1145–1120 BC) – is suggested by Podany to have been the son of Ḫammurāpi II. He was the last king of Ḫana before it's subjugation by Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1093 BC).[1819]

Ilu-Iqīša (c.1010–985 BC) – was mentioned with his son on an inscription found at Sippar as king of Ḫana.[1820]

Tukultī-Mēr (985–960 BC) – succeeded his father Ilu-Iqīša as king of Ḫana. He was defeated by Aššur-bēl-kala of Assyria (971–953 BC).[1821]

5.6.13 Yamḫad / Ḫalab (Aleppo)

Sūmû-Epuḫ (c.1580–1553 BC) – is attested on a seal impression from Mari as the father of Yarīm-Līm I. He was contemporary with Yaḫdun-Līm of Mari (1586–1564 BC).

The Amorite presence in Yamḫad at this time is confirmed by Yasmaḫ-Adad, who in a letter to one of his officials stated:

[1814] Podany, (1991) pp.54–61; (2014), pp.53, 56–69; Rouault, pp.54, 56.
[1815] Podany, (1991) pp.53–61; (2014), pp.53, 57–62, 65–67, 71; Rouault, pp.54, 56.
[1816] Podany, (1991) pp.54–57, 60; (2014), pp.53, 57–62; Rouault, pp.53–56.
[1817] Rouault, p.54; Podany (2014), pp.53, 57–62, 67–68.
[1818] Podany, (1991) pp.54–62; (2014), pp.53, 57–69; Rouault, pp.52–56.
[1819] Rouault, pp.54, 57; Podany (2014), pp.54, 57, 67–68.
[1820] Rouault, p.54; Podany (2014), pp.53, 57, 72.
[1821] Rouault, pp.54, 58; Podany (2014), pp.53, 57, 72.

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> You wrote to me about making a census of the [Amorite] Yaminites, saying that they will not agree to the census. You absolutely must make one; otherwise their brothers the Rabbeans who are on the other side of the river in Yamhad will hear … be more severe![1822]

Van Soldt notes that he died before the end of the war with the Turukkeans in Year 13 of Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC).[1823]

Yarīm-Līm I (1553–1539 BC) – succeeded his father Sūmû-Epuḫ as king of Yamḫad. He is attested on documents from Mari. His daughter Šibtu married Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533). He was contemporary with Zimrī-Līm I of Mari, Ḫammurāpi I of Babylon (1565–1522 BC), Rīm-Sîn I of Larsa (1597–1538 BC), Ibāl-pî-El II of Ešnunna (1540–1538 BC) and Amut-Pi'el II of Qatna (1550–1525 BC). Van Soldt notes that he died in Year 9 of Zimrī-Līm I.[1824]

Ḫammurāpi ii (1539–1515 BC) – succeeded his father Yarīm-Līm I as king of Yamḫad. He may be the Ḫammurāpi attested on seals. According to Van Soldt his death should be dated to Year 2 or later of Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC).[1825] It is proposed that he reigned for about 24 years.

Abba-El I (c.1515–1490 BC) – is attested on seals as the son of Ḫammurāpi ii who he succeeded as king of Yamḫad.[1826] He installed his brother Yarīm-Līm i as king of Alalaḫ.

Yarīm-Līm II (c.1490–1465 BC) – is attested on seals as the son of Abba-El I who he succeeded as king of Yamḫad. He is recorded as being contemporary with Ammi-Taqum I of Alalaḫ (1485–1460 BC).[1827]

Niqmī-Epuḫ – Niqmepa IV (c.1465–1440 BC) – is attested on seal impressions as the son of Yarīm-Līm II who he succeeded as king of Yamḫad.[1828]

Irkabtum (c.1440–1415 BC) – is attested on a seal impression as the son of Niqmepa IV who he succeeded as king of Yamḫad.[1829]

[1822] Dalley (2002), p.143
[1823] Frayne (1990), pp.780–781; Van Soldt (2000), p.103.
[1824] Frayne (1990), pp.781–782; Van Soldt (2000), pp.103–104.
[1825] Frayne (1990), pp.783–784; Van Soldt (2000), p.104.
[1826] Frayne (1990), pp.785–787; Van Soldt (2000), p.104.
[1827] Frayne (1990), pp.788–791; Van Soldt (2000), p.104.
[1828] Frayne (1990), pp.792–793; Van Soldt (2000), p.105.
[1829] Frayne (1990), p.794; Van Soldt (2000), p.105.

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Ḫammurāpi iii (c.1415–1410 BC) – is proposed by Van Soldt to have succeeded Irkabtum as king of Yamḫad. He is attested in texts as being contemporary with Ammi-Taqum II of Alalaḫ (1435–1410 BC).[1830]

Yarīm-Līm III (c.1410–1395 BC) – is attested on a seal impression as king of Yamḫad. Van Soldt argues that his father was not Niqmepa IV, as often suggested, but was instead Irkabtum, as proposed by Na'aman. This suggests that Ḫammurāpi iii was also likely a son of Irkabtum. He was contemporary with the end of the reign of Ammi-Taqum II of Alalaḫ (1435–1410 BC).[1831]

Ḫammurāpi v (c.1395–1362 BC) – is attested as the son of Yarīm-Līm III. It is likely that he became king of Yamḫad.[1832] He would have been king when the Hittite king Muršili I destroyed Yamḫad just before his destruction of Babylon in 1362 BC.

Abba-El II (c.1362–1340 BC) – was a king of Ḫalab attested on a seal which was used by later generations, which suggests that he was the founder of a dynasty.[1833] The seal describes him as the son of Šarra-El, who is attested on two tablets which also name princess Bintikidiya and prince Ḫammurāpi iv, the son Ammi-Taqum II of Alalakh, which strongly suggests that Šarra-El was the son of Yarīm-Līm III. It is not accepted that Šarra-El was king, with it instead being Abba-El II who rebuilt Yamḫad soon after the destruction by Muršili I, which from that time onwards was known as Ḫalab (Aleppo).

Ilim-Ilimma I (c.1340–1327 BC) – is attested as king of Ḫalab on a statue by his son Idrimi, who became king of Alalaḫ. He was defeated by Parattarna of Mitanni (c.1340–1315 BC) and the royal family fled to Emar.

5.6.14 Andarig

Qarni-Līm (c.1565–1540 BC) – was the son of a certain Muti-Addu, who ruled during the early part of the reign of Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC). He had a large palace at Leilan (Šubat-Enlil), which had been the capital of Šamši-Adad I (1602–1548 BC), and a permanent residence in Seḫnā. He buried Turum-Natki in

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[1830] Van Soldt (2000), pp.105–106.
[1831] Frayne (1990), p.795; Van Soldt (2000), pp.105–107.
[1832] Van Soldt (2000), pp.106–107.
[1833] Collon, p.119.

Apum and installed Turum-Natki's sons Zuzu II, and then Ḫaïia-Abum, as kings of Apum at Šubat-Enlil.[1834]

Atamrum (c.1545–1535 BC) – was a governor of the Sinjar town of Allahad during the reign of Šamši-Adad I, who took control of Andarig after the death of Qarni-Līm. Eidem states that he was in control of Šubat-Enlil, where Šubrum was governor. He besieged Razama in Year 10 of Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1835] It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.

Ḫimdïia (c.1535–1520 BC) – succeeded Atamrum as king of Andarig. He is attested by a few seal fragments and two tablets. He styled himself as prefect of Sîn, Lord of Yamutbal and King of Andarig.[1836] It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.

Burïia (c.1520–1495 BC) – was involved in a war against Mutïia of Apum. He later sent ten letters to Till-Abnû of Apum, who had a treaty with Jamsi-Ḫatnû of Kahat. In one of his letters he mentions Ḫammurāpi ii of Ḫalab (Yamḫad) (1539–1515 BC).[1837]

5.6.15 Apum / Šehna / Šubat-Enlil

Turum-Natki (c.1548–1545 BC) – was king of Apum who controlled Šehna (Šubat-Enlil) following the death of Šamši-Adad I of Assyria (1602–1548 BC). He is attested by a seal impression. He was buried by Qarni-Līm of Andarig (c.1565–1540 BC) in Year 3 of Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1838]

Zuzu II (c.1545–1544 BC) – was installed by Qarni-Līm of Andarig (c.1565–1540 BC) as the successor of his father Turum-Natki as king of Apum. It was reported that the 'commoners' evicted him within a year and chose Ḫaïia-Abum as king.[1839]

Ḫaïia-Abum (c.1544–1538 BC) – succeeded his brother Zuzu II as king of Apum in Year 4 of Zimrī-Līm of Mari (1547–1533 BC). He is attested on multiple sealings. He was killed by Elamite troops in Year 10 of Zimrī-Līm I.[1840]

[1834] Frayne (1990), p.760; Eidem, pp.271–272, 276, 294; Archi (2015a), p.291.
[1835] Frayne (1990), p.761; Eidem, pp.273, 294.
[1836] Frayne (1990), p.762–763.
[1837] Eidem, pp.285–287, 294, 314.
[1838] Frayne (1990), p.751; Eidem, pp.271–272.
[1839] Eidem, p.272.
[1840] Frayne (1990), p.752; Eidem, p.272.

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Šubram (c.1538–1535 BC) – following the death of Ḫaīia-Abum the Elamite general Kunnam resided at Šehna for some months until he was defeated, after which Atamrum (c.1545–1535 BC) the new king of Andarig, installed Šubram as governor.[1841]

Mutu-Abiḫ – Mutīia (c.1535–1518 BC) – the son of a certain Ḫālu-Epîḫ, was king of Apum. A sizable number of documents from his reign are dated to the eponymy of Ḫabil-Kēnum, who is named on the KEL G eponym list and is dated in this chronology to Year 3 of Bāzāya of Assyria (1521–1493 BC). He had a treaty with Hazip-Tešup of Razamā.[1842]

Dari-Epuḫ (c.1518–1515 BC) – was king of Apum.[1843]

Till-Abnû (c.1515–1500 BC) – succeeded his father Dari-Epuḫ as king of Apum. He received ten letters from Burīia of Andarig (c.1520–1495 BC) and a letter from Ḫammurāpi ii of Yamḫad (1539–1515 BC).[1844]

Yakūn-Ašar (c.1500–1490 BC) – succeeded his brother Till-Abnû as king of Apum.[1845]

5.6.16 Alalaḫ (Mukiš)

Yarīm-Līm i (c.1515–1500–1485 BC) – was recorded on a tablet as having been granted kingship of Alalaḫ by his brother Abba-El I of Yamḫad (1515–1490 BC) in about 1500 BC. Alalaḫ was given as an exchange for Irride, which their father had given to Yarīm-Līm i and Abba-El I had defeated, which indicates that Yarīm-Līm i had been a vassal king before receiving Alalaḫ.[1846]

Ammi-Taqum I (c.1485–1450 BC) – is attested on a seal impression as succeeding his father Yarīm-Līm i as *šar* (king) of Alalaḫ. Alternatively, he could be the same person as Ammi-Takum II and the son of a Yarīm-Līm ii, as proposed by Eder and noted by Van Soldt, who would be a grandson of Yarīm-Līm i. There is no reason however to suggest that the unknown (missing) name was either a Yarīm-Līm or an

[1841] Eidem, pp.272–273.
[1842] Frayne (1990), p.755–756; Van Soldt (2000), p.104; Eidem, p.273–275; Barjamovic, pp.14, 96.
[1843] Eidem, pp.274–275.
[1844] Frayne (1990), pp.753–754; Eidem, pp.273–275; Van Soldt (2000), p.104.
[1845] Frayne (1990), p.757–758; Eidem, pp.273–275.
[1846] Frayne (1990), pp.799–800; Van Soldt (2000), p.107.

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Ammi-Taqum, which would provide the possible sequence Y-L I, A-T I, Y-L II, A-T II discussed by Van Soldt.[1847]

Ammi-Taqum II (c.1450–1410 BC) – was likely the grandson of Ammi-Taqum I. The name of his father is not known. He was king during the reign of Irkabtum (1445–1425 BC), Ḫammurāpi iv (c.1415–1410 BC) and Yarīm-Līm III (c.1410–1390 BC) of Yamḫad.[1848]

Ḫammurāpi iv (c.1410–1400 BC) – was the son of Ammi-Taqum II. During his reign Alalaḫ was destroyed by fire, which Van Soldt attributes to Ḫattušili I of Ḫatti (1420–1385 BC) during his second campaign.[1849]

Idrimi (c.1320–1290 BC) – is known from the Idrimi inscription to have been the son of Ilim-Ilimma I of Ḫalab. His family fled Ḫalab when Parattarna of Mitanni (1340–1315 BC) defeated his father in about 1322 BC. He stayed in exile for seven years and then conquered Alalaḫ. He had treaties with both Parattarna and Pilliya of Kissuwatna (1340–1315 BC), with the later also mentioning Parattarna. According to Van Soldt he reigned at Alalaḫ for 30 years.[1850]

Niqmepa VI (c.1290–1265 BC) – is attested on tablets as succeeding his father Idrimi as king of Alalaḫ. Tablet AIT 14 records a border dispute between Niqmepa VI and Šunaššura of Kizzuwatna (1290–1265 BC) which was adjudicated by Sauštatar of Mitanni (c.1315–1290 BC).[1851]

Ilim-Ilimma II (c.1265–1240 BC) – succeeding his father Niqmepa VI as king of Alalaḫ. He is mentioned on a treaty between Mitanni and Tunip.[1852]

Itūr-Addu (1240–1210 BC) – is recorded by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) as having formed an alliance with Addu-Nārāri of Nuḫašši and Aki-Tešup of Niya and invaded the land of Niqmaddu III of Ugarit (c.1225–1200 BC).[1853] Šuppiluliuma I later defeated Itūr-Addu and installed his own son Telipinu II (1210–1173 BC) on the throne.

[1847] Frayne (1990), p.801; Van Soldt (2000), p.107–108, 113.
[1848] Van Soldt (2000), p.105, 107.
[1849] Frayne (1990), p.802; Van Soldt (2000), pp.105–106.
[1850] Van Soldt (2000), pp.110–112; Bryce (2003), pp.32, 40; Bryce (2005a), pp.114, 117–118.
[1851] Van Soldt (2000), p.111; De Martino, p.37
[1852] Redford (1992), p.166; De Martino, p.38 (n.36)
[1853] Beckman (1996a), p.30.

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5.6.17 Keš

Rīm-Sîn II (1515–1509 BC) – was a king of Keš (not to be confused with Kiš) who Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) described as 'the agitator of Yamutbal who had been elevated to the kingship of Larsa.' This is confirmed at Larsa where year-names at Larsa during Years 7–9 of Šamšu-Iluna were named to Rīm-Sîn II, with the first of these years called "Year in which the goddess Ninmah raised (Rīm-Sîn) greatly in the temple of Keš, the foundation of heaven and earth, to kingship over the land." That he ruled from Keš is also recorded on a letter found at Larsa to a certain Amurrum-Tillati, which includes the statement: 'In order to bring light to Yamutbal and to gather its dispersed people, the great gods established the foundation of my throne in Keš, the city of my creatress.' He is also attested on seals of his servants at Larsa.

His defeat by Šamšu-Iluna is recorded in the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, which Fitzgerald says occurred in Šamšu-Iluna's Year 14.[1854]

5.6.18 Ebla III

Ser-Dāmu (c.1425–1400 BC) – is recorded on a seal as the father of Indi-Limma. He was likely king of Ebla.[1855]

Indi-Limma (c.1400–1375 BC) – was a king of Ebla who is attested on a seal from Cilicia, a legal document discovered in the Western Palace and on imprints on a jar by his son.[1856]

Memal-[..]arri – Maretewari (1375–1362 BC) – is attested on a jar found in the destruction layer of Ebla as the son of Indi-Limma. Archi identifies him as the last king before the destruction. Matthiae suggests that the destruction of Ebla is likely attributable to Mursili I of Ḫatti (c.1385–1361 BC).[1857]

5.7 Hittites

There are three key events for dating Hittite history. The first is the Battle of Kadesh, in which Muwatalli II (1165–1159 BC) fought Ramesses II (1165–

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[1854] Frayne (1990), pp.317–319; Fitzgerald, p.154; Bealieu (2018), p.99.
[1855] Archi (2015b), p.20.
[1856] Woudhuizen, p.276; Matthiae (2010), pp.218–219.
[1857] Matthiae, (2010), pp.219–220; (2013), pp.106–107; Archi (2015b), pp.18–28.

1099 BC) to a standstill during Ramesses' 5th year as king of Egypt, which is dated in this Universal Chronology to 1161 BC. While it is not known how long Muwatalli II reigned for, it is known that he died two years after the Battle of Kadesh, i.e., in 1159 BC. The second is the capture of the city of Karkamiš, which from *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma* it is known to have occurred amidst the conversations between Šuppiluliuma I and Daḫamunzu (Ankhesenamun) immediately following the death of Nibḫururiya (Tutankhamun) of Egypt in 1202 BC. According to Bryce, Šuppiluliuma I died about six years after the capture of Karkamiš, likely from the plague which had been carried into Ḫatti from captured Egyptian troops. Šuppiluliuma I's son and successor Arnuwanda II seems to have also died from the plague, with Bryce suggesting that he reigned for not longer than 18 months.[1858]

The third event for dating the Hittites relates to Muwatalli's father Muršili II. Muršili II's annals confirm that he reigned for at least 19 years, and further important information for dating his reign comes from the fragmentary text KUB 14.4. Written by Muršili II, this prayer recounts various misdeeds of Malnigal the *Tawananna*, who was his stepmother and Babylonian-born widow of Šuppiluliuma I. In particular, he tells how she tried to leverage an 'omen of the sun' into an attempt to encourage a coup-d'etat, with the victor to legitimize his kingship by marrying her own daughter Amminnaya. This omen is believed to have been a solar eclipse, and to have occurred shortly before, or in the early phase of, Muršili II's campaign against Azzi-Hayasa in his 10th year.[1859]

The two most suitable eclipses seen in Anatolia prior to 1160 BC (8 years before the death of Muwatalli II) were the eclipses of 28 August 1185 BC and 16 April 1178 BC. This then puts the start of Muršili II's reign as either 1194 BC or 1188 BC.

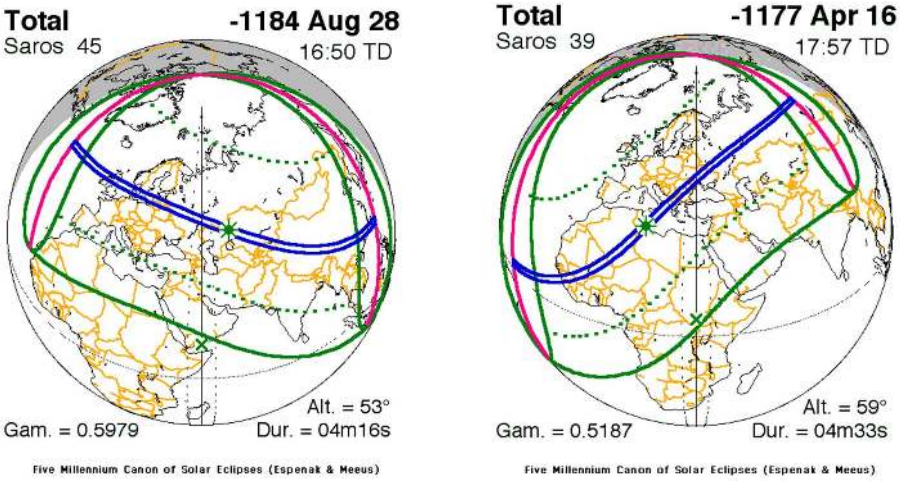


Figure 21 – Solar eclipses of 28 Aug 1185 & 16 April 1178 BC

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[1858] Bryce (2005a), pp.188–191.
[1859] Huber (2001), pp.640–641.

If Šuppiluliuma I died about six years after the capture of Karkamiš (1202 BC) as noted by Bryce then he died in about 1196 BC, and if Arnuwanda II died 18 months later as also suggested by Bryce, then Muršili II became king in about 1194 BC, which matched the eclipse date of 28 August 1185 BC in his Year 10 and leaves 15 years between 1176 BC (the 19th year of Muršili II), and 1161 BC (the date of the Battle of Kadesh).

It is recorded that Muršili II became king at a young age, which supports the suggestion that the length of his reign would have been longer than a reign of 25 years. It is proposed that he instead had a reign of about 29 years, which then means that Muwatalli II (1165–1159 BC) reigned for only 6 years. This represents a significant reduction in the length of Muwatalli II's reign and lowering the start of his reign by 130 years. Subsequently, the dates for all other kings within the New Kingdom (Empire) Period are lowered accordingly.

The key to dating the Hittites prior to the New Kingdom Period requires identifying a link with Babylon, which provides new fixed dates which anchor chronology for the earlier periods in the Ancient Middle East. The link is the defeat of the Babylonian king Samsu-Ditāna by the Hittite king Muršili I, which is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* (ABC20) and resulted in the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty. This was discussed in detail in the earlier section on Babylonia, where it was firmly fixed to the year 1362 BC.

Ḫattušili II (1162–1130 BC) corresponded with Kadašman-Turgu (1159–1141 BC) and Kadašman-Enlil II (1141–1134 BC) of Babylon. Tudḫaliya IV (1130–1100 BC) was defeated by Tukultī-Ninurta I of Assyria (1130–1193 BC) at the Battle of Nihriya. It is also known from the Hittite texts that the very last king of the Hittite Empire, Šuppiluliuma II (1095–1070 BC), won a naval battle against a foe he called the 'Sea Peoples' off the coast of Cyprus. The campaign was triggered by a prolonged period of drought and famine in Anatolia, which Herodotus described as lasting for 18 years during the reign of Atys I of Maionia.[1860] The Sea Peoples pushed down the Mediterranean coastline, starting from the Aegean Sea, continuing all the way to Canaan—taking Cilicia and Cyprus away from the Hittites enroute and cutting off the Hittite's trade routes.

It is know that from at least the time of Šuppiluliuma II's father Tudḫaliya IV that the Hittites had become dependent upon importing grain, principally from vassal states but including from Egypt, where Bryce notes that Merneptah (1110–1091 BC) refers to grain shipments sent to Tudḫaliya IV "to keep alive the land of Ḫatti."[1861] Bryce also refers to Tudḫaliya IV sending an urgent letter to the king of

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[1860] Herodotus, 1.94.
[1861] Bryce (2005b), p.4.

Ugarit demanding a ship and crew for the transport of 450 tons of grain, which ends with a statement that it was "a matter of life or death!" Šuppiluliuma II's success in the sea battle off the coast of Cyprus appears however to have done little in stemming the tide of troubles for the embattled king. It is likely that the flow of grain was not successfully restored, resulting in the Hittite capital Ḫattuša being abandoned and burnt to the ground.

The abandonment of Ḫattuša must have occurred about or shortly before 1064 BC, since the 'Sea Peoples' then continued their carnage by destroying Ugarit, before being halted by Ramesses III (1068–1037 BC) in his Years 5, 8 and 12 (1064–1057 BC). This famine was too late to be associated with the famine during the time of Tudḫaliya IV and too early to have been related to the food rations crises in Year 29 of Ramesses III, which saw the first known labour strike in recorded history by the royal tomb-builders and artisans in the village of Deir el-Medina. The 18-years length of the famine as described by Herodotus is interesting, as it possibly correlates with an 18-year span of global cooling that is recorded in Irish bog oaks which Bailee attributed to the eruption of Hekla 3 on Iceland, which is typically dated to 1021 BC ±130.[1862]

It is unclear if Šuppiluliuma II was a party to the abandonment of Ḫattuša or if it coincided with his death, as there is no indication that he was involved with the establishment of a new capital. The Hittites do not appear to have made any effort to have reestablished the former capital of Tarḫuntašša. They instead appear to have abandoned Anatolia for the most part and retreated to Karkamiš, which was the second most important of the Hittite cities, as well as nearby Malatya, which became more prominent at this time, affectively marking the end of the Hittite Empire.

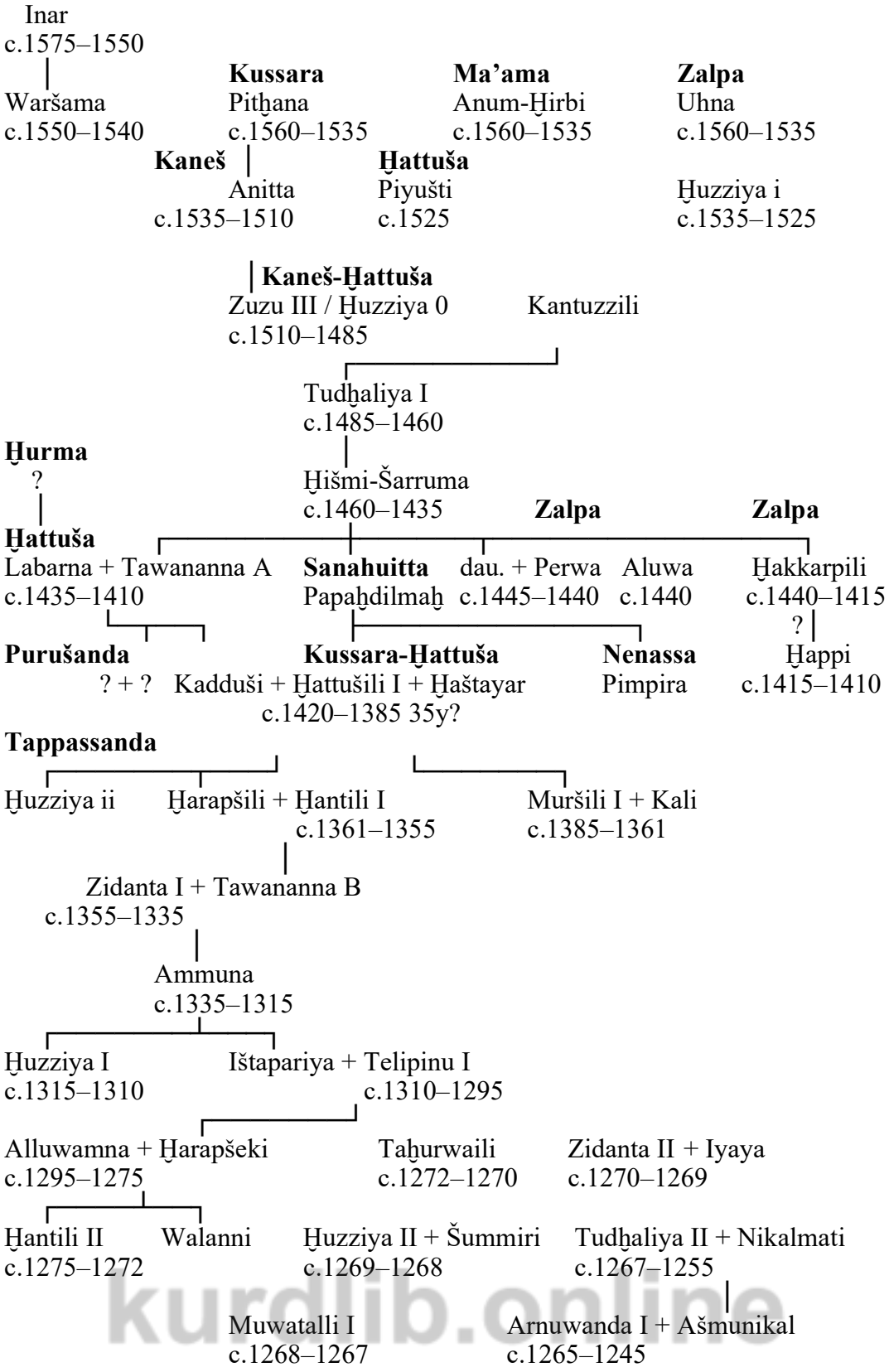
Table 52 – Kings of the Hittites

Kaneš
[..]-ḫa-AN
c.2075–2050

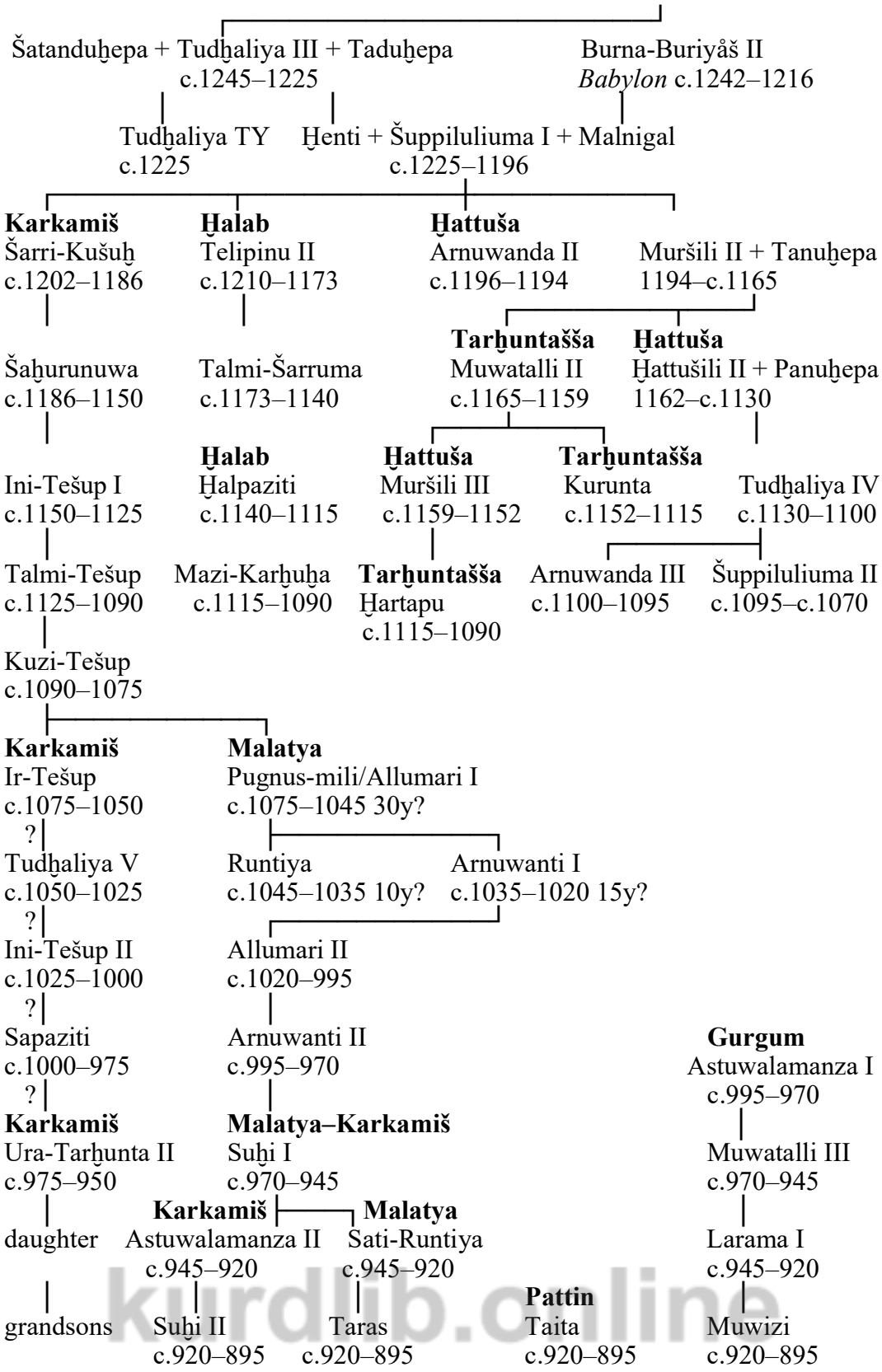
	Ḫattuša
Zipani c.1650–1625	Pamba c.1650–1625
Baḫanu c.1625–1600	
Ḫurmeli c.1600–1575	

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[1862] Baille (1989), pp.78–81.



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Katuwa
c.895–870

Sangara
c.870–845

Isarwil-Amuwa
c.845–820

Kuwalan-Amuwa
c.820–795

Astiru I
c.795–785

Kamani
c.775–740

Yariri
c.785–775

Wasu-Runtiya
c.895–870

Ḫalpa-Sulupi
c.870–855

Lalli
c.855–830

Sulumeli I
c.830–805

Šaḫu
c.805–782

Ḫilaruada
c.782–755

Manana
c.895–870

Šuppiluliuma III
c.870–857

Ḫalpa-Runtiya IV
857–832

Surri
832

Sāsi
832–c.805

Ḫalpa-Runtiya I
c.895–870

Muwatalli IV
c.870–855

Ḫalpa-Runtiya II
c.855–830

Larama II
c.830–805

Ḫalpa-Runtiya III
c.805–780

Pisīris
c.740–717

Bēl-Emuranni
c.717–690

Aḫu-Ilaya
c.665–640

Sulumeli II
c.755–735

Tarḫunazi
c.725 –711

Gunzinanu
c.735–725

Mugallu
c.685–660

Tutammu
c.750–725

Tarḫulara
743–c.711

Muwatalli VI
c.711–710

Kummuḫ
Tudḫaliya VI
c.905–880

Ḫattušili III
c.880–856

Kundašpu
c.856–830

Šuppiluliuma IV
c.805–773

Ḫattušili IV
c.773–750

Ḫiyawa
Katiyas
c.845–833

Kirrî
c.833–820

Tabal
Tuwati I
c.850–825

Kikki
c.825–800

Tuwati II
c.775–750

Ḫubišna
Puḫame
c.850–825

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Tuwana	|			**Ḫubišna**
Muwaḫḫarana I	Wasusarma	Kuštašpi		Urimmi
c.765–740	c.750–730	c.750–725		c.750–725
|			**Ḫiyawa**	
Warpalawa	Ḫullî	Muwatalli V	Awariku	
c.740–715	c.730–718	c.725–708	c.738–709	
|	|			
Muwaḫḫarana II	Ambaris		Aššur-Da’’inanni II	
c.715–690	c.718–713		c.709–680	
			Amyanu	
			c.680–655	

Information on the period following Zuzu III (1510–1485 BC) comes principally from the reigns of Ḫattušili I and Telipinu I (1310–1290 BC). At the beginning of his annals Ḫattušili I refers to himself as the Great King Labarna, king of the land of Ḫatti and Man of Kussara.[1863] This list of titles indicates that Ḫattušili I was originally from Kussara (the city where Piṯḫana had come from), but now ruled a kingdom called Ḫatti with its capital at Ḫattuša. He further indicates that he was the successor of the Great King Labarna (1435–1410 BC).

Ḫattušili I records in his *Testament* that his grandfather had been king and had sought to install Labarna as ruler of Sanahuitta, but that his grandfather’s sons had defied the words of their father and instead placed Papaḫdilmaḫ on the throne.[1864]

An offering list to deceased Great Kings and Hittite rulers also mentions PU-Šarruma/PU-LUGAL-ma, son of Tudḫaliya I (1485–1460 BC) and father of both Papahdilmah and Labarna.[1865] The name PU-Šarruma was likely Hurrian and is thought to have also been read as Ḫišmi-Šarruma. It is possible that Ḫattušili I’s great-grandfather Tudḫaliya I, the father of Ḫišmi-Šarruma, was the same Tudḫaliya who was *rab šaqê* (GAL SAGI) during the reign of Zuzu III, which Beal notes was one of the highest military offices in the realm.[1866]

Offering lists also include references to Ḫuzziya and his queen, followed by seven people whose names are lost, and then Kantuzzili (followed by a lost name which was possibly Tudḫaliya I), and then PU-LUGAL-ma (Ḫišmi-Šarruma). Given that there are eleven people listed before PU-LUGAL-ma, it is suggested that not all the missing names were necessarily ancestral kings and queens. It is therefore suggested that Kantuzzili was not a king but was instead the father of Tudḫaliya I, as recorded on a seal impression which names a Great King Tudḫaliya, son of Kantuzzili.[1867]

[1863] Bryce (2005a), p.68.
[1864] Bryce (2005a), p.66.
[1865] Beal, p.16; Barjamovic, p.51; Blasweiler, p.6.
[1866] Beal, p.20.
[1867] Bryce (2005a), p.122.

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Bryce suggests that this Kantuzzili was the Kantuzzili who was involved in the assassination of Muwatalli I (1268–1267 BC) and installment of Tudḫaliya II (1267–1255 BC) on the throne, and was therefore the father of Tudḫaliya II. But if Kantuzzili had a claim to the throne and was able to participate in an assassination and subsequent military battle against the supporters of the deceased king, then he would surely have become king himself rather than installing his son on the throne. It is therefore suggested that this seal does not refer to the father of Tudḫaliya II, but instead to the father of Tudḫaliya I, the father of Ḫišmi-Šarruma.

The *Proclamation of Telipinu* discusses the Great King Labarna, who it says had greatly increased the size of his kingdom. Accordingly, he is considered to have been the first king that should be styled as king of Ḫatti. This Labarna was the predecessor mentioned by Ḫattušili I and therefore the Labarna who Ḫišmi-Šarruma had intended to install on the throne of Sanahuitta. While Ḫattušili I referred to events during the reign of his grandfather, he also referred to himself at the beginning of his annals as the 'son of the brother of Tawananna'.[1868] Tawananna A was the husband of Labarna and this statement by Ḫattušili I strongly suggests that Tawananna A was a central political figure at the start of his reign. Tawananna A was therefore the daughter of Ḫišmi-Šarruma and Labarna was Ḫišmi-Šarruma's 'adopted' son. That Labarna was an adopted son rather than an actual son of Ḫišmi-Šarruma provides insight to the rebellion of Papaḫdilmaḫ and his brothers over the proposed kingship of Labarna at Sanahuitta.

It is difficult to reconcile that the offering list referred to above mentioned not only Labarna as a son of Ḫišmi-Šarruma, but also Papaḫdilmaḫ, who according to the *Testament* of Ḫattušili I should have been considered an enemy of the state. It is further noted that no other son of Ḫišmi-Šarruma (i.e., father of Ḫattušili I) is included. It seems that Papaḫdilmaḫ could only have received offerings if he was the father of Ḫattušili I. This is consistent with Beal, who suggests that Labarna and Papaḫdilmaḫ reconciled and that an agreement was made that Ḫattušili I would become Labarna's heir.[1869] Counter to this argument is the scenario put forward by Bryce, being that Sanahuitta appears to have remained hostile to Ḫatti from the time of the rebellion of Papaḫdilmaḫ onwards, given that in his annals Ḫattušili I states that on one occasion he marched against Sanahuitta but did not destroy it, but then later fully destroyed it.[1870] While these later events add complexity to the situation, the facts that Ḫattušili I declined to acknowledge his father by name when asserting his authority as king, and that Papaḫdilmaḫ was the only biological son of Ḫišmi-

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[1868] Beal, p.13.
[1869] Beal, pp.25–27.
[1870] Bryce (2005a), pp.68–70, 75–76.

Šarruma later acknowledged at Ḫattuša, strongly suggests that the renegade Papaḫdilmaḫ was the father of Ḫattušili I.

Further information of this period comes from the Zalpa text, which refers to two kings, referred to as 'the king' and 'the old king', who campaigned together against Zalpa. Beal notes that for various reasons 'the king' cannot have been Muršili I (1385–1361 BC), including that he was a minor when he was declared the heir and it is understood that he required a regent at the start of his reign.[1871] It also appears that Ḫattušili I only declared Muršili I as his heir when he was close to his deathbed in his palace at Kussara.[1872] It therefore seems, as Beal suggests, that 'the king' was instead Ḫattušili I and 'the old king' was Labarna. This indicates that Ḫattušili I was a king during the reign of Labarna. As Ḫattušili I indicates that he was originally king at Kussara (where he maintained a palace which he used when proclaiming Muršili I as his successor), it therefore appears that Labarna and his immediate successors must have keen kings at Ḫattuša, which was the location of the Zalpa treaty signing as noted by Beal.[1873] This does not counter the suggestion by Bryce that Ḫattušili I may have adopted the name Ḫattušili upon becoming king of Ḫatti.[1874] It is also from the Zalpa text that the details of Ḫišmi-Šarruma giving his daughter to Perwa of Zalpa, and the names of the subsequent rulers of Zalpa, are obtained. It also reveals that Ḫišmi-Šarruma gave the kingship of Ḫurma to Labarna's father.

From Ḫattušili I onwards the kings of Ḫatti used the title *Labarna*/*Tabarna* and the queen, who also performed the role as the chief priestess of the kingdom, used the title *Tawananna*.

Regarding the use of and description of titles used by rulers some simple rules are applied in this chronology. Rulers with the titles of *lugal* (Sumerian) *šarrum* (Akkadian) and *endan* (Hurrian) are referred to as kings.

A hereditary ruler who used the title *ensi* or *en* (Sumerian), *malikum* (Akkadian) or *Išši'ak* (Akkadian loan word from the earlier Sumerian *en-si-ak*)[1875] are referred to as a prince, while the title *ensi-GAR* is referred to as a grand-prince. While these rulers were independent of kings, they recognised that they held their positions by appointment from their god, such as Aššur in Assyria and Ningirsu at Lagaš.

While kings and princes were often subordinate to more powerful kings their positions remained hereditary. An *ensi* who was appointed by and only held the position by the favour of a king (especially a *dub-sar ensi*), is referred to as a

[1871] Beal, p.23; Bryce (2005a), p.91.
[1872] Bryce (2005a), p.86.
[1873] Beal, pp.24–25.
[1874] Bryce (2005a), p.68.
[1875] Hallo, p.34

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governor. Just as the term *ensi* could refer to both a hereditary prince and a governor, at Mari the tile of *šakkanakkus* (Akkadian) or *šagina* (Sumerian) was originally applied to a military governor appointed by the king of Akkadê, but then became the title for the hereditary prince (likely under the authority of the god Itūr-Mēr), as occurred with the position of *Išši'ak* at Aššur.

In Elam and Šimaški the term for king was *sugir* / *sunki* and its variants. In the Middle Bronze Age during the primacy of the city of Anšan, the rulers stopped referring to themselves in first the instance as kings and referred to themselves instead as either the *sukkalmah* (grand prince/regent) with subordinates who were a *sukkal* (prince/regent) on behalf of the supreme god, similar to how the rulers of Ešnunna and Assyria styled themselves during this period.

5.7.1 Kaneš

[..]-ḫa-AN (c.2075–2050 BC) – is named on the 'Old Akkadian Exercise' version of Narām-Sîn I's victory over a coalition of rebellious kings. Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC) was the grandson of Sargon of Akkadê and there are several versions of the so-called 'Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn' as discussed by Westenholz.[1876]

Zipani (c.1650–1625 BC) – is named along with Pamba of Ḫattuša in text KBO 3.13, which is a Hittite version of the abovementioned 'Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn'. Westenholz noted that the Hittite version has many similarities with the 'Gula-AN and the Seventeen Kings against Narām-Sîn' version.[1877] This suggests that like Sargon's *King of Battle,* the Gula-AN version was available to the Hittite scribes. Gilan notes that while the Hittite and Gula-AN versions share some place names, the Hittite version does not appear to be an accurate historical account but is instead an adaptation of the Gula-AN version within an Anatolian setting.

Gilan questions the Hittite motive for importing the confrontation to Anatolia and suggests that as Ḫattuša was not listed in the original Gula-AN version, the Ḫattuša king Pamba is likely fictional.[1878] It is far from clear however that Zipani in the Hittite version and [..]-ḫa-AN in the Gula-AN version are variations of the same name. It is noted that Narām-Sîn II (1645–1601 BC), was king of Assyria at a time when Assyrian merchants were especially active in eastern Anatolia during the Old Assyrian Period, particularly at Kaneš, which seems to have been the hub of their economic activities. While there is no reason to suggest that there was any military

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[1876] Westenholz, pp. 221–261.
[1877] Westenholz, p.246.
[1878] Gilan, pp.112–113.

confrontation between Anatolia and Narām-Sîn II, it is possible that the Hittite scribes who wrote text KBO 3.13 recalled both the reign of Narām-Sîn II and the local kings of the time of his reign and inserted those kings into the earlier Narām-Sîn revolt story. It is therefore proposed that Zipani was instead contemporary with Narām-Sîn II and was therefore the immediate predecessor of the later kings of Kaneš.

Baḫanu (c.1625–1600 BC) – was a king of Kaneš, dated by Kryszat as ruling before Ḫurmeli.[1879]

Ḫurmeli (c.1600–1575 BC) – is identified by Kryszat as king of Kaneš, while Veenhof refers to him as king of Kaneš and Ma'ama, referring to a separate king Ḫurmeli of Harsamna.[1880]

Inar (c.1575–1550 BC) – was king of Kaneš. He is recorded in the Anum-Ḫirbi letter as having good relations with Ma'ama and a protracted war with Ḫarsamna.[1881]

Waršama (c.1550–1540 BC) – is known from the Anum-Ḫirbi letter, which was written to Waršama, to have succeeded his father Inar as king of Kaneš. Anum-Ḫirbi of Ma'ama is datable to Years 4–9 of Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC). While Kryszat suggests that he was likely the victim of Anitta's conquest of Kaneš, Veenhof states that the *Anitta Text* tells us that it was Pitḫana of Kussara who conquered Kaneš and took its king, who would have been Waršama, captive. Veenhof notes that Pitḫana it subsequently attested as ruler of Kanesh in the 'notarization' of three documents.[1882]

Anitta (c.1535–1510 BC) – succeeded his father Pitḫana, who had captured Kaneš, as king of Kussara. Kaneš was an important trading city and when it rebelled against his rule, he quashed the rebellion and subsequently made Kaneš his capital. He defeated Purušḫanda, Piyušti of Ḫattuša and Ḫuzziya i of Zalpa. Anitta was the first king of the Hittites to style himself as the Great King, a title which he adopted from Purušḫanda and was subsequently used by his successor and possible son Zuzu III (1510–1485 BC).[1883]

[1879] Kryszat, p.238; Veenhof, pp.170.
[1880] Kryszat, p.238; Veenhof, pp.143–145, 170.
[1881] Kryszat, pp.143–144, 237–238; Veenhof, pp.143, 170.
[1882] Kryszat, p.237–238; Veenhof, pp.42, 63, 143–144, 170–171(nn.5, 8–13); Kulakoğlu, p.1018; Barjamovic, pp.36–37; Miller (2001), pp.66–47.
[1883] Bryce (2005a), pp.36–40.

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Zuzu III – Ḫuzziya 0 (c.1510–1485 BC) – succeeded Anitta as king of Kaneš. Beal notes that the name Zuzu is attested at Nuzi and is therefore probably Hurrian. It was notably also used at Sumerian Akšak and Amorite Apum. Interestingly he referred to himself as the Great King of Alahzina, which does not appear to indicate that he was a usurper, but instead refers to a notion of territoriality rather than a city, just as Ḫattušili I (1420–1385 BC) would later style himself as king of Ḫatti rather than king of Ḫattuša.[1884]

It is proposed that Zuzu III moved the capital from Kaneš to Ḫattuša, where he used the Ḫittite name Ḫuzziya and was venerated because he not only returned kingship to Ḫattuša but also made it the seat of the Great King. It is suggested that the variation to his name was made to reflect both the name of his new capital and his position as the preeminent king of the Ḫittite people. His successors would refer to themselves as Great King and king of Ḫatti.

5.7.2 Kussara, Ma'ama and Zalpa

Kussara

Pitḫana (c.1560–1535 BC) – was king of Kussara who captured the important trading city of Kaneš, where he is attested as king in notarisation clauses on documents, and in the *Anitta Text*. He was succeeded by his son Anitta who moved his capital to Kaneš.[1885]

Ma'ama

Anum-Ḫirbi (c.1560–1535 BC) – was king of Ma'ama who is attested on the Anum-Ḫirbi letter from Kaneš datable to Waršama of Kaneš (c.1550–1540 BC) and on documents at Mari datable to Years 4–9 of Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[1886]

Zalpa (Zalpuwa)

Uhna (c.1560–1535 BC) – was king of Zalpa who is mentioned in the *Anitta Text* as having attacked Kaneš.[1887]

[1884] Beal, p.19; Bryce (2005a), p.39; Barjamovic, p.36 (n.114), 50.
[1885] Barjamovic, pp.36(n.113), 39–40, 50; Kryszat, pp.237–238; Veenhof, pp.101–102, 144–145, 170, 172, 189.
[1886] Miller, pp.65–67.
[1887] Veenhof, p.136, Bryce (2005a), p.33.

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Ḫuzziya i (c.1535–1525 BC) – was king of Zalpa who was defeated by Anitta of Kaneš (c.1535–1510 BC) and taken to Kaneš as a captive.[1888]

Perwa (c.1445–1440 BC) – was king of Zalpa who had a treaty with and married the daughter of the grandfather of Ḫattušili I (Ḫišmi-Šarruma of Ḫattusa, 1460–1435 BC). He was assassinated by Aluwa.[1889]

Aluwa (c.1440 BC) – assassinated and succeeded Perwa as king of Zalpa. He was swiftly defeated and killed by Perwa's father-in-law.[1890]

Ḫakkarpili (c.1440–1415 BC) – was installed as king of Zalpa by the grandfather of Ḫattušili I (Ḫišmi-Šarruma of Ḫattusa, 1460–1435 BC), who Bryce says was his father. He later rebelled against his father, the outcome of which is unknown.[1891]

Ḫappi (c.1415–1410 BC) – was likely the son of Ḫakkarpili who he succeeded as king of Zalpa. He revolted against the 'old king' (Labarna of Ḫatti, c.1435–1410 BC) who besieged Zalpa and took the city.[1892]

5.7.3 Ḫatti (Ḫattuša)

Pamba (c.1650–1625 BC) – is the earliest recorded king of Ḫattuša. He is named along with Zipani of Kaneš in text KBO 3.13, which is a Hittite version of the earlier mentioned 'Great Revolt against Narām-Sîn'. It was proposed earlier that Zipani was contemporary with Narām-Sîn II of Assyria (1645–1601 BC) rather than Narām-Sîn I of Akkadê (2024–1968 BC).

Piyušti (c.1525 BC) – was the king of Ḫattuša who was defeated by Anitta of Kaneš (c.1535–1510 BC).[1893]

Ḫuzziya 0 (c.1510–1485 BC) – see Zuzu III, king of Kaneš.

Tudḫaliya I (c.1485–1460) – succeeded Ḫuzziya 0 (Zuzu III) as king of Ḫatti. He was proposed earlier to have been the son of Kantuzzili, who is named on offering lists after Ḫuzziya 0 and his queen. This is supported by a seal impression which

[1888] Bryce (2005a), p.38.
[1889] Beal, p.21.
[1890] Beal, p.21.
[1891] Beal, p.21; Bryce (2005a), p.87.
[1892] Beal, p.21.
[1893] Bryce (2005a), p.38.

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names a Great King Tudḫaliya, son of Kantuzzili. It was also mentioned earlier that he was likely the same Tudḫaliya who was *rab šaqê* (GAL SAGI) during the reign of Zuzu III (Ḫuzziya 0), which Beal notes was one of the highest military offices in the realm.[1894]

PU-LUGAL-ma – Ḫišmi-Šarruma (c.1460–1435 BC) – was proposed earlier as the son of Tudḫaliya I and predecessor of Labarna as king of Ḫattuša.

Labarna (c.1435–1410 BC) – was discussed earlier as the successor of Ḫišmi-Šarruma. He was married to Tawananna A, the daughter of Ḫišmi-Šarruma, who had had intended to install him on the throne of Sanahuitta. When this was thwarted by Ḫišmi-Šarruma's renegade sons, Ḫišmi-Šarruma responded by making Labarna his heir as Great King of Ḫatti. From Ḫattušili I onwards the kings of Ḫatti used the title *Labarna*/*Tabarna*, and the queen, who also performed the role as the chief priestess of the kingdom, used the title *Tawananna*.

Ḫattušili I (c.1420–1385 BC) – was proposed earlier to have been the son of Papaḫdilmaḫ, the king of Sanahuitta and son of Ḫišmi-Šarruma. Blasweiler suggests that he married the *Tawananna* Kadduši, the daughter of Labarna, and that Labarna adopted him as his heir. Labarna installed him as king of Kussara, where he ruled until succeeding Labarna as king of Ḫatti at Ḫattuša.[1895] Ḫattušili I is mentioned several times in the treaty between Muwattalli II of Ḫatti and Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, where he is introduced as the predecessor of Mursili I and is then immediately mentioned again as having been offended by the king of Ḫanigalbat. In the Conventional Chronology the first king of Ḫanigalbat, Kirta (1415–1390 BC), who was contemporary with Ḫattušili I, is described as ruling about 100 years after the time of Ḫattušili I. Accordingly, in the Conventional Chronology scholars often suggest a theoretical king Ḫattušili sometime between the reigns of Arnuwanda I and Suppiluliuma I to align with their dates for the kings of Ḫanigalbat, despite there being no apparent space for such a king during this period. In this Universal Chronology it is agreed with Astour that there was only one king Ḫattušili before the reign of Muwattalli II.[1896]

Muršili I (c.1385–1361 BC) – is normally understood to have been the son of Ḫaštayar, who both Blasweiler and Forlanini suggested was a wife of Ḫattušili I, prompting Forlanini, following Steiner and Yiğut, to accept that Muršili I was

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[1894] Kitchen (1962), p.53; Bryce (2005a), p.122; Beal, p.20.
[1895] Blasweiler, p.49.
[1896] Astour (1989), pp.39–41.

probably the son of Ḫattušili I. This is accepted here on genealogical/ chronological grounds, particularly as he was killed by his niece's husband Zidanta, the daughter of his elder sister Ḫarapšili. However, it is contradicted by the treaty between Muwattalli II of Ḫatti and Talmi-Šarruma of Aleppo, which is read as referring to Muršili I as the grandson of Ḫattušili I. He is most famous for his defeat of the Babylonian king Samsu-Ditāna and resulted in the end of the First Babylonian Dynasty. It was demonstrated earlier that dates derived from the *Venus Tablet of Ammi-Saduqa* and from a solar and a lunar eclipse firmly fix this event to the year 1362 BC. Soon after his return from Babylon he was assassinated by his brother-in-law Ḫantili I who succeeded him as king. It is proposed that he reigned for about 24 years.[1897]

Ḫantili I (c.1361–1355 BC) – is known from the Telipinu Proclamation to have been married to Ḫarapšili, the brother of Muršili I. Forlanini suggests that she was the daughter of Ḫattušili I and his first wife Kadduši, who was likely the *Tawananna* who Ḫattušili I said that nobody was to speak of her, or her sons or her daughters.[1898] He assassinated and succeeded Muršili I with the help of his son-in law Zidanta I. It is proposed that he reigned for about six years.

Zidanta I (c.1355–1335 BC) – married Tawananna B, the daughter of Ḫantili I and Ḫarapšili. He was involved in the assassination of Muršili I which saw his father-in-law Ḫantili I become king of Ḫatti. Not content with being only a member of the royal family, he subsequently murdered Piseni and his sons, who were the son and grandsons of Ḫantili I, and himself succeeded his father-in-law Ḫantili I as king of Ḫatti. He had a treaty with Pilliya of Kizzuwatna (1345–1320 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[1899]

Ammuna (c.1335–1315 BC) – is known from the *Telipinu Proclamation* to have assassinated his father Zidanta I, who he succeeded as king of Ḫatti. Following his death Zuru, the Chief of the Bodyguards, arranged for the death of Titti and his sons and of Ḫantili and his sons, who were no doubt the legitimate hers to the throne, being likely the sons or brothers of Ammuna. It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[1900]

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[1897] Blasweiler, p.48; Forlanini, pp.119, 124; Bryce (2005a), p.140.
[1898] Forlanini, p.119; Byrce (2005a), p.93.
[1899] Otten (1951), p.129; Bryce (2005a), pp.100–102.
[1900] Bryce (2005a), pp.102–103.

Ḫuzziya I (c. 1315–1310 BC) – succeeded Ammuna as king of Ḫatti following the assassinations of Titti and Ḫantili. Ḫuzziya I's sister Ištapariya was married to Telipinu I, the successor of Ḫuzziya I, who would later describe himself as sitting on his father's throne. Both Bryce and Forlanini therefore suggest that Telipinu I was the son of Ammuna, and that the basis of Ḫuzziya I's claim to the throne is therefore unclear, being the brother-in-law of the supposed legitimate heir to the throne. As this seems unlikely it is instead accepted that Ḫuzziya I was instead the son of Ammuna, and Telipinu I was the son-in-law of Ammuna, as detailed by Easton. This is similar to the situation of Arnuwanda I later referring to his father-in-law Tudḫaliya II as his father, as proposed by Bryce. It is proposed that he reigned for about five years.[1901]

Telipinu I (c.1310–1295 BC) – was married to the *Tawananna* Ištapariya, the daughter of Ammuna, who succeeded his brother-in-law Ḫuzziya I as king of Ḫatti. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1902]

Alluwamna (c.1295–1275 BC) – was likely married to the *Tawananna* Ḫarapšeki, the daughter of Telipinu I, who he succeeded as king of Ḫatti. It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[1903] His daughter was perhaps the *Tawananna* Walanni, who is named on the *Nuntarriyašḫa* festival text, KUB XXV 14 as *Tawananna* before Ašmunikal, having likely succeeded Ḫarapšeki as *Tawananna*.

Ḫantili II (c.1275–1272 BC) – succeeded his father Alluwamna as king of Ḫatti. It is proposed that he reigned for about three years.[1904]

Taḫurwaili (c.1272–1270 BC) – is attested on a seal impression, which Easton notes is stylistically similar to seals belonging to Alluwamna (1295–1275 BC), Ḫuzziya II (c.1269–1268 BC), and Arnuwanda I (c.1265–1245 BC). It is possible, but unlikely, that he was the same person as Taḫurwaili the son of Zuru who was involved in the assassination of the sons of Ammuna in 1315 BC. He had a treaty with Eḫeya of Kizzuwatna (1295–1270 BC). It is proposed that he reigned after Ḫantili II for about two years.[1905]

[1901] Bryce (2005a), pp.103, 1028–129; Forlanini, p.126; Easton, p.26.
[1902] Bryce (2005a), pp.103–111.
[1903] Bryce (2005a), pp.111–112.
[1904] Bryce (2005a), p.113.
[1905] Otten (1971), pp.59, 66–67; Easton, pp.28–29, Bryce (2005a), p.112–113.

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Zidanta II (c.1270–1269 BC) – is known from offering lists. He was likely married to Iyaya, who was named after him on an offering list. It is proposed that he reigned for about one year.[1906]

Ḫuzziya II (c.1269–1268 BC) – is known from offering lists. He was likely married to Šummiri, who was named after him on an offering list. It is proposed that he reigned for about one year.[1907]

Muwatalli I (c.1268–1267 BC) – assassinated Ḫuzziya II to become king of Ḫatti. He was in turn assassinated by certain Kantuzzili and Himuili. It is proposed that he reigned for about one year.[1908]

Tudḫaliya II – (c.1267–1255 BC) – succeeded Muwatalli I as king of Ḫatti. His wife Nikalmati became the *Tawananna* in his Year 7, likely upon the death of Walanni. It is proposed that he reigned for about 12 years[1909]

Arnuwanda I (c.1265–1245 BC) – married the *Tawananna* Ašmunikal, the daughter of Tudḫaliya II. He was coregent with Tudḫaliya II and was referred to as 'Great King' during the co-regency. It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[1910]

Tašmi-Šarri – Tudḫaliya III (c.1245–1225 BC) – succeeded his father Arnuwanda I as king of Ḫatti, taking the Hittite throne name Tudḫaliya. He was married first to the *Tawananna* Šatanduḫepa, and then to the *Tawananna* Taduḫepa. It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[1911]

Tudḫaliya the Younger (c.1225 BC) – succeeded his father Tudḫaliya III as king of Ḫatti. He is attested in Muršili II's *First Plague Prayer* where he is described as having been overthrown by Šuppiluliuma I and killed. It is proposed that his mother was Tudḫaliya III's first wife Šatanduḫepa.[1912]

Šuppiluliuma I (c.1225–1196 BC) – was married to the *Tawananna* Ḫenti, who is described on her seal as 'great queen, daughter of the great king, the hero', which indicates that she was the daughter of Tudḫaliya III. It is suggested that Ḫenti was

[1906] Kitchen (1962), p.53; Bilgin, p.30; Bryce (2005a), p.113.
[1907] Kitchen (1962), p.53; Bilgin, p.30; Bryce (2005a), p.113.
[1908] Kitchen (1962), pp.53–54; Bryce (2005a), p.115.
[1909] Blasweiler, p.56
[1910] Bryce (2005a), p.128–129, 142–144.
[1911] Bilgin, pp.30, 130, 163; Blasweiler, p.56; Stavi, pp.226–227.
[1912] Bilgin, pp.386, 494.

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likely the daughter of Tudḫaliya III's second wife Taduḫepa. While Bryce describes Šuppiluliuma I as a son of Tudḫaliya III, he was instead a son-in-law and therefore an 'adopted' son of Tudḫaliya III. His son Muršili II describes in his *First Plague Prayer* how his father Šuppiluliuma I had usurped the throne of Ḫatti from his brother-in-law Tudḫaliya the Younger. If Tudḫaliya the Younger was the son of Tudḫaliya III's first wife Šatanduḫepa, then the usurpation likely had the support of the *Tawananna* Taduḫepa. Šuppiluliuma I's second wife was the *Tawananna* Malnigal, the daughter of Burna-Buriyåš II of Babylon (1242–1216 BC).

His earliest attested action is a treaty with Niqmaddu III of Ugarit (c.1225–1200 BC) in which he described Adad-Nārāri ii of Nuḫašši (c.1250–1225 BC) and Aki-Tešup of Niya as having been hostile to the authority of Ḫatti and carrying off subjects of Niqmaddu III. He also wrote Amarna letter EA 41 to the Egyptian ruler Ḫuriya, who was earlier demonstrated to be Ankhkheperure Smenkhkare – Nefertiti (1222–1210 BC).

From *The Deeds of Suppiluliuma* it is known that the capture of the city of Karkamiš occurred amidst the conversations between Šuppiluliuma I and Ankhesenamun immediately following the death of Tutankhamun of Egypt in 1202 BC. Following the capture of Karkamiš he installed a king and had a treaty with Šattiwaza of Mitanni (1201–1190 BC), in which he refers to his previous correspondences with Tušratta of Mitanni (1243–1220 BC) and providing a daughter as wife for Šattiwaza. According to Bryce, Šuppiluliuma I died about six years after the capture of Karkamiš, likely from the plague which had been carried into Ḫatti from captured Egyptians.[1913]

Arnuwanda II (c.1196–1194 BC) – succeeded his father Šuppiluliuma I as king of Ḫatti. Bryce notes that he died from the plague having reigned no more than 18 months.[1914]

Muršili II (1194–c.1165 BC) – succeeded his bother Arnuwanda II as king of Ḫatti. The start of his reign is fixed by the earlier mentioned eclipse in his Year 10 dated 28 August 1185 BC. He recorded in his annals that his enemies considered him to be a 'child' when he ascended the throne. He recorded in the *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* that he was a grandson of Tudḫaliya III (1245–1239 BC), which is consistent with his mother Ḫenti being the daughter of Tudḫaliya III.

Muršili II blamed the *Tawananna* Malnigal for the death of his first wife Gassulawiya in his Year 9, after whose death he married the future *Tawananna*

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[1913] Beckman (1996a), pp.38–49; Blasweiler, p.56; Bilgin, pp.386, 494; Bryce (2005a), p.188; Stavi, pp.228–233.
[1914] Bryce (2005a), p.191.

Tanuḫepa. In his Year 10 the *Tawananna* Malnigal supposedly tried to use the abovementioned eclipse to encourage a coup. He had a treaty with Niqmepa VII of Ugarit (c.1175–1150 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 29 years.[1915]

Muwatalli II (c.1165–1159 BC) – succeeded his father Muršili II as king of Ḫatti. He relocated the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša. His reign is notable for the Battle of Kadesh in Year 5 of Ramesses II of Egypt (1161 BC). He died two years later in 1159 BC. It is proposed that the reigned for about six years.[1916]

Urḫi-Tešup – Muršili III (c.1159–1152 BC) – succeeded his father Muwatalli II as king of Ḫatti and adopted the Luwian throne name Muršili III. He returned the capital to Ḫattuša. According to Ḫattušili II, after seven years of rule Muršili III took the cities of Hakpis and Nerik from Ḫattušili II, which evoked an uprising from Ḫattušili II and his allies, which overthrew Muršili III and resulted in him eventually fleeing to Egypt. He likely finally settling in Cyprus.[1917]

Ḫattušili II (1162–1152–c.1130 BC) – normally referred to as Ḫattušili III, was the son of Muršili II. He was installed as a subordinate king to his brother Muwatalli II. While he is often thought to have initially ruled only from Hakpis, the following inscription from Ḫattušili II suggests that after his brother Muwatalli II moved the capital of Ḫatti to Tarḫuntašša he controlled and therefore likely ruled from Ḫattuša:

> [When] my [bro]ther became a god (i.e. died), because I [co]mmanded [Hatt]usa and (because) he had [..] me in lordship, I di[d] not [do] anything (evil) out of regard for [the love] for [m]y br[other]. Sin[ce] in that time my brother did [not] have an adult son [yet], I took up Urhi-Tešup, a son by a second-rank wife, and [I put] him into lordship over the [Ha]tti land and laid all of [..] in (his) hand, so that for the Lands of Ḫatti he was Great King. (CTH 81 iii 36'-44'; readapted after van den Hout 1997: 202)[1918]

He married Panuḫepa, a priestess of Ishtar from Kizzuwatna, who later became *Tawananna*.

He subsequently overthrew his nephew Muršili III in 1152 BC to become king of Ḫatti. He had a treaty with Kadašman-Turgu of Babylon (c.1159–1141 BC) and Ramesses II of Egypt (1165–1099 BC) in his Year 21 (1145 BC). His son Nerikkaili

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[1915] Bryce (2005a), p.191–192; Beckman (1996a), pp.59–64.
[1916] Bryce (2005a), p.221.
[1917] Bryce (2005a), p.261.
[1918] d'Alfonso (2014), p.225.

married the daughter of Bentešina of Amurru (1164–1140 BC). He is normally given a reign of about 30 years.[1919]

Ḫešmi-Šarruma – Tudḫaliya IV (c.1130–1100 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫattušili II as king of Ḫatti, taking the Hittite throne name Tudḫaliya. He had to contend with his cousin Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (1152–1115 BC) becoming independent and claiming the title of Great King of Ḫatti.

The loss of Tarḫuntašša and Kurunta's declaration as a rival Great King was a major blow to Tudḫaliya IV's prestige, which he appears to have responded to by significantly increasing building works at Ḫattuša which had begun under his father. This included not only many new temples in the growing great temple complex in the new 'Upper City', but also massive new fortifications, which Bryce describes as 'one of the most impressive engineering achievements of the Late Bronze Age.'[1920]

Arnuwanda III (c.1100–1095 BC) – succeeded his father Tudḫaliya IV as king of Ḫatti. He is attested on seal impressions and a reference to him on a coronation oath of his successor. Bryce states that he reigned for only a year or two.[1921]

Šuppiluliuma II (c.1095–c.1070 BC) – succeeded his brother Arnuwanda III as king of Ḫatti. His final years saw the destruction of Troy by the Greeks and the cut-off of grain supplies from Egypt by the Sea Peoples. He recorded on the Südburg inscriptions that he defeated Tarḫuntašša and depopulated the city by relocating its occupants to another location.[1922] Mora notes that Šuppiluliuma II had a treaty with Talmi-Tešup of Karkamiš (1115–1090 BC) in which both kings were placed on the same level in the agreement. It appears that following his death the city of Ḫattuša was abandoned, which marked the end of the kingdom of Ḫatti.[1923]

5.7.4 Tarḫuntašša

Tarḫuntašša was likely the city of Türkmen-Karahöyük as suggested by Massa, which Osborne suggests was the capital for the Hittite Great King Ḫartapu.[1924] While Hawkins and Weeden question this identification, they conclude that 'we cannot exclude it, nor can we provide a good candidate for an alternative.'[1925]

[1919] Bryce (2005a), p.266–268, 277.
[1920] Bryce (2005b), pp.295, 324.
[1921] Bryce (2005a), p.327.
[1922] Bryce (2005a), p.353; Melchert, p.140.
[1923] Bryce (2005a), p.327; Mora, p.292.
[1924] Massa, pp.45, 64–65, 68; Osborne, pp.1–3, 22.
[1925] Hawkins & Weeden (2021), p.386.

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Ulmi-Tešup – Kurunta (1152–1115 BC) – was the son of Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (c.1165–1159 BC) and brother of Muršili III of Ḫatti (c.1159–1152 BC). The Bronze Tablet Treaty found beneath the pavement near the Yerkapı Gate at Ḫattuša reveals that Kurunta was raised in the household of his uncle Ḫattušili II (1162–1152–1130 BC).[1926] When Ḫattušili II overthrew his brother Muršili III and become king of Ḫatti he installed Ulmi-Tešup as a subordinate king of Tarḫuntašša, just as Ḫattušili II has been a subordinate king to his brother Muwatalli II. Ulmi-Tešup then took the Luwian throne name Kurunta.

There are several versions of treaties between Kurunta and Ḫattušili II and his son Tudḫaliya IV.[1927] While van den Hout argues that Kurunta was succeeded by his son Ulmi-Tešup, the *Ḫattušili II - Ulmi-Tešup Treaty* on one occasion calls Ulmi-Tešup by the name Kurunta, which demonstrates that they are the same person, although Mora argues that they are different kings.[1928]

Furthermore, the treaty KUB iv 10 reveals that Muwatalli II had made Tarḫuntašša his capital, and that it was Ḫattušili II who later installed Kurunta as a vassal king there:

> When I, My Sun, came to Tarḫuntašša, I saw that the *šaḫḫan* of the god (as imposed by) the treaty was onerous and could not be fulfilled. Formerly Muwatalli made Tarḫuntašša his place of residence and celebrated the gods of Tarḫuntašša, and all the Hittites honoured them. But now the king and queen have made Kurunta king in Tarḫuntašša. He could not fulfil the *šaḫḫan* of the god from (the resources) of his own land. So the king and queen have made for you this (revised) treaty: My Sun has waived the previous requirement for chariotry and troops from the Hulaya River Land. In future, only 200 men will be required for a Hittite campaign. No further troops will be sought from him.[1929]

Further details of the relationship between Kurunta and his uncle Ḫattušili II and cousin Tudḫaliya IV are provided by Tudḫaliya IV on the Bronze Tablet Treaty, where he states:

> But at that time when my father appointed my older brother as *tuḫkanti*, I was still not at that time marked out for kingship. But Kurunta (already) showed his loyalty to me and gave me in person the following oath: 'If your father does not appoint you to kingship, in whatever position your father places you, I will be loyal only to you and (be) your (loyal) servant.'.[1930]

[1926] Bryce (2005a), p.269.
[1927] van den Hout, p.110; Hawkins & Weeden (2021), p.385.
[1928] van den Hout, pp.100–114; 'Hattusili III - Ulmi-Teshub Treaty', KUB iv 10 (CTH 106), obv. §6, 40'–4', Beckman (1996a), p.106; Mora, p.295.
[1929] 'Hattusili III - Ulmi-Teshub Treaty', §6, 40'–4'; Bryce (2005a), p.271; Beckman (1996a), p.106.
[1930] 'Bronze tablet', §13, ii 35–41; Bryce (2005a), p.273.

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Tudḫaliya IV reveals on the Bronze Tablet Treaty that Kurunta was installed as king of Tarḫuntašša very soon after Ḫattušili II seized the throne:

> But when my father removed Urhi-Tešup from the kingship, thereupon my father took Kurunta and made him king in the Land of Tarḫuntašša.[1931]

It is most unlikely, however, that Kurunta would have made such a pledge both after obtaining kingship of Tarḫuntašša and before Tudḫaliya IV was recognized as Ḫattušili II' heir. It was therefore made to his childhood friend while still an adolescent, at a time when his own father was Great King of Ḫatti at Tarḫuntašša, and his brother Urhi-Tešup was the recognised heir. Kurunta therefore at the time had no reason to believe that he would one day have a right to the position of Great King of Ḫatti and would have thought that the most that Tudḫaliya IV could hope to obtain was the kingship at either Ḫattuša or Hakpis.

That Kurunta had a legitimate claim to the position of Great King in the absence of his brother Urhi-Tešup, clearly weighed on the minds of both Ḫattušili II and Tudḫaliya IV. It appears to have been behind the desire for repeated treaties, and for Tudḫaliya IV's inclusion of the childhood oath of allegiance on the Bronze Tablet Treaty. Tudḫaliya IV clearly felt very threatened and feared a coup, since it is a simple fact that after the sanctity of kingship has been violated (in this case by his father Ḫattušili II), coups often come in clusters, such as the period preceding Tudḫaliya II. This concern is evident by the following address from Tudḫaliya IV to his palace staff:

> The Land of Ḫatti is full of the royal line: In Ḫatti the descendants of Šuppiluliuma, the descendants of Muršili, the descendants of Muwatalli, the descendants of Ḫattušili are numerous. Regarding the kingship, you must acknowledge no other person (but me, Tudḫaliya), and protect only the grandson and great grandson and descendants of Tudḫaliya. And if at any time(?) evil is done to His Majesty—(for) His Majesty has many brothers—and someone approaches another person and speaks thus: "Whomever we select for ourselves need not even be a son of our lord!"—these words must not be (permitted)! Regarding the kingship, you must protect only His Majesty and the descendants of His Majesty. You must approach no other person![1932]

Bryce notes that the earlier section of the Ulmi-Tešup Treaty, KUB iv 10, removed obligations on the region controlled by Kurunta to provide large numbers of chariotry and troops. He states that 'This act of generosity may have been one of the measures designed to maintain Kurunta's goodwill towards his overlord and

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[1931] 'Bronze tablet', §3, i 14–15; Bryce (2005a), p.270.
[1932] Bryce (2005b), p.4.

keep him loyal.'[1933] It is far more likely though that Ḫattušili II feared that if Kurunta was allowed to muster a large force of chariotry and troops, he might then use that force to assert his claim as Great King of Ḫatti.

Kurunta clearly resented the usurpation by Ḫattušili II of the position of Great King, and despite the repeated treaties he eventually broke ties with Ḫattuša and began to style himself as Great King of Ḫatti at Tarḫuntašša, just as his father Muwatalli II had done before him. This is revealed most clearly by a rock-cut relief at Hatip near Konya, in the heartland of the Tarḫuntašša kingdom, which bears the inscription 'Kurunta, the Great King, [the Hero], the son of [Mu]wattalli, the Great King, the Hero'.[1934] In addition to this inscription is the discovery of seal impressions dating to this period found at Ḫattuša, which refer to 'Kurunta, Great King, Labarna, My Sun'.[1935] Having claimed in the rock inscription that his authority as Great King was derived from his father Muwatalli II, on the seal impressions, he uses the title of *Labarna*, which was repeatedly used by the Great Kings of Ḫatti.

Bryce argues that Kurunta likely staged a coup and briefly ruled at Ḫattuša before losing control of the city back to Tudḫaliya IV, despite acknowledging that such a position is speculative with no clear evidence of such a coup occurring.[1936] There is no reason for this suggestion, with the location of the rock inscription near Konya indicating that Kurunta almost certainly continued to reign from Tarḫuntašša. While seals impressions describing Kurunta as Great King may have been found at Ḫattuša, the enmity that Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta must have had for each other after the split is evidenced by the final location of the Bronze Tablet Treaty, which as mentioned earlier, was found beneath the pavement near the Yerkapi Gate at Ḫattuša, where it would have been trodden over by people and animals alike.

There is no evidence that Kurunta had any children to succeeded him as king. Furthermore, while it is known that Urhi-Tešup (Muršili III) had fled to Egypt, it seems that he eventually left Egypt, with Ramesses II suggesting that he had returned to Hittite controlled lands:

> As for what you have written to me regarding the matter of Urhi-Tešup: 'It is not the case that he went to the Land of Kadesh! It is not the case that he went into the Land of Aleppo! It is not the case that he went into the Land of Kizzuwadna!'—thus you have written. Look, I do not understand these words you have written about this matter of Urhi-Tešup, as follows: 'Bring

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[1933] Bryce (2005a), p.271.
[1934] Bryce (2005a), p.319.
[1935] Bryce (2005b), p.3.
[1936] Bryce (2005a), pp.319–320, 480 (n.123).; (2005b), pp.3,7.

him into the Land of Egypt!' I do not know where he is lodged. [He has flown like a bird.] (KBo i 15 + 19 (+) 22 (CTH 156) (= ÄHK i no. 24), rev.225).[1937]

It is certain that Muršili III would have continued to be aware of affairs in Ḫatti, particularly with respect to his bother Kurunta's activities and assertion of independence from Tudḫaliya IV. It seems that perhaps Muršili III, or certainly his family, returned to Tarḫuntašša during the reign of Kurunta. For the next set of inscriptions from the Tarḫuntašša heartland are by Ḫartapu, who also used the title of Great King, and said that he was the son of the Great King Muršili.

Ḫartapu (1115–1090 BC) – succeeded his uncle Kurunta as Great King of Tarḫuntašša. Bryce noted that Ḫartapu was responsible for inscriptions which are closely linked stylistically with the Yalburt inscription of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (1122–1094 BC). Accordingly, he recognises that Ḫartapu could have been the son of Muršili III of Ḫatti, a suggestion first made by Mellaart and accepted by d'Alfonso.[1938] Ḫartapu appears to have been defeated by Šuppiluliuma II of Ḫatti (1095–1070 BC), who recorded on the Südburg inscriptions that he defeated Tarḫuntašša and depopulated the city by relocating its occupants to another location.[1939]

5.7.5 Ḫalab (Aleppo)

Telipinu II (1210–1173 BC) – was the son of Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC). He was initially priest (ruler) in Kizzuwadna before being installed as king of Ḫalab by his father.[1940]

Talmi-Šarruma (c.1173–1140 BC) – succeed his father Telipinu II as king of Ḫalab. He had a treaty with Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (c.1165–1159 BC).[1941]

Ḫalpaziti (c.1140–1115 BC) – was named in the treaty between Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1162–1152–c.1130 BC) and Ulmi-Tešup (Kurunta) of Tarḫuntašša (1152–1115 BC) as Commander of the Troops of the Right, and then later in a letter from a king of Mitanni to a king of Ḫatti as king of Ḫalab.[1942]

[1937] Bryce (2005a), p.281.
[1938] Bryce (2005a), p.352–353; d'Alfonso (2014), p.230.
[1939] Bryce (2005a), p.353; Melchert, p.140.
[1940] Bryce (2005a), p.51, 159–160, 176.
[1941] Beckman (1996a), pp.88–90; Novak, p.313; Singer (2011), p.335; Bryce (2005a), pp.202, 204.
[1942] Beckman (1996a), pp.108, 142; Bryce (2005a), p.313.

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Mazi-Karḫuḫa (1115–1090 BC) – is known from the so-called Ankara Silver Bowl. While the provenance of the bowl is unknown, it was donated in front of king Mazi-Karhuha after [Tu]dhaliya the Labarna smote the land Tarwazi. While Giusfredi suggests that the Tudḫaliya mentioned is Tudḫaliya V of Karkamiš (1040–1015 BC), he leaves the identifications of Mazi-Karḫuḫa and Tarwazi unresolved.[1943] It is proposed instead that the Tudḫaliya mentioned is Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (1130–1100 BC), as more popularly proposed and most recently supported by d'Alfonso.[1944]

There is little doubt that Mazi-Karḫuḫa was from Syria, since Karḫuḫa was the tutelary god of Karkamiš. But if the Tudḫaliya mentioned is Tudḫaliya IV, there is limited opportunity for Mazi-Karḫuḫa to have been king of Karkamiš during his reign and no good reason to suggest that he reigned between Ini-Tešup I (1040–1015 BC) and Talmi-Tešup (1115–1090 BC) as suggested by d'Alfonso.[1945] It is instead proposed that Mazi-Karḫuḫa was king at Halab, which although subordinate to Karkamiš during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV was still regionally important in northern Syria. This suggests that Mazi-Karḫuḫa was the successor of Halpaziti.

d'Alfonso suggests that the land that Tudḫaliya IV smote was of the hostile 'Tarwi troops' that are attested in two Emar year-names.[1946] However the 'Tarwi troops' were regionally unimportant and had they needed to have been dealt with it would have been by either Halap of Karkamiš, not by Tudḫaliya IV himself. It is also noted that the name can be read as either Ta+r-wa-zi-wa or Ta+r-wa-a-wa. I instead suggest that rather than reading the name as Tarwazi, it is referring to the land of Tuwanuwa (Tuwana) which was a part of Kurunta's kingdom of Tarḫuntašša, and that the bowl commemorates Tudḫaliya IV's capture of that region during the reign of Ḫartapu (1115–1090 BC).

5.7.6 Karkamiš (Carchemish)

Details of the kings of Karkamiš following the abandonment of Ḫattuša as provided by Bryce and Bilgin have been adjusted to fill the missing years of the false 'Dark Age' at Karkamiš in line with this Universal Chronology. *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* state that Šuppiluliuma I captured Charchemish just before the winter following the death of Tutankhamun (1210–1202 BC).[1947]

[1943] Giusfredi (2013), p.675.
[1944] Woudhuizen, p.280; d'Alfonso (2021), p.69.
[1945] d'Alfonso (2021), pp.72–73.
[1946] d'Alfonso (2021), p.69.
[1947] Güterbock (1956), pp.95–96.

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Piyaššili – Šarri-Kušuḫ (1202–1186 BC) – was installed as king of the Hurrian city of Karkamiš by his father Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) with the Hurrian throne name of Šarri-Kušuḫ. Bilgin notes that Šuppiluliuma I's treaty with Šattiwaza of Mitanni indicates that Šarri-Kušuḫ ruled over all the neighbouring lands to the west of the Euphrates and that he was the equal of the king of Mitanni. His brother Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–c.1165 BC) declared in an edict that only the Great king himself and his designated successor would outrank the descendants of Šarri-Kušuḫ.

Šarri-Kušuḫ requested Niqmaddu III of Ugarit (c.1225–1200 BC) to mobilise against Tette of Nuḫašši (c.1200–1181 BC). He died in Year 9 of Muršili II (1186 BC).[1948]

Šaḫurunuwa (c.1186–1150 BC) – succeeded his father Šarri-Kušuḫ as king of Karkamiš. Bilgin noted that he possibly died early in the reign of Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1152–c.1130 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 36 years.[1949]

Ini-Tešup I (c.1150–1125 BC) – succeeded his father Šaḫurunuwa as king of Karkamiš. He was contemporary with Ammîstamru III of Ugarit (c.1140–1125 BC).[1950]

Talmi-Tešup (c.1125–1090 BC) – succeeded his father Ini-Tešup I as king of Karkamiš. He authored an edict concerning the divorce of Ammurapi III of Ugarit (1090–1065 BC). He had a treaty with Šuppiluliuma II of Ḫatti (1095–1070 BC) when Šuppiluliuma II became king. It is proposed that he reigned for about 35 years.[1951]

Kuzi-Tešup (c.1090–1075 BC) – is attested on sealings impressed on *bullae* as the son of Talmi-Tešup, who he succeeded as king of Karkamiš. While he used the titles 'Great King' and 'Hero', this does not mean that he was the recognised leader of all the Hittite peoples. Unlike Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (c.1152–1115 BC) who had called himself an independent Great King in defiance of Tudḫaliya IV, Mora notes that the treaty between Šuppiluliuma II of Ḫatti and Talmi-Tešup testifies to the equal status of the two kings. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1952]

[1948] Kitchen (1962), p.37; Bilgin, pp.54–55; Beckman (1996a), pp.120, 154.
[1949] Bilgin, pp.55; Beckman (1996a), pp.165, 167.
[1950] Beckman (1996a), pp.165, 167.
[1951] Beckman (1996a), p.168–170; Bilgin, p.59.
[1952] Bilgin, p.60; Bryce (2012), pp.53, 84–85; Mora, p.292.

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Ir-Tešup (c.1075–1050) – was likely the son of Kuzi-Tešup who he succeeded as 'Great King' of Karkamiš. Upon the death of Šuppiluliuma II of Ḫatti (1095–1070 BC) he became the sole remaining Great King of the Hittites.[1953]

Tudḫaliya V (c.1050–1025 BC) – is attested on a broken stela as a 'Great King' and 'Hero' of Karkamiš. It is proposed that the was the son of Ir-Tešup. [1954]

Ini-Tešup II (c.1025–1000 BC) – is proposed by Bryce to have been a successor of Ir-Tešup of Karkamiš. He used the title 'King of Ḫatti'. It is proposed that he was likely the son of Tudḫaliya V. He paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC).[1955]

Sapaziti (c.1000–975 BC) – was a 'Great King' and 'Hero' of Karkamiš who likely succeeded Ini-Tešup II, who it is proposed was his father. He is attested on the stela of the priest Arnuwanti A.[1956]

Ura-Tarḫunta II (c.975–950 BC) – is attested on a stele as succeeding his father Sapaziti as 'Great King' and 'Hero' of Karkamiš.[1957]

Saḫwi – Suḫi I (c.970–950–945 BC) – Bryce suggests that Suḫi I was a king of Karkamiš who ruled after Ura-Tarhunta II. It is proposed that he was the son of Arnuwanti II of Malatya (c.995–970 BC) and to have succeeded him as Country-Lord (king) of Malatya, where is attested as Sahwi, the father of Sa(?)tiruntiya. Like Ura-Tarhunta II of Charchemish, to whom he was subordinate, he was a descendant of Kuzi-Tešup of Karkamiš. It is proposed that when Ura-Tarhunta II died without a male heir Sahwi became king of Karkamiš as Suḫi I, despite the fact that Ura-Tarhunta II had a daughter who had married a lesser king. He did not however subsequently use Ura-Tarhunta II's titles of 'Great King' and 'Hero' but instead used the title *tarwanis* and continued to use the Malatyan title of Country-Lord.

Suḫi I is known at Karkamiš not only from an inscription by his son Astuwalamanza, but also from two other inscriptions, one from his son the priest Arnuwanti A and the other from himself, which both refer to Ura-Tarhunta II's repelling the army of Sura (likely Assyria).[1958]

[1953] Bryce (2012), pp.85–87.
[1954] Bryce (2012), p.88.
[1955] Grayson (1991a), pp.37, 42, 53; Bryce (2012), p.87.
[1956] Bryce (2012), p.88; Weeden, p.9; Woudhuizen, p.280; Giusfredi (2010), p.46.
[1957] Bryce (2012), p.88; Weeden, p.9; Woudhuizen, p.280.
[1958] Bryce (2012), p.90, 107–108; Dincol, p.128; Giusfredi (2010), p.47.

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Astuwalamanza II (c.945–920 BC) – succeeded his father Suḫi I, as *tarwanis* and Country-Lord of Karkamiš.[1959]

Suḫi II (c.920–895 BC) – succeeded his father Astuwatamanza as *tarwanis* and Country Lord of Karkamiš. His daughter married a king called Tudhaliya, who it is proposed was a hypothetical Tudḫaliya VI king of Kummuh, as considered by Bryce.[1960]

Katuwa (c.895–870 BC) – succeeded his father Suḫi II as *tarwanis* and Country-Lord of Karkamiš. He fought against the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunta II (who was no doubt their maternal grandfather), which does not make sense if Katuwa was four generations after Ura-Tarhunta II (965–940 BC) as proposed by Bryce, unless it is considered to be a reference to descendants more broadly.[1961] Dincol attempts to address the coregency between Ura-Tarhunta II and Suḫi I by suggesting that SuḪI I and his descendants ruled at Karkamiš as secondary kings alongside Ura-Tarhunta II and his descendants. He does this by suggesting that Tudḫaliya V succeeded Ura-Tarhunta II and was the unidentified king Tudḫaliya who married a daughter of SuḪI II, being in turn succeeded by the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunta II who had fought against Katuwa.[1962] This creates a void between the reigns of Ini-Tešup II and Sapaziti, and results in unidentified 'grandsons' as the senior kings. This is unnecessary if it is recognised that Suḫi I was king at Malatya before briefly becoming king at Karkamiš, that Tudḫaliya V was the predecessor of Ini-Tešup II, and that the son-in-law of Suḫi II was instead a Tudḫaliya VI king of Kummuh.[1963]

Sangara (c.870–845 BC) – succeeded Katuwa as Country-Lord of Karkamiš. He was recorded on the stele of Kubaba by Kamani as the great-great-grandfather of Kamani. He is recorded as paying tribute to Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC) in 870 BC and having battled with Shalmaneser III of Assyria in 858 and 848 BC.[1964]

Isarwil-Amuwa (c.845–820 BC) – succeeded his father Sangara as Country-Lord of Karkamiš. He was recorded on the stele of Kubaba by Kamani as the great-grandfather of Kamani.[1965]

[1959] Hawkins, J.D. (1982), pp.383–384, 894; Weeden, p.9; Marchetti & Peker, p.98; Bryce (2012), pp.90–91.
[1960] Hawkins, J.D. (1982), pp.383, 387, 894; Weeden, p.9; Marchetti & Peker, p.98; Bryce (2012), p.91.
[1961] Bryce (2012), pp.90–92; Payne, pp.66–76.
[1962] Dincol, pp.130–131
[1963] Bryce (2012), pp.91, 110.
[1964] Marchetti & Peker, pp.95–98; Grayson (1991a), pp.217, 344, 349; Grayson (1996), pp.9–10, 16, 18, 23, 37–38, 46–47, 53, 66, 76, 142; Bryce (2012), p.93.
[1965] Marchetti & Peker, pp.95–98.

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Kuwalan-Amuwa (c.820–795 BC) – succeeded his father Isarwil-Amuwa as Country-Lord of Karkamiš. He was recorded on the stele of Kubaba by Kamani as the grandfather of Kamani.[1966]

Astiruwa – Astiru I (c.795–785 BC) – succeeded his father Kuwalan-Amuwa as Country-Lord of Karkamiš. He was recorded on the stele of Kubaba by Kamani as the father of Kamani. He is also mentioned on the stele of Atika as using the title 'Hero'.[1967]

Yariri (c.785–775 BC) – was the vizier to Astiru I, who he succeeded as *tarwanis* of Karkamiš as regent for Astiru I's son Kamani.[1968]

Kamani (c.775–740 BC) – is attested on the stele of Kubaba as the son of Astiru I. He succeeded his regent Yariri as *tarwanis* and Country-Lord of Karkamiš.[1969]

Pisīris (c.740–717 BC) – is proposed to have been the 'son of Sastura' who ruled as Country-Lord of Karkamiš. Sastura had been the vizier of Kamani. He was named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) and was deported to Assyria by Sargon II (722–705 BC) in 717 BC.[1970]

Bēl-Emuranni (c.717–690 BC) – was governor of Karkamiš with the eponym year of 691 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–669 BC).

Aḫu-Ilaya (c.665–640 BC) – was governor of Karkamiš with the eponym year of 650 BC named after him during the reign of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).

5.7.7 Malatya (Melid)

During this period the Hittites had dual kingship with a Great King at Karkamiš, and a 'Country-lord' at Malatya. Suḫi I also called himself the *muwida* (kinsman?) of the king, a term which the kings at Malatya also called themselves and was perhaps a reference to both their allegiance to the Great King at Charchemish and their descent from the Great King Kuzi-Tešup.[1971]

[1966] Marchetti & Peker, pp.97–98.
[1967] Marchetti & Peker, pp.97–98; Bryce (2012), p.94; Hawkins, Tosun & Akdoğan, p.2.
[1968] Bryce (2012), pp.94–97; Werner, p.33; payne, 81–87.
[1969] Bryce (2012), pp.97–98, 130; Marchetti & Peker, p.97–98; Payne, pp.80–81.
[1970] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 87, 122; Gadd (1954), pp.180, 181, 200; Bryce (2012), pp.84, 97–98.
[1971] Hawkins & Weeden, II.5.

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PUGNUS-mili I – Allumari I (1075–1045 BC) – Allumari is identified by Simon as the Assyrian name for PUGNUS-mili. He was the father of Runtiya and is identified by Bryce as the son of Kuzi-Tešup of Karkamiš (1090–1065 BC) and Country-Lord of Malatya. It is proposed that he reigned for about 30 years.[1972]

Runtiya (c.1045–1035 BC) – succeeded his father Allumari I as ruler of Malatya. He used the title 'Country-Lord of the city Malatya'. He refered to his grandfather Kuzi-Tešup of Karkamiš as Great King of the Hittites. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1973]

Arnuwanda IV – Arnuwanti I (c.1035–1020 BC) – succeeded his brother Runtiya as Country-Lord of Malatya. It is proposed that he reigned for about 15 years.[1974]

PUGNUS-mili II – Allumari II (1020–995 BC) – succeeded his father Arnu-wanti I as Country-Lord of Malatya. He paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC).[1975]

Arnuwanda V – Arnuwanti II (995–970 BC) – is identified on the Darende inscription as the son of PUGNUS-mili II, who he succeeded as Country-Lord of Malatya, and as grandson of Arnuwanti I.[1976]

Saḫwi (c.970–950 BC) – see Sahwi – Suḫi I, king of Karkamiš.

Sati-Runtiya (945–920 BC) – succeeded his father Sahwi as Country-Lord of Malatya.[1977]

CRUS+RA/I-sa – Taras (c.920–895 BC) – was Hero and Country-Lord of Malatya. He said that he sat on his father's throne, which in this chronology indicates that he was the son of Sati-Runtiya. He is also attested on an inscription of his grandson Ḫalpa-Sulupi.[1978]

[1972] Bryce (2012), pp.102-103, 303; Simon (2016), pp.67–68.
[1973] Bryce (2012), pp.51, 53, 55, 85–85, 99, 101–102, 196.
[1974] Bryce (2012), pp.51, 53, 55, 85–86, 99, 101–103, 196.
[1975] Grayson (1991a), p.43; Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76; Bryce (2012), pp.103; Simon (2016), pp.67–68.
[1976] Bryce (201a2), p.104.
[1977] Hawkins, J.D. (1974), pp.76–78.
[1978] Bryce (2012), p.105; Giusfredi (2010), p.51.

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Wasu-Runtiya (c.895–870 BC) – succeeded his father Taras as king of Malatya. He is attested on an inscription by his son Ḫalpa-Sulupi.[1979]

Ḫalpa-Sulupi (c.870–855 BC) – succeeded his father Wasu-Runtiya as Lord, Hero and 'Potent King' of Malatya.[1980]

The hypothetical kings Suwarimi and Mariti contemplated by Bryce are not accepted in this chronology.[1981]

Lalli – Lalla (855–830 BC) – succeeded Ḫalpa-Sulupi as king of Malatya. He was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC).[1982]

Sulumeli I – Sulehawali (830–805 BC) – is attested on the Aslantepe stone panel near Malatya, which is of a style traditional to the 9th Century BC. It is proposed that he is the same person as Sulehawali, who was contemporary with Menua of Urartu (810–785 BC).[1983]

Šaḫu (805–782 BC) – was a king of Malatya who was contemporary with Argišti of Urartu (785–763 BC). He used the title Hero.[1984]

Ḫilaruada (782–755 BC) – succeeded his father Šahu as king of Malatya. He was contemporary with Argišti (785–763 BC) and Sardui II of Urartu (763–735 BC).[1985]

Sulumeli II (755–735 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). He sided with Matiʿ-El of ʾArpāḏ (c.755–735 BC) and was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III.[1986]

Gunzinanu – Kunzinanu (735–725 BC) – was deposed by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC). [1987]

[1979] Bryce (2012), p.105; Giusfredi (2010), p.51.
[1980] Bryce (2012), p.106; Giusfredi (2010), p.51.
[1981] Bryce (2012), pp.106–107.
[1982] Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76; Grayson (1996), p.23; Bryce (2012), p.107.
[1983] Akurgal, p.213; Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76.
[1984] Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76; Bryce (2012), p.107; Giusfredi (2010), pp.58–59.
[1985] Hawkins, J.D. (1974), pp.76, 78; Giusfredi (2010), pp.57–59.
[1986] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.47, 70, 77, 84–85, 87, 122.
[1987] Frame (2009), p.67; Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76.

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Tarḫunazi (725–711 BC) – was installed as king of Malatya by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC), who later deported him in 711 BC and gave the kingdom to Muwatalli V of Kummuḫ (c.725–708 BC). [1988]

Mugallu (c.685–660 BC) – was king a Malatya who defended his kingdom against Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) in 675 BC.[1989]

5.7.8 Kurkuma (Gurgum) / Maraş

Astuwalamanza I (c.995–970 BC) – was king of Kurkuma. He was recorded on an inscription of his grandson Larama I.[1990]

Muwatalli III (c.970–945 BC) – succeeded his father Astuwalamanza I as king of Kurkuma. He was recorded on an inscription of his son Larama I.[1991]

Larama I (c.945–920 BC) – succeeded his father Muwatalli III as king of Kurkuma. He was recorded on an inscription which commemorated his achievements.[1992]

Muwizi (c.920–895 BC) – succeeded his father Larama I as king of Kurkuma.[1993]

Ḫalpa-Runtiya I (c.895–870 BC) – succeeded his father Muwizi as king of Kurkuma.[1994]

Muwatalli IV – Mutallu (c.870–855 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫalpa-Runtiya I as king of Kurkuma. He was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 858 BC and on an inscription by his great grandson Ḫalpa-Runtiya III.[1995]

Ḫalpa-Runtiya II – Qalparunda (c.855–830 BC) – succeeded his father Muwatalli IV as king of Kurkuma. He is attested on the base of a statue, on an inscription by his grandson Ḫalpa-Runtiya III and was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 853 BC.[1996]

[1988] Gadd (1954), p.183; Frame (2009), pp.67–68; Hawkins, J.D. (1974), p.76.
[1989] Leichty, p.8; Glassner, p.209; Bryce (2012), pp.175, 293.
[1990] Bryce (2012), pp.122, 125.
[1991] Bryce (2012), pp.122, 125.
[1992] Bryce (2012), pp.122, 125.
[1993] Bryce (2012), pp.122–123, 125.
[1994] Bryce (2012), pp.122, 125.
[1995] Grayson (1996), pp.11, 16; Bryce (2012), pp.122–123, 126; Payne, p.53.
[1996] Grayson (1996), p.23; Bryce (2012), pp.122–123, 126–127; Payne, p.53.

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Larama II – Palalam (c.830–805 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫalpa-Runtiya II as king of Kurkuma. He is named on an inscription of his son Ḫalpa-Runtiya III. He is called Palalam by Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).[1997]

Ḫalpa-Runtiya III – Qalparuda (c.805–780 BC) – succeeded his father Larama II as king of Kurkuma. He is attested on in inscription including three generations of his ancestry. He had a boundary dispute with Šuppiluliuma IV of Kummuh (c.805–773 BC) which was adjudicated by Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC).[1998]

Tarḫulara (743–c.711 BC) – was named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). He sided with Matiʿ-El of ʾArpāḏ (c.755–735 BC) and was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III and forced into submission. He was murdered by his son Muwatalli VI.[1999]

Muwatalli VI – Mutallu (c.711–c.710 BC) – killed his father Tarḫulara, who he succeeded as king of Kurkuma. Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) quickly captured Muwatalli VI and installed a eunuch as provincial governor.[2000]

5.7.9 Amatuwana (Ḫamath)

Tou – Toi (c.985–960 BC) – is described in the Bible as a king of Ḫamath who had been at war with Ḫadadezer I of Aram-Zobaḥ (c.985–960 BC), and congratulated David of Israel (1000–971 BC) for his defeat of Ḫadadezer I by sending his son Joram with gifts of gold, silver and bronze.

Bryce suggests that the account of Tou in the Bible cannot be accepted as reliable evidence of his existence.[2001] The truth of his existence is further brought into question by the fact that his son Joram is provided with a Hebrew name.

Parita (c.880–855 BC) – is known from three inscriptions by his son Urhilini. While he is not provided a title, he is considered to have been a 9th century BC Hittite king of Ḫamath [2002]

[1997] Grayson (1996), p.205; Bryce (2012), pp.122, 127; Payne, p.53.
[1998] Grayson (1996), p.205; Bryce (2012), pp.122, 127; Payne, p.53.
[1999] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.47, 70, 74–75, 77, 87, 122; Frame (2021), pp.95, 116, 146; Bryce (2012), pp.127–128.
[2000] Frame (2021), pp.95, 116, 146; Bryce (2012), p.128.
[2001] Bryce (2012), p.207.
[2002] Bryce (201a2), pp.135, 207, 306.

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Urhilini – Irḫulēnu (c.855–830 BC) – succeeded his father Parita as king of Ḫamath. He is attested on several inscriptions. He is called Irḫulēnu by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who captured from him the city Aštammaku. He participated in the Battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III in 853 BC. He may have sided again with Ḫadadezer II of Damascus (865–842 BC) against Shalmaneser III's in subsequent years, however these later accounts appear to be regurgitations of the earlier battle inserted by Shalmaneser III's scribes to embellish his annals.[2003]

Uratami – Rudamu? (c.830–800 BC) – succeeded his father Urhilini as king of Ḫamath. He received a letter from Marduk-aplar-usur of Suhu.[2004]

5.7.10 Pattin (Palistin/Unqi)

Taita (c.920–895 BC) – is the earliest attested king of Pattin. He described himself as Hero and king of PaDAsatini. With the removal of the Dark Age in the 11th Century BC it becomes apparent that there was only one king Taita at Pattin.[2005]

Manana (c.895–870 BC) – was the father of Suppiluliuma III of Pattin. He is recognised by Weeden as having been king of Pattin. He was likely the king mentioned by Bryce who used the Hittite title of Labarna and paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC).[2006]

Šuppiluliuma III – Sapalulme (c.870–857 BC) – succeeded his father Manana as king of Pattin. In about 858 BC he sided with Ḫayyā of Samʾal (c.875–850 BC), Aḫunu of Bīt-Adini (875–850 BC) and Sangara of Karkamiš (870–845 BC) against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who defeated them. With the removal of the Dark Age in the 11th Century BC it becomes apparent that there was only one king Šuppiluliuma at Pattin.[2007]

Ḫalpa-Runtiya IV – Qalparunda (857–832 BC) – was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who refers to him as both Qalparuda and by the Hittite title Labarna, and records that in his Year 28 Ḫalpa-Runtiya IV was assassinated by a usurper Surri.[2008]

[2003] Grayson (1996), pp.23, 45, 47, 95, 147; Bryce (2012), pp.135, 207, 306; Payne, pp.59–65.
[2004] Bryce (2012), pp.136, 207, 306; Payne, pp.59–64.
[2005] Bryce (2012), pp.128–130; Weeden, pp.13–18.
[2006] Weeden, pp.12, 15; Bryce (2012), p.130; Grayson (1991a), p.217–218, 222, 227, 276, 281, 285, 290.
[2007] Grayson (1996), pp.9, 10, 16; Weeden, pp.12–16; Bryce (2012), p.131.
[2008] Grayson (1996), pp.11, 18, 23, 25, 38, 47, 69, 81, 139; Weeden, pp.12, 15; Bryce (2012), p.131–132.

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Surri (832 BC) – the son of a nobody assassinated Ḫalpa-Runtiya IV and usurped the throne of Pattin in Year 28 of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC). When Shalmaneser III's army approached the city Surri somehow died, and the citizens handed over the coup participants and family of Surri.[2009]

Sāsi (832–c.805 BC) – was installed as king of Pattin by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) and paid tribute. It is proposed that he reigned for about 27 years.[2010]

Tutammu (c.750–738 BC) – breached his allegiance to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) in about 738 BC, who subsequently executed Tutammu and incorporated the kingdom into Assyria.[2011]

5.7.11 Kummuḫ

Tudḫaliya VI (c.905–880 BC) – married the daughter of Suḫi II of Karkamiš (920–895 BC). It is proposed that he was king of Kummuḫ, as considered by Bryce.[2012]

Ḫattušili III – Qatazilu (c.880–856 BC) – as named as paying tribute to Ashurnasirpal II (883–858 BC) and Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) of Assyria.[2013]

Kundašpu (c. 856–830 BC) – was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC).[2014]

Šuppiluliuma IV – Ušpilulume (c.805–773 BC) – was contemporary with Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC), who adjudicated a boundary dispute with Ḫalpa-Runtiya III of Gurgum (c.805–780 BC).[2015]

Ḫattušili IV (c.773–750 BC) – succeeded his father Šuppiluliuma IV as king of Kummuḫ.[2016]

Kuštašpi (c.750–725BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2017]

[2009] Grayson (1996), pp.69, 81–82; Bryce (2012), p.132.
[2010] Grayson (1996), pp.69, 82; Bryce (2012), p.132.
[2011] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.39–40; Bryce (2012), pp.132–133, 263, 268, 306, 332 (n.19).
[2012] Bryce (2012), p.91.
[2013] Grayson (1991a), p219; (1996), pp.15, 18; Bryce (2012), p.111.
[2014] Grayson (1996), p.23; Bryce (2012), p.111.
[2015] Grayson (1996), p.205; Bryce (2012), p.112.
[2016] Bryce (2012), p.113.
[2017] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 87, 122; Bryce (2012), p.114.

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Muwatalli V – Muttallu (c.725–708 BC) – was recorded by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) as receiving the city of Malatya from Sargon II but then revolted and withheld paying tribute, forming an alliance with Argišti II of Urartu (714–680 BC). When Sargon II went to confront Muwatalli V he fled, never to be seen by the Assyrians again. Sargon II then installed a eunuch as provincial governor.[2018]

Marlarim (c.680–655 BC) – was commander of Kummuḫ with the eponym year of 668 BC named after him during the reign of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–630 BC).

5.7.12 Tabal

Tuwati I – Tuatti (c.850–825 BC) – is the earliest attested king of Tabal. He is recorded as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in his Year 22 (837 BC).[2019]

Kikki (c.825–800 BC) – is recorded by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) as the son of Tuwati I, who he likely succeeded as king of Tabal.[2020]

Tuwati II (775–750 BC) – was king of Tabal. He is attested in an inscription by his son Wasusarma with the Hittite titles Great King and Hero.[2021]

Wasusarma – Uassurme (750–730 BC) – succeeded his father Tuwati II as king of Tabal. Like his predecessor he used the Hittite titles Great King and Hero. Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (745–724) recorded receiving tribute from Wasusarma and later stated that he deposed Wasusarma for stopping the payment of tribute and acting "if he were the equal of Assyria".[2022]

Ḫullî (c.730–718 BC) – was a 'son of a nobody' who was installed as king of Tabal by Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (745–724) and immediately paid a large tribute. He was later deposed by Tiglath-pileser III but reinstated by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).[2023]

Ambaris – Amris (c.718–713 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫullî as king of Tabal. He was married to Aḫat-Abīša, the daughter of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).

[2018] Frame (2021), pp.83, 94, 108 (n.), 147, 376.
[2019] Grayson (1996), p.79; Bryce (2012), p.142.
[2020] Grayson (1996), p.79; Bryce (2012), p.143.
[2021] Bryce (2012), p.143.
[2022] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.48, 70, 77, 87, 122–123, 132–133.
[2023] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.123, 132–133; Frame (2021), p.69; Bryce (2012), p.144.

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Sargon II later accused him of plotting with Phrygia and Urartu and deported him to Assyria.[2024]

Gurdî (713–690 BC) – the Kulummian was a king of Tabal who killed Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC). Some scholars note that he could be the same person as Kurtî of Atuna.[2025]

5.7.13 Ḫiyawa (Adanawa / Quwê)

Katiyas – Katê (c.845–833 BC) – was contemporary with Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who defeated him in his first campaign in Year 1 (858 BC) and deposed him in his fourth campaign against Katiyas in his Year 26 (833 BC).[2026]

Kirrî (c.833–820 BC) – was installed by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) as successor to his brother Katiyas.[2027]

Awariku – Urikki (c.738–709 BC) – was recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2028]

Aššur-Daʾʾinanni II (c.709–680 BC) – was governor of Quwê with the eponym year of 685 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–669 BC).

Amyanu (c.680–655 BC) – was governor of Quwê with the eponym year of 655 BC named after him during the reign of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–630 BC).

5.7.14 Ḫubišna

Puḫame (c.850–825 BC) – was named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in about 837 BC.[2029]

[2024] Grayson & Novotny (2014), p.26; Frame (2021), pp.23, 28, 69, 93, 141, 227, 331, 341, 367, 431; Bryce (2012), pp.144–145.
[2025] Glassner, p.175; Frame (2021), pp.37, 40.
[2026] Grayson (1996), pp.10, 16, 55, 58, 60, 68–69, 78, 80, 119; Bryce (2012), p.155.
[2027] Grayson (1996), pp.69, 80.
[2028] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 87, 122.
[2029] Grayson (1996), p.79; Bryce (2012), p.307.

Urartu.online

Urimmi (c.750–725 BC) – was named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) in about 740 BC.[2030]

5.7.15 Tuwana

Muwaḫḫarana I (c.765–740 BC) – was king of Tuwana known from a reference to him in an inscription of his son Warpalawa.[2031]

Warpalawa – Urballâ (c.740–715 BC) – succeeded his father Muwaḫḫarana I as king of Tuwana. He was named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2032]

Muwaḫḫarana II (c.715–690 BC) – succeeded his father Warpalawa as king of Tuwana.[2033]

Masauraḫisa (c.690–665 BC) – was king of Tuwana.[2034]

5.8 Luwians, Kaska and Phrygia

Table 51 – Kings of the Luwians, Kaska and Phrygia

Purušanda
Nurdaḫḫi/Nur-Dagān I
c.2150

Aḫḫiya
Attarsiya
/Asterius

Zippasla
Madduwatta
c.1267–1250

Arzawa
Kupanta-Kurunta I
c.1270–1255

Arzawa
Tarḫunta-Radu
c.1250–1225

?

Wilusa (Troy)
Kukkunni
c.1220–1195

Erichthonius II
c.1195–1170

Seha River (Sipylus)
Muwa-Walwi
c.1215–1190

Anza-Paḫḫaddu
c.1225–1200

Mira (Maionia)

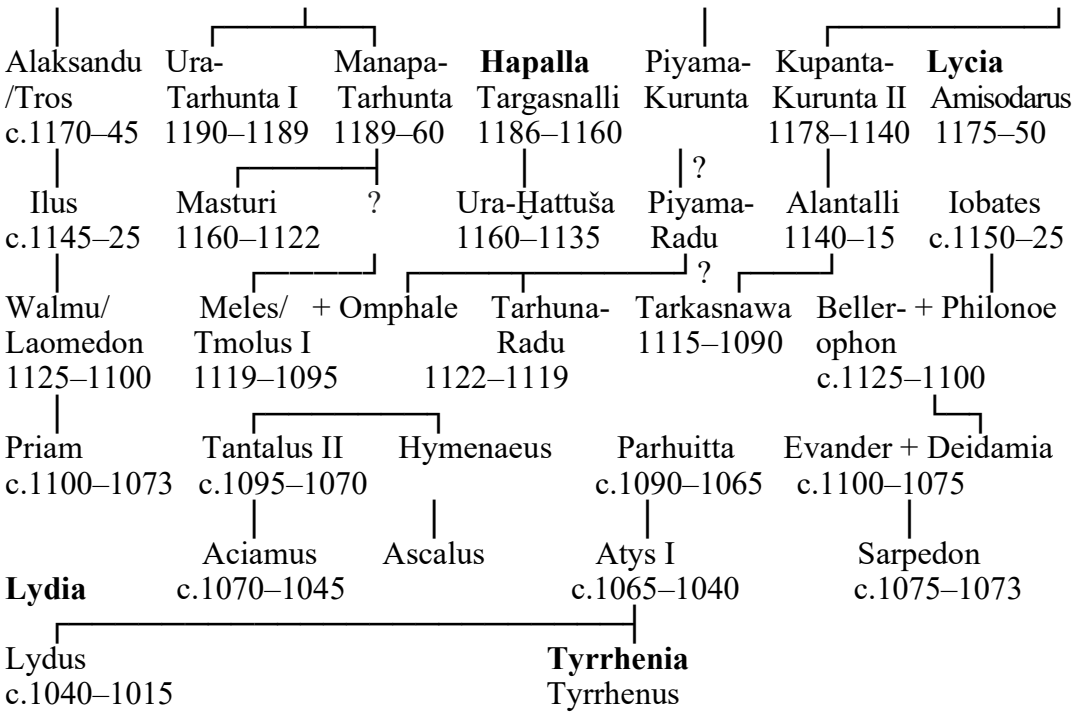
Uḫḫa-Ziti
c.1200–1191

Mašhuiluwa
c.1191–1178

?

[2030] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.48, 70, 77, 87; Bryce (2012), p.307.
[2031] Bryce (2012), p.149; Simon (2013), p.291.
[2032] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.48, 70, 77, 87, 122; Bryce (2012), pp.150–152; Simon (2013), p.291.
[2033] Bryce (2012), p.152; Simon (2013), p.291.
[2034] Simon (2013), p.291.

Hittite online



Tmolus II
c.1015–990

Theoclymenus
c.960–965

Tylon
c.965–940

Alcaeus
c.940–915

Belus
c.915–890

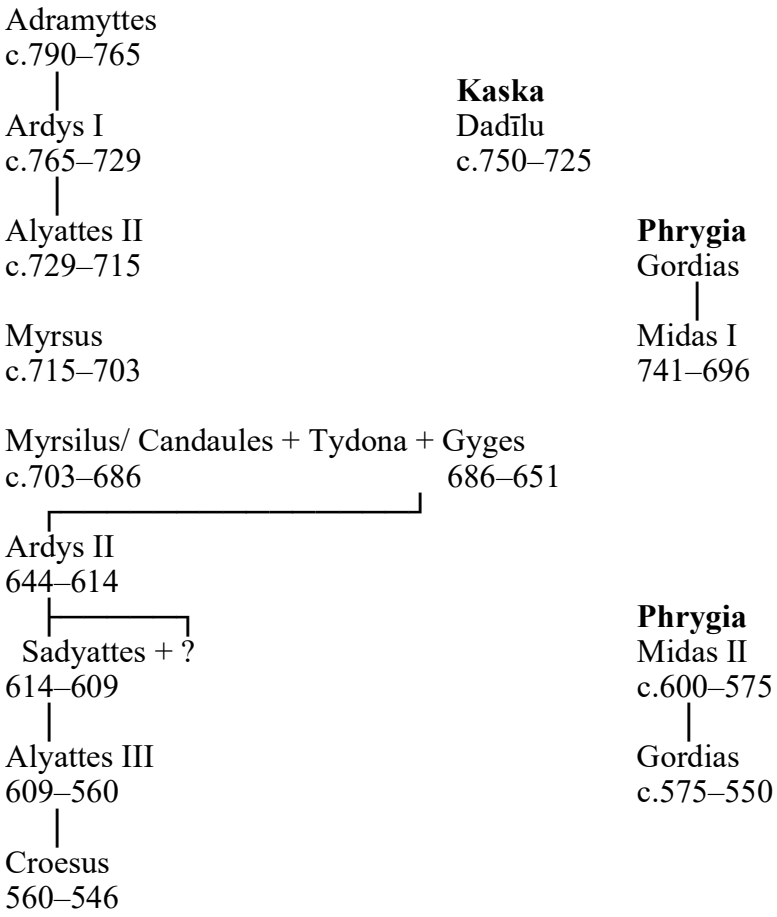
Ninus
c.890–865

Agron
c.865–840

Kamblitas
c.840–815

Alyattes I
c.815–790

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5.8.1 Purušanda

Nurdaḫḫi – Nur-Dagān I (c.2150) – was the earliest named king of the region later controlled by the Hittites. He was called Nur-Dagān by Sargon of Akkadê (2102–2046 BC), in his epic tale *King of Battle*, which remained a popular story for over a thousand years, with copies found at Ḫattuša and Amarna in Egypt. Nurdaḫḫi is the only known king of Purušḫanda, which was later captured by the Ḫittite king Anitta.[2035]

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[2035] Torri, pp.110–118.

5.8.2 Zippasla – Arzawa – Mira (Maionia) – Lydia

Mount Zippasla – Siyanta River

Madduwatta (c.1267–1250 BC) – was recorded in a document known as the *Indictment of Madduwatta* by a king of Ḫatti who must have been Arnuwanda I (c.1265–1245 BC).[2036]

Madduwatta's background is unknown. He was likely originally a petty king who is first event recorded as fleeing from Attarišiya, the king of Aḫḫiya (Achia = Greece), who it is proposed was king Asterius of Crete (1298–1262 BC) . The Hittite king records that his predecessor (i.e., Tudḫaliya II, 1267–1250 BC) then installed Madduwatta as king of the land of Mount Zippasla and also gave him the land of the Siyanta River. However, Madduwatta then, without consent from Ḫatti, attacked and was defeated by Kupanta-Kurunta I of Arzawa (c.1275–1250 BC), the enemy of Ḫatti, and was again saved by Tudḫaliya II and subsequently saved a third time by Tudḫaliya II when Attarišiya again tried to destroy Madduwatta.

Madduwatta then turned-on Ḫatti and formed alliances with Ḫatti's enemies. While he initially offered his daughter as wife to Kupanta-Kurunta I, it is likely the marriage never eventuated and it is noted that he subsequently took all of the land of Arzawa, which indicates that he must have deposed, or more likely killed, Kupanta-Kurunta I. He also later attacked and captured Hapalla and other areas controlled by Ḫatti, including raiding Alašiya (Cyprus).

Arzawa

Arzawa was in south-west Anatolia, where its capital Apasa is believed to have been located at Ephesus.[2037]

Kupanta-Kurunta I (c.1270–1255 BC) – was the first recorded king of Arzawa. He is described in the *Indictment of Madduwatta* by Arnuwanda I of Ḫatti (1265–1245 BC) as an enemy of Ḫatti. He was defeated by both Tudḫaliya II of Ḫatti (1267–1250 BC) and Arnuwanda I. His kingdom was later annexed by Madduwatta of Zippasla (c.1267–1250 BC).[2038]

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[2036] Beckman (1996a), pp.144–151.
[2037] Bryce (2005a), p.193.
[2038] Beckman (1996a), pp.146–148.

Tarḫunta-Radu (c.1250–1225 BC) – was likely the son of Madduwatta, who he appears to have succeeded as king of Arzawa. When a series of disasters stuck the Hittite Empire during the reign of Tudḫaliya III of Ḫatti (1245–1239 BC), including the loss of land to Tarḫunta-Radu, Tarḫunta-Radu was briefly recognised by Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC) in Amarna letter EA 31 as the most powerful ruler in Anatolia, stating: 'I have heard that everything is finished, and that the country Hattusa is shattered' and arranged to marry his daughter.[2039]

Anza-Paḫḫaddu (c.1225–1200 BC) – was an Arzawan leader who refused a demand from Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (c.1225–1196 BC) for the return of Hittite subjects. It is proposed that he succeeded Tarḫunta-Radu as king of Arzawa.[2040]

Uhha-Ziti (c.1200–1191 BC) – is known from Hittie sources. A treaty between Kupanta-Kurunta II of Mira (1178–1135 BC) and Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC) reveals that when the king of Arzawa died (likely Anza-Pahhaddu), his heir Mašḫuiluwa was forced by his brothers to flee and seek asylum at Ḫattuša. The treaty, along with the Manapa-Tarhunta Treaty and the annals of Muršili II further reveal that Arzawa was then ruled by Uḫḫa-Ziti (1210–1186 BC). It is therefore proposed that Uḫḫa-Ziti was the brother of Mašḫuiluwa and son of Anza-Pahhaddu. He was allied with Aḫḫiyawa (Achiawa/Achaea/Greeks) who had taken Milawata (Miletus). Muršili II states that in his Year 3 he destroyed the land of Milawata and then in the following year he invaded Arzawa and destroyed Uḫḫa-Ziti and split-up his kingdom.[2041]

Mira (Maionia)

Maionia is mentioned several times in the *Iliad*, where Homer says that Mesthles and Antiphus, the sons of King Talaemenes, fought on the side of the Trojans.[2042] As Mira was the major kingdom in south-west Anatolia during the final phase of the Hittite Empire, and the Greeks referred to the major kingdom in the region during this time as Maionia, it stands to reason that Maionia was the Greek name for the kingdom of Mira.

Mašhuiluwa (c.1200, 1191–1178 BC) – is named on a treaty between Kupanta-Kurunta II of Mira (1178–1135 BC) and Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC), which

[2039] Moran, pp.101–103.
[2040] Bryce (2005a), p.151.
[2041] Beckman (1996a), pp.69–77; Bryce (2005a), pp.193–195.
[2042] *Iliad*, II.864–866,

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reveals that Mašhuiluwa was the heir to the throne of Arzawa who was forced by his brothers to flee and seek asylum at Ḫattuša, where he married Muwatti, the daughter of Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (c.1225–1196 BC).

When Musili II campaigned against Uhha-Ziti of Arzawa in his Year 4 (1191 BC), Mašhuiluwa led a decisive victory against Uhha-Ziti's son Piyama-Kurunta and gained control of cities in Mira. After his defeat of Uhha-Ziti, Musili II partitioned Arzawa into three kingdoms, giving the largest portion of Mira and Kuwaliya to Mašhuiluwa.[2043]

Kupanta-Kurunta II (c.1178–1140 BC) – was the nephew and adopted son of Mašḫuiluwa. When Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–c.1165 BC) deposed Mašḫuiluwa for being rebellious he installed Kupanta-Kurunta II as king of Mira and bound him to Ḫatti by a treaty. He was also contemporary with Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1162–c.1130 BC). He corresponded with Ramesses II of Egypt (1165–1099 BC).[2044]

Alantalli – Tantalus I (c.1140–1115 BC) – is named as king of Mira on the Treaty between Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC) and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (1152–1115 BC). He is likely the father of the addressee in the Milawata Letter who is described as a king who has tried to capture the border territories of Ḫatti. It is agreed with Hawkins that the addressee of the Milawata Letter was likely Tarkasnawa, who is recorded on an inscription attached to the Karabel relief, which describes both his father and grandfather as kings of Mira but with names of uncertain reading.[2045] This suggests that Alantalli was the son of Kupanta-Kurunta II.

It is proposed that in the Greek tradition Alantalli was known as Tantalus I, who is referred to as a king of Lydia who is best known from the afterlife scene in the *Odyssey* and is therefore dated to before the Trojan War. In the *Odyssey* he is one of three figures described as enduring continuing punishment in the afterlife for his crimes, the nature of which is unclear since there are several different stories of his crime(s) from antiquity. He may have been associated with the gluttony stories later attributed to Cambletes.[2046]

Tarkasnawa (c.1115–1090 BC) – was king of Mira. He is typically identified as the addressee of the Milawata Letter, which was between an unnamed Hittite king who must have been Tudḫaliya IV (1130–1100 BC), and a vassal king in western

[2043] Beckman (1996a), pp.69–71; Beckman, Bryce & Cline, pp.25, 29, 43, 45
[2044] Beckman (1996a), pp.69–77, 124–125; Bryce (2003), pp.85–86.
[2045] Hawkins, J.D. (1998), pp.1, 3.
[2046] Beckman (1996a), pp.69; Beckman, Bryce & Cline, p.125.

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Anatolia, who was most likely either the king of Seha River Land or Tarkasnawa, the king or Mira.[2047] Singer however suggested that the addressee was instead Mašḫuitta (1085–1060 BC), who he proposes was king of Seha River Land and the son of Tarḫuna-Radu, matching the fact that the addressee's father is said to have been hostile to Ḫatti.[2048] However this identification cannot be correct, for while Tarḫuna-Radu was hostile to Ḫatti, it is know that he and his family were deported to Ḫatti and a descendant of Muwa-Walwi was instead installed on the throne of Seha River Land. It is therefore most likely that the addressee was Tarkasnawa (1110–1085 BC), as suggested by Hawkins, Beckman, Bryce and Cline.[2049] This would mean that he was the son of his predecessor Alantalli as suggested by Hawkins and was installed as king by Tudḫaliya IV.[2050]

The Milawata Letter is particularly important as it not only provides additional information on Milawata and the infamous Piyama-Radu, but also mentions Walmu of Wilusa, who is said to have been a vassal of both the king of Ḫatti and the addressee (Tarkasnawa), which suggests that Tarkasnawa had an elevated status greater than the kings of Mira before him. This change in equilibrium between Tudḫaliya IV and Tarkasnawa is understandable given, as discussed earlier, that Kurunta at Tarḫuntašša was now independent of Tudḫaliya IV and was also styling himself as the Great King of Ḫatti, which suggests that Tudḫaliya IV needed to be far more respectful of his key allies than was required in the past. Such a display of respect by a Great King of Ḫatti to another king in Anatolia is found in a letter fragment to Parhuitta and is the reason why Singer had proposed that Parhuitta was the addressee of the Milawata Letter. If Tarkasnawa was the addressee of the Milawata Letter, then Parhuitta was likely a king of Mira as suggested by Hawkins, and therefore Tarkasnawa's successor.[2051]

Parhuitta – Talaemenes – Manes (c.1090–1065 BC) – was named by a king of Ḫatti on text KBo XVIII 18 as king MAŠ̲huitta of a land whose name is broken off. He is identified by Hawkins as the likely successor of Tarkasnawa as king of Mira. It appears that was known in the Greek tradition as Talaemenes, who according to Homer sent his sons Mesthles and Antiphus to participate in the Trojan War on the side of the Trojans. It is further suggested that Manes (the father of Atys I) is a diminutive of Talaemenes.[2052]

[2047] Beckman, Bryce & Cline, pp.125–131.
[2048] Singer (1983), p.216.
[2049] Hawkins, J.D. (1998), p.19; Bryce (2005a), p.306.
[2050] Hawkins, J.D. (1998), p.1.
[2051] Hawkins, J.D. (1998), p.21.
[2052] Singer (2011), p.421; Hawkins, J.D. (1998), pp.20–21; *Iliad*, II.864–866,

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Atys I (c.1065–1040 BC) – Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes Cotys, who was a son of Manes and was the father of Asies (after whom the Lydians said that Asia was named), as the successor of Manes and father of Atys I. However, Herodotus does not describe Cotys as a king. Herodotus instead says that Manes was succeeded by his son Atys I, who was in turn succeeded by his son Lydus, after whom the kingdom of Lydia was named.[2053]

As mentioned earlier, Herodotus also refers to a prolonged period of drought and famine during the reign of Atys I which lasted for 18 years. He further states that in response to the famine, half of the population of Maionia migrated with his son Tyrrhenus to Tyrrhenia in Umbria in Italy (the descendants of whom became the Etruscans).[2054] While some scholars doubt the historicity of the migration, it is possible that the story, along with the stories of the Argo and the *Odyssey*, formed part of the inspiration for Virgil's *Aeneid*, which similarly describes the Trojan Aeneas as migrating to Rome after the Trojan War.

In addition to the Etruscan story, Xanthus also wrote that the Philistine city of Ascalon was founded during the time of King Aciamus (c.1070–1045 BC) by the Lydian Ascalus, the son of Hymenaeus, the brother of King Tantalus of Sipylus (1095–1070 BC).[2055] As Lydia included the former kingdoms of both Mira (Maionia) and Seha River Land (Sipylus), and the capital of Lydia was moved to Sardis which lay in the heartland of the former kingdom of Sipylus, the Greeks in later years referred to the people of both Maionia and Sipylus as Lydians. It is therefore possible that the story of the foundation of the Philistine city of Ascalon has links with the migrations out of south-west Anatolia during the time of the famine which occurred in the reigns of Atys I of Maionia and Aciamus of Sipylus, and was associated with the actions of the Sea Peoples who attacked Egypt for its grain on three occasions during the reign of Ramesses III of Egypt. It is proposed that Atys I annexed the kingdom of Sipylus following the famine and death of Aciamus.

Lydia

Lydus (c.1040–1015 BC) – was named by Herodotus as having succeeded his father Atys I as king of Maionia (Mira). According to Herodotus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus he was the eponymous king of Lydia.[2056]

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[2053] Sale, p.330; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.27.1; Herodotus, 1.7, 1.94, 4.45.
[2054] Herodotus, 1.94.
[2055] Muller, v.3 fr.26 p.372; Drews, pp.101–102; Le Blanc, pp.182, 192–193.
[2056] Herodotus, 1.7.

Tmolus II (c.1015–990 BC) – was named by Pseudo-Plutarch as a king of Lydia who raped the arktoi Arrhippe, who subsequently hung herself. He was subsequently killed by Artemis who set a raging bull against him.[2057]

Theoclymenus (c.990–965 BC) – is mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch as the son of Tmolus II who buried his father and renamed Mount Carmanorius as Mount Tmolus. It is proposed that he succeeded his father as king of Lydia.[2058]

The Tylonids

Tylon (c.965–940 BC) – according to Herodotus, Agron was the first of the Heraclid kings who followed the house of the family of Lydus, which indicates that there were several kings between Lydus and Agron.[2059] He does not say who these kings were, but he does say that Agron was the son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus. While Herodotus referred to these kings as Heraclids, according to Nicolaus, the rulers of Lydia prior to the time of Gyges (686–651 BC) were instead descended from Tylon. Accordingly, Alexander, who provided a thorough discussion of Tylon, concludes that as an eponymous ancestor of later kings, Tylon himself was an early king of Lydia.[2060] If this is accepted, then he was likely the father of Alcaeus. It is possible that during the time of Agron the myth of Heracles had become particularly popular and that there was political advantage in identifying, like the Spartans, as a Heraclid rather that a Tylonid. It is therefore likely that Herodotus misunderstood this identification as an indication that Argon had founded a new house of kings, and that instead Agron's recorded ancestors were also kings of Lydia, as suggested by Sale.[2061]

Alcaeus (c.940–915 BC) – was named by Herodotus as king of Lydia. While Herodotus called him a 'son' of Heracles, it is proposed that he was a son of the Heraclid Tylon, who he succeeded as king.[2062]

Belus (c.915–890 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Alcaeus as king of Lydia. St. Jerome however appears to identify Belus with Bēlu-Bāni of Assyria (1531–1521 BC).[2063] Castor called him king of Assyria.

[2057] Pseudo-Plutarch, 7.5.
[2058] Pseudo-Plutarch, 7.5.
[2059] Herodotus, 1.7.
[2060] Alexander, pp.53–57.
[2061] Sale, p.333.
[2062] Herodotus, 1.7.
[2063] Herodotus, 1.7; St. Jerome, §B2016.

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Ninus (c.890–865 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Belus as king of Lydia. Castor, Eusebius and St. Jerome also called him the son of Belus, however they were possibly referring to Šu-Ninua of Assyria (1487–1473 BC) the son of Bāzāya and grandson of Bēlu-Bāni, saying that Ninus was king of Assyria who founded Nineveh. St. Jerome's description of Ninus as the first king to rule over all of Asia except for the Indies, for 52 years, appears however to refer to Sargon of Akkadê (2100–2046 BC), who was the first of the truly great emperors and possibly founded Nineveh, and Šamši-Adad V of Assyria (823–810 BC) who was the Assyrian king who likely captured Nineveh. Furthermore Šamši-Adad V's wife Sammu-Rāmat was likely the basis of the legendary queen Semiramis, who was supposedly the wife of Ninus.[2064]

Agron (c.865–840 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Ninus as king of Lydia.[2065]

Kamblitas – Kambles – Kambes– Kambysis (c.840–815 BC) – was named by Aelian as king of Lydia, who lists him as a glutton. Both Xanthus and Nicolaus said that he was such a glutton that one night he tore his wife in pieces and devoured her, and that when he woke the next morning, he found his wife's hand in his mouth. When it became known what had occurred, he killed himself. Eustathius called him Kambysis.[2066]

Alyattes I (c.815–790 BC) – was noted by Stephanus of Byzantium to have been named by Aristotle as the father of Adramyttes. Stephanus equated him with Alyattes III, the father of Croesus.[2067]

Adramyttes – Adyattes (c.790–765 BC) – was named by Athenaeus as a king of Lydia and the first king to castrate women, using female eunuchs instead of male eunuchs. This was also mentioned by Xanthus, who states that the act was also practiced by Gyges (686–651 BC). Stephanus of Byzantium stated that Aristotle had described him as the son of Alyattes and founder of the city of Adramyttium in Mysia. Nicolaus, who called him Adyattes, said that he was the father of Ardy I and Kadys.[2068]

[2064] Herodotus, 1.7; St Jerome, §B2016, §B819.
[2065] Herodotus, 1.7.
[2066] Aelian (1997), 1.27; Xanthus, fr.12; Nicolaus, fr.28 - Muller, v.3 fr.28 p.372; Alexander, pp.35 (n.3), 40.
[2067] Stephanus, 27.1
[2068] Athenaeus, 12.11, Xanthus, fr.19; Stephanus, 27.1; Muller, v.3 fr.49 p.380; Alexander, pp. 24 (n.20), 28, 42.

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Ardys I (c.765–729 BC) – was named by Nicolaus as the son of Adyattes (Adramyttes), which Eusebius took to be a reference to an Alyattes. Eusebius gave him a reign of 36 years.[2069]

Alyattes II (c.729–715 BC) – was named by Eusebius as the successor of Ardys I with a reign of 14 years. St Jerome dated him to the year before he dated Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC).[2070]

Myrsus – Meles (c.715–703 BC) – was the successor of Alyattes II. While Herodotus called him Myrsus, Eusebius called him Meles with a reign of 12 years.[2071]

Candaules – Myrsilus (c.703–686 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Myrsus as king of Lydia. Herodotus says that the Greeks called him Myrsilus and that he was assassinated by Gyges. Eusebius gave him a reign of 17 years. According to Herodotus, Candaules was the last king of a royal house that had ruled for 505 years (since 1191 BC). This was the year that Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC) in his Year 4 installed Mašhuiluwa (1191–1178 BC) as the firs king of Mira (Maionia).[2072]

The Mermnadae

Gyges (686–651 BC) – assassinated Candaules and married his widow Tydona to claim the throne of Lydia. While Herodotus, who noted that the poet Archilochus mentioned Gyges as a contemporary in his Satires, gave him a reign of 38 years, Eusebius gave him a reign of 35 years. Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) recorded that he received from Gyges captured Cimmerians, but that Gyges was later killed in battle by the Cimmerians.[2073]

Ardys II (651–614 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Gyges as king of Lydia and ruling for 49 years. Herodotus said that during his reign Sardis was attacked by the Cimmerians. Eusebius gave hiem a reign of 37 years.[2074]

[2069] Muller, v.3 fr.49 p.380; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20.
[2070] Eusebius, *Chronography* §20; St. Jerome, §B742.
[2071] Herodotus, 1.7; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20.
[2072] Herodotus, 1.7–12; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20.
[2073] Herodotus, 1.10–15; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.50, 62, 87
[2074] Herodotus, 1.15–16; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20; Spalinger, p.406.

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Sadyattes (614–609 BC) – was said by Herodotus to have succeeded his father Ardys II as king of Lydia. Nicolaus said that he married his sister. Herodotus said that he ruled for 12 years, Eusebius gave him a reign of five years, and St. Jerome gave him 15 years starting in 626 BC.[2075]

Alyattes III (609–560 BC) – was said by Herodotus to have succeeded his father Sadyattes as king of Lydia. Herodotus said that he expelled the Cimmerians from Asia and fought against Cyaxares I of Media (636–596 BC). The feud between Lydia and Media lasted for five years was ended following a solar eclipse which occurred after a battle. This eclipse likely occurred on 18 May 603 BC. The treaty included Alyattes' daughter Aryenis marrying Cyaxares' son Astyages of Media (596–558 BC). Eusebius gave him a reign of 49 years.[2076]

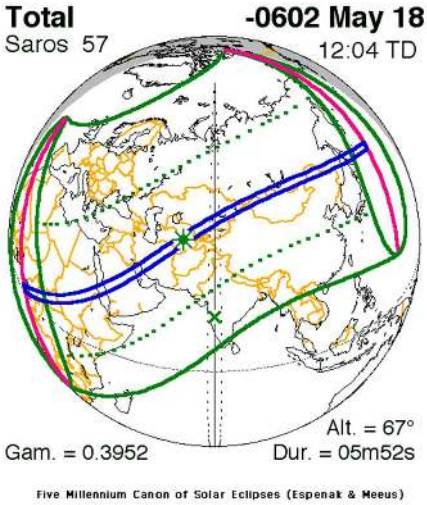


Figure 19 – Solar eclipse of 18 May 603 BC

Croesus (560–546 BC) – was named by Herodotus as succeeding his father Alyattes III as king of Lydia. Eusebius gave him a reign of 15 years and Herodotus gave him 14 years.[2077]

5.8.3 Wilusa (Troy)

Kukkunni – Dardanus (c.1220–1195 BC) – was named in the Alaksandu Treaty between Alaksandu of Wilusa (1170–1145 BC) and Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–

[2075] Herodotus, 1.16; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20; Nicolaus, fr.28; Muller, v.3 fr.63 p.396; Alexander, p.35; St. Jerome, §B626.
[2076] Herodotus, 1.16, 1.74; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20.
[2077] Herodotus, 1.6, 1.86; Eusebius, *Chronography* §20.

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1159 BC). The treaty mentions Kukkunni as an independent king of Wilusa who was at peace with Ḫatti during the time of Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC). In the Greek tradition Kukkunni is equivalent with Dardanus, who is described in the *Iliad* and by Pseudo-Apollodorus as the legendary ancestor of the kings of Troy who founded Dardania on the foothills of Mount Ida.[2078]

Erichthonius II (c.1195–1170 BC) – is described in the *Iliad* and by Pseudo-Apollodorus as succeeding his father Dardanus as king of Troy.[2079]

Alaksandu – Alexandros/Tros (c.1170–1145 BC) – succeeded his father Erichthonius II as king of Wilusa. In the *Iliad* he is given the name of Tros. He was the namesake of Alexandros (another name for Paris), who in the *Iliad* was the Trojan prince that abducted Helen, leading to the Trojan War. Pseudo-Apollodorus said that Tros gave his name to Troy. Alaksandu had a treaty with Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–1159 BC).[2080]

Ilus (c.1145–1125 BC) – is described in the *Iliad* and by Pseudo-Apollodorus as succeeding his father Tros as king of Troy.[2081]

Walmu – Laomedon (c.1125–1100 BC) – was named in the Milawata letter, in which an unnamed Hittite king, who was earlier identified as Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (1130–1100 BC), demands that the recipient resolves a dispute over hostages, turn over fugitives from Hittite justice, and turn over a certain Walmu to a Hittite envoy so that the Hittites could reinstall him as king of Wilusa. In the Greek tradition Walmu is equivalent with Laomedon, who succeeded his father Ilus as king of Troy, and is described in the *Iliad* as being contemporary with Heracles, who sacked Troy, and was the father of Priam of Troy.[2082]

Podarces – Priam (c.1100–1073 BC) – is described is the Greek tradition as Podarces the son of Laomedon, who was installed on his father' throne by Heracles and took the throne name Priam. He was king at the time of the Sack of Troy.

[2078] Beckman (1996a), p.82; Iliad, 20.215–218, 304–305'; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.12.1.
[2079] Iliad, 20.219–230; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.12.2.
[2080] *Iliad*, 5.266, 20.230–231; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.12.2; Forrer, pp.1–22; Beckman (1996a), pp.82–88.
[2081] *Iliad*,11.166, 20.232–236; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.12.2.
[2082] *Iliad*, 5.649, 6.23, 20.236–237, 21.443–457.

Troia online

5.8.4 Seha River (Sipylus)

Seha River Land was the Hittite name of the kingdom known by the Greeks as Sipylus. Its capital is thought to have been at Kaymakçı overlooking Marmara Lake, which feeds the Gediz River. The kingdom was later absorbed into Lydia, the capital of which was relocated to Sipylus at Sardis.

Muwa-Walwi (1215–1192 BC) – was king of Seha River named as the father of Manapa-Tarhunta.[2083]

Ura-Tarhunta I (c. 1192–1191 BC) – succeeded his father Muwa-Walwi as king of Seha River. He was named in the treaty between Mursili II of Ḫatti (1194–c.1165 BC) and Manapa-Tarhunta of Seha River (1189–1160 BC) as having usurped the throne from his younger brother Manapa-Tarhunta who fled to Karkisa (Caria). He was however driven-out of Seha River and Manapa-Tarhunta was installed as king.[2084]

Manapa-Tarhunta (c.1191–1160 BC) – was the designated successor of his father Muwa-Walwi as king of Seha River. However when his father died his elder brother Ura-Tarhunta I (c. 1190–1189 BC), who was likely of second rank son, seized the throne and Manapa-Tarhunta fled to Karkisa (Caria). When the people of Seha River revolted against Ura-Tarhunta, Manapa-Tarhunta was invited back.

In Year 4 of Muršili II (1194–1165 BC), Manapa-Tarhunta supported an unsuccessful defence against Muršili II led by Uḫḫa-Ziti of Arzawa (1210–1190 BC). He was allowed to retain his kingship after kowtowing to the successful Great King of Ḫatti and a subsequent treaty was written, in which he also received the former Arzawan land of Appawiya. The aging Manapa-Tarhunta is mentioned as still being king of Seha River Land in the Alaksandu treaty between Muwatalli II (1165–1159 BC) and Alaksandu of Wilusa (c.1170–1145 BC). When Manapa-Tarhunta became ineffectual against the activities of the Aḫḫiyawa (Achaeawa/Greeks) he was deposed by Muwatalli II, who appointed Masturi (1160–1122 BC) in his place.[2085]

Masturi (c.1160–1122 BC) – was installed by Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–1159 BC) as the successor of the ailing father Manapa-Tarhunta as king of Seha River. He married Massanuzzi, the sister of Muwatalli II. He supported Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti

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[2083] Beckman, Bryce & Cline, pp.41, 45, 155–156.
[2084] Beckman (1996a), pp.77–78.
[2085] Beckman (1996a), pp.77–81; Bryce (2005a), pp.227, 301.

(1152–c.1122 BC) when Ḫattušili II usurped the throne of Ḫatti from Muršili III (c.1159–1152 BC). While there is no evidence of a family relationship between Masturi and Manapa-Tarhunta, the fact that Masturi supported Ḫattušili II against Muršili III because the latter was a 'second-rank' son, suggests that Masturi was a 'first-rank' son of his predecessor.

Masturi was one of the signatories of the Bronze Tablet Treaty between Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC) and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša (1152–1115 BC). From correspondence between Ramesses II of Egypt and Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti it appears that he did not bear any children with Masturi, who seems to have died childless.[2086]

Tarḫuna-Radu – Iardanus (c.1122–1119 BC) – succeeded Masturi as king of Seha River. It is unknown by what means he came to the throne. It is proposed that he was a son of the notorious Piyama-Radu. He waged war against Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC) with the support of Aḫḫiyawa and was subsequently deposed by Tudḫaliya IV, who deported Tarḫuna-Radu and his family, along with many prisoners and 500 teams of horses, to Ḫatti. Tudḫaliya IV then placed an unnamed 'descendant of Muwa-Walwis' on the throne. It is proposed that in the Greek tradition he is to be equated with Iardanus, who Diodorus described as a king of Maionia. However, it is also possible that Iardanus was the Greek name for Piyama-Radu. It is suggested that Iardanus was from Sipylus rather than Maionia, and that Diodorus in the first century BC was not aware that although Maionia became Lydia, it had absorbed the kingdom of Sipylus, which is where the Lydian capital of Sardis was located.[2087]

Tmolus I – Meles (1119–1095 BC) – when Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC) deposed Tarḫuna-Radu he placed an unnamed 'descendant of Muwa-Walwis' on the throne. It is proposed that the king was Tmolus I, who as discussed below, was in the Greek tradition known as Meles.

This period coincides with a growing connection of the region with Greece and marks the introduction of the stories of Sipylus in the myths of Greece. Two of the oldest stories from the region are of Omphale and Tantalus. It is difficult to determine if the stories are purely archetypal, or if they can be connected to historical individuals and therefore should be incorporated into the history of the region.

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[2086] Beckman (1996a), p.100; Bryce (2003), pp.113–115; Bryce (2005a), pp.227, 252, 254, 284, 301, 305, 475 (n.50); Hawkins, J.D. (1998), p.17;
[2087] Bryce (2003), p.115; Bryce (2005a), pp.304–305, 475 (nn.52–53).

Queen Omphale was said to have been either the daughter or more likely the 'slave-girl' (possibly sister?) of King Iardanus.[2088] Omphale was also said to have been the wife of Tmolus I, and then after his death the mistress of the slave Heracles. Herodotus did not refer to Omphale by name, but instead stated that the Heraclid kings of Lydia were descended from Heracles and the slave girl of Iardanus, while Sophocles, who was a contemporary of Herodotus, referred to the story of Heracles being sold to Omphale.[2089] The association of Heracles, who was killed by Eurystheus of Tiryns (1140–1120 BC), with Omphale and Tmolus I does not fit with this Universal Chronology.

Whether Omphale was the daughter, slave girl or sister of Iardanus, it seems that Iardanus must have been a king and is therefore also most likely to be equated with Tarḫuna-Radu as suggested above. The story of Omphale being married to the autochthonous Tmolus I fits well with him being equated with the 'descendant of Muwa-Walwis' installed on the throne of Seha River Land by Tudḫaliya IV.

As mentioned earlier, Herodotus tells the story that the kings of Lydia (that is, the Tylonids) claimed descent from the slave girl of Iardanus and Heracles. He then later says that:

> There are not many marvellous things in Lydia to record, in comparison with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is much the greatest of all, except those of Egypt and Babylon. In Lydia is the tomb of Alyattes, the father of Croesus, the base of which is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the craftsmen and the prostitutes. There survived until my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and in these was cut the record of the work done by each group: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, until they can get themselves husbands; and they themselves offer themselves in marriage.[2090]

Athenaeus of Naucratis recorded that Clearchus of Soli had also spoken of both the tomb of Alyattes II (attributing it to Gyges), and the widespread pimping of girls in Lydia, which he connected with the story of Omphale:

> And Clearchus, in the first book of his treatise on Amatory Matters [*Erotica*], says—"Gyges the king of the Lydians was very celebrated, not only on account of his mistress while she was alive, having submitted himself and his whole dominions to her power, but also after she was dead; inasmuch as he

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[2088] Diodorus, 4.31.5.
[2089] Herodotus, 1.7; Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 248–250, 356.
[2090] Herodotus 1.93.

assembled all the Lydians in the whole country, and raised that mound which is even now called the tomb of the Lydian Courtesan; building it up to a great height, so that when he was travelling in the country, inside of Mount Tmolus, wherever he was, he could always see the tomb; and it was a conspicuous object to all the inhabitants of Lydia."[2091]

Xanthus, then, in the second book of his Affairs of Lydia, says that Adrymetes, the king of the Lydians, was the first man who ever castrated women, and used female eunuchs instead of male eunuchs. But Clearchus, in the fourth book of his Lives, says—"The Lydians, out of luxury, made parks; and having planted them like gardens, made them very shady, thinking it a refinement in luxury if the sun never touched them with its rays at all; and at last they carried their insolence to such a height, that they used to collect other men's [slaves] wives and maidens into a place that, from this conduct, got the name of Hagneon, and there ravished them. And at last, having become utterly effeminate, they lived wholly like women instead of like men; on which account their age produced even a female tyrant, in the person of one of those who had been ravished in this way, by name Omphale. And she was the first to inflict on the Lydians the punishment that they deserved. For to be governed and insulted by a woman is a sufficient proof of the severity with which they were treated. Accordingly she, being a very intemperate woman herself, and meaning to revenge the insults to which she herself had been subjected, gave the maiden daughters of the masters to their slaves, in the very same place in which she herself had been ravished. And then having forcibly collected them all in this place, she shut up the mistresses with their slaves. On which account the Lydians, wishing to soften the bitterness of the transaction, call the place the Woman's Contest —the Sweet Embrace. And not only were the wives of the Lydians exposed to all comers, but those also of the Epizephyrian Locrians, and also those of the Cyprians—and, in fact, those of all the nations who devote their daughters to the lives of prostitutes; and it appears to be, in truth, a sort of reminding of, and revenge for, some ancient insult. So against her a Lydian man of noble birth rose up, one who had been previously offended at the government of Midas; while Midas lay in effeminacy, and luxury, and a purple robe, working in the company of the women at the loom.[2092]

It is also possible that the reference by Clearchus to the rising-up of a Lydian man of noble birth, who was associated with Midas, relates to the appointment by Tudḫaliya IV of a 'descendant of Muwa-Walwis' on the throne.

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[2091] Athenaeus, 13.31.
[2092] Athenaeus, 12.11.

The story of Omphale is further elaborated by Diodorus, who tells the story of how Heracles, because of his murder of Iphitus, was required by the oracle of Apollo to sell himself as a slave and pay over the purchase price of himself to the sons of Iphitus. It was for this reason, Diodorus states, that Heracles:

> Willingly submitted to be sold by one of his friends and became the slave of Omphale, the daughter of Iardanus, who was still unmarried and was queen of the people who were called at that time Maionians, but now Lydians. …
> Omphale was pleased with the courage Heracles displayed, and on learning who he was and who had been his parents she marvelled at his valour, set him free, and marrying him bore him Lamus. Already before this, while he was yet a slave, there had been born to Heracles by a slave a son Cleodaeus.[2093]

While Diodorus distinguishes Omphale from the slave of Iardanus and instead referred to her as the daughter of Iardanus, it is likely that an important part of the story of Heracles being a slave to Omphale was that she was said to have previously been both a slave and a prostitute. The reference by Diodorus to the parentage of Heracles emphasizes the reversal of roles, with the former slave and prostitute now the queen and ruler, and the former noble man and hero debased to the status of slave and object of sexual gratification.



Figure 20 – Omphale and Heracles

Curiously, the above Roman mosaic from Llíria in Spain, depicts Omphale clad in the skin of the Nemean Lion and carrying Heracles' olive-wood club, while

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[2093] Diodorus, 4.31.5–8.

Heracles wears a purple woman's garment holding wool on a spindle. This mirrors the story told by Clearchus according to Athenaeus of how Midas wore a purple robe, working in the company of the women at the loom.[2094]

It may be coincidental that Omphale wore the lion skin, but Herodotus also tells the story of the Lydian king Meles carrying around the walls of the city of Sardis the lion which his concubine had borne him.[2095] Meles was also mentioned by Nicolaus, who said that he was driven out of Lydia by Mopsus, during in whose time Lydia suffered from a severe drought and famine.[2096] Nicolaus also said that the famine was associated with the death of Dascylus, and that Meles was instructed by an oracle to leave Lydia for three years during which time he lived in Babylon. During this time, according to Nicolaus, the kingdom was administered by Sadyattes son of Kadys (Ardys I?), who was a Tylonid.[2097]

Alexander suggests that Meles was not an actual king of Lydia on the basis that there is 'no place for him in the royal line'.[2098] He arrives at this position because Nicolaus connects Meles with Dascylus B the grandfather of king Gyges. It appears however that Nicolaus was wrong in this association, and that Meles was instead associated with the seer Dascylus A, who was said to have acted as a guide to the Argonauts and is said in the Scholia on the *Argonautica* to have been a son of the Lydian Tantalus.[2099] Interestingly, not only was Heracles also said to have sailed on the Argo, but like Dascylus A, Mopsus too was said to have been a seer on the Argo. Diodorus, however, said that Mopsus had fought with Sipylus against the Amazons, who were associated with Anatolia and were said to have fought on the side of Troy in the Trojan War. Heracles was also said to have fought against the Amazons. Not only are the stories of Heracles, Mopsus and the Amazons entwined, but Mopsus was also said to have fought both with Sipylus and against Meles of Lydia, whose kingdom included the earlier mentioned Mount Sipylus.

It therefore appears that Meles, who was associated with Dascylus A and driven out of Lydia during a time of famine by the seer Mopsus, was from the time of Heracles and Omphale. It was mentioned earlier that there was a famine during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC), who had needed to petition Merneptah of Egypt (1110–1091 BC) for grain. It therefore appears that Meles was the Greek name for the king who Tudḫaliya IV placed on the throne of Lydia after the defeat and deportation of Tarḫuna-Radu (Iardanus). Following the Trojan War, the capital of the Hittites was located at Karkamiš on the Euphrates River, being in

[2094] Athenaeus, 12.11.
[2095] Herodotus, 1.84
[2096] Muller, v.3 fr.24 pp.371–372.
[2097] Muller, v.3 fr.49 pp.382–383.
[2098] Alexander, p.29.
[2099] Brunck, v.752, p.186.

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what the Greeks referred to as the region of Babylon. It is possible that the story of Meles spending three years in Babylon refers to the time when the descendants of Muwa-Walwis had to flee to the land of the Hittites during the brief reign of Tarḫuna-Radu, before being restored at Lydia by Tudḫaliya IV. As Meles appears to be associated with Omphale, it seems that he is the same person as Tmolus I.

Tantalus II (c.1095–1070 BC) – was associated with Mount Sipylus, and his father was said to have been Tmolus I, who was named after the mountain god Tmolus (Mount Tmolus is mentioned in the *Iliad*). It is proposed that he succeeded his father Tmolus I as king of Sipylus. According to Pseudo-Apollodorus, Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus of Lydia, married Amphion of Thebes and had seven sons and seven daughters, including Sipylus, Tantalus and Ogygia (another name for Omphale).[2100]

Aciamus (c.1070–1045 BC) – was likely the son of Tantalus II, who it is proposed that he succeeded as king of Sipylus. He was said by Stephanus of Byzantium to have been named by Xanthus as the king of Lydia who sent Ascalus, the son of Hymenaeus the brother of Tantalus II, to found Ascalon in Palestine. It was proposed earlier that this occurred during the time of the famine in the reign of Atys I of Maionia and was a part of the Sea Peoples campaigns. It appears that following the famine and death of Aciamus, Sipylus was annexed by Atys I of Maionia.

5.8.5 Hapalla

Targasnalli (c.1186–1160 BC) – was installed as king of Hapalla by Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–c.1165 BC) as a part of Muršili II's partitioning of Arzawa after his defeat of Uḫḫa-Ziti of Arzawa (c.1210–1186 BC). Targasnalli subsequently had a treaty with Muršili II and was named in Muršili II's treaty with Kupanta-Kurunta I of Mira (1178–1135 BC), and in the treaty between Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–1159 BC) and Alaksandu of Wilusa (c.1170–1145 BC).[2101]

Ura-Ḫattuša – (c.1160–1135 BC) – succeeded Targasnalli as king of Hapalla. He was named in the treaty between Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–1159 BC) and Alaksandu of Wilusa (c.1170–1145 BC).[2102]

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[2100] *Iliad*, II.866; Ioannis Tzetzes (Histories), 5.444; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.5.6.
[2101] Beckman (1996a), pp.64–69, 76, 79, 82.
[2102] Beckman (1996a), p.85; Pseudo-Apollodorus,

5.8.6 Trm̃misa (Lukka/Lycia)

Lukka was named in a Treaty between Alaksandu of Wilusa (c.1170–1145 BC) and Muwatalli II of Ḫatti (1165–1159 BC) as outside of the control of Ḫatti.[2103]

Amisodarus (c.1175–1150 BC) – appears in the *Iliad* to have been an early king of Lycia said to have reared the raging Chimaera, a bane to many men. He was said by Plutarch to have been a pirate called Isaras by the Lycians. He was specifically called a king of Lycia by Aelian, and Palaephatus said that he lived on a mountain beside the Xanthus River.[2104]

Iobates (c.1150–1125 BC) – was a king of Lycia who is said in the Greek tradition to have sent the hero Bellerophon to kill the Chimaera.

Bellerophon (c.1125–1100 BC) – was a Greek hero who was sent by Iobates of Lycia to kill the Chimaera, which it is said he did with the aid of the flying horse Pegasus. Upon his return he married Philonoe the daughter of Iobates and subsequently succeeded Iobates as king. [2105]

Evander (c.1100–1075 BC) – was said by Diodous Siculus to have married Deïdameia (Laodameia) the daughter of Bellerophon and Philonoe and became king of Lycia.[2106]

Sarpedon (c.1075–1073 BC) – was said by Diodous Siculus to have succeeded his father Evander as king of Lycia. He is said to have participated in the Trojan War on the side of Troy where it is said he was killed by Patroclus. [2107]

5.8.7 Kaska

Dadīlu (c.750–725 BC) – was a king of Kaska named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2108]

[2103] *Iliad*, 5.266, 20.230–231; Forrer, pp.1–22; Beckman (1996a), pp.82–88.
[2104] *Ilian*, 16.325; Plutarch (Virtues of women), §9; Aelian (Animals), 9.23; Palaephatus, §17.
[2105] *Iliad*, 16.325; Palaephatus, §28; Pseudo-Apollodorus, 2.3.2; Tzetzes, (Ad Lycophronem) §17, (Histories),7.850.
[2106] Diodorus, 3.12.5
[2107] Diodorus, 3.12.5; Iliad, 16.502–505.
[2108] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.47–48, 70, 77. 87.

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5.8.8 Phrygia

Nannacus – Annacus – Cannacus – was said by Smith to have ruled from Iconium (Konya), the most eastern city of Phrygia. Zenobius said that he was the namesake of the proverb "From Nannacus' time", describing him as a king of Phrygia from before the time of the flood of Deucalion I. Stephanus of Byzantium, who called him Annacus, said that he lived for 300 years.[2109]

Manis – Masdes – was named by Plutarch as an ancient king of Phrygia, after whom the Phrygians called all illustrious and strange actions *manic*.[2110]

Otreus – was named as a king of Phrygia in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite. Pseudo-Apollodorus mentioned a tradition that his daughter Placia married Laomedon of Troy (c.1125–1100 BC).[2111]

Dymas – was possibly the father of Hecuba, the wife of Priam of Troy (c.1100–1073 BC). While he is said to have been the son of Eioneus and to have come from Phrygia, he does not appear to have been referred to as king.[2112]

Androcotus – was named by Athenaeus as a king of Phrygia who lived in luxury, who wore a robe embroidered with flowers and adorned himself more superbly than a woman. The story is notably similar to Athenaeus' earlier comments about Midas, who was also renowned for his wealth and he said wore a purple robe and worked the loom in the company of women.[2113]

Midas I – Mita (741–696 BC) – was said by St. Jerome to have commenced his reign in the fourth year of the 9th Olympiad (741 BC) and to have died in the first year of the 21st Olympiad (696 BC) and to have been contemporary with Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC). The son of a certain Gordas, he was said to have been elected king of the Phrygians after he fulfilled an oracle that a wagon would come bringing them a king. The wealth he acquired during his reign become famous, resulting in the term the Midas touch, being that everything he touched turned to gold. Tzetzes said that he built the city of Mideia, Pausanias said that he founded the city of Ancyra, Diodorus said that he built the temple of the goddess Cybele in

[2109] Smith W., p.621; Zenobius, Prov. VI.10 - Muller, v.3 p.524; Sale, pp.300–301.
[2110] Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride §24; Sale, p.301.
[2111] Pseudo-Apollodorus, 3.12.3.
[2112] Strabo, 13.1.21.
[2113] Athenaeus, 12.11, 12.40.

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Pisinus and Herodotus said that he was the first foreign king to make an offering at Delphi.[2114] He was defeated by the Cimmerians. It is said that he died by drinking a large cup of bull's blood.[2115]

Midas II (c.600–575 BC) – was named by Herodotus as the grandfather of Adrastus of the royal house of Phrygia, who visited Croesus of Lydia (560–546 BC). It is likely that he was king of Phrygia.[2116]

Gordias (c.575–550 BC) – was named by Herodotus as the father of Adrastus of the royal house of Phrygia, who visited Croesus of Lydia (560–546 BC). It is likely that he was king of Phrygia.[2117]

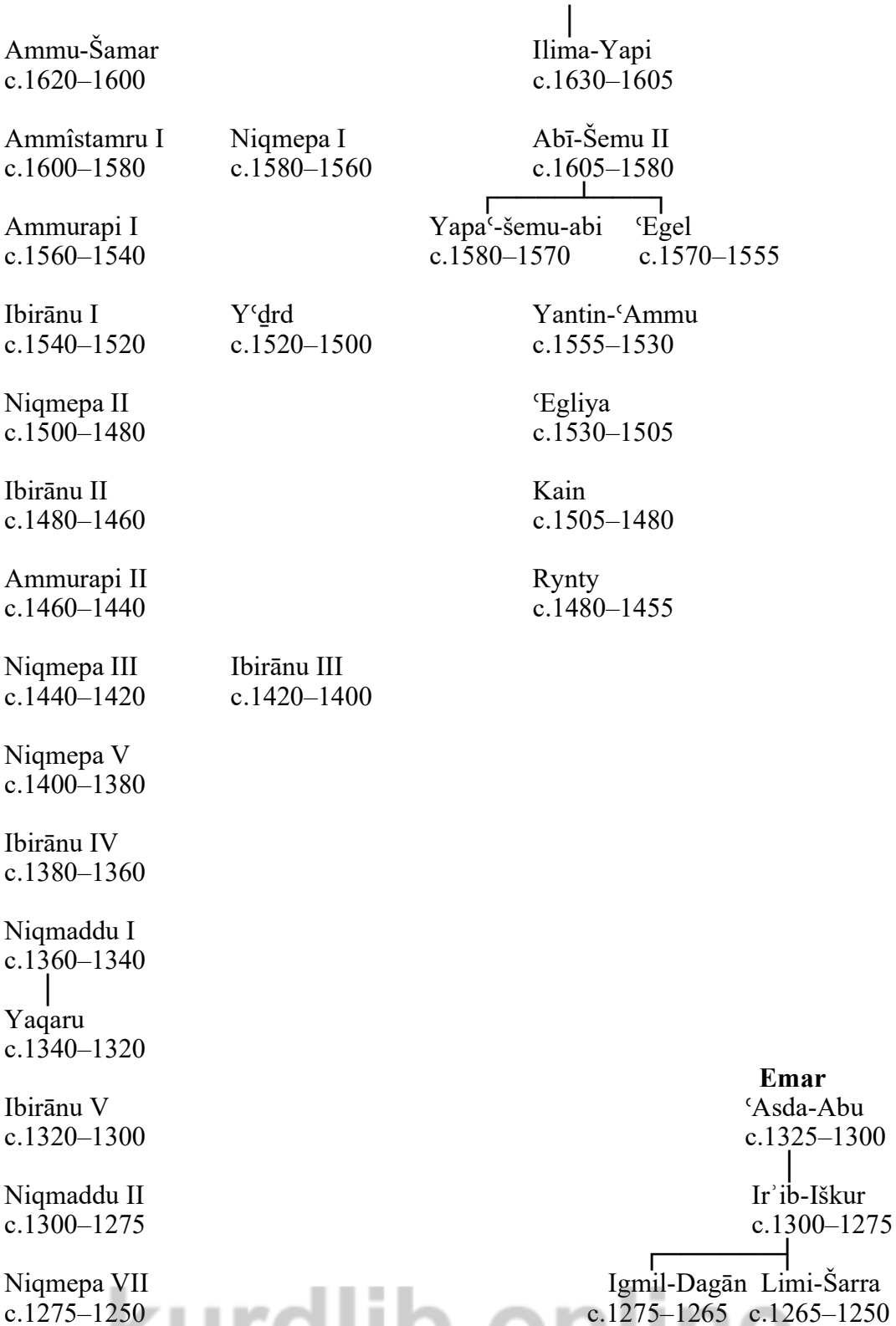
5.9 Semites (North-West)

Table 54 – Kings of the North-West Semites

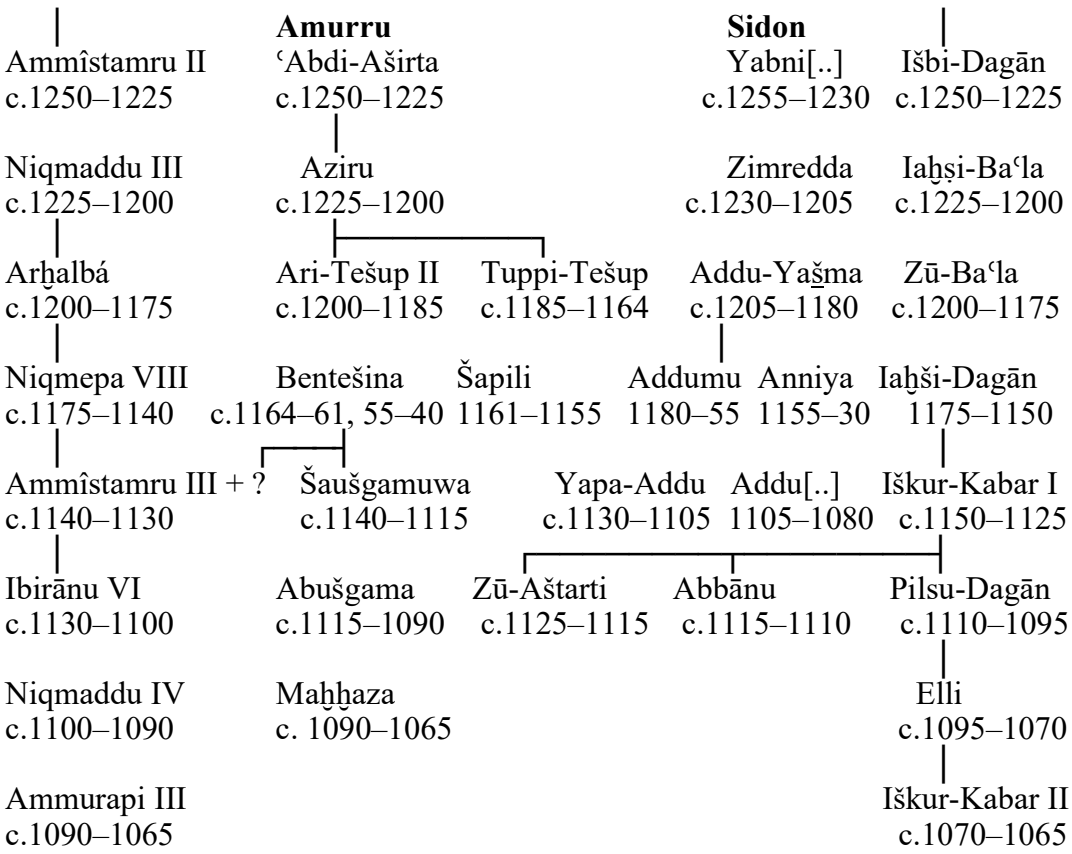
		Byblos
		Baalat-Rum
		Ib-Dâdî c.1805–1780
		Ruqq c.1780–1755
		Kukun c.1755–1730
Ugarit		Abī-Šemu I
Úgarāna c.1720–1700		c. 1730–1705 |
Amqúna c.1700–1680	Rapāna c.1680–1660	Yapi-šemu-abi c.1705–1680
Limil-Lugal c.1660–1640		Yakīn-Ilu c.1680–1655 |
Ammu-Ḫarāšī c.1640–1620		Yantin c.1655–1630

[2114] Arrian, 2.3.1–2; Tzetzes, Histories 1.102, 6.690, 7.224; Plato, Laws §660; Aristotle, Politics §1257b; Pausanias, 1.4; Diodorus, 3.59.7; Herodotus 1.14; Sale, p.303.
[2115] St. Jerome, §B741; Strabo, 1.3.21; Sale, p.303.
[2116] Herodotus, 1.35, 1.45.
[2117] Herodotus, 1.35, 1.45.

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Retjenu (Avaris)
Sakir-Har
c.1562–1543

Yakbim
c.1543–1503

Khyan
c.1509–1472

Yaqub-Har
c.1472–1461

Apepi
c.1461–1420

Ḫazor
Ibni-Addu (Jabin I)
c.1550–1525

Kumudi
Avram-Ḫamudi
c.1420–1395

Adores
c.1395–1370

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Qatna II
Naplimma
c.1370–1345
Sîn-Addu
c.1345–1320
Adad-Nārāri i
c.1320–1275

Apina
Ariwana
c.1250–1230

Kumudi
Araḫattu
1250–1225

Ulašuda
c.1275–1250

Byblos

Damascus
Zalaia
c.1250–1225

Ḫazor
ʿAbdi-Tirši
c.1250–1225
ʿAbdi-Addu
c.1225–1200

Idanda
c.1250–1225
Akizzi
1225–1200

Tyre
Baʿal-Dān
c.1250–1235
Abī-Milki
c.1235–1210

Rīb-Ḫadda
1250–1225
ʾIlī-Rāpiʾ
c.1225–1220

Aram-Naḫaraim
Cušan-Rišathaim
c.1180–1158

Jabin II
c.1200–1175

Baʿal-Šiptu
c.1210–1185
Baʿal-Targumu
c.1185–1160

Ḫazor
Jabin III
c.1130–1110

Tyre
Abī-Baʿal II
c.1005–978
Ḫiram I
978–944
Baʿal-Bazer
944–927
ʿAbd-ʿAštart I
927–918

Aram-Zobaḫ
Ḫadadezer I
c.985–960

Ḫamath
Tou
c.985–960

Byblos
Zakar-Baʿal
c.975–950
Ḫiram II
c.950–925
Itho-Baʿal I
c.925–900
Abī-Baʿal III
c.900–875

Damascus
Rezin I
c.960–935
Ḫeziôn
c.935–910
Ṭab-Rammān
c.910–885
Bar-Ḫadad I
c.885–865

Tyre
Methu-ʿAštart
918–906
ʿAštart-Rōm
906–897
Pillēs
897–896

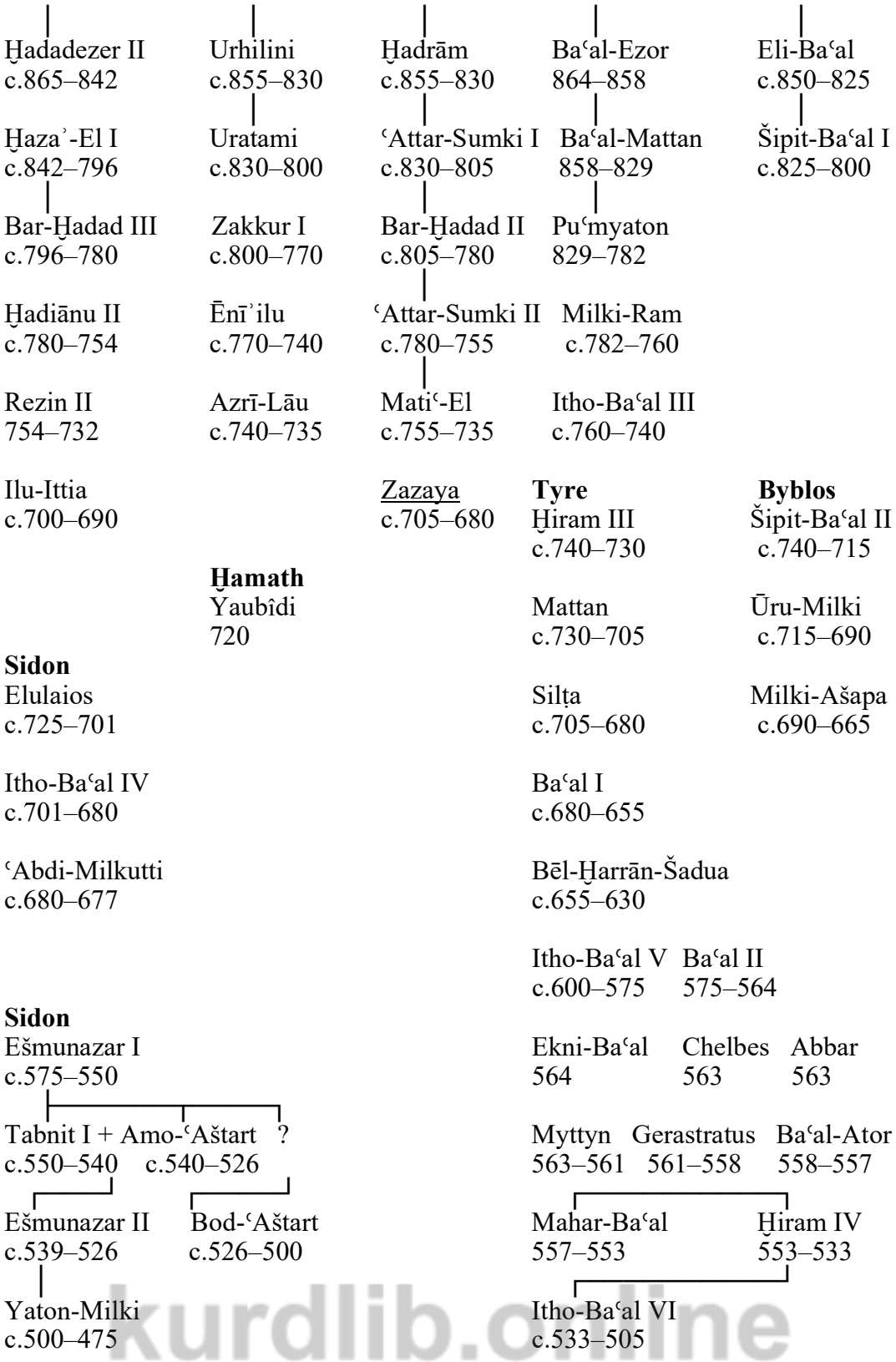
Ḫamath
Parita
c.880–855

Bīt-Agusi
Gusi
c.880–855

Tyre
Itho-Baʿal II
896–864

Byblos
Yaḫi-Milki
c.875–850

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Baʿal-Šillem I
c.475–450
|
Abdamon
c.450–425
|
Baʿana
c.425–400
|
Baʿal-Šillem II
c.400–375
|
ʿAbd-ʿAštart II
c.375–352
|
Tabnit II
c.352–346

Nuḫašši
Taku
c.1275–1250

Beirut
Ammunira
1250–1225

Adad-Nārāri ii
c.1250–1225

Yappa-Ḫadda
1225–1200 BC

Šarrupši — Takip-Šarri
c.1225–1200 — c.1220–12215

Tette — Šummittara
c.1200–1181 — c.1181–1175

Edom
Beor
c.1175–1150
|
Bela — Zerah
c.1150–1125

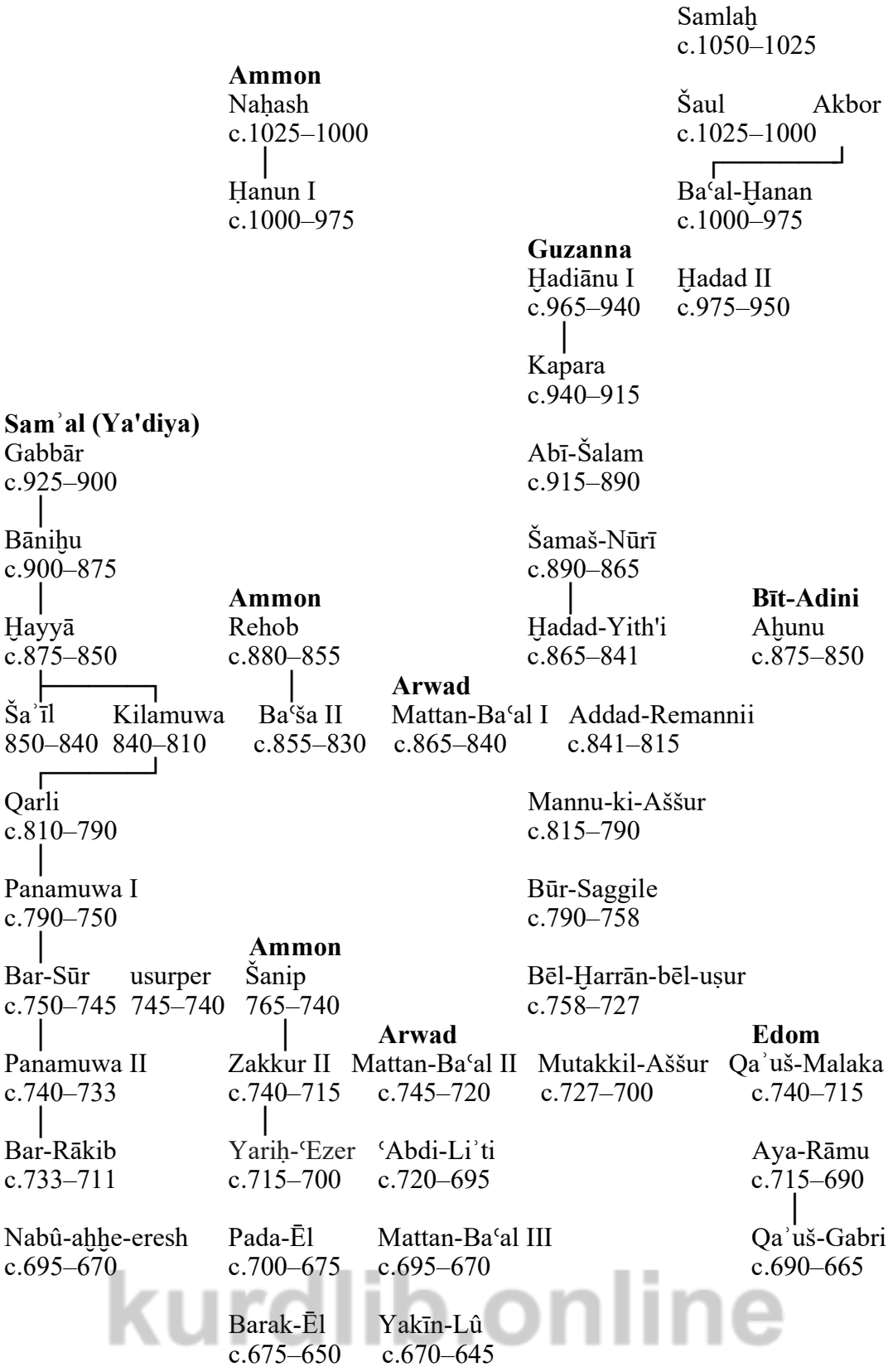
Jobab
c.1125–1100

Beirut
Abī-Baʿal I
c.1100–1075

Ḫušam — Bedad
c.1100-1075

Ḫadad I
c.1075–1050

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ʿAmminadab I
c.650–635
|
Haṣalʾ Ēl
c.635–610
|
ʿAmminadab II
c.610–585

Baʿal-Yaša
c.585–560

Azi-Baʿal
c.645–620

Jerusalem
ʿAbdi-Ḫeba
c.1250–1225

Adoni-Zedek
c.1225–1200

Pella
Labaya
c.1255–1230
|
Mut-Baʿal
1230–1205

Moab
Zippor
c.1250–1225
|
Balak
c.1225–1200

Israel
Joshua
c.1190–1166

Judah
Othniel
c.1185–1150

Ehud
c.1140–1130

Shamgar
1130–1110

Deborah
c.1110–1100

Moab
Eglon
c.1160–1140

Manasseh
Gideon
c.1093–1077
|
Abī-Melech
c.1077–1074

Tola
c.1074–1051

Jair
c.1074–1052

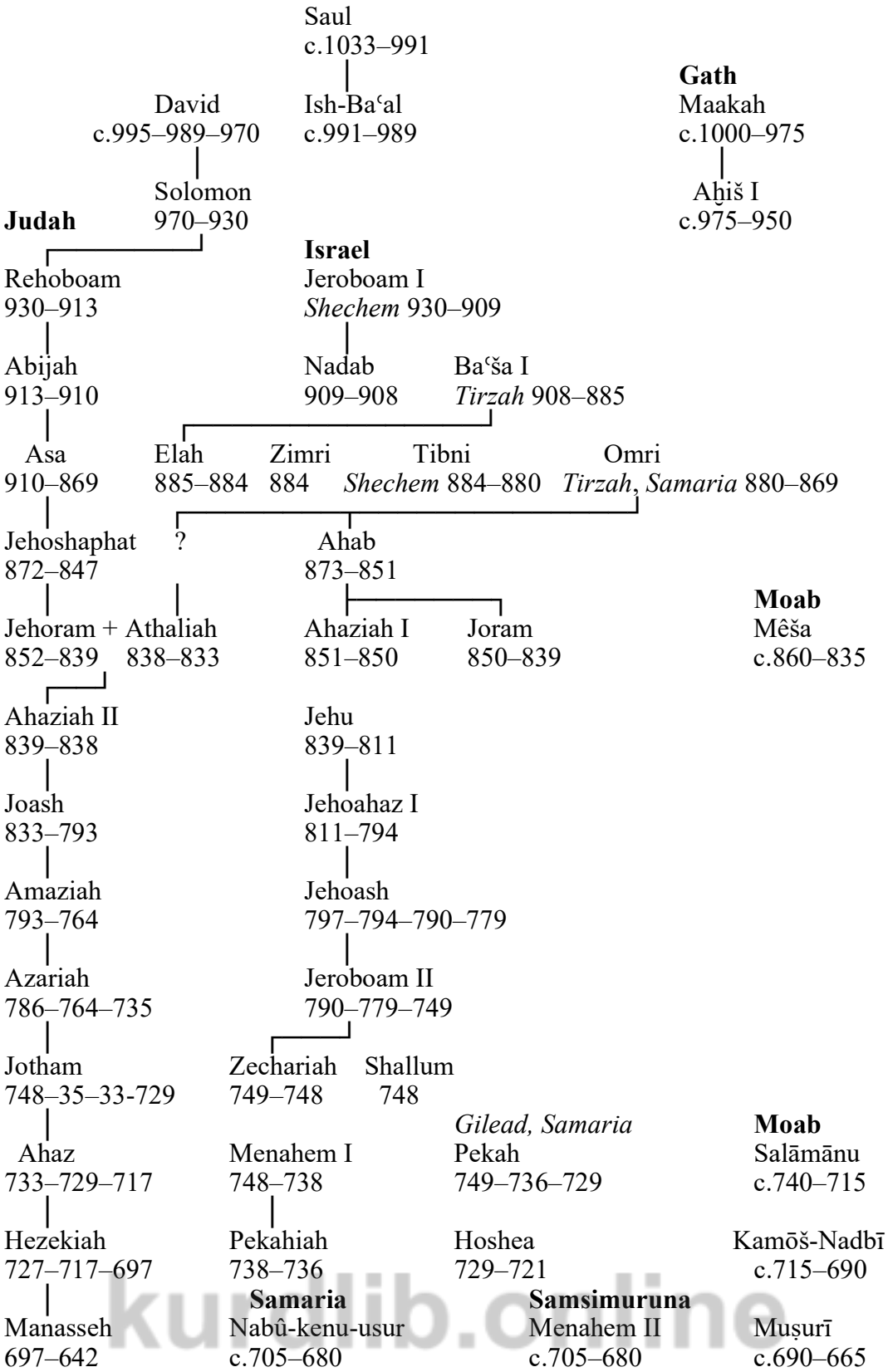
Judah
Ibzan
c.1050–1043

Elon
c.1051–1041

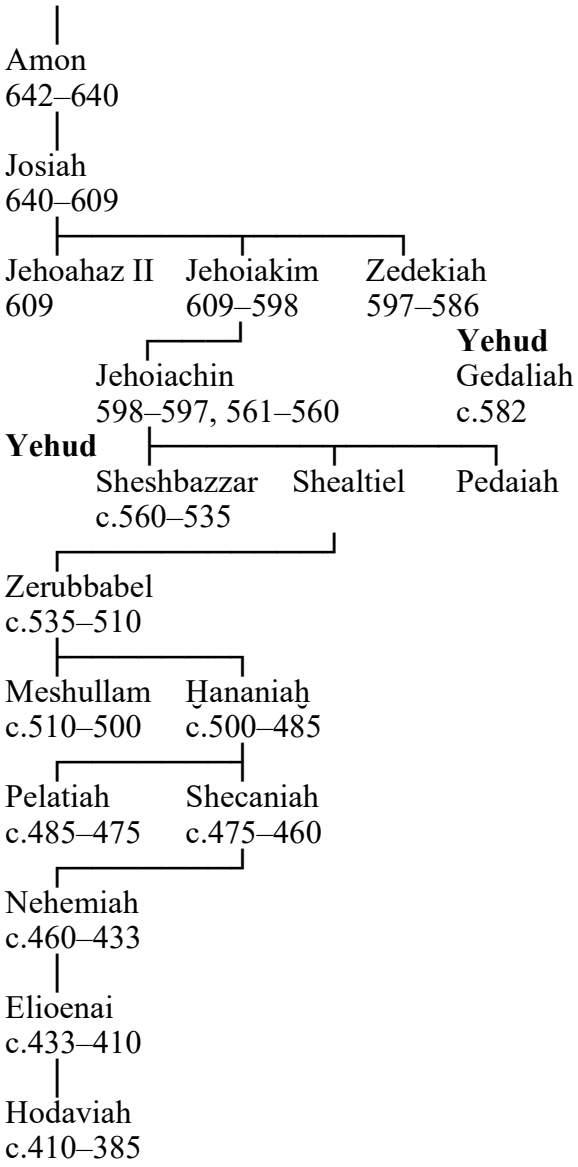
Jephthah
c.1052–1046

Abdon
c.1041–1033

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Synchronism and dates of Kings of Israel and Judah

Year				**Israel**			
BC				**David**			
995				Y1		Speculative start of reign based on proposed reign of 25 years.	
994				Y2			
993				Y3			
992				Y4		**Ish-Baʿal**	
991				Y5		Y1	
990				Y6		Y2	
989				Y7		Y3	
988				Y8			
987				Y9			
986				Y10			
985				Y11			
984				Y12			
983				Y13			
982				Y14			
981				Y15			
980				Y16			
979				Y17			
978				Y18			
977				Y19			
976				Y20			
975				Y21			
974				Y22			
973				Y23			
972				Y24			

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971				Y25	**Solomon**		
970				Y26	Y1		
969					Y2		
968					Y3		
967					Y4		
966					Y5		
965					Y6		
964					Y7		
963					Y8		
962					Y9		
961					Y10		
960					Y11		
959					Y12		
958					Y13		
957					Y14		
956					Y15		
955					Y16		
954					Y17		
953					Y18		
952					Y19		
951					Y20		
950					Y21		
949					Y22		
948					Y23		
947					Y24		
946					Y25		
945					Y26		
944					Y27		
943					Y28		
942					Y29		

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941					Y30		
940					Y31		
939					Y32		
938					Y33		
937					Y34		
936					Y35		
935					Y36		
934					Y37		
933					Y38		
932	**Judah**				Y39		
931	**Rehoboam**			**Jeroboam I**	Y40		
930	Y1			Y1	Y41	Solomon reigned 40 years. Jeroboam elected king.	
929	Y2			Y2			
928	Y3			Y3			
927	Y4			Y4			
926	Y5			Y5			
925	Y6			Y6			
924	Y7			Y7			
923	Y8			Y8			
922	Y9			Y9			
921	Y10			Y10			
920	Y11			Y11			
919	Y12			Y12			
918	Y13			Y13			
917	Y14			Y14			
916	Y15			Y15			
915	Y16			Y16			
914	Y17	**Abijah**		Y17			Rehoboam reigned 17 years.
913	Y18	Y1		Y18			Abijah king Year 18 Jeroboam.
912		Y2		Y19			Abijah reigned 3 years.

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911	**Asa**	Y3		Y20			Asa king Year 20 Jeroboam.
910	Y1	Y4		Y21	**Nadab**		Jerobom reigned 22 years.
909	Y2			Y22	Y1	**Baʿša I**	Nadab king Year 2 Asa.
908	Y3				Y2	Y1	Nadab reigned 2 years.
907	Y4					Y2	Baʿša king Year 3 Asa.
906	Y5					Y3	
905	Y6					Y4	
904	Y7					Y5	
903	Y8					Y6	
902	Y9					Y7	
901	Y10					Y8	
900	Y11					Y9	
899	Y12					Y10	
898	Y13					Y11	
897	Y14					Y12	
896	Y15					Y13	
895	Y16					Y14	
894	Y17					Y15	
893	Y18					Y16	
892	Y19					Y17	
891	Y20					Y18	
890	Y21					Y19	
889	Y22					Y20	
888	Y23					Y21	
887	Y24					Y22	
886	Y25	**Elah**				Y23	Baʿša reigned 24 years.
885	Y26	Y1	**Zimri**	**Tibni**		Y24	Elah king Year 26 Asa.
884	Y27	Y2	Y1	Y1			Elah reigned 2 years.
883	Y28			Y2			Zimri king 7 days in Year 27 Asa.
882	Y29			Y3			Tibni king.

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881	Y30			Y4	**Omri**		
880	Y31			Y5	Y1		Omri king Year 31 Asa.
879	Y32				Y2		
878	Y33				Y3		
877	Y34				Y4		
876	Y35				Y5		
875	Y36				Y6		
874	Y37			**Ahab**	Y7		
873	Y38	**Jehoshaphat**		Y0	Y8		Ahab king Year 38 Asa.
872	Y39	Y1		Y1	Y9		
871	Y40	Y2		Y2	Y10		
870	Y41	Y3		Y3	Y11		Asa reigned 41 years.
869	Y42	Y4		Y4	Y12		Jehoshaphat king Year 4 Ahab.
868		Y5-1		Y5			Omri reigned 12 Years.
867		Y6-2		Y6			
866		Y7-3		Y7			
865		Y8-4		Y8			
864		Y9-5		Y9			
863		Y10-6		Y10			
862		Y11-7		Y11			
861		Y12-8		Y12			
860		Y13-9		Y13			
859		Y14-10		Y14			
858		Y15-11		Y15			
857		Y16-12		Y16			
856		Y17-13		Y17			
855		Y18-14		Y18			
854		Y19-15		Y19			

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853	**Jehoram**	Y20-16		Y20			
852	Y1	Y21-17		Y21	**Ahaziah I**		Ahaziah king Year 17 of Jehoshaphat.
851	Y2	Y22-18		Y22	Y1	**Joram**	Joram king Year 18 Jehoshaphat & Year 2 Jehoram.
850	Y3	Y23-19			Y2	Y1	Ahab reigned 22 years.
849	Y4	Y24-20				Y2	Ahaziah reigned 2 years.
848	Y5	Y25-21				Y3	
847	Y6-1	Y26-22				Y4	Jehoshaphat reigned 25 years.
846	Y7-2					Y5	Jehoram king Year 5 Joram.
845	Y8-3					Y6	
844	Y9-4					Y7	
843	Y10-5					Y8	
842	Y11-6					Y9	
841	Y12-7					Y10	Jehu paid tribute to Shalmanessar III (858-823) in Y18 (841 BC)
840	Y13-8	**Ahaziah II**			**Jehu**	Y11	Jehoram reigned 8 years.
839	Y14-9	Y1	**Athaliah**		Y1	Y12	Joram reigned 12 years.
838		Y2	Y1		Y2		Ahaziah king Year 12 Joram.
837			Y2		Y3		Ahaziah reigned 1 year.
836			Y3		Y4		
835			Y4		Y5		
834	**Joash**		Y5		Y6		Athaliah reigned 6 years.
833	Y1		Y6		Y7		Joash king Year 7 Jehu.
832	Y2				Y8		
831	Y3				Y9		
830	Y4				Y10		
829	Y5				Y11		
828	Y6				Y12		
827	Y7				Y13		
826	Y8				Y14		

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825	Y9				Y15		
824	Y10				Y16		
823	Y11				Y17		
822	Y12				Y18		
821	Y13				Y19		
820	Y14				Y20		
819	Y15				Y21		
818	Y16				Y22		
817	Y17				Y23		
816	Y18				Y24		
815	Y19				Y25		
814	Y20				Y26		
813	Y21				Y27		
812	Y22			**Jehoahaz I**	Y28		Jehu reigned 28 years.
811	Y23			Y1	Y29		Jehoahaz king Year 23 Joash.
810	Y24			Y2			
809	Y25			Y3			
808	Y26			Y4			
807	Y27			Y5			
806	Y28			Y6			
805	Y29			Y7			
804	Y30			Y8			
803	Y31			Y9			
802	Y32			Y10			
801	Y33			Y11			
800	Y34			Y12			
799	Y35			Y13			
798	Y36			Y14	**Jehoash**		
797	Y37			Y15	Y1		Jehoash king Year 37 Joash
796	Y38			Y16	Y2		

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795	Y39			Y17	Y3		
794	Y40		**Amaziah**	Y18	Y4-1		Jehoahaz reigned 17 years.
793	Y41		Y1		Y5-2		Joash reigned 40 years.
792			Y2		Y6-3		Amaziah king Year 2 Jehoash.
791			Y3		Y7-4	**Jeroboam II**	
790			Y4		Y8-5	Y1	
789			Y5		Y9-6	Y2	
788			Y6		Y10-7	Y3	
787		**Azariah**	Y7		Y11-8	Y4	
786		Y1	Y8		Y12-9	Y5	
785		Y2	Y9		Y13-10	Y6	
784		Y3	Y10		Y14-11	Y7	
783		Y4	Y11		Y15-12	Y8	
782		Y5	Y12		Y16-13	Y9	
781		Y6	Y13		Y17-14	Y10	
780		Y7	Y14		Y18-15	Y11	Jehoash reigned 16 years.
779		Y8	Y15		Y19-16	Y12	Jeroboam king Year 15 Amaziah.
778		Y9	Y16			Y13	
777		Y10	Y17			Y14	
776		Y11	Y18			Y15	
775		Y12	Y19			Y16	
774		Y13	Y20			Y17	
773		Y14	Y21			Y18	
772		Y15	Y22			Y19	
771		Y16	Y23			Y20	
770		Y17	Y24			Y21	
769		Y18	Y25			Y22	
768		Y19	Y26			Y23	
767		Y20	Y27			Y24	
766		Y21	Y28			Y25	

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765		Y22	Y29			Y26	Amaziah reigned 29 years. He lived 15 years after the death of Jehoash.
764		Y23	Y30			Y27	Azariah king Year 27 Jeroboam.
763		Y24				Y28	
762		Y25				Y29	
761		Y26				Y30	
760		Y27				Y31	
759		Y28				Y32	
758		Y29				Y33	
757		Y30				Y34	
756		Y31				Y35	
755		Y32				Y36	
754		Y33				Y37	
753		Y34				Y38	
752		Y35				Y39	
751		Y36				Y40	Zechariah king Year 38 Azariah for 6 months.
750		Y37	**Zechariah**			Y41 **Pekah**	Shallum king Year 39 Uzziah for 1 month.
749	**Jotham**	Y38	Y1	**Shallum**	**Menahem**	Y42 Y1	Menahem King Year 39 Azariah.
748	Y1	Y39	Y2	Y1	Y1	Y2	Jeroboam reigned 41 years.
747	Y2	Y40			Y2	Y3	Jotham king Year 2 Pekah.
746	Y3	Y41			Y3	Y4	
745	Y4	Y42			Y4	Y5	
744	Y5 - 1	Y43			Y5	Y6	
743	Y6 - 2	Y45			Y6	Y7	
742	Y7 - 3	Y46			Y7	Y8	
741	Y8 - 4	Y47			Y8	Y9	
740	Y9 - 5	Y48			Y9	Y10	Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III 738 BC

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739	Y10 - 6	Y49		**Pekahiah**	Y10	Y11	Menahem reigned 10 years.
738	Y11 - 7	Y50		Y1	Y11	Y12	Pekahiah king Year 50 Azariah.
737	Y12 - 8	Y51		Y2		Y13	Pekahiah reigned 2 years.
736	Y13 - 9	Y52		Y3		Y14	Pekah king Year 52 Azariah.
735	Y14 - 10	Y53				Y15	
734	Y15 - 11	**Ahaz**				Y16	
733	Y16 - 12	Y1				Y17	Ahaz king Year 17 Pekah.
732	Y17 - 13	Y2				Y18	
731	Y18 - 14	Y3				Y19	
730	Y19 - 15	Y4		**Hoshea**		Y20	Pekah reigned 20 years.
729	Y20 - 16	Y5		Y1		Y21	Hoshea king Year 20 Jotham.
728	**Hezekiah**	Y6		Y2			Jotham reigned 16 years.
727	Y0	Y7		Y3			Hezekiah king Year 3 Hoshea
726	Y1	Y8		Y4			
725	Y2	Y9		Y5			
724	Y3	Y10		Y6			
723	Y4	Y11		Y7			Year 4 Hezakiah & Year 7 Hoshea, Shalmaneser laid Siege to Samaria
722	Y5	Y12		Y8			Year 12 Ahaz, Hoshea of Ephraim was king of Samaria for 9 years.[2118]
721	Y6	Y13		Y9			Year 6 Hezekiah and Year 9 of Hoshea Shalmaneser captured Samaria.
720	Y7	Y14					
719	Y8	Y15					
718	Y9	Y16					
717	Y10 - 1	Y17					Ahaz reigned 16 years.
716	Y11 - 2						
715	Y12 - 3						
714	Y13 - 4						

[2118] McFall, p.30.

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713	Y14 - 5						
712	Y15 - 6						
711	Y16 - 7						
710	Y17 - 8						
709	Y18 - 9						
708	Y19 - 10						
707	Y20 - 11						
706	Y21 - 12						
705	Y22 - 13						
704	Y23 - 14						Year 14 Hezekiah, Sennacherib attacked Judah.
703	Y24						
702	Y25						
701	Y26						
700	Y27						
699	Y28						
698	Y29	**Manasseh**					
697	Y30	Y1					Hezekiah ruled 29 years
696		Y2					
695		Y3					
694		Y4					
693		Y5					
692		Y6					
691		Y7					
690		Y8					
689		Y9					
688		Y10					
687		Y11					
686		Y12					
685		Y13					

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684		Y14					
683		Y15					
682		Y16					
681		Y17					
680		Y18					
679		Y19					
678		Y20					
677		Y21					
676		Y22					
675		Y23					
674		Y24					
673		Y25					
672		Y26					
671		Y27					
670		Y28					
669		Y29					
668		Y30					
667		Y31					
666		Y32					
665		Y33					
664		Y34					
663		Y35					
662		Y36					
661		Y37					
660		Y38					
659		Y39					
658		Y40					
657		Y41					
656		Y42					
655		Y43					

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654		Y44					
653		Y45					
652		Y46					
651		Y47					
650		Y48					
649		Y49					
648		Y50					
647		Y51					
646		Y52					
645		Y53					
644		Y54					
643	**Amon**	Y55					
642	Y1	Y56					Manasseh reigned 55 years.
641	Y2	**Josiah**					
640	Y3	Y1					Amon ruled 2 years.
639		Y2					
638		Y3					
637		Y4					
636		Y5					
635		Y6					
634		Y7					
633		Y8					
632		Y9					
631		Y10					
630		Y11					
629		Y12					
628		Y13					
627		Y14					
626		Y15					
625		Y16					

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624		Y17					
623		Y18					
622		Y19					
621		Y20					
620		Y21					
619		Y22					
618		Y23					
617		Y24					
616		Y25					
615		Y26					
614		Y27					
613		Y28					
612		Y29					
611		Y30					
610	**Jehoahaz II**	Y31	**Jehoiakim**				Josiah ruled 31 years. Killed by Necho II.
609	Y0	Y32	Y1			Jehoahaz reigned 3 months then taken by Necho II of Egypt.	
608			Y2				
607			Y3				
606			Y4				
605			Y5				Year 4 Jehoiakim was Year 1 Nebuchadnezzar II.
604			Y6			Jehoiakim vassal to Nebuchadnezzar II 3 years	
603			Y7				
602			Y8				
601			Y9				
600			Y10				
599	**Jehoiachin**		Y11				
598	Y0	**Zedekiah**	Y12				Jehoiakim reigned 11 years.
597	Y1	Y1				Jehoiachin reigned 3 months. Taken to Babylon in Year 8 (597) of Nebuchadnezzar II.	

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596		Y2					
595		Y3					
594		Y4					
593		Y5					
592		Y6					
591		Y7					
590		Y8					
589		Y9					
588		Y10					
587		Y11					
586		Y12					Zedekiah reigned 11 years.

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5.9.1 Ugarit

The early king have been provided with average reign lengths of 20 years in keeping with the average reign length of the kings of Egypt as demonstrated at Table 24 and as also applied at Ebla.

Úgarāna (c.1720–1700 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Amqúna (c.1700–1680 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Rapāna (c.1680–1660 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Limil-Lugal (c.1660–1640 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Ammu-Ḫarāšī (c.1640–1620 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Ammu-Šamar (c.1620–1600 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Ammîstamru I (c.1600–1580 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Niqmepa I (c.1580–1560 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ammurapi I (c.1560–1540 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ibirānu I (c.1540–1520 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Y‘ḏrd (c.1520–1500 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Niqmepa II (c.1500–1480 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ibirānu II (c.1480–1460 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ammurapi II (c.1460–1440 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Niqmepa III (c.1440–1420 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ibirānu III (c.1420–1400 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

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Niqmepa V (c.1400–1380 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Ibirānu IV (c.1380–1360 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.

Niqmaddu I (c.1360–1340 BC) – is attested on a dynastic seal which was used by later generations. He is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLa&b*.[2119]

Yaqaru (c.1340–1320 BC) – is known from a dynastic seal to have succeeded his father Niqmadu I as king of Ugarit. He is named on the *UgKLa&b*. [2120]

Ibirānu V (c.1320–1300 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Niqmaddu II (c.1300–1275 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Niqmepa VII (c.1275–1250 BC) – is named as king of Ugarit on the *UgKLb*.

Ammîstamru II (c.1250–1225 BC) – sent Amarna letter EA 45 to Amenhotep III of Egypt (1275–1238 BC).[2121] He is named on the *UgKLb*.

Niqmaddu III (c.1225–1200 BC) – sent Amarna letter EA 49 to Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC). He also however received a letter from, and later had a treaty with, Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC), followed by an edict regarding tribute. An inventory of tribute paid was also found at Ugarit. He further received a letter from Šarri-Kušuḫ of Karkamiš (1202–1180 BC) regarding Tette of Nuḫašši (c.1200–1182 BC).[2122] He is named on the *UgKLb*.

Arḫalbá (c.1200–1175 BC) – is known from six judicial texts, including his 'last will'. Kitchen says that he pursued an independent policy, openly carrying on diplomatic exchanges with Horemheb of Egypt (1189–1175 BC), and Bryce suggests that Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–1164 BC) replaced him on the throne with his younger brother Niqmepa VIII.

Singer however notes that there is no evidence for either of these supposed facts, and states that his prompt disappearance could simply have been caused by non-political circumstances, such as sudden illness and death.[2123] That Arḫalbá was not included on the *UgKLb* is consistent with the idea that his reign was controversial. Beckman suggests that he more likely compromised himself through half-hearted

[2119] Drower, pp.132, 135; Smith M.S, p.90.
[2120] Drower, pp.132, 135; Smith M.S, p.90.
[2121] Moran, pp.117–118.
[2122] Moran, pp.120–121; Beckman (1996a), pp.119–120, 30–32, 151–154, 120–121.
[2123] Kitchen (1962), pp.36–37; Bryce (2005a), p.204; Singer (1999), pp.637–638.

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support of the Hittites rather than through open participation in the Syrian revolts against Mursili II.[2124] That he had a 'last will' suggests however that he reigned until his death by natural causes.

Niqmepa VIII (c.1175–1140 BC) – is normally identified as the brother of Arḫalbá, who he succeeded as king of king of Ugarit, which does not work from a genealogical perspective. He had a treaty with Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC) in which he is described as the son of a king which therefore suggest that Arḫalbá was his father. Muršili II also issued an edict returning certain territories to Niqmepa VIII which were being claimed by Mukiš. But because of the loss of Siyannu to Karkamiš, which resulted in the loss of a third of Ugarit's former territory, his tribute to be paid to Ḫatti was reduced. He married Ahat-Milki, the daughter of Ari-Tešup II of Amurru (1200–1185 BC). He also corresponded with Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1152–1130 BC) regarding concerns with the activities of merchants in the city of Ura.[2125] His is named on the *UgKLb*.

Ammîstamru III (c.1140–1130 BC) – succeeded his father Niqmepa VIII as king of Ugarit. His accession was contemporary with Ini-Tešup I of Karkamiš (1140–1115 BC). He is named on an edict from Paduhepa, the wife of Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1152–1130 BC). He married the daughter of Bentešina of Amurru (1164–1140 BC) who he subsequently divorced during the reign of Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (c.1130–1100 BC). Tudḫaliya passed an edict which allowed Ammîs-tamru III to contribute gold rather than soldiers to the war effort against Assyria.[2126]

Ibirānu VI (c.1130–1100 BC) – succeeded his father Ammîstamru III as king of Ugarit. He received a letter from the Hittite prince Piḫa-Walwi admonishing him for not having sent gifts or messengers or sought an audience with the Hittite king since his obtaining kingship.[2127]

Niqmaddu IV (c.1100–1090 BC) – succeeded Ibirānu VI as king of Ugarit.

Ammurapi III (c.1090–1065 BC) – succeeded Niqmaddu IV as king of Ugarit. He was contemporary with Šuppiluliuma II of Ḫatti (1095–1070 BC). He divorced Eḫli-Nikkalu, who was likely the daughter of Šuppiluliuma II, which was adjudicated by

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[2124] Beckman (1996a), p.158.
[2125] Beckman (1996a), pp.59–64, 158–164; Devechi (2019), p.122.
[2126] Beckman (1996a), pp.164–168.
[2127] Beckman (1996a), p.121.

Talmi-Tešup of Karkamiš (1120–1090 BC).[2128] He was the last king of Ugarit, which was attacked by the Sea Peoples and abandoned during the Late Bronze Age collapse.

5.9.2 Byblos

Details of the kings of Byblos are based on the list of rulers provided by Kitchen, except that ʿEgel and ʿEgliya are recognised as separate kings.[2129]

Baalat-Rum – was a likely king of Byblos attested on a hieroglyphic inscription on a cylinder dated between the 3rd and 5th Egyptian Dynasties.[2130]

Ib-Dâdî (c.1805–1780 BC) – was contemporary with Amar-Sîn of Ur (1812–1803 BC).[2131]

Ruqq (c.1780–1755 BC) – in named on the Abī-Šemu Obelisk as the grandfather of Abī-Šemu. It is not agreed with Albright that his name means 'the Lycian'. It is proposed that he was king of Byblos.[2132]

Kukun (c.1755–1730 BC) – in named on the Abī-Šemu Obelisk as the father of Abī-Šemu. It is proposed that he was king of Byblos. [2133]

Abī-Šemu I (c.1730–1705 BC) – is attested on two stone block inscriptions. While Albright describes him as the founder of his dynasty, it is almost certain that he was the Abī-Šemu named on the Abī-Šemu Obelisk as the son of Kukun, who was therefore likely king before him. He was contemporary with Amenemhat III of Egypt (1731–1686 BC), who was a king of the Egyptian 12th Dynasty, which ruled from Itjtawy near Heracleopolis. The Abī-Šemu Obelisk describes Abī-Šemu as *haty-aa* (prince) of Kpny (Byblos) and beloved of Heryshaf (the main god of Heracleopolis). He was buried in Tomb I[2134]

Yapi-šemu-abi (c.1705–1680 BC) – succeeded his father Abī-Šemu I as king of Byblos. He is attested on a stone block inscription and on a later inscription at

[2128] Beckman (1996a), p.168–170.
[2129] Kitchen (1967), pp.40–42.
[2130] Elayi, pp.32, 295.
[2131] Albright (1965), p.42; Elayi, pp.50, 295.
[2132] Albright (1959), p.33.
[2133] Albright (1959), p.33.
[2134] Albright (1965), pp.39, 42; Ryholt (1997), p.89; Elayi, pp.55, 295.

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Alalakh. He was contemporary with Amenemhat IV of Egypt (1688–1676 BC). He was buried in Tomb II[2135]

Yakīn-Ilu – Reyen (c.1680–1655 BC) – is attested on a lapis lazuli cylinder seal naming Yakīn-Ilu on one side and the praenomen of Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy of Egypt (1657–1655 BC) on the other side.[2136]

Yantin – Inten (c.1655–1630 BC) – succeeded his father Yakīn-Ilu as king. He is depicted on a relief sitting in front of the cartouche of Neferhotep I of Egypt (1630–1619 BC) and several Egyptian style scarabs.[2137]

Ilima-Yapi (c.1630–1605 BC) – succeeded his father Yantin as king.[2138]

Abī-Šemu II (c.1605–1580 BC) – was king of Byblos. Albright and Elayi associate him with Tomb IX.[2139]

Yapaʿ-šemu-abi (c.1580–1570 BC) – succeeded his father Abī-Šemu II as king of Byblos. [2140]

ʿEgel – Akery (c.1570–1555 BC) – succeeded his brother Yapaʿ-šemu-abi as king of Byblos.[2141]

Yantin-ʿAmmu (c.1555–1530 BC) – is attested on a text from Mari, which suggests that he was contemporary with Zimrī-Līm I of Mari (1547–1533 BC).[2142]

ʿEgliya – Akay (c.1530–1505 BC) – is suggested by Kitchen to be the same person as ʿEgel, the son of Abī-Šemu II.[2143] Elayi identifies him as a separate king.

Kain (c.1505–1480 BC) – is attested on a steatite scarab with a dedication to 'Hathor, Lady of Byblos', which dates him as being contemporary with the Hyksos Dynasty.[2144]

[2135] Albright (1965), pp.39–40, 42; Elayi, pp.55, 295.
[2136] Albright (1965), p.42; Ryholt (1997), p.87; Elayi, p.295.
[2137] Albright (1965), p.42; Elayi, p.295
[2138] Albright (1965), p.42.
[2139] Albright (1965), p.42; Elayi, pp.56, 295.
[2140] Albright (1965), p.42.
[2141] Albright (1965), p.42; Elayi, pp.57, 295.
[2142] Albright (1965), p.42.
[2143] Kitchen (1967), pp.40–42; Elayi, pp.57, 295
[2144] Elayi, pp.57, 295.

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Rynty (c.1480–1455 BC) – is attested of a scarab as king of Byblos, which dates him as being contemporary with the Hyksos Dynasty.[2145]

5.10 Canaanites (North-West Semites)

5.10.1 Ḫazor (Ḫaṣuru)

Ibni-Addu – Jabin I (c.1550–1525 BC) – is recorded in the Mari texts (destroyed 1533 BC) as receiving shipments of tin from Mari.[2146]

ʿAbdi-Tirši (c.1250–1225 BC) – is recorded in the Amarna Letter EA 228 from the time of Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC).[2147]

ʿAbdi-Addu (c.1225–1200 BC) – is recorded on a Tablet from Ḫazor, the style of which dates him to about the Amarna period and indicates that he was likely either the predecessor or successor of Abdi-Tirši.[2148]

Jabin II (c.1200–1175 BC) – is named in as king during the time of Joshua.[2149]

Jabin III (c.1130–1110 BC) – is recorded in the Bible as ruling over Canaan for 20 years before the time of Deborah of Ephraim (c.1110–1100 BC).[2150]

5.10.2 Jerusalem

Adoni-Zedek – Milki-Zedek – called either Adoni-Zedek "my lord is righteousness" in the Book of Jasher, or Milki-Zedek "my king is righteousness" in the Book of Genesis, is identified as king of Salem and "Priest of the Most High God" during the time of Avram. He appears to be based on Adoni-Zedek, who was king of Jerusalem at the time of the Exodus.[2151]

ʿAbdi-Ḫeba (c.1250–1225 BC) – was king of Jerusalem. He wrote Amarna letters EA 285–290, in which he complained that Labaya of Pella, and Milki-Lu of Gezer

[2145] Elayi, p.57, 295.
[2146] Sasson (1998), p.122; Malamat, pp.36–37.
[2147] Moran, pp.289–290.
[2148] Horowitz, pp.16, 24.
[2149] Joshua 11:1.
[2150] Judges 4:1–23.
[2151] Jasher 16:11–12; Genesis 14:18–20.

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and the sons of Labaya gave land to the ʿApiru (Hebrews), with whom he was at war and who were taking the cities of the king of Egypt.[2152]

Adoni-Zedek (c.1225–1200 BC) – is named in the Book of Joshua as king of Jerusalem during the time of Joshua.[2153]

5.10.3 Pella

Labaya (c.1255–1230 BC) – was king of Pella who wrote Amarna letters EA 252–254 and is named in several others. ʿAbdi-Ḫeba of Jerusalem claims in EA 289 that he gave the city of Šakmu (Shechem) to the ʿApiru (Hebrews). In EA 250 it is said that he was killed by the people of Gina.[2154]

Mut-Baʿal (c.1230–1205 BC) – succeeded his father Labaya as king of Pella. He is the author of Amarna letters EA 255–256. He mentions a certain Yišuya, who appears to be a generation before the Joshua of the Bible.[2155]

5.10.4 Moab

Zippor (c.1250–1225 BC) – is named in the Bible as the father of Balak. He was possibly king of Moab.[2156]

Balak (c.1225–1200 BC) – is named in the Bible as king of Moab during the time of Moses.[2157]

Eglon (c.1160–1140 BC) – is named in the Book of Judges as king of Moab who controlled Israel for 18 years. It is proposed that his control of Israel immediately followed the control by Cušan-Rišathaim of Aram-Naḫaraim (c.1166–1158 BC).[2158]

Mêša (c.860–835 BC) – is named in the Book of 2 Kings as having rebelled against Israel upon the death of Ahab of Israel (873–851 BC) and gained independence.[2159]

[2152] Moran, pp.325–334.
[2153] Joshua 10:1–11.
[2154] Moran, pp.303–307, 332.
[2155] Moran, pp.308–309.
[2156] Numbers 22:2–16; Joshua 24:9, Judges 11:25.
[2157] Numbers 22:1 – 24:25; Joshua 24:9; Judges 11:25; Micah 6:5.
[2158] Judges 3:14.
[2159] 2 Kings 3:4–5.

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He is also named as the son of Kamōš-Ayat king of Moab on the Mesha Stela, which Ventura convincingly argues is a forgery.[2160]

Salāmānu (c.740–715 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2161]

Kamōš-Nadbī – Kammusu-Nadbi (c.715–690 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2162]

Muṣurī – Musurri (c.690–665 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2163]

Kamōš-ʿAśa – Kamashaltâ (c.665–640 BC) – is recorded as a vassal of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC). He defeated Abyaṯiʿ of Qedar (c.665–645 BC) and sent him to Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.[2164]

5.10.5 Edom

Beor (c.1175–1150 BC) – was the father of Bela. He was possibly king of Edom.[2165]

Bela (c.1150–1125 BC) – the son of Beor, was king of Edom who ruled from Dinhabah. [2166]

Jobab (c.1125–1100 BC) – the son of a certain Zerah, succeeded Bela as king of Edom and ruled from Bozrah.[2167]

Ḫušam (c.1100–1075 BC) – from the land of the Temanites succeeded Jobab as king of Edom.[2168]

Ḫadad I (c.1075–1050 BC) – the son of a certain Bedad, who defeated Midian in the country of Moab, succeeded Ḫušam as king of Edom and ruled from Avith.[2169]

[2160] Ventura, pp.1–6.
[2161] Tadmor & Yamada, p.122.
[2162] Luckenbill, p.119; Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 114, 131, 175, 192; (2014), pp.183, 188, 238.
[2163] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, pp.265, 340; Novotny & Jeffers, p.116.
[2164] Luckenbill, p.338.
[2165] Genesis 36:32; 1 Chronicles 1:43.
[2166] Genesis 36:32; 1 Chronicles 1:43.
[2167] Genesis 36:33; 1 Chronicles 1:44.
[2168] Genesis 36:34; 1 Chronicles 1:45.
[2169] Genesis 36:35; 1 Chronicles 1:46.

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Samlaḫ (c.1050–1025 BC) – from Masrekah succeeded Ḫadad I as king of Edom.[2170]

Šaul (c.1025–1000 BC) – from Rehaboth on the river succeeded Samlaḫ as king of Edom.[2171]

Baʿal-Ḫanan (c.1000–975 BC) – the son of a certain Akbor, succeeded Šaul as king of Edom.[2172]

Ḫadad II (c.975–950 BC) – succeeded Baʿal-Ḫanan as king of Edom and ruled from Pau. He was described as an adversary of Solomon of Israel (970–930 BC) who had fled to Egypt during the time of David of Israel (995–970 BC) with some Edomite officials who had served his father. He is said to have married a sister-in-law of the king of Egypt and returned to Edom following the death of David.[2173]

Qaʾuš-Malaka (c.740–715 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2174]

Aya-Rāmu (c.715–690 BC) – succeeded Qaʾuš-Malaka as king of Edom. He is recorded as paying tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2175]

Qaʾuš-Gabri – Kaush-Gabri (c.690–665 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2176]

5.10.6 Ammon

Naḫash (c.1025–1000 BC) – is named in the Bible as king of Ammon during the time of Saul of Israel (1033–991 BC).[2177]

Ḫanun I (c.1000–975 BC) – is named as succeeding his father Nahash as king of Ammon during the reign of David of Judah (995–970 BC).[2178]

[2170] Genesis 36:36; 1 Chronicles 1:47.
[2171] Genesis 36:37; 1 Chronicles 1:48.
[2172] Genesis 36:38; 1 Chronicles 1:49.
[2173] Genesis 36:39; 1 Chronicles 1:50; 1 kings 11:14–22.
[2174] Tadmor & Yamada, p.122.
[2175] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 114, 131, 175, 192; (2014), pp.183, 188, 238.
[2176] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, p.340; Novotny & Jeffers, p.116.
[2177] 1 Samuel 11:1–2.
[2178] 2 Samuel 10:1; 1 Chronicles 19:1.

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Rehob – Ruhubi (c.880–855 BC) – was king of Ammon. He was likely the eponymous ancestor of the Bīt-Ruhubi dynasty.

Baʿša II – Baʾasa (c.855–830 BC) – succeeded his father Rehob as king of Ammon. He is named as participating in the Battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 853 BC.[2179]

Šanip – Sanīpu (c.765–740 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2180]

Zakkur II (c.740–715 BC) – succeeded his father Šanip as king of Ammon. He is named on a statue by his son Yariḥ-ʿEzer.[2181]

Yariḥ-ʿEzer – Jeraheazar (715–700 BC) – succeeded his father Zakkur II as king of Ammon. He is named on a statue on which he names his father and grandfather.[2182]

Pada-Ēl – Būdi-Il (c.700–675 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) in his third campaign and to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC). He is also attested on a seal.[2183]

Barak-Ēl – Barachel (c.675–650 BC) – is attested on a seal impression.[2184]

ʿAmminadab I – Ammi-Nadbi (c.650–635 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2185]

Haṣalʾēl – Hissalel (c.635–610 BC) – is attested on a bronze situla found at Tell Siran as the son of Aminadab I, who he succeeded as king of Ammon.[2186]

ʿAmminadab II (c.610–585 BC) – is attested on a bronze situla found at Tell Siran as the son of Haṣalʾēl, who he succeeded as king of Ammon.[2187]

[2179] Grayson (1996), p.23.
[2180] Tadmor & Yamada, p.122.
[2181] T.C Mitchell, p.336.
[2182] T.C Mitchell, p.336.
[2183] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 114, 131, 175, 192; (2014), pp.183, 188; Deutsch, p.123; Leichty, pp.23, 46.
[2184] Deutsch, pp.121–124.
[2185] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142.
[2186] Deutsch, pp.123–124.
[2187] Deutsch, pp.123–124.

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Baʿal-Yaša – Baʿalis (c.585–560 BC) – is named in the Book of Jeremiah as having sent Ishmael to kill Gedaliah, who was appointed as governor of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC) and ruled Judah for 6 months in 582 BC. He is also attested by a Tell el-ʿUmeiri royal-official seal impression.[2188]

5.10.7 Israel

Timnath-Heres

Joshua (c.1190–1166) – the son of Nun of the Tribe of Ephraim is described in the Bible as the first ruler of the Israelites after the Exodus, which in Part 2 of this book will be demonstrated to have occurred in two phases, being first the exodus of the people in 1406 BC, and then about 200 years later the exodus of the priesthood, who forged the Jewish identity, in about 1209 BC.

His death created a political vacuum in Canaan which the Book of Judges says was filled for eight years by Cušan-Rišathaim of Aram-Naḫaraim (1166–1158 BC) and then for 18 years by Eglon of Moab (1158–1140 BC). It is not accepted that there was a symbolic 'rest' of 40 years between the two external kings.[2189]

Seraiah (Bethel)

Ehud (c.1140–1130 BC) – the son of Gera of the tribe of Bīnyamīn, is said in the Book of Judges to have killed Eglon of Moab (c.1158–1140 BC), who it says had ruled over Israel for 18 years. While the Book of Judges says that Israel then had a symbolic 'rest' for 80 years (2 x 40 years), it is proposed that Ehud instead ruled for about 10 years after which Jabin III of Ḫazor (c.1130–1110 BC) had affective control of Israel for 20 years.[2190]

Shamgar (c.1130–1110 BC) – the son of a certain Anath is described in Chapter 3 of the Book of Judges as succeeding Ehud as ruler of Israel. In Chapter 4 however it also states that Ehud was followed by the Canaanite Jabin III of Ḫazor (c.1130–1110 BC), who ruled the Israelites for 20 years. The answer to this seeming contradiction is found in Chapter 5, where it states in the song of Deborah and Barak that "In the days of Shamgar son of Anath, in the days of Jael, caravans ceased and travellers kept to the byways. The peasantry prospered in Israel, they grew fat on

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[2188] Jeremiah 40:11–41:3; Deutsch, pp.123–124.
[2189] Judges 3:8–14.
[2190] Judges 3:12–29, 4:3.

plunder". For not only does the song state that lawlessness prevailed during the time of Shamgar, it also reveals that he was contemporary with Jael, who in Chapter 4 was described as the wife of Heber the Kenite, whose clan was at peace with Jabin. This reveals that Shamgar was contemporary with and therefore a vassal of Jabin.[2191]

Ramah

Deborah (c.1110–1100 BC) – is described in the Book of Judges as a ruler who freed Israel from the rule of Jabin III of Ḫazor (c.1130–1110 BC). She married Lappidoth of Ephraim. It is proposed that she ruled for about 10 years.[2192]

Ophrah

Gideon (c.1093–1077 BC) – the son of Joash the Abiezrite of Manasseh, is described in the Book of Judges as freeing the Israelites from the rule of the Arab Midianites, who had ruled over them for seven years.[2193] He ruled from the city of Ophrah. It is not accepted that he ruled for a symbolic period of 40 years. It is proposed that the ruled for about 16 years.

Shechem

Abī-Melech (c.1077–1074 BC) – was elected as king at Shechem following the death of his father Gideon of Ophrah. The Book of Judges says that he died while attacking Thebez, having ruled for three years.[2194]

Jeroboam I (930–909 BC) – was declared king of Israel at Shechem following the death of Solomon at Jerusalem. It is said he reigned for 22 years.[2195]

Nadab (909–908 BC) – succeeded his father Jeroboam as king of Israel at Shechem. He was killed by Baʿša I of Tirzah in Year 3 of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC) having reigned for two years.[2196]

[2191] Judges 3:31, 4:17, 5:6–7.
[2192] Judges 4:4–5:31.
[2193] Judges 6:1–8:28.
[2194] Judges 9:1–57.
[2195] I Kings 12:20, 14:20.
[2196] 1 Kings 14:20, 15:25–28.

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Tibni (884–880 BC) – the son of a certain Ginath, declared himself king of Israel at Shechem upon the death of Zimri of Tirzah (884 BC). He was defeated by Omri of Samaria (880–869 BC).[2197]

Shamir

Tola (c.1074–1051 BC) – the son of Puah of the tribe of Issachar, is described in the Book of Judges as having succeeded Abī-Melech of Manasseh (c.1077–1074 BC) as ruler of the Israelites and to have ruled from Shamir in Ephraim for 23 years.[2198]

Kamon

Jair (c.1074–1052 BC) – the Gileadite is said in the Book of Judges to have succeeded Tola as ruler of the Israelites and to have ruled from Kamon for 22 years. It is instead proposed that he was contemporary with Tola and succeeded Abī-Melech as ruler of Manasseh.[2199]

Jephthah (c.1052–1046 BC) – the Gileadite succeeded Jair as ruler of Manessah and ruled for six years.[2200]

Aijalon

Elon (1051–1041 BC) – the Zebulunite is said in the Book of Judges to have ruled the Israelites from Aijalon after Ibzan of Judah for ten years. It is proposed that he instead succeeded Tola.[2201]

Pirathon

Abdon (c.1041–1033 BC) – the son of Hillel is said in the Book of Judges to have ruled the Israelites after Elon from Pirathon for eight years.[2202]

[2197] 1 Kings 16:21–22; McFall, p.14.
[2198] Judges 10:1–2.
[2199] Judges 10:3–5.
[2200] Judges 11:1–12:7.
[2201] Judges 12:11–12.
[2202] Judges 12:13–15.

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Mahaneh-Dan

Samson – the son of Manoah of the tribe of Dan, is said in the Book of Judges to have been born at Mahaneh-Dan at a time when the Philistines ruled over the Israelites for the symbolic time period of 40 years. The Philistines are said to have still been ruling over the Israelites when Samson became old enough to take a wife. According to the story of Samson the rule of the Philistines ended when Samson killed a thousand Philistines with a jawbone of a donkey, after which he 'led' Israel for 20 years.[2203]

The popular interpretation of Israelite chronology is to have the time of Samson followed by the time of the prophet Eli, who raised the prophet Samuel, who in turn anointed Saul as the king of the Israelites. Eli's rule does not appear to occur during a time of oppression, which suggests that there was no overlap with the supposed Philistine oppression that Samson had lived under. Accordingly, in the Conventional Chronology the 40 years in which the Philistines supposedly ruled over Israel was followed by the 20 years during which Samson 'led' the Israelites (total of 60 years), followed by the 40 years when Eli judged Israel. This interpretation dates the period in which the Philistines ruled over Israel as much earlier than the approximately 1065 BC date for the arrival of the Philistines (as participants in the arrival of the Sea Peoples) argued for in this Adjusted Chronology. Even if there was an overlap between the time of Samson and that of Eli, the combined 60 years for the rule of the Philistines and then of Samson is longer than the 40 years that Eli judged Israel and cannot fit into the proposed 70-years period between the arrival of the Philistines in Canaan and the start of the reign of David.

The story of Samson is both interesting and controversial, with its placement in the Book of Judges peculiar. The Book of Judges can be split into three main sections:

- Judges 1-12 – the account of the 12 Judges after the death of Joshua.
- Judges 13-16 – the story of Samson who was not a judge, but instead 'led' Israel.
- Judges 17-21 – two stories of the wickedness that prevailed when there was no king in Israel, containing Micah's Idol (17–18), which describes how the tribe of Dan conquered its territory in the north, and the Battle of Gibeah (19–21), a war between Bīnyamīn and the other tribes. These stories do not feature a specific judge.

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[2203] Judges 13:1–16:31

Consequently, while the first half of the Book of Judges is about Judges, the second half, including Samson, is not.

The change in the style and content in the second half of the Book of Judges suggests that more than one author was responsible for the finished book. This is particularly evident when it is realised that the Micah's idol story includes Jonathan, the grandson of Moses, which means that the events must have taken place early in the period of the judges. Therefore, if it had been written by the same author as the first half of the Book of Judges, then it should have been woven into the earlier narrative.

Just as the story of Micah's idol was inserted into the Book of Judges by a later author, the same occurred with the story of Samson (including the supposed rule of the Philistines over Israel). Many commentators, such as Burney, see Samson not as an historical person, but instead as a folk-hero or a demigod (similar to Heracles and Enkidu) enfolded into Jewish religious lore. Leviton notes that Samson's prowess, activities and physical size was impossible, and that 'no single human can defeat 1,000 soldiers with a jawbone; no one man can pull down a huge stone temple or lift two mountains.'[2204]

The prophets Eli and Samuel, while not mentioned in the Book of Judges, should however be ascribed to the periods of the earlier mentioned rulers of the Israelites.

Gibeah

Saul (c.1033–991 BC) – the son of Kish of the tribe of Bīnyamīn, is described in the Book of Sanuel as the first king of all of Israel. He is said to have died in the Battle of Mount Gilboa against the Philistines. He reigned for 42 years.[2205]

Ish-Baʿal – Ish-Bosheth (c.991–989 BC) – succeeded his father Saul as king of Israel. His rule was marred by conflict with David (995–970 BC), who upon the death of Saul had become a rival king at Hebron in Judah. He was assassinated after a rule of only two years and was succeeded by his rival David.[2206]

Jerusalem

David (c.995–970 BC) – the son of Jesse of the tribe of Judah became king at Hebron upon the death of Saul. He fought against Saul's son and successor Ish-Baʿal

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[2204] Burney, pp.391-408; Leviton, p.244.
[2205] 1 Samuel 9:1–11:15, 13:1, 31:1–5.
[2206] 2 Samuel 2:8–4:7; 1 Chronicles 8:33, 9:39.

for two years until Ish-Baʿal was assassinated and David then became king of all the Israelites. After a further five years of rule at Hebron he then moved his capital to Jerusalem in about 988 BC, which was within the region traditionally attributed to the Tribe of Bīnyamīn. It is not accepted that he ruled for a symbolic period of 40 years. It is proposed that he instead ruled for about 29 years.

Solomon (970–930 BC) – succeeded his father David as king of Israel. The Book of 1 Kings states that Solomon began construction of the temple in his Year 4 (967 BC), which is confirmed by Young by reference to the 'Conquest' of Israel by the Hebrews in 1406 BC using dating determined by the Jubilee and Sabbatical Cycles. This is notably only one year different to the 968 BC date derived earlier by reference to the reign of Ḫiram I of Tyre (979–945 BC) based on the founding of Carthage in 824 BC. This firmly sets the start of his reign to 970 BC. 1 Kings says that he reigned for 40 years, while Eusebius said that he reigned for 37 years.[2207]

Tirzah

Baʿša I (908–885 BC) – became king of Israel at Tirzah after he killed Nadab of Shechem in Year 3 of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC). He reigned for 24 years.[2208]

Elah (885–884 BC) – succeeded his father Baʿša I as king of Isarael at Tirzah in Year 26 of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC). He was killed by Zimri having reigned for two years.[2209]

Zimri (884 BC) – killed Elah who he succeeded as king of Israel at Tirzah. He was killed by Omri of Samaria, who was the commander of the army, after reigning for only seven days.[2210]

Samaria

Omri (880–869 BC) – killed Zimri of Tirzah and declared himself king of Israel at Tirzah. At the start of his reign, he had to contend with a rival Tibni (884–880 BC) who declared himself as king of Israel at the former capital of Samaria. He ruled at

[2207] 1 Kings 6:1, 11:42; McFall, p.42; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38; Young, R.C. (2008) p.118, (2003), p.602.
[2208] 1 Kings 15:28–33.
[2209] 1 Kings 16:6.
[2210] 1 Kings 16:15–18.

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Tirzah for six years before moving his capital to Samaria in Year 31 of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC) and reigned for 12 years.[2211]

Ahab (873–851 BC) – succeeded his father Omri as king of Israel in Year 38 of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC). He gained independence from Ḫadadezer II (Ben-Ḫadad II) of Damascus (865–842 BC) with whom he then had a treaty. He later participated along with Ḫadadezer II in the Battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 853 BC and died the two years later at the Battle of Ramoth Gilead. He ruled for 22 years.[2212]

Ahaziah I (851–850 BC) – succeeded his father Ahab as king of Israel in Year 17 of Jehoshaphat of Judah (872–847 BC) and reigned for two years.[2213]

Joram (850–839 BC) – succeeded his brother Ahaziah I as king of Israel in Year 18 of Jehoshaphat of Judah (872–847 BC). He fought against Ḫazaʾ-El I of Damascus (c.842–796 BC). He was killed by Jehu having reigned for 12 years.[2214]

Jehu (839–811 BC) – the son of Jehoshaphat the son of a certain Nimshi, was supposedly anointed as king of Israel by the prophet Elisha before killing Joram. He is recorded as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in his Year 18 (841 BC). He is said to have lost land to Ḫazaʾ-El I of Damascus (c.842–796 BC). He reigned for 28 years.[2215]

Jehoahaz I – Joahaz (811–794 BC) – succeeded his father Jehu as king of Israel in Year 23 of Joash of Judah (833–793 BC) and reigned for 17 years. He is said to have been oppressed by Ḫazaʾ-El I of Damascus (c.842–796 BC). He reigned for 17 years[2216]

Jehoash (797–794–779 BC) – began a coregency with his father Jehoahaz I in Year 37 of Joash of Judah (833–793 BC) before succeeding him as king of Israel. He is recorded as paying tribute to Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC). He is said to have defeated Bar-Ḫadad III of Damascus (796–780 BC) three times and taken

[2211] 1 Kings 16:17–28.
[2212] 1 Kings 16:29, 20:1–34, 22:35; Grayson (1996), p.23.
[2213] 1 Kings 20:40, 20:51; McFall, p.17.
[2214] 2 Kings 1:17, 3:1, 8:28, 9:24; McFall, p.17.
[2215] 1 Kings 19:16; 2 Kings 9:1, 9:24, 10:32–36; Grayson (1996), pp.48, 54, 60.
[2216] 2 Kings 10:35, 13:1, 13:22.

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back towns which Ḫazaʾ-El I of Damascus had taken from his father Jehoahaz I. He reigned independently for 16 years.[2217]

Jeroboam II (790–779–749 BC) – began a coregency with his father Jehoash before succeeded his father as king of Israel in Year 15 of Amaziah of Judah (793–764 BC). He reigned for a total of 41 years.[2218]

Zechariah (749–748 BC) – succeeded his father Jeroboam II as king of Israel in Year 38 of Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC). He was killed by Shallum having ruled for 6 months.[2219]

Shallum (748 BC) – the son of a certain Jabesh, killed Zechariah in Year 39 of Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC) and ruled for one month.[2220]

Menahem I – Mənaḥēm (748–738 BC) – the son of a certain Gadi from Tirzuh, killed Shallum in Year 39 of Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC) and reigned for 10 years. He paid Tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2221]

Pekahiah (738–736 BC) – succeeded his father Menahem I as king of Israel in Year 50 of Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC) and reigned for two years.[2222]

Pekah (749–736–729 BC) – the son of a certain Remaliah, became king at Gilead during the reign of Menahem I of Samaria (748–738 BC). He defeated and killed Pekahiah of Samaria (738–736 BC) in Year 52 of Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC) then ruled from Samaria for a total of 20 years. While the Book of 2 Kings says that he was killed by his successor Hoshea, Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) recorded that it was he who defeated and killed Pekah and installed Hoshea as king.[2223]

Hoshea (729–721 BC) – son of a certain Elah was installed as king of Israel at Ephraim by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) in Year 20 of Jotham of Judah (748–729 BC). He later rebelled against Shalmaneser V who captured him

[2217] 2 Kings, 13:9–10, 13:25; Grayson (1996), p.221.
[2218] 2 Kings 13:13, 14:23; McFall, p.25.
[2219] 2 Kings 14:29, 15:8–10.
[2220] 2 Kings 15:10–14.
[2221] 2 Kings 15:14–21; Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 87.
[2222] 2 Kings 15:22–23.
[2223] 2 Kings 15:25–30; Tadmor & Yamada, pp.106, 111.

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and took him to Assyria having reigned for nine years.[2224] Many people of Israel were subsequently deported to Assyria while others fled south to Judah. Those who remained became the Samaritans.

Nabû-kenu-usur (c.705–680 BC) – was governor of Samaria with the eponym year of 690 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–669 BC).

5.10.8 Yəhūda (Judah)

Hebron

Othniel (c.1185–1150 BC) – the son of Kenaz of Judah, is described in the Books of Joshua and Judges as having married Achsah, the daughter of his elder brother Caleb son of Jephunneh, who was a contemporary of Joshua of Ephraim (c.1190–1166). As they had different fathers, they could only have been brothers if they had the same mother. In the Book of Judges he is described as freeing the Israelites from the rule of Cušan-Rišathaim of Aram-Naḫaraim (1166–1158 BC).[2225] It is not accepted that he ruled for a symbolic 40 years and it is instead suggested that he ruled for about 35 years.

David (c.995–989 BC) – see David, king of Israel.

Bethlehem

Ibzan (1040–1033 BC) – of Bethlehem is said in the Book of Judges to have ruled the Israelites after Jephthah for seven years.[2226]

Jerusalem

Rehoboam (930–913 BC) – succeeded his father Solomon of Israel (970–930 BC) as king. Upon his ascension Jeroboam (931–910 BC) was declared king of Israel at Shechem, leaving Rehoboam as king of Judah at Jerusalem. It is said that in Year 5 (926 BC) he was attacked by Shoshenq IIb (949–918 BC) of Bubastis in Egypt, to

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[2224] 2 Kings 15:29–30, 17:1–6; Tadmor & Yamada, pp.106, 131.
[2225] Joshua 15:17; Judges 1:13, 3:9–11.
[2226] Judges 12:8–10.

whom he had to pay a high tribute. 1 Kings says that he reigned for 17 years and Eusebius gave him 16 years.[2227]

Abijah (913–910 BC) – succeeded his father Rehoboam as king of Judah in Year 18 of Jeroboam of Israel (930–909 BC) and reigned for three years.[2228]

Asa (910–869 BC) – succeeded his father Abijah as king of Judah in Year 20 of Jeroboam of Israel (930–909 BC). Eusebius said that he reigned for 41 years.[2229]

Jehoshaphat (872–869–847 BC) – had a coregency with his father Asa for three years before succeeded his father as king of Judah in Year 4 of Ahab of Israel (873–851 BC) and reigned for a total of 25 years.[2230]

Jehoram (852–847–839 BC) – had a coregency with his father Jehoshaphat before succeeding his father as king of Judah in Year 5 of Joram of Israel (850–839 BC) and reigned independently for eight years.[2231]

Ahaziah II (839–838 BC) – succeeded his father Jehoram as king of Judah in Year 12 of Joram of Israel (850–839 BC). He was killed by Jehu of Israel (839–811 BC) having reigned for one year.[2232]

Athaliah (838–833 BC) – was a granddaughter of Omri of Israel (880–869 BC) who married Jehoram of Judah. Following the death of her son Ahaziah II she became regent for her grandson Joash. She was killed by the Levite priests who wanted to have control of the child king. She ruled for six years and killed in her 7th year. Eusebius gave her seven years.[2233]

Joash (833–793 BC) – succeeded his grandmother Athaliah as king of Judah in 833 BC at the age of seven when the Levite priests killed Athaliah in Year 7 of Jehu of Israel (839–811 BC). He was under the control of the Levite priests, who profited significantly during his reign. He paid tribute to Ḫazaʾ-El I of Damascus (c.842–796 BC). He reigned for 40 years.[2234]

[2227] 1 Kings 11:43, 14:21, 14:25–26; 2 Chronicles 12:2–9; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38; Jeremiah 52:20.
[2228] 1 Kings 15:2; 2 Chronicles 13:1–2.
[2229] 1 Kings 15:9-10; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2230] 1 Kings 15:24, 22:42; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2231] 1 Kings 22:50; McFall, p.18; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2232] 2 Kings 8:25–26; 2 Chronicles 22:1–9; McFall, p.19–20; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2233] 2 Chronicles 22:2, 22:10–23:1, 23:13; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2234] 2 Kings 11:21–12:2, 12:17–18; 2 Chronicles 22:10–23:15; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.

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Amaziah (793–764 BC) – succeeded his father Joash as king of Judah in Year 2 of Jehoash of Israel (797–779 BC). He died 15 years after the death of Jehoash having reigned for 29 years. Eusebius gave him 28 years.[2235]

Azariah – Uzziah (786–764–735 BC) – began a coregency with his father Amaziah from the age of 16 before succeeded his father as king of Judah in Year 27 of Jeroboam II of Israel (790–749 BC). He started a coregency with his son Jotham when he became leprous and reigned for 52 years.[2236]

Jotham (748–735–733–729 BC) – began a coregency with his father Azariah in Year 2 of Pekah of Israel (749–729 BC). He became sole king of Judah and 13 years but then in Year 16 was ousted from power by a pre-Assyrian faction who installed his son Ahaz as king. He retained the title of king until his Year 20.[2237]

Ahaz (733–729–717 BC) – was installed as a coregent with his father Jotham who he succeeded as king of Judah. He is named as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). He reigned for 16 years.[2238]

Hezekiah (727–717–697 BC) – began a coregency with his father Ahaz in Year 3 of Hoshea of Israel (729–721 BC), before succeeding his father as king of Judah and reigning for 29 years. He was defeated by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC), who gave a number of his cities to Ašdod, Ekron and Gaza, after which Hezekiah paid tribute to Sennacherib.[2239]

Manasseh – Minsê (697–642 BC) – began a coregency with his father Hezekiah at the age of 12 before succeeded him as king of Judah and reigning for a total of 55 years. He is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2240]

Amon (642–640 BC) – succeeded his father Manasseh as king of Judah and was assassinated having reigned for two years.[2241]

[2235] 2 Kings 12:21 14:1-2, 14:17; 2 Chronicles 25:1; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2236] 2 Kings 14:17, 15:1–2; 2 Chronicles 26:23; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2237] 2 Kings 15:7, 15:32; McFall, p.29; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2238] 2 Chronicles 27:9–28:1; Tadmor & Yamada, p.122; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2239] 2 Kings 16:20, 18:1–2; Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.65, 115–116, 132–133, 176, 192, 210, 222; (2014), pp.80–81, 184–185; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2240] 2 Kings 20:21–21:1; Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, p.340; Novotny & Jeffers, p.116; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2241] 2 Kings 21:18–24; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.

Josiah (640–609 BC) – succeeded his father Amon as king of Judah at the age of eight. He was killed by Neco of Egypt (610–595 BC) at Megiddo, having reigned for 31 years.[2242]

Jehoahaz II (609 BC) – succeeded his father Josiah as king of Judah and ruled for three months. Neco of Egypt (610–595 BC) confined him at Riblah and then took him to Egypt.[2243]

Eliakim – Jehoiakim (609–598 BC) – was installed by Neco of Egypt (610–595 BC) as successor to his brother Jehoahaz II as king of Judah. Jeremiah 25:1 states that his Year 4 was equal to Year I of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC). He became a vassal of Nebuchadnezzar II for three years before rebelling against him. He reigned for 11 years.[2244]

Jeconiah – Jehoiachin (598–597, 561–560 BC) – succeeded his father Jehoiakim as king of Judah and ruled for three months and was captured by Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC) in his Year 8. He was taken to Babylon and imprisoned. It is further said that in Year 37 of his exile he was released from prison by Amēl-Marduk of Babylon (562–560 BC), who allowed him to put aside his prison clothes and gave him an allowance. It is said that he was given a seat above the other seats of the kings who were with him in Babylon and dined regularly in the king's presence. His release from prison effectively established him as the figurehead of Judah and therefore the first exilarch (leader of the Israelites in captivity).[2245]

Mattaniah – Zedekiah (597–586 BC) – was installed by Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC) as successor to his nephew Jehoiachin as king of Judah. He rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar II who returned and captured him, blinded him, and took him to Babylon, having reigned for 11 years.[2246]

Gedaliah (c.582 BC) – was the son of the royal secretary Ahikam. He was appointed as governor of Yehud by Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC). He was assassinated by Ishmael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama, of the royal family.

[2242] 2 Kings 21:24–25, 23:29; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2243] 2 Kings 23:30–34; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2244] 2 Kings 23:34–24:1; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38; Jeremiah 25:1.
[2245] 2 Kings 24:5–12, 25:27–30; 1 Chronicles 3:16; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.
[2246] 2 Kings 24:17–20; Eusebius, *Chronography* §38.

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Sheshbazzar (c.560–535) – is described in the Bible as a governor of Yehud. There are no ancestral details provided for Sheshbazzar, however Graham notes that some consider that he was the same person as Shenazzar, the fourth son of Jeconiah, while others suggest that he was the same person as Zerubbabel. It is accepted here that he was the same person as Shenazzar.

Sheshbazzar likely succeeded his father Jeconiah as exilarch. It is questionable however if he was appointed governor by Cyrus II of Persia (559–530 BC), with a supposed mandate to go to Jerusalem and build the temple, and with permission for anybody who were of his people to accompany him. Not only is Sheshbazzar said to have taken with him heads of the families of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, along with all of their possession, but he is said to have also received all of the vessels of the temple that Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon had taken.

While Sheshbazzar is described as beginning the construction of the temple, it is clear that he did not complete its construction.[2247] The account of Sheshbazzar is however contradicted by several elements of the account of Zerubbabel, who is similarly described as leading the return of the Israelites from Babylon and responsible for the rebuilding of the temple without the participation of Sheshbazzar. Zerubbabel is described as setting up the latter on its foundation prior to the foundation of the temple having been laid.[2248]

Zerubbabel (c.535–510 BC) – is described as the governor of Yehud who rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem during the reign of Darius I of Persia (522–486 BC). While the Book of 1 Chronicles records Zerubbabel as the son of Pedaiah, the third son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), all other references refer to him as the son of Shealtiel, the eldest son of Jehoiachin. It is therefore accepted that he was likely the son of Shealtiel.

His completion of the rebuilding of the temple marks the establishment of Judaism as the universal religion of the Israelites. [2249]

Meshullam (c.510–500 BC) – likely succeeded his father Zerubbabel as governor of Yehud.[2250]

Ḥananiaḥ (c.500–485 BC) – likely succeeded his brother Meshullam as governor of Yehud.[2251]

[2247] Ezra 1:8–11, 5:1–17; 1 Esdras 2:1–30, 6:18–20. 1 Chronicles 3:17; Graham, p.206.
[2248] Ezra 2:1–3:13.
[2249] 1 Chronicles 3:19; Ezra 2:2, 3:2, 3:8, 4:2–3, 5:2; Nehemiah 7:7, 12:1, 12:47; Haggai 1:1–2:23; Zechariah 4:6–10; Matthew 1:12; Luke 3:27; 1 Esdras 2:12–15 5:5–8, 5:56–6:29.
[2250] 1 Chronicles 3:19.
[2251] 1 Chronicles 3:19.

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Pelatiah (c.485–475 BC) – likely succeeded his father Ḫananiaḫ as governor of Yehud.[2252]

Shecaniah – Hacaliah (c.475–460 BC) – likely succeeded his brother Pelatiah as governor of Yehud. It is proposed that Shecaniah was the same person as Hacaliah, the father of Nehemiah, for whom no other details are provided. While Shemaiah is his first listed son, Shemaiah does not appear to have succeeded him as governor, as Shemaiah was a priest who was also the keeper of the East Gate.[2253]

Neariah – Nehemiah (c.460–433 BC) – it is proposed that Neariah the son of Shecaniah was the same person as Nehemiah the son of Hacaliah, who was governor of Yehud during the time of Artaxerxes I of Persia (465–424 BC). Nehemiah is the central figure of the Book of Nehemiah.[2254]

Elioenai (c.433–410 BC) – is described as the son of Neariah. He likely succeeded his father as governor of Yehud.[2255]

Hodaviah (c.410–385 BC) – likely succeeded his father Elioenai as governor of Yehud.[2256]

5.11 Babylonians

5.11.1 Sealand Dynasties

1st Sealand Dynasty

While the name Sealand denotes an area near the Persian Gulf, the location of its capital remains unknown. The name of the capital is however clear from the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, which describes Agum's destruction of the city, stating that "Agum, the son of Kaštiliašu, mustered his army and marched to the Sealand. He seized Dur-Enlil and destroyed Egalgašešna, Enlil's temple in Dur-Enlil." The earlier reference in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* to Abi-Ešuh damming the Tigris

[2252] 1 Chronicles 3:21.
[2253] 1 Chronicles 3:21; Nehemiah, 3:28–29.
[2254] 1 Chronicles 3:22; Nehemiah, 1:1–13:31
[2255] 1 Chronicles 3:23.
[2256] 1 Chronicles 3:24.

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in an attempt to capture Ilum-ma-ilī, the first king of the dynasty, suggests that Dur-Enlil was beside the Tigris River.

The *BKLa* states that this dynasty ruled for 368 years. It is notable however that some of the reign lengths provided in the list are unusually long and that synchronisms with kings of Babylon require shorter reigns to align with year lists from Babylon.

Ilum-ma-ilī (c.1535–1484 BC) – was the first king of the 1st Sealand Dynasty. He is known from the *Chronicle of Early Kings* to have fought against both Šamšu-Iluna of Babylon (1522–1484 BC) and his son Abī-Ešuḫ (1484–1456 BC). He is named on the *BKLb*. While Sayce recorded that the *BKLa* provides him with a reign of [5]1 years, Rogers recorded 60 years and Grayson was not able to provide any reign length from the list. A reign of 51 years is used in this chronology.

Itti-ili-nībī (c.1484–1449 BC) – is named on the *BKLb*. While Sayce and Rogers both proposed that the *BKLa* gives him a reign of 55 years, Grayson was not able to provide any reign length from the list. It is proposed that he reigned for 35 years.

Damiq-Ilīšu II (c.1449–1423 BC) – is named on the *BKLb*. The *BKLa* appears gives him a reign of either 46 years (Sayce), 36 years (Pinches and Rogers) or 26 years (Grayson). 26 years is used in this chronology.

Iškibal (c.1423–1408 BC) – is named on the *BKLb* and the *Synchronistic King List* (*SyKL*). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 15 years.

Šušši (c.1408–1384 BC) – succeeded his brother Iškibal as king. He is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of either 27 years (Sayce and Rogers) or 24 years (Grayson). 24 years is used in this chronology.

Gulkišar (c.1384–1369 BC) – is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. *The Royal Epic of Gulkišar* describes Gulkišar's enmity for Samsu-Ditāna (1393–1362 BC). While the *BKLa* gives him a reign of 55 years it is proposed that he reigned for 15 years.

Pešgal-Daramaš (c.1369–1344 BC) – succeeded his father as king. He is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. While the *BKLa* gives him a reign of 50 years it is proposed that he reigned for 25 years.

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Ayadara-Galama (1344–1316 BC) – succeeded his father as king. He is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. He claimed the title of King of the Universe late in his reign. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 28 years.[2257]

Akur-Duanna (1316–1290 BC) – is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* (Grayson) gives him a reign of 26 years.

Melam-Kurkurra (1290–1283 BC) – is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him with a reign of either seven years (Rogers and Grayson) or six years (Sayce).[2258] Seven years is used in this chronology.

Ea-Gâmil (1283–1274 BC) – is named on the *BKLb* and the *SyKL*. He was recorded on the *Chronicle of Early Kings* as having fled to Elam, after which the Kassite Ulam-Buriyåš (1274–1268 BC) became king of Sealand. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of nine years.

Ulam-Buriyåš (c.1274–1272 BC) – is recorded in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* as becoming king of the Sealand at Dur Enlil after Ea-Gâmil. It says that he was the brother of Kaštiliašu II and then says that Agum was the son of Kaštiliašu II and likewise destroyed Enlil's temple in Dur Enlil, which likely occurred after the death of Ulam-Buriyåš. He is also named on the *SyKL*. A knob bearing a votive inscription confirms that he was a son of Burna-Buriyåš I.[2259]

2nd Sealand Dynasty

Simbar-Šihu – Simbar-Šipak – (933–930–916 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Dynastic Chronicle* as the son of a certain Eriba-Sîn and soldier of the Sealand and of the dynasty of Damiq-Ilīšu, who was a king of the 1st Sealand Dynasty. A stone tablet recording events at Sakhritu confirms that he was king of Babylon.[2260] His name means offspring of (the Kassite moon god) Šipak.

As discussed earlier, the *Religious Chronicle* also records an eclipse during the reign of Simbar-Šipak, stating that 'on the twenty-sixth of the month Simanu, in the seventh year, day turned to night and there was a fire in the sky.' It is proposed that this eclipse occurred on 2 June 930 BC in the reign of Simbar-Šipak (933–916 BC). This fits with him succeeding Nabû-šumu-libūr as king of Babylon in 930 BC.

[2257] Sayce, pp.14-15.
[2258] Sayce. p.15.
[2259] Brinkman (1976), pp.101, 318.
[2260] King (1912), pp.101–104

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While the *Dynastic Chronicle* gives him a reign of 17 years, the *Religious Chronicle* records events in his year 18 and the *BKLa* gives him a reign of 18 years. The *Dynastic Chronicle* record that he was slain and buried in the Palace of Sargon.

Ea-múkîn-zēri (c.916 BC) – the son of Hašmar, is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle* as a usurper following the assassination of Simbar-Šipak. While the *Dynastic Chronicle* gives him a reign of either three years or three months, the *BKLa* gives him a reign of five months. He was buried in the swamp of Bīt-Hašmar.

Kaššu-nādin-aḫḫē (c.916–913 BC) – the son of SAPpaya, is recorded on both the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *BKLa* as ruling for three years. He was buried in the Palace of Sargon.

5.11.2 Babylon – Paše (2nd Isin) Dynasty

Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu (c.1060–1045–1042 BC) – was the first king of the Paše (2nd Isin) Dynasty. As discussed earlier he ruled from Isin from where controlled only the lower half of Babylonia, becoming king in Babylon in 1045 BC. The *BKLc* gives him a reign of 18 years while the *BKLa* appears to give him a reign of 17 years. 18 years is used in this chronology.

Itti-Marduk-balāṭu (c.1042–1036 BC) – succeeded his father Marduk-kabit-aḫḫēšu as king of Babylon. He is named on the *SyKL*. While the *BKLc* gives him a reign of eight years the *BKLa* is unclear, providing possibly either six years (Sayce and Rogers) or eight years (Grayson).

Ninurta-nādin-šumi (c.1036–1030 BC) – is named on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Aššur-reša-iši I of Assyria (1030–1012 BC). This is confirmed on the *Aššur-reša-iši Chronicle* which claims that Ninurta-nādin-šumi fled when Aššur-reša-iši I marched on Arbela. The *BKLc* gives him a reign of six years.

Nabû-kudurri-uṣur – Nebuchadnezzar I (c.1030–1008 BC) – is recorded on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Aššur-reša-iši I of Asyria (1030–1012 BC). This is confirmed by the *Synchronistic Chronicle* which records that he was defeated by Aššur-reša-iši I. The *BKLc* gives him a reign of 22 years.

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Enlil-nādin-apli (c.1008–1004 BC) – is recorded on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I (1012–973 BC). The *Walker Chronicle* states that he marched

on Aššur to conquer it and that when he returned he was killed by Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē. The *BKLc* gives him a reign of four years.

Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē (c.1004–986 BC) – is recorded on the *SyKL* as being contemporary with Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC). This is confirmed by the *Synchronistic Chronicle* which records that he was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser I and the *Tiglath-Pileser I Chronicle* which states that he died during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. The *Tiglath-Pileser I Chronicle and BKLc* give him a reign of 18 years.

Marduk-šāpik-zēri (c.986–973 BC) – is recorded on the *Tiglath-Pileser I Chronicle*, the *Walker Chronicle* and the *Eclectic Chronicle* as the son of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē. He rebuilt the wall of Babylon and made an entente cordiale with Aššur-bēl-kala of Assyria (971–953 BC). He is also named on the *SyKL*. The *BKLc* gives him a reign of 13 years.

Adad-apla-iddina II (c.973–951 BC) – is recorded on the *Synchronistic Chronicle* as the son of a certain Esagil-Šaduni and on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Walker Chronicle* as a descendant of Itti-Marduk-balātu. The *Synchronistic Chronicle* sates that he was installed as king by Aššur-bēl-kala of Assyria (971–953 BC). The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 22 years.

Marduk-aḫḫē-erība (c.951–950 BC) – is named on the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of one year and six months.

Marduk-zēr-[..] (c.950–938 BC) – is named on the *SyKL*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of either 13 years (Sayce and Rogers) or 12 years (Grayson).

Nabû-šumu-libūr (c.938–930 BC) – is named on the *SyKL* and recorded on the *Religious Chronicle*. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of either nine years (Sayce and Rogers) or eight years (Grayson).

5.11.3 Babylon – Dynasty E

Nabû-múkîn-apli I (c.913–897 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle*. The *Religious Chronicle* records events that he had issues with the Arameans in his Years 7 and 8 and records events up to his Year 26. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of either 13 years (Sayce), 36 years (Grayson), or 16 years (Rogers) which is used here.

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Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur II (c.897–896 BC) – is named on the *BKLa* which gives him a reign of either six months and 12 days (Sayce) or eight months and 12 days (Grayson).

Mar-bīti-aḫḫē-iddina (c.896–893 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle.* It is proposed that he reigned for about three years.

Šamaš-Mudammiq (c.893–891 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Synchronistic Chronicle* as being contemporary with Adad-Nārāri II of Assyria (911–890 BC), who defeated him at the foot of Mount Yalman and took his chariots and teams of horses. Adad-Nārāri II recorded this in his annals, stating further that he annexed the cities of Arrapḫa and Lubdu.[2261] It is proposed that he reigned for about two years.

Nabû-šuma-ukîn I (c.891–887 BC) – is recorded on the *Synchronistic Chronicle* as being defeated by Adad-Nārāri II of Assyria (911–890 BC). The *Eclectic Chronicle* also records him as having an entente cordiale with Tukultī-Ninurta II of Assyria (890–883 BC), giving their daughters to one another in marriage. It is proposed that he reigned for about four years.

Nabû-apla-iddina (c.887–855 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* as the son of Nabû-šuma-ukîn I and contemporary with Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC). The *Synchronistic Chronicle* records him as being contemporary with Shalmaneser III (858–823 BC) with whom he made an entente cordiale.

Marduk-zâkir-šumi I (c.855–819 BC) – is recorded on both the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Synchronistic Chronicle* as the son of Nabû-apla-iddina and contemporary with Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC). He is also recorded on the *SyKL.*

Marduk-Bēl-usate 851–850 BC) – was the brother of Marduk-zâkir-šumi I. He is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, with the later detailing that he seized Daban and divided the kingdom with his brother. Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) recorded in his annals that the rebellion occurred in the eponymy of Šamaš-bē1a-usur (851 BC) and that he defeated Marduk-Bēl-usate in 851 BC and killed him in 850 BC.[2262]

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[2261] Grayson (1991a), p.148.
[2262] Grayson (1996), pp.30, 37, 46, 52, 53, 66, 75, 98, 138.

Marduk-balāssu-iqbi (c.819–814 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and on the *Synchronistic Chronicle*, which states that he was defeated by Šamši-Adad V of Assyria (823–810 BC). This is confirmed in the annals of Šamši-Adad V, where he records his defeat of Marduk-balāssu-iqbi in his fourth campaign in 814 BC.[2263]

Bāba-aḫa-iddina (c.812–811 BC) – was the son of a certain Lidanu. His defeat and capture by Šamši-Adad V of Assyria (823–810 BC) is recorded on a stela from Aššur.[2264] The *Synchronistic Chronicle* describes the event in more detail, stating that Šamši-Adad V captured many of his cities and went to Babylon, where he made sacrifices, and went down to Chaldea and received tribute from the kings of Chaldea.

c.814–783 – while the *Eclectic Chronicle* records that at this time there was no king in the land, it was actually controlled by the Assyrians Šamši-Adad V (814–810 BC) and his son Adad-Nārāri III (810–782 BC).

Ninurta-apla-[..] (c.783–780 BC) – -[..] is recorded on the *Synchronistic King List* fragment KAV 13:1. He is not otherwise attested as all other king lists and chronicles are broken at this point. Grayson states that the name of this king is unknown, noting that the current name was provided by Brinkman in 1962 on the basis of Schroeder's copy of the fragment from 1920, with the fragment not having enough traces to be certain of any reading.[2265] It is proposed that he reigned at Babylon for about three years.

Marduk-bēl-zēri (c.780–775 BC) – is recorded on the *Synchronistic King List* (KAV 10 & 13) and an economic text. It is proposed that he ruled at Babylon for about five years.

Nabû-Nāṣir – Nabonassar (c.748–734 BC) – succeeded Nabû-nādin-zēri of Bīt-Dakkuri (761–748 BC) as king of Babylon. He is recorded on the *BKLa* and the *Eclectic Chronicle*. The *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.i.1–12) mentions that in his Year 3 Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) became king and plundered the cities of Rabbilu, Hamranu and Šapazza. It then records a rebellion in Borsippa (year unknown) and the ascension in Year 5 of Ḫuban-Nikaš I of Elam (c.744–718 BC). It further records his death in Year 14 from natural causes, stating that he ruled for 14 years, which is mirrored in the *Ptolemaic Canon*.

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[2263] Grayson (1996), p.188.
[2264] Weidner, p.100.
[2265] Grayson (1968), p.114.

Nabû-nādin-zēri – Nadius (c.734–732 BC) – is recorded on the *BKLa* as the son of Nabonassar with a possible reign of two years, which is consistent with the *Ptolemaic Canon*. The *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.i.13–16) calls him Nadinu and records that he was killed by Nabû-šuma-ukîn II who usurped the throne.

Nabû-šuma-ukîn II (732 BC) – is named on the *Ptolemaic Canon.* While the BKLa records him as the son of Nabû-nādin-zēri, the *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.i.16–18) records him as being a district officer who killed Nabû-nādin-zēri and usurped the throne, and himself to have been overthrown by Nabû-múkîn-zēri of Bīt-Amukani (732–729 BC). While the *Babylonian Chronicles* gives him a reign of one month and two days, the *BKLa* gives him a reign of one month and either 13 days (Grayson) or 12 days (Sayce).

Marduk-zâkir-šumi II (703 BC) – rebelled against Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). He is named on the *BKLa* as the 'son of Arad', which may be a city, and with a reign of one month.

Bēl-Ibni – Belibos (703–700 BC) – succeeded Marduk-zâkir-šumi II. The *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.ii.23–29) record that he was installed by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC), who then continued to plunder Babylonia and captured Bēl-Ibni and took him to Assyria. The *BKLa*, the *Babylonian Chronicles* and the *Ptolemaic Canon* give him a reign of three years.

Nergal-Ušezib – Regebelos (694–693 BC) – succeeded Aššur-nādin-šumi of Assyria as king of Babylon. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of one year, which is mirrored in the *Ptolemaic Canon*.

5.11.4 Babylonian Empire

Nabû-apla-uṣur – Nabopolassar (626–605 BC) – overthrew the Assyrian installed king Sîn-šumu-līšir (627–626 BC). Ptolemy recorded a lunar eclipse in his Year 5. He is recorded on the *UrKL* and the *Ptolemaic Canon* with a reign of 21 years. Josephus called him Nabopolassar.

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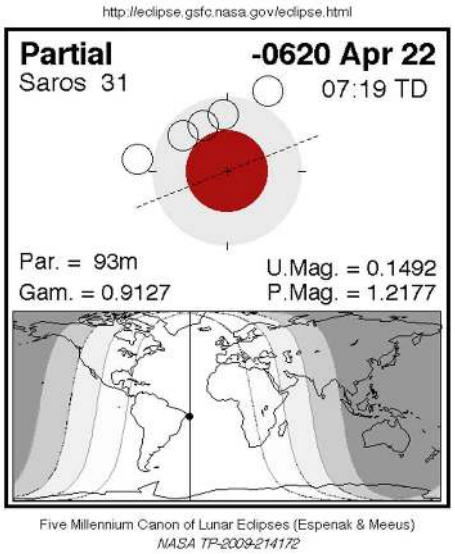


Figure 12 – Lunar eclipses 22 April 621 BC

Nabû-kudurri-uṣur – Nabocolassaros – Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BC) – succeeded his father Nabopolassar as king of Babylon. He is named on the *UrKL* and the *Ptolemaic Canon* with a reign of 43 years. Josephus called him Nebuchadnezzar.

Amēl-Marduk – Amilmardochus – Illaoroudamos (562–560 BC) – succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar II as king of Babylon. He is named on the *UrKL* and the *Ptolemaic Canon*, with a reign of two years. Abydenus called him Amilmardochus.

Nergal-šar-uṣur – Neriglissar (560–556 BC) – was married to Kaššaya, the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar II. He succeeded his brother-in-law Amēl-Marduk as king of Babylon. The *UrKL* gives him a reign of three years and eight months, and the *Ptolemaic Canon* gives him a reign of four years. Josephus called him Neriglissar.

Lâbâši-Marduk – Labossoracus (556 BC) – succeeded his father Neriglissar as king of Babylon. He is named on the *UrKL*. Abydenus called him Labossoracus.

Nabû-Naʾid – Nabonedochus – Nabonidus (556–539 BC) – is named on the *UrKL* and the *Ptolemaic Canon* with a reign of 17 years. He was defeated by Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

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5.12 Arameans (North-West Semites)

5.12.1 Kumidi

Avram-Ḫamudi – Khamudi – Adzelus – Archles – Avraham (c.1420–1410–1395 BC) – was named by Justinus (who calls him Adzelus) as succeeding Dimašq (the supposed eponymous king of Damascus) as king of Damascus.[2266] It is proposed that Adzelus was the same person as Manetho's Archles, who was identified earlier as Khamudi, the last Hyksos ruler of Egypt and king of Retjenu. It is suggested that after being expelled from Egypt he relocated to northern Retjenu where he completed his reign at Kumudi (which was named after him), which likely controlled nearby Damascus. It will later be discussed in Part 2 of this book how he became identified with the Hebrew patriarch Avram and became known as Avraham, the founding father of the Hebrews.

Adores (c.1395–1370 BC) – was named by Justinus as succeeding Adzelus as king of Damascus and as the predecessor of Avraham, who it is proposed in this chronology was instead his predecessor Adzelus.[2267] It is proposed that he succeeded Avram-Ḫamudi as king at Kumidi which controlled nearby Damascus.

Araḫattu (1250–1225 BC) – was the king of Kumidi who sent Amarna letter EA 198 to the king of Egypt.[2268]

5.12.2 Qatna II

Naplimma (c.1370–1345 BC) – was the earliest king of Qatna named on inventory lists of the deities of the city.[2269]

Sîn-Addu c.1345–1320 BC) – is named on inventory lists of the deities of the city as having succeed his father Naplimma as king of Qatna.[2270] It appears from the list that he was contemporary with Duruša of Kadesh (c.1350–1325 BC).

Adad-Nārāri i – Ḫaddu-Nārāri (c.1320–1275 BC) – was king of Qatna. Roßberger says that he reigned a minimum of 45 years. Novak appears to confuse him with

[2266] Justinus, 36.II.
[2267] Justinus, 36.II.
[2268] Moran, p.276; Pruzsinszky (2008), pp.80–81.
[2269] Novak, p.312; Roßberger, pp.204–205.
[2270] Novak, p.312; Dalley (2002), p.183

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Adad-Nārāri ii of Nuḫašši (1250–1225 BC), describing him as an opponent of Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC).[2271]

Ulašuda (c.1275–1250 BC) – was king of Qatna recorded by his son Idadda. He is known from the inventory lists of the deities of the city to have succeeded Adad-Nārāri i.[2272]

Idanda – Idadda (c.1250–1225 BC) – succeeded his father Ulašuda as king of Qatna. He is known from the inventory lists of the deities of the city. His son Amut-Paīl, who is named as the first donor in the last section of the second inventory, does not appear to have succeeded him as king. A collection of documents from his reign has been found at Qatna from three different sources, including five diplomatic letters TT1–5 from Takuwa of Niya, an officer of Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) named Ḫannutti, and Šarrupši of Nuḫašši (c.1235–1210 BC). Torrecilla notes that the documents appear to have been current and not ready to be filed when the palace was set on fire. The destruction of the palace was no doubt the occasion to which Azizzi refers when he speaks of the Hittites having taken the statue of Šimigi, the god of his father. This possibly occurred at the time of the First Hitite-Syrian War, which is believed to have occurred in about Year 6 or 7 of Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC).[2273]

Akizzi (1225–1200 BC) – is attested as king of Qatna on letters found at Amarna which he sent to Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC), in which he mentioned Aitugama of Kadesh (c1230–1205 BC). He was contemporary with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC).[2274]

5.12.3 Emar (Aštata)

ʿAsda-Abu (c.1325–1300 BC) – was the father of Irʾib-Iškur. It is proposed that he was *bēlu* (lord/ruler) of Emar.[2275]

Irʾib-^{d}IŠKUR – Irʾib-Iškur (c.1300–1275 BC) – was *šangû* priest of the temple of 'Nergal of Trade' at Ebla. Pruzinsky refers to him as an early ruler of Emar, while

[2271] Novak, pp.312–313; Roßberger, pp.204–205.
[2272] Novak, pp.312–313; Roßberger, p.204.
[2273] Novak, pp.312–313; Roßberger, pp.204–205; Torrecilla (2022), p.321; Moran, p.127.
[2274] Moran, pp.123–128.
[2275] Torrecilla (2015), p.185.

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noting that others have referred to him as either ‘king’ or ‘chief administrator’. Torrecilla calls him Ir’ib-Baʿla.[2276]

Igmil-Dagān (c.1275–1265 BC) – was the son of Irib-Iškur who he likely succeeded as ruler of Emar.[2277]

Limi-Šarra (c.1265–1250) – was the son of Irib-Iškur who succeeded his brother Igmil-Dagān as ruler of Emar. Pruzsinszky notes that he was subordinate to a king of Mitanni, who it is proposed was Šuttarna II (1267–1243 BC).[2278]

Išbi-Dagān (c.1250–1225) – succeeded his father Limi-Šarra as ruler of Emar.[2279]

Iaḫṣi-Baʿla (c.1225–1200) – is attested on texts from Ekalte as king of Emar. Pruzsinszky suggests that he may have been the predecessor of Zū-Baʿla.[2280]

Zū-Baʿla (c.1200–1175 BC) – likely succeeded Iaḫṣi-Baʿl as king of Emar. He was contemporary with Šaḫurunuwa of Karkamiš (1181–1140 BC).[2281]

Iaḫṣi-Dagān (c.1175–1150 BC) – the son of a certain Iškur-Malik (or Iškur-Kabar) was king of Emar. It is proposed that he was contemporary with Muršili II of Ḫatti (1194–1165 BC), who Bryce says rebuilt the city.[2282]

[d]IŠKUR-Kabar – Iškur-Kabar I (c.1150–1125 BC) – succeeded his father Iaḫṣi-Dagān as king of Emar. He is attested on a text from Ekalte as being contem-porary with mayor Muḫra-Aḫī of Ekalte.[2283]

Zū-Aštarti (c.1125–1115 BC) – succeeded his father Iškur-Kabar I as king of Emar.[2284]

Abbānu (c.1115–1110 BC) – was likely the brother of Zū-Aštarti who he succeeded as king of Emar.[2285]

[2276] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44–45, 47–48; Torrecilla (2015), pp.181, 191.
[2277] Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44.
[2278] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44–45, 48.
[2279] Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44.
[2280] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.47 (n.34), 48; Torrecilla (2015), p.181.
[2281] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44, 48 (n.45).
[2282] Torrecilla (2015), pp.180 (n.14), 182 (n.19); Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44–45; Bryce (2005a), p.186; Lipiński (2006), p.29.
[2283] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44, 48; Lipiński (2006), p.29.
[2284] Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44; Lipiński (2006), p.29.
[2285] Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44.

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Pilsu-Dagān (c.1110–1096 BC) – was the son of Iškur-Kabar I who succeeded Abbānu as king of Emar. He was contemporary with Tukultī-Ninurta of Assyria (1123–1086 BC).[2286]

Elli (c.1096–1070 BC) – succeeded his father Pilsu-Dagān as king of Emar. The latest datable documents related to Emar are from within his reign are dated to Year 2 of Meli-Šipak of Babylon (1077–1062 BC) and to the eponym of Bēr-Nāṣir, who as noted by Gasche was likely limmu during the reign of Aššur-Dān I of Assyria (1076–1030 BC) rather than of Ninurta-apil-Ekur as often described following Freydank.[2287]

^{d}IŠKUR-Kabar – Iškur-Kabar II (c.1070–1065 BC) – was the son of Iaḫṣi-Dagān, who he likely succeeded as king of Emar until the destruction of the city during the turmoil at the end of the Late Bronze Age.[2288]

5.12.4 Nuḫašši

Taku (c.1275–1250 BC) – was named by his 'descendant' Adad-Nārāri ii as having been anointed as king of Nuḫašši by Manaḫpiya, who was either Menkheperre Thutmose III (1365–1311 BC) or Menkheperure Thutmose IV (1285 – 1275 BC) of Egypt.[2289]

Adad-Nārāri ii (c.1250–1225 BC) – wrote Amarna letter EA 51. Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) described him and Aki-Tešup of Niya as being hostile to the authority of Ḫatti and carrying off subjects of Niqmaddu III of Ugarit (1225–1200 BC).[2290]

Šarrupši (c.1225–1220, 1215–1200 BC) – was named by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC) as king of Nuḫašši at the time that he captured all of Nuḫašši, including all of Šarrupši's family, except for Šarrupši himself. Šuppiluliuma I said that he then installed Takip-Šarri as king over the city of Ukulzat, which was the main city of Nuḫašši. He was contemporary with Šutatarra of Kadesh (1250–1225 BC). It appears that he was reinstated as king, as Šuppiluliuma I later describes him

[2286] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44–45.
[2287] Pruzsinszky (2004), p.44; Lipiński (2006), pp.28, 206; Beckman (1996b), p.5; M. Yamada, p.210 (n.62); Gasche, p.51 (n.224).
[2288] Pruzsinszky (2004), pp.44–45.
[2289] Moran, p.122.
[2290] Moran, p.122; Beckman (1996a), p.30.

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in a treaty with Tette of Nuḫašši as having requested the aid of Šuppiluliuma I against Mitanni. [2291]

Takip-Šarri (c.1220–1215 BC) – was installed as the successor of Šarrupši as king of Nuḫašši by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC).[2292]

Tette (c.1200–1181 BC) – had a treaty with Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC). He later rebelled against Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–c.1164 BC). While Beckman and Bryce described him as the grandson of Šarrupši, Mursilli II described his grandfather as an ʿApiru king of Nuḫašši. Bryce notes that there is no mention of Tette after Year 8 of Mursili II.[2293]

Šummittara (c.1181–1175 BC) – was the brother of Tette. He was persuaded by Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–c.1164 BC) to enact a coup against Tette, which he did, taking his brother into custody.[2294]

5.12.5 Apina (Upi)

Ariwana (c.1250–1230 BC) – was king of Apina. He was defeated by Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195).[2295] Apina (Upi) is thought to have been the land to the north of Damascus.

5.12.6 Aram

Damascus

Zalaia (c.1250–1225 BC) – is recorded on a letter from a king of Egypt found at Kāmid el-Lôz (Kumidi) in Lebanon.[2296]

Rezin I (c.960–935 BC) – the son of a certain Eliada, is described in the Bible as having gained independence from Ḫadadezer I of Zobaḫ (c.985–960 BC) during the reign of Solomon of Israel (970–930 BC). This contradicts the earlier story of

[2291] Beckman (1996a), pp.39, 50.
[2292] Beckman (1996a), pp.39, 155.
[2293] Beckman (1996a), pp.50, 120, 155–156; Bryce (2015a), p.199–200, Bryce (1988), p.28.
[2294] Beckman (1996a), pp.155–157; Bryce (2005a), pp.199–200.
[2295] Pitard (1987), pp.49, 67; Beckman (1996a), p.40
[2296] Pitard (1987), pp.7, 49, 71; Pruzsinszky (2008), p.83.

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David's supposed defeat of Ḫadadezer I which supposedly resulted in David capturing Damascus and stationing garrisons there.[2297]

Ḫazyān – Ḫeziôn (c.935–910 BC) – is named in the Bible as king of Damascus.[2298]

Tab-Rammān (c. 910–885 BC) – is described in the Bible as having succeeded his father Ḫeziôn as king of Damascus.[2299]

Bar-Ḫadad I – Ben–Ḫadad I (c.885–865 BC) – is described in the Bible as a contemporary of Asa of Judah (910–869 BC), Baʿša I of Israel (908–885 BC) and Ahab of Israel (873–851 BC), who succeeded his father Ṭab-Rammān as king of Damascus.[2300]

Ḫadad-ʿIdr– Ben-Ḫadad II – Ḫadadezer II (865–842 BC) – was king of Damascus who fought against Ahab of Israel (873–851 BC) and against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), including in the Battle of Qarqar.[2301]

Ḫazaʾ-El I (c.842–796 BC) – is said in the Bible to have been anointed as king of Damascus by the prophet Elijah prior to him murdering Ben-Ḫadad II.[2302] He fought against Joram of Israel (850–839 BC) and was successful in annexing land from Israel and took tribute from Joash of Judah (833–793 BC). He was defeated by Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in his Years 18 & 21.[2303]

Bar-Ḫadad III – Ben-Ḫadad III (796–780 BC) – is described in the Bible as having succeeded his father Ḫazaʾ-El I as king of Damascus and to have lost to Jehoash of Israel (797–779 BC) the lands that his father had taken from Israel.[2304]

Ḫadiānu II (c.780–754 BC) – is named on a stela as paying tribute to Shalmaneser IV of Assyria (783–773 BC), who campaigned against Damascus in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Adad in 773 BC.[2305]

[2297] 1 Kings 11:23–25
[2298] 1 Kings 15:18.
[2299] 1 Kings 15:18.
[2300] 1 Kings 15:18–20.
[2301] 1 Kings 20:1–34; Grayson (1996), pp.23, 95.
[2302] 1 Kings 19:15; 2 Kings 8:14–15.
[2303] 2 Kings 8:28–29, 9:14–15,10:32, 12:17–18; Grayson (1996), pp.67, 77; Pitard (1987), p.189
[2304] 2 Kings 13:3, 13:24–25.
[2305] Pitard (1987), pp.106, 175, 189.

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Rezin II – Raḫiānu (754–732 BC) – paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) who later defeated Rezin II and annexed the kingdom and subsequently appointed governors of Bīt- Ḫazael.[2306]

Ilu-Ittia (c.700–690 BC) – was governor of Damascus, with the eponym year of 694 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2307]

Naḫaraim

Cušan-Rišathaim (c.1180–1155 BC) – controlled Canaan shortly after the time of Joshua.[2308] He is described as king of Aram-Naḫaraim, which means Aram of the two rivers, which quite likely could be identified with Damascus, which was sited between the rivers Amanah and Pharpar. He is said to have controlled Israel and Judah for eight years before being expelled from Canaan by Othniel, the son of Kenaz. Kenaz was the younger brother of Caleb, who was a companion of Joshua, the son of Nun. Joshua is demonstrated at Table 59 in Chapter 8 to have had a floruit of about 1210–1185 BC, which suggests that Cušan-Rišathaim ruled over Israel and Judah between about 1166 and 1158 BC. Pitard questions the correctness of the Cušan-Rišathaim account.[2309]

Zobaḫ

Ḫadadezer I (c.985–960 BC) – is described in the Bible as king of Aram-Zobaḫ. He is also described as the 'son of Reḫob'.[2310] Reḫob was however a place in Aram towards 'Lebo Hamath' and in the area allotted to the Tribe of Asher, but which remained a city that Asher failed to conquer. Its location is more precisely described as being near the city of Dan, which was located at the northern end of the Hula Valley.[2311]

The Bible further provides two accounts of king David of Israel (995–970 BC) supposedly defeating Ḫadadezer I. In the first account (2 Samuel 8:3–7; 1 Chronicle 18:3–7) David is said to have defeated Ḫadadezer I when Ḫadadezer I brought his army of 1,000 chariots, 7,000 charioteers and 20,000 foot soldiers to 'restore' his

[2306] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 58–59, 70, 77, 87; Grayson (1991b), pp.77–78.
[2307] Luckenbill (1927), pp.137, 173, 438; Rogers, p.225.
[2308] Judges 3:8–10.
[2309] Pitard (1987), p.87 (n.21).
[2310] 2 Samuel 8:3
[2311] Numbers 13:21; Joshua 19:27–30, 21:31; Judges 1:31, 18:28.

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boundary marker at the Perath River.[2312] Ḫadadezer I was then reinforced with a further 22,000 soldiers from Damascus which David is said to have also defeated. This account is however soon followed (2 Samuel 10:6–17) by a confrontation between David and the Ammonites, in which Ḫadadezer I then sent his army to support the Ammonites, with Ḫadadezer I losing a further 700 charioteers and 40,000 foot soldiers. Between the two encounters Ḫadadezer I is described as having lost 1,000 chariots, 7,700 charioteers and 82,000 soldiers, with no notable losses on the side of Israel. It is not only doubtful that there were ever any battles between David and Ḫadadezer I, but also whether in fact Ḫadadezer I ever existed.

5.12.7 Amurru

ʿAbdi-Aširta (1250–1225 BC) – was contemporary with both Amenhotep III (1275–1238 BC) and Akhenaten (1238–1222 BC) of Egypt, and Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1240–1220 BC). Although he sent Amarna letters EA 60–62 to Amenhotep III and Paḫanate, Rīb-Ḫadda described him in letters as a foe of Egypt, expanding his kingdom with the assistance of the ʿApiru at the expense of Egyptian vassals. Rīb-Ḫadda mentioned ʿAbdi-Aširta's ill health in letter EA 95, but later in letter EA 101 he said that ʿAbdi-Aširta was killed.[2313]

Aziru (1225–1200 BC) – is named in Amarna letters EA 156–171 to Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC).[2314] He was also contemporary with Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1240–1220 BC), Niqmaddu II of Ugarit (1210–1185 BC) and Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti (1225–1195 BC), with whom he had a treaty.[2315]

Ari-Tešup II (1200–1185 BC) – succeeded his father Aziru as king of Amurru and was contemporary with Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–1164 BC).[2316]

Tuppi-Tešup (1185–1164 BC) – succeeded Ari-Tešup II as king of Amurru. He was a younger son of Aziru and was installed as king by Mursili II of Ḫatti (1188–1164 BC).[2317]

[2312] It will be argued in Part 2 that the Perath River was the Jordan River to the north of the Sea of Galilea.
[2313] Moran, pp.131–34, 163, 169, 174
[2314] Moran, pp.242–258.
[2315] Bryce (2005a), pp.170–173; Beckham (1996), pp.32–37
[2316] Beckham (1996), p.55.
[2317] Beckham (1996), pp.54–59.

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Bentešina (1164–1161, 1155–1140 BC) – changed his alliance from the Hittites in the reign of Muwatalli II (1165–1159 BC) to Ramesses II of Egypt and fought on the side of Egypt at the Battle of Kadesh against the Hittites in 1161 BC. After the battle he was deposed by Muwatalli II and placed in the care of Ḫattušili II, whose daughter Gassulawiya he married. He was reinstalled as king by either Muršili III 1159–1152 BC) or Ḫattušili II (1162–52–1130 BC).

Šapili (1161–1155 BC) – was installed as king by Muwatalli II of Ḫatti after the Battle of Kadesh in 1161 BC. He was later deposed by Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti who wanted to reinstate his son-in-law Bentešina as king.[2318]

Šaušgamuwa (c.1140–1115 BC) – succeeded his father Bentešina as king of Amurru. He had a treaty with Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti (1130–1100 BC) sealed by his giving a sister to Tudḫaliya IV as a wife.[2319] He had another sister who was married to Ammîstamru III of Ugarit (1140–1125 BC).

Abušgama (c.1115–1090 BC) – is attested on two letters found in the archives of Ugarit, the first from himself to the king of Ugarit and the second from his son Maḫḫaza to the king of Ugarit. That Abušgama was from Amurru is confirmed by his references to the gods of both Amurru and Ugarit.[2320]

It is not agreed with Singer that Abušgama was only a messenger. That he was king of Amurru is confirmed by his references to the king of Ugarit as his 'brother', and the entire content of the letter, which is typical only of letters between kings of equal rank, establishing diplomatic contact and expressing the expectation that each should be able to make requests to each with the expectation that such requests will be fulfilled. This is an expectation that only a king can set. That he was king of Amurru is further confirmed in the letter from Maḫḫaza, who refers to previous contacts between Abušgama and the king of Ugarit, followed immediately with a reference to the good friendship between the king of Ugarit and his father, which in the context of the letter can only be a reference to Abušgama.

Singer notes that there does not appear to be any opportunity to place any newly identified kings(s) of Amurru before Šaušgamuwa. He further notes that Šaušgamuwa's contemporaries at Ḫatti and Ugarit were succeeded by two more kings before the destruction of their cities in the tumultuous period at the end of the

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[2318] Moran, p.100.
[2319] Moran, p.98–102.
[2320] Singer (2011), pp.287–290.

Bronze Age, and that Šaušgamuwa was possibly succeeded by (at least) one more king.[2321]

Maḫḫaza (c. 1090–1065 BC) – was the son of Abušgama, who he succeeded as king of Amurru. He is attested on a letter which he sent to the king of Ugarit.[2322]

5.12.8 Bīt-Bazi

The Bīt-Bazi tribe was most likely an Aramaic precursor to the Kaldu who became prominent in the area 200 years later. The dynasty ruled at Kar-Marduk, named after the Babylonian god Marduk, where the *Dynastic Chronicle* says that Eulmaš-šākin-šumi (933–916 BC) was buried. It is proposed that the dynasty ruled simultaneously with the Babylonian 2nd Sealand Dynasty.

Eulmaš-šākin-šumi (c.933–916 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* and on the *Dynastic Chronicle* as being buried in the palace of Kar-Marduk. It is proposed that he became king the same year that Simbar-Šipak became kin the Sealand. Events in his Year 14 appear to be recorded in the *Religious Chronicle*. While the *Eclectic Chronicle and Dynastic Chronicle* give him a reign of 14 years, the *BKLa* gives him a reign of 17 years, which aligns with the total of 20 years and three months recorded for the dynasty by both the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *BKLa*.

Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur I (c.916–913 BC) – is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle* as succeeding Eulmaš-šākin-šumi as king of Bīt-Bazi. While the *Dynastic Chronicle* gives him a reign of two years, the *BKLa* gives him a reign of three years, which aligns with the total of 20 years and three months recorded for the dynasty by both the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *BKLA*.

Širikti-Šuqamuna (913 BC) – is recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle* as succeeding Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur I as king of Bīt-Bazi and being buried in the palace of Kar-Marduk. While the *Dynastic Chronicle* gives him a reign of three years the *BKLa* gives him a reign of three months, which aligns with the total of 20 years and three months recorded for the dynasty by both the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *BKLa*.

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[2321] Singer (2011), pp.287, 291.
[2322] Singer (2011), pp.287–291.

5.12.9 Guzana (Bīt-Baḫiani)

Ḫadiānu I (c.965–940 BC) – was king at Guzana (Gōzān). He was the father of Kapara.[2323]

Kapara (c.940–915 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫadiānu I as king of Guzana. His inscriptions state that he had accomplished what his forefathers had not accomplished, which suggests that he inherited Aramaean dynastic line which had ruled at Guzana for some time.[2324]

Abī-Šalam (915–890 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Adad-Nārāri II of Assyria (911–890 BC) in 894 BC.[2325]

Šamaš-Nūrī – Sassu-Nūrī (c.890–865 BC) – was king at Guzana. He is attested on a statue by his son Ḫadad-Yith'i and is mentioned on the Tell Faḫarīya inscription.[2326]

Ḫadad-Yith'i (c.865–841 BC) – succeeded his father Šamaš-Nuri as king of Guzana. He is attested on a statue and is mentioned on the Tell Faḫarīya inscription. [2327]

Addad-Remannii (c.841–815 BC) – was governor of Guzana with the eponym year of 841 BC named after him during the reign of Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC).

Mannu-ki-Aššur (c.815–790 BC) – was governor of Guzana with the eponym year of 793 BC named after him during the reign of Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (811–783 BC).

Būr-Saggile (c.790–758 BC) – was governor of Guzana with the eponym year of 763 BC named after him during the reign of Aššur-Dān III of Assyria (773–755 BC), the year the earlier mentioned solar eclipse on 15 June 763 BC.

Bēl-Ḫarrān-bēl-uṣur (c.758–727 BC) – was governor of Guzana with the eponym year of 727 BC named after him during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).

[2323] Pitard (1987), pp.104–106.
[2324] Pitard (1987), p.104; Szuchman, p.127; Lipiński (2000), p.130.
[2325] Grayson (1991a), p.153; Lipiński (2000), pp.128–129.
[2326] Lipiński (2000), pp.128–129.
[2327] Lipiński (2000), pp.128–129.

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Mutakkil-Aššur (c.727–700 BC) – was governor of Guzana with the eponym year of 706 BC named after him during the reign of Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).

5.12.10 Samʾal (Yaʾdiya / Bīt-Gabbari)

Information on the kings of Samʾal is based on the work of Lipiński and Bryce. While Bryce follows the reign lengths proposed by Lipiński, Lipiński himself states that his dates are very approximate. Lupinski's dates do not appear to work from a genealogical perspective and have not been followed closely in this chronology.[2328]

Gertoux's proposed replacement of Ša-il (850–840 BC) and Kilamuwa (840–810 BC) with 'Ahabbu of Asriel' is rejected. His Ahabbu was instead Ahab of Israel (873–851 BC), as commonly accepted. Gertoux provides no reason for dismissing Ša-il and Kilamuwa (known from the Kilamuwa Stele) or sound reason for identifying 'Asrael' with Samʾal.[2329]

The name of the usurper (745–740 BC) is unknown. Winckler proposed that he was a king mentioned in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) as Azri-Iāu (Azriyau) of Yaudi.[2330] This was on the basis that the people of Samʾal also called their kingdom Ya'diya, as demonstrated on a statue by Panamuwa I (790–750 BC). This was rejected by Luckenbill, who argued that Azri-Iāu was Azariah of Judah (786–735 BC).[2331] While Gertoux recently followed the proposal by Winckler, it appears that Luckenbill was correct.[2332] First, the Assyrian kings and neighbouring kings all refer to kings 'of Samʾal'.[2333] Second, Tiglath-Pileser III's annals refer to other kings as having 'gone over to Azri-Iāu'. Samʾal was a very small city state with close larger neighbours and was far from being a major player even in its local neighbourhood. The local kingdom against which Tiglath-Pileser III was directing military resources at this time was Arpad, which after three campaigns over the course of three years and a lengthy siege, was captured in 740 BC. If the usurper king of Samʾal was hostile to Assyria during this time it was in support of Arpad and not as the leader of a coalition. It sems that as soon as Arpad fell Tiglath-Pileser III removed the usurper king and installed Panamuwa II on his father's throne in 840 BC. Tadmor dates the references to Azri-Iāu of Yaudi to Tiglath-Pileser III's 8th campaign in central Syria in 838 BC.

[2328] Lipiński (2000), p.247. Bryce (2012), p.171.
[2329] Gertoux (2024), pp.180, 195, 208, 214, 216, 234.
[2330] Winckler, pp.13–15; Tadmor, pp.40, 42–43, 76
[2331] Luckenbill (1925), pp.217–232
[2332] Gertoux (2024), pp.180, 188–189.
[2333] Davenport, pp.83–85; Luckenbill (1925), p.220.

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Gabbār (c.920–895 BC) – was the first know king of Samʾal. He was the eponymous ancestor of the Bīt-Gabbari dynasty.[2334]

Bāniḫu (c.895–870 BC) – succeeded his father Gabbār as king of Samʾal.[2335]

Ḫayyā – Ḫaiiānu (c.870–845 BC) – succeeded his father Bāniḫu as king of Samʾal. In about 858 BC he sided with Šuppiluliuma III of Pattin (870–857 BC), Aḫunu of Bīt-Adini (875–850 BC) and Sangara of Karkamiš (880–855 BC) against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC), who defeated them. He is named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III.[2336]

Šaʾīl (c.845–835 BC) – succeeded his father Ḫayyā as king of Samʾal.[2337]

Kilamuwa (c.835–820 BC) – succeeded his brother Šaʾīl as king of Samʾal. He is attested in an inscription in which he declared that none of his predecessors had achieved anything.[2338]

Qarli (c.820–795 BC) – was possibly the son of Kilamuwa, who he succeeded as king of Samʾal.[2339]

Panamuwa I (c.795–770 BC) – succeeded his father Qarli as king of Samʾal. He is attested in the 'Ḫadad Inscription'.[2340]

Bar-Sūr (c.770–745 BC) – succeeded his father Panamuwa I as king of Samʾal. He was killed by a usurper.[2341]

usurper c.745–740 BC – killed Bar-Sūr and took the throne of Samʾal. He was killed at the instigation of the Assyrian king, who was likely Tiglath-Pileser III (745–724 BC). [2342]

Panamuwa II – Panammû (c.740–733 BC) – was the son of Bar-Sūr (who was killed by a usurper). Panamuwa II was reinstated as king of Samʾal by Assyria and was a

[2334] Bryce (2012), pp.164, 169–171, 206, 308.
[2335] Bryce (2012), pp.170–171, 308.
[2336] Bryce (2012), pp.170–171, 308; Grayson (1996), pp.16, 23.
[2337] Bryce (2012), pp.170–171, 309.
[2338] Bryce (2012), pp.170–173, 238, 309.
[2339] Bryce (2012), pp.171, 309.
[2340] Bryce (2012), pp.171, 173, 268, 309.
[2341] Bryce (2012), pp.171, 173, 268, 309.
[2342] Bryce (2012), pp.171, 173, 268, 309.

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major ally of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC), to whom he paid tribute. When Tiglath-Pileser III defeated Tarḫulara of Gurgum (743–c.717 BC) he gave some of Gurgum's cities to Panamuwa II. He was killed during Tiglath-Pileser III's siege of Damascus on about 733 BC.[2343]

Bar-Rākib (c.733–711 BC) – succeeded his father Panamuwa II as king of Samʾal. He remained loyal to Assyria and his reign was a period of great prosperity.[2344]

Nabû-aḫḫe-eresh (c.695–670 BC) – was governor of Samʾal, with the eponym year of 681 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).

5.12.11 Bīt-Agusi (Arnē / ʾArpāḏ)

Gusi – Gūsu (c.880–855 BC) – was an Aramean tribal king of Yaḫānu who paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II of Assyria (883–858 BC) in Kunulua, the capital of Pattin. He was the eponymous king of the Bīt-Agusi and likely ruled from Arnē.[2345]

Ḫadrām – Adramu – Aramu (c.855–830 BC) – succeeded his father Gusi as king of Arnē. He is named as paying tribute to Shalmaneser III of Asyria (858–823 BC). His royal city was Arnē, which was sacked by Shalmaneser III in 849 BC.[2346]

ʿAttar-Sumk – Attar-Šumki I (c.830–800 BC) – was named by Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC) as the son of Adramu (Ḫadrām). Adad-Nārāri said that he defeated him and eight other kings at Paqaraḫubunu. Adad-Nārāri later adjudicated a border dispute with Zakkur I of Hamath (c.800–770) regarding the city of Naḫlasi on the Orontes River in favour of ʿAttar-Sumk.[2347] His royal city was ʾArpāḏ.

Bar-Ḫadad II – Bar-Gūs (c.800–780 BC) – is known from the Melqart Stela. The stela is hard to read, with Pitard reading the name on the inscription as Bar-Ḫadad the son of ʿAttar-Ḫamek, king of Aram. The stela was found at Bareij near Aleppo, which is in the heartland of Bīt-Agusi, and Pitard demonstrates that the broader region of Syria including Bīt-Agusi was sometimes referred to as Aram.[2348]

[2343] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.47, 70, 77, 87, 122; Bryce (2012), pp.128, 171–174, 267, 285, 309.
[2344] Bryce (2012), pp.171, 172, 174 309.
[2345] Lipiński (2000), pp.195–196, 219; Grayson (1991a), p.218; Bryce (2012), pp.165, 168, 214, 308.
[2346] Lipiński (2000), p.196–198; Bryce (2012), pp.165–166, 168, 308; Grayson (1996), pp.23, 25.
[2347] Grayson (1996), pp.203, 205.
[2348] Pitard (1988), pp.3–4, 10–11.

Pitard however stops short of proposing that Bar-Ḫadad II was king of Bīt-Agusi, as ʿAttar-Ḫamek is not otherwise attested. He suggests that to do this would involve the suggestion that the *he* 𐤄 in the name of his father *ʿtrhmk* is a scribal error and should be a *samek* 𐤎, in which case the name would be *ʿtrsmk* (ʿAttar-Sumk), who would then be identified with ʿAttar-Šumki of Bīt-Agusi. Pitard notes that *he* and *samek* are very similar in the script of that period, making a scribal mistake of this type theoretically possible. He suggests however that a scribe would be unlikely to misspell the name of the king's father, particularly to make an unusual name, and therefore suggests that the name is correct and that ʿAttar-Ḫamek and Bar-Ḫadad were instead likely to be local kings who were subordinate to the Bīt-Agusi kings.[2349] It is very hard however to make out the writing on the stela and the suggestion that the letter is actually a *samek* cannot be discounted.

It is noted that Lipiński refers to the stela as being dedicated by "Bar-Ḫadad, son of ʿAttar-Sumki I, son of Ḫadrām", while also having previously acknowledged that the stela provides Bar-Ḫadad with the title of "king of Aram". Lipiński also identifies him with the Bar-Gus who participated with Bar-Ḫadad IV of Aram-Damascus (796–780 BC) in a coalition of 16 kings which besieged Zakkur I of Ḫamath (800–770 BC).[2350]

ʿAttar-Sumki II (c.780–755 BC) – is named on a seal by one of his administrators.[2351]

Matiʿ-El – Matiʿ-Ilu (c.755–735 BC) – succeeded his father ʿAttar-Sumki II as king of ʾArpāḏ. He had a treaty with Aššur-Nārāri V of Assyria (754–745 BC). He rebelled against and was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2352]

Zazaya (c.705–680 BC) – was governor of ʾArpāḏ with the eponym year of 692 BC named after him during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).

5.12.12 Bīt-Yakīn (Kaldu / Chaldeans)

Marduk-šakin-šumi (c.820–795 BC) – was a local tribal king of the Chaldean Bīt-Yakīn tribe. He is mentioned on the *Eclectic Chronicle* as an ancestor of Eriba-Marduk who was said to have come from the Sealand. A seal depicts him in the

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[2349] Pitard (1988), p.12.
[2350] Lipiński (2000), pp.214–216, 254.
[2351] Lipiński (2000), p.216.
[2352] Grayson (1996), p.246; Tadmor & Yamada, p.84–85; Lipiński (2000), pp.216–218.

traditional Babylonian royal garbs. His floruit is from the time when Šamši-Adad V (811 BC) and Adad-Nārāri III (810–782 BC) of Assyria ruled all of Sumer and Akkadê and collected tribute from the Sealand and Chaldean tribal kings.

Marduk-apla-usur (c.795–775–770 BC) – was a Chaldean tribal king recorded on the *Dynastic Chronicle* and the *Synchronistic King List* (KAV 13) as king of Babylon. It is proposed that he ruled at Babylon for about 5 years. While his tribe is unconfirmed, it is suggested that he was likely from the Bīt-Yakīn tribe, in which case he could have been tribal king between the years 795–770 BC.

Erība-Marduk (c.770–761 BC) – is recorded on the *Eclectic Chronicle* as a descendant (likely grandson) of Marduk-šakin-šumi. He was also recorded on the *BKLa,* the *Synchronistic King List* (KAV 13), and the *Dynastic Chronicle*, where he is described as a king of the Sealand who controlled Babylon. His highest known date is Year 9 on a land sale document.

Marduk-apla-iddina II – Merodach-Baladan – Mardokempados (722–710, 703 BC) – describes himself as "true eldest son of Eriba-Marduk, king of Babylon, who established the land's foundation."[2353] As they appear to be a generation apart it is more likely that he was the grandson of Eriba-Marduk. The *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.ii.1–5) records that Sargon II (722–705 BC) in his Year 13 (710 BC) captured the Bīt-Yakīn city of Dur-Yakīn. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of 12 years, which is mirrored in the *Babylonian Chronicles* and *Ptolemaic Canon,* and then a second reign of nine months (Rogers and Grayson). Sayce reads the second reign as being for six months and that it said that he was a 'soldier of Khabi' and therefore possibly a different person to Marduk-apla-iddina II. In the Bible he is called Merodach-Baladan.

Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir (703–681 BC) – succeeded his father Marduk-apla-iddina II as king of Sealand. The *Babylonian Chronicles* (1.iii.39–42) state that in Year 1 of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) he threatened Ur and fled from the Assyrians to Elam where he was killed by the king of Elam.[2354]

Naʾid-Marduk (c.681–670 BC) – fled with his brother Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir from Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) to Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš II of Elam (681–676 BC). When Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir was unexpectedly executed Naʾid-Marduk, Naʾid-

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[2353] Gadd (1953), p.124.
[2354] Dubovsky, p.327.

Marduk escaped back to Nineveh and begged for mercy from Esarhaddon, who installed him as king of the Sealand.[2355]

Nabû-bel-šumati (c.670–650 BC) – succeeded Naʾid-Marduk as king of the Sealand. Dubovský describes him as the grandson of Merodach-Baladan.[2356] He was initially an ally of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC), but then captured Assyrian troops which Ashurbanipal had sent to assist him and sent them as captives to Elam. When Ashurbanipal defeated his confederation of allies he fled to Elam, where he was supposedly protected by the Martenaya tribe. While Ashurbanipal's 3rd, 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th annals all refer to him as a son of Marduk-apla-iddina II (722–710, 703 BC), this is incorrect given the time difference between their activities, and in the 11th annals he is referred as the grandson of Marduk-apla-iddina II.[2357]

Following Ashurbanipal's repeated attacks on Elam and his devastation of Elam in 646 BC and hearing of Ashurbanipal's continued demands for his extradition, Nabû-bel-šumati committed suicide by having an attendant kill him with his own sword.[2358] To prove that he was no longer being harboured in Elam, Ḫuban-Ḫaltaš III of Elam packed the corpse in salt and sent it to Assyria, where Ashurbanipal made it "more dead that before" by cutting off his head and hanging it around the neck of the Babylonian official Nabû-qātī-ṣabat.[2359]

5.12.13 Ḫamath

Zakkur I was the first king of Ḫamath with an Aramean name. For earlier rulers of Ḫamath see the section on the Hittite kings of Amatuwana.

Zakkur I (c.800–770 BC) – was contemporary with Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC) who adjudicated a boundary dispute with Attar-Šumki I of Bīt-Agusi (830–800 BC), regarding the city of Naḫlasi on the Orontes River. He was later besieged by a coalition of 16 kings including Bar-Ḫadad IV of Aram-Damascus (796–780 BC) and Bar-Gus (Bar-Ḫadad III) of Bīt-Agusi (800–780 BC).[2360]

Ēnīʾilu – Eni-El (c.770–740 BC) – was king of Ḫamath. He became subordinate to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) to whom he paid tribute.[2361]

[2355] Dubovsky, p.327.
[2356] Dubovsky, p.330.
[2357] Novotny & Jeffers, p.252.
[2358] Novotny & Jeffers, p.306.
[2359] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.22, 25, 33; Gorris, p.55.
[2360] Bryce (2012), p.137; Grayson (1996), p.203; Lipiński (2000), p.254.
[2361] Bryce (2012), pp.137–138; Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 122.

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Azrī-Lāu – Azriyau (c.740–735 BC) – was named by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) as a king of Ḫamath who had "criminally and sinfully seized" cities. Tiglath-Pileser III retook the 19 districts in about 738 BC and placed governors in the cities of Tušḫan and Ulluba and then later annexed the entre kingdom.[2362]

Yaubîdi – Ilubidi (c.720 BC) – led a rebellion against Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC), who described him as "a member of the lower class who had no right to the throne, an evil Ḫittite, [who] plotted to become king of the land Ḫamath". He was captured by Sargon who had him flayed alive and Ḫamath then remained a province of the Assyrian empire.[2363]

5.12.14 Bīt-Dakkuri (Kaldu / Chaldeans)

Nabû-šuma-iškun (c.761–748 BC) – while the *BKLa* recorded him as a king of Dynasty E, Cole states that he was instead a tribal king of the Chaldean Bīt-Dakkuri tribe.[2364] He is recorded on both the *BKLa,* the *Synchronistic King List* (KAV 13) and the *Dynastic Chronicle* as the successor of Erība-Marduk as king of Babylon. He was the subject of the document *The Crimes and Sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun*. His highest recorded year is Year 13 on two economic texts.

Mušezib-Marduk – Mesesimordakos (693–689 BC) – was a member of the Chaldean Bīt-Dakkuri tribe.[2365] He succeeded Nergal-Ušezib as king of Babylon. The *BKLa* gives him a reign of four years, which is mirrored in the *Ptolemaic Canon*.

Šamaš-Ibni (689–675 BC) – was king of Bīt-Dakkuri who was defeated by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC).[2366]

Nabû-Šallim (c.675–650 BC) – the son of a certain Balāssu, was installed as king of the Bīt-Dakkuri by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC). [2367]

[2362] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.43, 76.
[2363] Bryce (2012), p.138; Frame (2021), pp.57, 142.
[2364] Cole, pp.221, 226, 231, 236, 250.
[2365] Cole, p.250.
[2366] Leichty, pp.18, 30, 51, 155–156.
[2367] Leichty, pp.18, 30, 51.

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5.12.15 Bīt-Amukani (Kaldu / Chaldeans)

Nabû-múkîn-zēri – Múkîn-Zēri – Ukinzer – Chinziros (732–729 BC) – was an Amukanite who is recorded on the *Babylonian Chronicle 1* (as Múkîn-Zēri) as having killed Nabû-šuma-ukîn II and usurped the throne of Babylon, only to likewise be overthrown by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria in 729 BC. The full form of his name is known from the economic text BRM 1 22 r. 13 dated Year 4 Month 3 Day 26.[2368] His royal city was Shapiya, where Tiglath-Pileser III's general Aššur-Šallimanni says that he killed both Nabû-múkîn-zēri and his son Šumu-Ukin.[2369] The *Babylonian Chronicle 1* and *BKLa* give him a reign of three years.

5.13 Phoenicians (North Canaanites)

5.13.1 Byblos

Rīb-Ḫadda (1250–1225 BC) – was contemporary with Akhenaten of Egypt (1238–1222 BC). He was the author of 68 Amarna letters sent to the kings of Egypt.[2370]

ʾIlī-Rāpiʾ (c.1225–1220 BC) – succeeded his brother Rīb-Ḫadda as king of Byblos. He was the author of two Amarna letters.[2371]

Zakar-Baʿal (c.975–950 BC) – is named in the Story of Wenamun, dated Year 5 of Smendes (971 BC). The story provides two other names, Weret and Mekmer, however there is no indication if these are the names of deities or of people, and no inference that they could be kings of Tyre and Sidon as suggested by Elayi.[2372]

Aḫīrōm II – Ḫiram II (c.950–925 BC) – is attested on his sarcophagus made for him by his son Eth-Baʿal.

Eth-Baʿal – Itto-Baʿal – Itho-Baʿal I (c.925–900 BC) – is attested on the sarcophagus that he made for his father Ḫiram II.

Abī-Baʿal III (900–875 BC) – was recorded on a statue provided by Shoshenq I of Egypt (882–848 BC). It is proposed that his father, whose name is erased on the

[2368] Brinkman (1962), p.101; Grayson (1975), p.229; Beaulieu (2018), p.197.
[2369] Beaulieu (2018), p.197.
[2370] Moran, pp.136–170, 174–223.
[2371] Moran, pp.225–226.
[2372] Breasted, IV.§559; Elayi, p.296.

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statue, was Eth-Baʿal (925–900 BC), who recorded his name on the coffin for his father Aḫiram (950–925 BC).[2373]

Yaḫi-Milki – Yehimilk (c.875–850 BC) – is attested on a statue which was provided to his son Eli-Baʿal by Osorkon I of Egypt (848–834 BC).[2374]

Eli-Baʿal (850–825 BC) – succeeded his father Yaḫi-Milki as king of Byblos. He is attested on a statue which was provided by Osorkon I of Egypt (848–834 BC).[2375]

Šipit-Baʿal I (c.825–800 BC) – succeeded his father as king of Byblos. He is attested on an inscription dedicated to Baalat Gebal, the tutelary goddess of Byblos.[2376]

Šipit-Baʿal II (c.740–715 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2377]

Ūru-Milki (c.715–690 BC) – paid tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2378]

Milki-Ašapa (c.690–665 BC) – succeeded Ūru-Milki as king of Byblos. He is named as a vassal of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and paying tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2379]

5.13.2 Beirut

Ḫammuniri – Ammunira (c.1255–1230 BC) – was king of Beirut named in the Amarna letters and in a letter found at Kumidi. He was mentioned in letter EA 136 by Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1250–1225 BC) along with 'the son' of ʿAbdi-Aširta of Amurru (1250–1225 BC), which was Aziru (1225–1200 BC), and sent letter EA 141.[2380]

Yappa-Ḫadda (1230–1205 BC) – sent Amarna letters EA 97 to one Sūmû-Ḫaddi and EA 98 to the king's agent Yanḫamu, in which he mentioned Aziru of Amurru (1225–1200 BC). Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1250–1225 BC) names both Yappa-Ḫadda

[2373] Albright (1947), pp. 26, 28–29; Ritner (2009), pp.219–20.
[2374] Ritner (2009), pp.233–234.
[2375] Ritner (2009), pp.233–234.
[2376] Albright (1975), p.521; Sader, p.81.
[2377] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 87, 122.
[2378] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.14, 64, 114, 131, 175, 192; Grayson & Novotny (2014), p.183.
[2379] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill (1927), pp.266, 340; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142.
[2380] Moran, pp.217–223, 227–229; Pruzsinszky (2008), p.83.

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and Zimredda of Sidon (c.1230–1205 BC) in letters EA 103 and EA 106, and then later in EA 105 and EA 113 said that Yappa-Ḫadda was at war with him. In EA 114 and EA 116 Rīb-Ḫadda accuses Yappa-Ḫadda of being in allegiance with Aziru.[2381]

Abī-Baʿal I – Abibalus (c.1100–1075 BC) – was named by Eusebius, who quoted Porphyry as stating that the Beirutian author Sanchuniathon dedicated his history to Abī-Baʿal king of Beirut, and that it was approved by the king and other investigators, the date of his writing being before the Trojan War.[2382]

5.13.3 Sidon

Yabni[..] (c.1255–1230 BC) – was likely king of Sidon named in Amarna letter EA 295.[2383]

Zimredda (c.1230–1205 BC) – if recorded in several Amarna letters. He was said by Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1250–1225 BC) to have formed an alliance with ʿAbdi-Aširta of Amurru (1250–1225 BC).[2384]

Addu-Yašma (c.1205–1180 BC) – was a king of Sidon attested on the Ugarit texts.[2385]

Addumu (c.1180–1155 BC) – was a king of Sidon attested on the Ugarit texts.[2386]

Anniya (c.1155–1130 BC) – was the son of Addumu, who he likely succeeded as king of Sidon.[2387]

Yapa-Addu (c.1130–1105 BC) – was a king of Sidon attested on the Ugarit texts.[2388]

Addu[..] (c.1105–1080 BC) – was a king of Sidon attested on the Ugarit texts.[2389]

[2381] Moran, pp.171, 176, 178–179, 187, 191.
[2382] Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, I. chs ix–x.
[2383] Moran, p.337
[2384] Moran, pp.153,
[2385] Elayi, pp.83, 295.
[2386] Elayi, pp.83, 295.
[2387] Elayi, pp.83, 295.
[2388] Elayi, pp.83, 295.
[2389] Elayi, pp.83, 295.

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Elulaios – Lulî (c.725–701 BC) – was king of Sidon who fled from Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) "afar into the midst of the sea" to Yadnana (Cyprus).[2390]

Itho-Baʿal IV – Tu-Baʾlu (c.701–680 BC) – was installed as king of Sidon by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) to whom he then paid tribute.[2391]

ʿAbdi-Milkutti (c.680–677 BC) – was defeated by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) in his Years 4 & 5. His head was cut off and caried to Assyria.[2392]

Ešmunazar I (c.575–550 BC) – was a king of Sidon and priest of Ashtart. He is named on the sarcophagi of his son Tabnit and grandson Ešmunazar II.[2393]

Tabnit I (c. 550–540) – was king of Sidon. He is attested on both his and his son's sarcophagi. He married his sister Amo-ʿAštart. He likely reigned not more than 10 years given that he appears to have died before the birth of his heir Ešmunazar II.[2394]

Amo-ʿAštart (c. 540–526) – was the daughter of Ešmunazar I and wife of king Tabnit, who it appears died while she was pregnant with their son Ešmunazar II. She likely ruled as regent for her son Ešmunazar II, who died in his Year 14.[2395]

Ešmunazar II (c.539–526) – is attested on his sarcophagus as the son of Tabnit I. He is also described as an orphan, the son of a widow, which suggests that his father died before he was born. The inscription says that he died in his Year 14.[2396]

Bod-ʿAštart (c.526–500) – succeeded Ešmunazar II as king of Sidon. He is attested on about thirty stone inscriptions, one of which states that he was a grandson of Ešmunazar I.[2397]

Yaton-Milki (c.500–475 BC) – is attested on inscriptions by his father Bod-ʿAštart as his legitimate heir. It is likely that he succeeded his father as king of Sidon.[2398]

[2390] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.63, 95, 114, 131, 175, 192, 210, 222; (2014), p.79.
[2391] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 95, 114, 131, 144, 175, 192, 210; (2014), pp.48, 69, 74, 79, 183.
[2392] Glassner, pp.201, 207, 209, 260 (n.13); Leichty, pp.7–8, 16–17, 28, 37, 47–48, 77, 93.
[2393] Elayi, pp.213, 297.
[2394] Kurht, pp.663–664; Elayi, pp.213, 230, 297.
[2395] Kuhrt, pp.663–664; Elayi, pp.213, 297.
[2396] Kuhrt, p.663–664; Elayi, pp.213, 230–231, 297.
[2397] Elayi, pp.232–234, 297.
[2398] Elayi, pp.234, 297.

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Baʿal-Šillem I (c.475–450 BC) – was king of Sidon recorded on a statue from his great-grandson Baʿal-Šillem II.[2399]

Abdamon (c.450–425 BC) – succeeded his father Baʿal-Šillem I as king of Sidon. He is named on the statue from his grandson Baʿal-Šillem II.[2400]

Baʿana (c.425–401 BC) – succeeded his father Abdamon as king of Sidon. He is named on the statue from his son Baʿal-Šillem II.[2401]

Baʿal-Šillem II (c.401–365 BC) – succeeded his father Baʿana as king of Sidon. He is attested on a statue of his son which he dedicated to the god Ešmun. Elayi says that based on coins he reigned from 401 BC for 36 years[2402]

ʿAbd-ʿAštart II (c.365–352 BC) – was likely the small child depicted by the statue dedicated by his father Baʿal-Šillem II, who he succeeded as king of Sidon.[2403]

Tabnit II – Tennes (c.352–347 BC) – is known by the Greek name Tennes. Kuhrt suggests that his Phoenician name was possibly Tabnit and Elayi notes that he may have been the son of his predecessor ʿAbd-ʿAštart II. He was involuntarily involved in the revolt against Artaxerxes III of Persia (359–338 BC), who had him executed.[2404]

5.13.4 Tyre

Baʿal-Dān – Baʿlu-Dāni (c.1250–1235 BC) – was a prince of Tyre identified by several scholars as the writer of Amarna letter EA 295, who is named DI.KUM on the letter. Amarna letter EA 89 by Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1250–1225 BC) appears to indicate that he was assassinated, along with the sister of Rīb-Ḫadda (likely his wife) and children.[2405]

[2399] Elayi, pp.249, 297.
[2400] Elayi, pp.249–250, 297.
[2401] Elayi, pp.249–250, 297.
[2402] Elayi, pp.249–250, 260, 297.
[2403] Elayi, pp.250, 260–265, 297.
[2404] Elayi, pp.270–272, 297; Kuhrt, p.412.
[2405] Grabbe, p.182; Moran, pp.162, 337; Elayi, pp.83–84, 295.

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Abī-Milki (c.1235–1210 BC) – was a prince of Tyre who was the author of 10 Amarna letters sent to Akhenaten or Egypt (1238–1222 BC) and his daughter Meritaten, the mother of Tutankhamun.[2406]

Baʿal-Šiptu (c.1210–1185 BC) – was a prince of Tyre who is recorded in the Ugaritic texts as complaining to the king of Ugarit about his harbor entry duties imposed by customs officials on his tradesmen.[2407]

Baʿal-Targumu (c.1185–1160 BC) – was a prince of Tyre who is recorded on a list of crossings at the Egyptian border on Year 3 I Shemu 15 (21 February 1172 BC) of Merneptah of Egypt (1174 –1165 BC).[2408]

Abī-Baʿal II – Abibalus (c.1005–978 BC) – was named by Josephus as king of Tyre. It is proposed that he reigned for about 27 years.[2409]

Aḫīrōm I – Eirōmos – Ḫiram I (978–944 BC) – was named by Josephus as succeeding his father Abī-Baʿal II as king of Tyre and to have lived for 53 years and reigned for 34 years.

Josephus says that the temple at Jerusalem which Solomon of Israel (970–930 BC) commenced in his Year 4 (967 BC) was commenced in Year 12 of Ḫiram, which builds on the details of him in the Bible, where it says he provided timber for the building of a palace for David of Israel (995–970 BC), and of his contributions towards the Temple of Solomon. Josephus further states that 143 years and eight months elapsed between the erection of the temple and the foundation of Carthage and that accordingly the whole period from the accession of Ḫiram I to the foundation of Carthage was 155 years and eight months.[2410]

According to Pompeius Trogus, Carthage was founded 72 years before Rome. Rome was traditionally founded on April 21, dated by Dionysius to the first year of the 7th Olympiad and by Diodorus to the second year of the 7th Olympiad.[2411] Each Olympiad started with the holding of the games, which originally began on the first or second full moon after the summer solstice (i.e. July), whereas the Roman year began in Spring (March). It is therefore reasonable to assume that when Romans referred to Olympiad years, they were referring to the Roman year in which the

[2406] Moran, pp.232–242.
[2407] Elayi, pp.83–84, 295.
[2408] Elayi, pp.84, 295; Pritchard, p.259.
[2409] Josephus, Against Apion, 1.117.
[2410] 2 Samuel 5:11; 1 Kings 5:1–10, 9:10–14; 1 Chronicles 14:1–2; 2 Chronicles 2:3–16; Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.117.
[2411] Dionysius, 1.71.5; Diodorus, 7.5.1.

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Olympics were held. The 1st Olympiad started in 776 BC and the 7th in 752 BC. The first year of the 7th Olympiad was therefore 752 BC and the 2nd year was 751 BC. Rome was therefore according to Dionysius and Diodorus founded on either 21 April 752 or 21 April 751 BC.

If it is assumed that the date from Diodorus is correct and that Rome was founded in 751 BC, then the addition of 72 years provided by Pompeius Trogus dated the founding of Carthage to 823 BC. If 156 years (155 years, 8 months) is then added to this date, the start of the reign of Ḫiram I is dated to 979 BC, which is only one year different to the 978 BC date if in his Year 12 the laying of the foundation of the Temple of Solomon occurred in 967 BC.

Baʿal-Bazer – Balbazerus (944–927 BC) – was named by Josephus as succeeding his father Ḫiram I as king of Tyre. Josephus says that he lived for 43 years and reigned for either 17 or seven years.[2412]

ʿAbd-ʿAštart I – Abdastartus (927–918 BC) – was named by Josephus as succeeding Baʿal-Bazer as king of Tyre. Josephus says that he lived for 39 years and reigned for nine years, being assassinated in a coup.[2413]

Methu-ʿAštart – Methusastartus (918–906 BC) – was named by Josephus as the son of a certain Dalay-ʿAštart. Josephus says that Methu-Aštart and his three brothers (two of whom later succeeded him as king) killed ʿAbd-ʿAštart I and usurped the throne. Josephus says that he lived 54 years and reigned 12 years. There is no reason to suppose, as some scholars such as Cross have done, that all four brothers must have ruled and that Dalay-ʿAštart was the fourth brother instead of being their father.[2414]

ʿAštart-Rōm – Astharymus (906–897 BC) – was said by Josephus to have succeeded his brother Methu-Aštart as king of Tyre and to have lived for 58 years and reigned nine years.[2415]

Pillēs – Phellēs (897–896 BC) – was named by Josephus as having killed his brother ʿAštart-Rōm and reigned for eight months before being killed himself.[2416]

[2412] Josephus, Against Apion, 1.121.
[2413] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.122.
[2414] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.122; Cross, p.17.
[2415] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.123.
[2416] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.123.

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Itho-Baʿal II – Ithobal (896–864 BC) – was said by Josephus to have been a priest of Aštarte who killed Pillēs, and to have lived for 48 years and reigned for 32 years.[2417] The age of his death seems low as it implies that he usurped the throne at the unlikely age of 16 years.

Baʿal-Ezor – Balezorus (864–858 BC) – was said by Josephus to have succeeded his father Itho-Baʿal II as king of Tyre and to have lived for 45 years and reigned six years.[2418]

Baʿal-Mattan – Mettenus – Baʾail-Manzi (858–829 BC) – was said by Josephus (who calls him Mattenus) to have succeeded his father Baʿal-Ezor as king of Tyre and to have lived for 32 years and reigned 29 years. If these numbers are correct, then he came to the throne at the age of three years. Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) recorded receiving tribute from Baʾail-Manzi and Jehu of Israel (839–811 BC) in his Year 18. It is not agreed with Liver and Lipiński that Baʾail-Manzi should be identified with Baʿal-Ezor.[2419]

Puʿmyaton – Pygmalion (829–782 BC) – was said by Josephus to have succeeded his father Baʿal-Mattan as king of Tyre and to have lived for 58 years and reigned 47 years. These number suggest that he came to the throne at the age of 11 years. Josephus also says that in his Year 7 his sister Elissa took flight and built the city of Carthage in Libya.[2420]

Milki-Ram (c.782–760 BC) – was identified by Lemaire as king of Tyre. While Sader notes that he is not specifically recorded as king, he remains the only candidate for king during this period and is therefore tentatively accepted by Sader. It is proposed that he reigned for about 22 years.[2421]

Itho-Baʿal III – Tubaʿil (c.760–740 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). It is proposed that he reigned for about 20 years.[2422]

Aḥīrōm III – Ḥiram III (740–730 BC) – was said by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) to have conspired against him with Rezin of Damascus (754–

[2417] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.123.
[2418] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.124.
[2419] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.125; Grayson (1996), pp.54, 78; Lipiński (1970), pp.59–65.
[2420] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.125.
[2421] Lemaire, pp.83–93; Sader, pp.130, 138.
[2422] Tadmor & Yamada, p.87.

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732 BC). When Tiglath-Pileser plundered a number of his cities he then capitulated and paid tribute. It is proposed that he reigned for about 10 years.[2423]

Mattan – Metena (c.730–705 BC) — is recorded as paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). [2424]

Silṭa (c.705–680 BC) – is recorded as paying tribute to Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC), with whose aid he subdued a rebellion in Yadnana (Cyprus).[2425]

Baʿal I – Baʾalu (c.680–655 BC) – was a vassal of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) who gave him the cities of Maʾrubbu and Ṣarepta which were taken from Sidon. While Esarhaddon states that he besieged Baʿal I during his 10th campaign because he had sided with Taharqa of Egypt (690–664 BC), he is later named as paying tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2426]

Bēl-Ḫarrān-Šadua (c.655–630 BC) – was governor of Tyre with the eponym year of 650 BC named after him during the reign of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).

Itho-Baʿal V – Tu-Baʾlu (c.600–575 BC) – was named by Josephus as having been besieged by Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon (605–562 BC) for 13 years. [2427]

Baʿal II (575–565 BC) – was named by Josephus as having reigned for 10 years.[2428]

5 judges (565–558 BC) – according to Josephus, after Baʿal II, Tyre was ruled by the following judges (governors), who were likely appointed by Babylon:

- Ekni-Baʿal, son of Baslech – two months
- Chelbes, son of Abdaeus – ten months
- Abbar the high-priest – three months
- Myttyn and Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus – six years[2429]

Baʿal-Ator – Balatorus (558–557 BC) – was said by Josephus to have reigned for one year.[2430]

[2423] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.46, 70, 77, 122, 131, 134.
[2424] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.123, 132.
[2425] Frame (2021), pp.82, 107–108.
[2426] Leichty, pp.17, 23, 46, 74, 86, 133; Luckenbill, p.340; Novotny & Jeffers, p.116.
[2427] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.156.
[2428] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.157.
[2429] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.157.
[2430] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.157–158.

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Mahar-Baʿal – Merbalus (557–553 BC) – was said by Josephus to have reigned for four years.[2431]

Ahīrōm IV – Ḫiram IV (553–533 BC) – was said by Josephus to have succeeded his brother Mahar-Baʿal as king of Tyre and to have reigned for 20 years.[2432]

Itho-Baʿal VI (c.533–505 BC) – was the son of Ḫiram IV who is attested on a small votive ship made from malachite. Elayi suggests that he likely succeeded his father as king. It is proposed that he reigned for about 28 years.[2433]

5.13.5 Arwad (Arwada / Arvad)

Arwad was a coastal city. It was captured by Thutmose III of Egypt (1365–1311 BC) in his second campaign after 1343 BC, where he found grain 'more plentiful than the sand of the shore'.[2434] Arwad is mentioned by Rīb-Ḫadda of Byblos (1250–1225 BC) in Amarna letter EA 105 as a city belonging to the king of Egypt. However, Abī-Milki of Tyre (1235–1210 BC) in EA 149 later says that Arwad rebelled against Egypt and threatened Tyre, and Yappa-Ḫadda of Beirut (1225–1200 BC) said that ships of Arwad were blocking grain being sent to the city of Ṣumur.[2435] Bentešina of Amurru (1164–61, 55–40 BC) was granted control of Arwad by Ḫattušili II of Ḫatti (1162–52–1130 BC).[2436] Tiglath-Pileser I of Assyria (1012–973 BC) later recorded that he received tribute from Arwad.[2437]

Mattan-Baʿal I – Matinu-Baʿal (c.865–840 BC) – is recorded on the Kurk Monolith as having participated in the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BC against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC).[2438]

Adad-Nārāri III of Assyria (810–782 BC) – recorded that he erected a statue of himself in Arwad.[2439]

[2431] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.158.
[2432] Josephus, *Against Apion*, 1.158.
[2433] Elayi, pp.230, 297.
[2434] Breasted (1931), p.75; Thompson, p.328.
[2435] Moran, pp.171, 178, 236.
[2436] Redford (1992), p.190.
[2437] Grayson (1991a), pp.37, 42, 53, 219, 226.
[2438] Grayson (1996), p.23.
[2439] Grayson (1996), p.211.

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Mattan-Baʿal II – Mattan-Biʿil II (c. c.745–720 BC) – paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2440]

ʿAbdi-Liʾti – Abdileti (c.720–695 BC) – paid tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2441]

Mattan-Baʿal III – Mattan-Biʿil III (c.695–670 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC).[2442]

Yakīn-Lû – Ikkilû (c.670–645 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2443]

Azi-Baʿal – Ozbaal (c.645–620) – succeded Yakīn-Lû as king of Arwad. He was a vassal of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2444]

5.13.6 Samsimuruna

Minḫimmu – Menahem II (c.705–680 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC).[2445]

Abī-Baʿal IV (c.680–655 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2446]

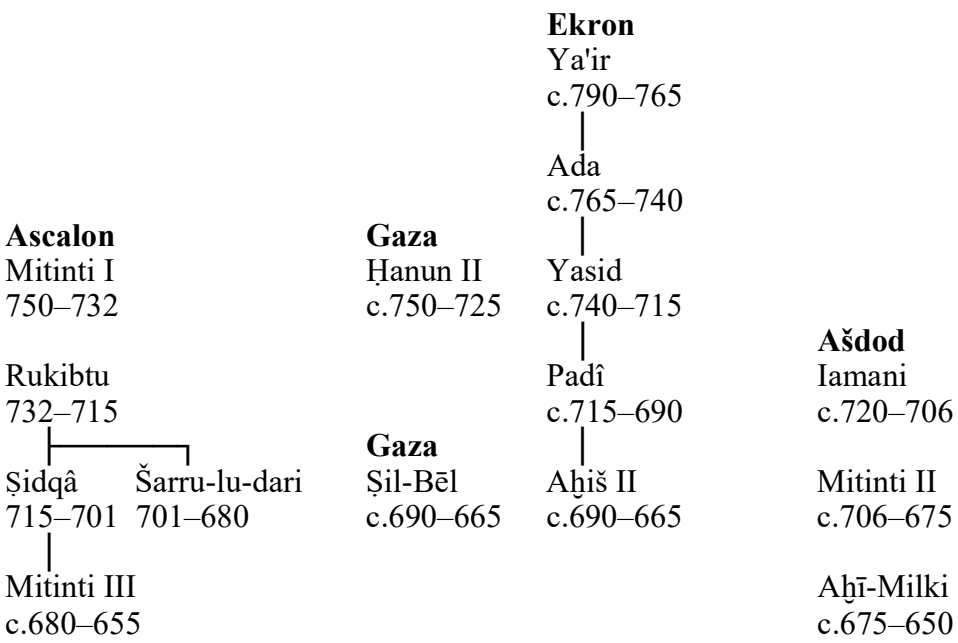
5.14 Philistines

Table 56 – Philistines

Gath
Maakah
c.1000–975
|
Aḫiš I
c.975–950

[2440] Rogers, p.322; Tadmor & Yamada, p.122.
[2441] Grayson & Novotny, (2012) p.64, 114, 131, 175, 192; (2014) p.183; Luckenbill, p.119.
[2442] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Novotny & Jeffers, p.16; Luckenbill, p.266.
[2443] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142; Luckenbill, pp.296, 325, 340, 352.
[2444] Luckenbill, pp.297, 325–326.
[2445] Grayson & Novotny, (2012) pp.64, 114, 131, 175, 192; (2014) p.183.
[2446] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, pp.266, 340–341; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142.

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5.14.1 Gath

Maakah (c.1000–975 BC) – is named in the Bible as the father of Achish. It is proposed that he was king of Gath.[2447]

Aḫiš I – Achish (c.975–950 BC) – the son of Maakah is named in the Bible as a king of Gath during the reign of Solomon of Israel (970–930 BC). It is likely that the supposed earlier Achish son of Maok, who features in two conflicting stories regarding Solomon's father David during the time of Saul of Israel (c.1088–991 BC), is fictitious and named after this king.[2448]

5.14.2 Ekron

Ya'ir (c.790–765 BC) – is named on an inscription from his descendant Aḫiš II as king of Ekron.[2449]

Ada (c.765–740 BC) – succeeded his father Ya'ir as king of Ekron. He is named on an inscription from his descendant Aḫiš II.[2450]

[2447] 1 Samuel 27:2.
[2448] 1 Kings 2:39–40; 1 Samuel 27:2–12.
[2449] Grabbe, p.209.
[2450] Grabbe, p.209.

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Yasid (c.740–715 BC) – succeeded his father Ada as king of Ekron. He is named on an inscription from his grandson Aḫiš II.[2451]

Padî (c.715–690 BC) – succeeded his father Yasid as king of Ekron. He was overthrown by his citizens who handed him over to Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC). Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) defeated Ekron and Judah and reinstated Padî as king and made him pay tribute. He received cities from Sennacherib annexed from Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC). He is also named on an inscription from his son Aḫiš II.[2452]

Aḫiš II – Ikausu (c.690–665 BC) – succeeded his father as king of Ekron. He is attested on an inscription on which he provides four generations of ancestors. He is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2453]

5.14.3 Gaza

Hanun II – Ḫanūnu (c.750–725 BC) – was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) and fled to Egypt, but returned and paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III.[2454]

Sil-Bēl (c.690–665 BC) – received cities from Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) annexed from Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC). He is recorded as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2455]

5.14.4 Ascalon

Mitinti I (750–732 BC) – was recorded as king of Ascalon by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC), who said that he revolted, but then when he saw the defeat of Raḫiānu of Damascus (754–732 BC) he became afraid and was stricken by panic and in a lapse of judgment was succeeded by Rukibtu.[2456]

[2451] Grabbe, p.209.
[2452] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64–65, 114–115, 132, 175–176, 192, 194; (2014), pp.80, 184–185, 189, 238; Grabbe, p.209.
[2453] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, p.340; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142; Grabbe, p.209.
[2454] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.105–106, 122, 126–127, 132.
[2455] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Luckenbill, p.340; Grayson & Novotny (2012) p.176, 194; (2014), p.185; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 141.
[2456] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Tadmor & Yamada, pp.61, 63, 122.

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Rukibtu (732–715 BC) – is described by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) as having succeeded Mitinti I, who was not his father, as king of Ascalon. He was named by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) as a former king and father of Šarru-lu-dari.[2457]

Sidqâ (715–701 BC) – was likely the son of Rukibtu, who he succeeded as king of Ascalon. He was defeated by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) who took him away to Assyria.[2458]

Šarru-lu-dari (701–680 BC) – was the son of Rukibtu, who was installed as king of Ascalon by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC) in place of Ṣidqâ and made to pay tribute.[2459]

Mitinti III (c.680–655 BC) – was the son of Ṣidqâ who succeeded Šarru-lu-dari as king of Ascalon. He is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2460]

5.14.5 Ašdod

Iamani (c.720–706 BC) – was defeated by Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC) and fled to Egypt.[2461] From the Great Inscription of Tang-i Var in Iran, carved by Sargon II, it is revealed that Shabataka extradited the rebel King Iamani of Ašdod into Sargon II's hands sometime between November 707 BC and April 706 BC.

Mitinti II (c.706–675 BC) – paid tribute to Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). He received cities from Sennacherib annexed from Hezekiah of Judah (727–697 BC).[2462]

Aḫī-Milki (c.675–650 BC) – is named as paying tribute to Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) and Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC).[2463]

[2457] Tadmor & Yamada, p.61; Grayson & Novotny (2014), p.80.
[2458] Grayson & Novotny (2012) pp.64, 114, 131–132, 175, 192; (2014), pp.80, 184, 188, 238.
[2459] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 114, 132. 175, 192; (2014), pp.80, 184, 188, 238.
[2460] Leichty, p.23; Luckenbill, p.340; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 141–142.
[2461] Luckenbill, pp.105–106.
[2462] Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp.64, 114, 131, 175–176, 192, 194; (2014), pp.183, 185.
[2463] Leichty, pp.23, 46; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.116, 142.

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5.15 Arabs (Central Semites)

Table 57 – Arabs

	Aribi	
	Gindibu	
	c.865–840	
	Zabibe	
	760–733	
	Šamši	
	733–710	
		Qedar
	Yaṯiʿe	Ḫazaʾ-El II
	c.710–690	c.690–676
	Teʾelḫunu	Iauṯaʾ
	c.690–681	c.676–660
Nabatea	Tabūʿa	Abī-Yaṯeʾ
Natnu	c.681–655	c.660–650
c.665–640		
Nuhuru	Uaiteʾ	Ammu-Ladīn
c.640–615	c.655–650	c.650–645

Idibi-Ēl – Idibi'ilu (c.730–720 BC) – was an Arubu who was appointed governor by Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC) as the "gatekeeper facing Egypt".[2464]

5.15.1 Aribi

Gindibu (c.865–840 BC) – is named as king of the Arbaʾa who participated in the Battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858–823 BC) in 853 BC.[2465]

Zabibe (760–733 BC) – is named as queen of the Aribi who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC).[2466]

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[2464] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.63, 107, 111.
[2465] Grayson (1996), p.23.
[2466] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.48, 70, 77, 87; Bryce (2012), p.270, 332 (n.30).

Šamši (733–710 BC) – is named as queen of the Aribi who rebelled against Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria (745–724 BC). She was defeated by Tiglath-Pileser III and became a vassal. She also paid tribute to Sargon II of Assyria (722–705 BC).[2467]

Yatiʿe (c.710–690 BC) – is named as queen of the Aribi by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC), who captured her brother Basqānu.[2468]

Teʾelḫunu – Apkallatu (c.690–681 BC) – is named as queen of the Aribi by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). She is also mentioned by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC), who calls her Apkallatu, which Grayson & Novotny note that Borger had pointed out was a scribal error based on a title and not a proper name. She was defeated along with Ḫazaʾ-El II of Qedar by Sennacherib, who plundered the city of Adummatu (Dumat al-Jandal). Esarhaddon said that she was captured by Sennacherib along with the gods of the Aribi and taken to Nineveh.[2469]

Tabūʿa (681–655 BC) – was raised in the palace of Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). She was given back the gods of the Aribi by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC) after he inscribed on them the might of the god Aššur, who then installed her as queen of the Aribi.[2470]

Uaiteʾ (c.655–650 BC) – was the son of Bir-Dāda (who it appears was the brother of Iauṯaʾ and son of Ḫazaʾ-El II king of Qedar). Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) says that he made himself king of the Aribi. He sided with Abī-Yaṯeʾ of Qedar (c.660–650 BC) and Natnu of Nabatea (c.665–640 BC) against Ashurbanipal, who captured his family at Qurașitu and made them walk across the desert to Damascus. Ashurbanipal said that the god Aššur deranged his mind as he came before Ashurbanipal who imprisoned him and put him in a neck stock. Novotny & Jeffers note that the Assyrian scribes seem to have confused the actions of Uaiteʾ (son of Bīr-Dāda) with those of Iautaʾ (son of Ḫazaʾ-El II), with it being Iautaʾ, not Uaiteʾ, who attempted to seek refuge with Natnu. His wife Adiya was later captured with Ammu-Ladīn of Qedar (c.650–645 BC).[2471]

[2467] Tadmor & Yamada, pp.59, 106–107, 111, 127, 132; Frame (2021), pp.64, 141; Bryce (2012), p.270, 332 (n.30).
[2468] Luckenbill (1927), p.130; Grayson & Novotny (2012), p.34; (2014), p.295.
[2469] Luckenbill (1927), p.158; Grayson & Novotny (2012), pp. 15 (n.35), 232; Leichty, pp.19, 30, 42, 49.
[2470] Leichty, pp.19, 30, 38, 49, 177.
[2471] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.254–257, 259 (n.ix 53).

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5.15.2 Qedar

Ḫazaʾ-El II (c.690–676 BC) – is named as king of the Aribi by Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC), whereas Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) described his son and successor Iauṯaʾ as king of the land Qedar. He was named along with Teʾelḫunu, queen of the Aribi, by Sennacherib of Assyria (705–681 BC). Esarhaddon said that he went to Nineveh to request from him the return of the gods taken by Sennacherib.[2472]

Iauṯaʾ (c.676–660 BC) – is described by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) as succeeding his father Ḫazaʾ-El II as king the land of Qedar. He was a vasal of Esarhaddon of Assyria (681–669 BC), who claims to have installed him as king. When a certain Uabu rebelled against him, Esarhaddon came to his defence and captured Uabu. Ashurbanipal recorded that Iauṯaʾ later rebelled and that he sent troops who defeated Iauṯaʾ. This was followed by famine amongst the Aribi and "hardship befell" Iauṯaʾ, who fled alone to Natnu king of the Nabateans (c.665–640 BC). Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) captured him during his ninth campaign and imprisoned him at Nineveh.[2473]

Abī-Yaṯeʾ (c.660–650 BC) – the son of a certain Teʾri, and his brother Aya-Ammu, sided with Šamaš-šuma-ukīn of Babylon (668–648 BC) and was defeated by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC). He then paid homage to Ashurbanipal, who subsequently recognised him as the successor of Iauṯaʾ as king of Qedar subject to the payment of tribute. Ashurbanipal said that Abī-Yaṯeʾ later sided with Uaiteʾ of Aribi (c.655–650 BC) and Natnu of Nabatea (c.665–640 BC) against Assyria. He said that he captured Abī-Yaṯeʾ and Aya-Ammu near Ḫululiti at Mount Ḫukkuruna and placed them in fetters and took them to Assyria.[2474]

Ammu-Ladīn (c.650–645 BC) – is named as king of Qedar by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC), who said that he became hostile and plundered the Amurru. He was defeated by Kamōš-ʿAśa of Moab (c.670–645 BC) who captured him and Adiya the wife of Uaiteʾ of Aribi (c.655–650 BC) and sent them to Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.[2475]

[2472] Luckenbill (1927), pp.158, 207, 214; Grayson & Novotny (2012), p.232; Leichty, pp.19, 30, 38, 42, 49, 76, 177.
[2473] Luckenbill (1927), pp.208, 214, 313–314; Leichty, pp.19, 31, 38, 49, 76–77, 177; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.76, 97–98, 134–135, 162–163, 176–177.
[2474] Luckenbill (1927), p.338; Novotny & Jeffers, pp.77, 98, 134, 163, 256–257.
[2475] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.77, 98–99, 163, 255, 307.

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5.15.3 Nabatea

Natnu (c.665–640 BC) – paid tribute to Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) after Iauṯaʾ of Qedar fled to him following his defeat by Ashurbanipal. Ashurbanipal said that Natnu later sided with Uaiteʾ of Aribi (c.655–650 BC) and Abī-Yaṯeʾ of Qedar (c.660–650 BC) against Assyria and that he brought about his defeat.[2476]

Nuhuru (c.640–615 BC) – was installed as king of Nabatea by Ashurbanipal of Assyria (669–631 BC) following payment of a substantial tribute.[2477]

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[2476] Novotny & Jeffers, pp.78, 99, 135, 163, 176–177, 256, 259, 308.
[2477] Novotny & Jeffers, p.308.