

RECONSIDERING CUNEIFORM AND BIBLICAL DISTANZANGABEN OR “LONG PERIOD” REFERENCES

***Koot van Wyk (Visiting Professor)**

Department of Liberal Education

Kyungpook National University, Sangju Campus

Sangju, South Korea

Conjoint Lecturer of Avondale College, Australia

ABSTRACT

Long period dating references or Distanzangaben can be found in both cuneiform texts and the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament. In this article five of them are selected. One reference is about 800 years; another one 700 years; still another 600 years and a further one covering a long period of 3200 years, the last which is a case of a need for a better understanding of Ancient Mathematics or Counting systems. These texts were discovered, transliterated, translated and discussed or commented upon by many scholars since the middle of the 19th century. Scholars are divided into two or more camps regarding these periods in cuneiform references: those who tried to find historicity in them taking them at face value; those who reject them as bogus and just “round numbers”. Optimistic scholars and pessimistic scholars are divided by the epistemology they are operating as well as the methodology they are selecting to solve the problems. Those who are skeptical in hermeneutics will not utilize these texts to construct chronology. Those who are affirmative in hermeneutics will try to find solutions harmonizing some or all of them. It is with this last method that this research was approached. The axiom was entertained that if the ancient scholars knew astronomy, mathematics, and other sciences so well, then surely they would have taken great pain in recording their own history. This led to the investigation again of these Distanzangaben in the cuneiform tablets and a reconsideration of the chronology of the Old Testament long period dating references and making an attempt to link some kings between the cuneiform texts and the Masoretic Text. The case of Amraphel of Genesis 14 and Hammurabi of the Nabonidus text was such a link and the second one is the closeness of the Sumerian King List’s Flood date applying the year-day principle (1 day = 360 days of the calendar of the hemerological cuneiform texts) and the Masoretic Text chronology for the Flood. Someone once said that scientific pursuit is the case of “two men sitting behind bars: the one saw mud and the other one stars.”

Keywords: Distanzangaben, long period references, King Lists, cuneiform text chronology, biblical chronology, hermeneutics of affirmation and suspicion

INTRODUCTION

One of the major challenges in modern times is to utilize the biblical text effectively with the cuneiform texts in order to establish dates of individuals in past history. From the *Distanzangaben* text listed by J. A. Brinkman in his 1976 dissertation, two are pertinent relevant and together with a serious view of the chronology of the biblical text, it is possible to date both cuneiform kings and biblical kings with more certainty. VAB IV 238 ii 20-22 is a text that spans 700 years from Hammurabi, the king of Babylon, to Burna-Buriaš, the Kassite king.¹ The other text relevant for this calculation is VAB IV 228 iii 27-28 that is a text that spans 800 years from Šagarakti-Šuriaš to Nabonidus.² There is a third verification text K. 2673 which is a clay tablet containing a late copy of legends on a lapis-lazuli seal. "According to its inscription, the seal was originally owned by Šagarakti-Šuriaš, then stolen from Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I, subsequently recovered by the Babylonians, and then taken again by Sennacherib.³ The inscription of Sennacherib recorded that the seal was retaken by him some 600 years later on the occasion of his Babylonian conquest (lines 4-6). Also relevant for this discussion is the Assyrian Kinglist A and another text on these kings called Chronicle P.⁴ Additional research was done by Brinkman for his dissertation supplying data from economic texts for each of these kings and verify the length of their reigns for some and supplied the missing reigns for other kings from the economic statistics.⁵ Then, from a total different angle, there is the chronology of the Old Testament that talks of a certain Amraphel in the days of Abraham and some scholars in the past have suggested that it refers to Hammurabi.⁶ The older scholars did not know of the late dating of

¹ Published in CT XXXIV 29 ii 1-3, with a duplicate VAB IV 244. See J. A. Brinkman, *A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty in Materials and Studies for Kassite History* Vol. I (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), 9-10 at footnote 5, number 1.

² Brinkman 1976: 9 at footnote 5 number 4.

³ Brinkman 1976: 289 at V.2.8. The text was transliterated and translated by E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger* (Graz: 1959), No. 29; R. Borger et al. *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königs-inschriften* (Leiden: 1961) I 72; A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions I* (Wiesbaden: 1972), nos. 825-828; L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (London: 1904), 106-109, 163-165 (hand-copy). Photo: Iraq XX (1958), PL, VIII, No. 2, (K. Jaritz, "Quelle zur Geschichte der Kaššû-Dynastie," *MIO* VI (1958), 187-265, No. 192; F. El-Wailly, "Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," *Sumer* X (1954), 43-54 at 27-S-1).

⁴ Brinkman discussed both in full 1976: 16-23. H. Tadmor *JNES* XVII (1958): 136-137 argued for a conflict between these two texts. Brinkman claimed that it is not in conflict since Chronicle P "may not arrange every detail of its narrative in strict chronological order and that consideration of subject matter may occasionally dictate section divisions (especially for events that occurred relatively close together in time)" (Brinkman 1976: 19).

⁵ Brinkman 1976: 22-23 for the overview.

⁶ L. W. King mentioned some in 1907: "Schrader's suggestion that Amraphel is a corruption of the name of Hammurabi has been regarded, linguistically, as extremely probable; but a difficulty which has stood in the way of its unqualified acceptance has been that the majority of writers on Babylonian history have assigned dates to Hammurabi some centuries earlier than the date of Abraham according to the Biblical chronology," (L. W. King 1907: 22). King was citing Ryle's article "Amraphel" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, page 88. K. Kitchen voiced his opinion on the equation of Hammurabi and Amraphel. He mentioned scholars who accepted the identification like W. Albright and earlier studies such as K. Jaritz, and also F. Cornelius (1960). Kitchen concluded: "Amraphel is uncertain, but is most unlikely to be Hammurabi" (K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1966. Hbk, page 44). Linguistically he complained that initial 'aleph-sound in 'Amraphel is opposed to the initial 'ayin in Hammurabi which is thought to be that way because of evidence more than a millennium later at Ugarit. His second objection is the element -l in Amraphel but not in Hammurabi. This second objection can be explained. If Hammurabi's name was sometimes presented or called by factions in society as d[ingir = god] and that accompanied his name at times, as was common in Mesopotamia, then one would expect that a Semitic form of that rendering would be Amraph-el where the el = god coincides with the dingir = god attached to names in Levant.

Hammurabi in ca. 1792ff.⁷ Their suggestion was shelved but it appears with the application of the inter-textual approach here, that maybe their suggestion should be taken serious again.

LITERATURE OVERVIEW

When J. A. Brinkman was working with these Distanzangaben or long-period texts, he pointed out that all of them are multiple of six.⁸ To give 800 years between Hammurabi and Burna-Buriash, will indeed confuse many scholars since such a long period from 1792 would place the Kassite king in the days of Solomon. What actually happened in the years 1888-1907, if one analyzes what L. W. King described on these issues, is that the scholars were faced with the biblical chronology of Amraphel in the days of Abraham according to the Hebrew text that coincide almost with the cuneiform texts with the 700 years text and the 800 years text. Scholars were willing to allocate Hammurabi a time in plus minus 2200 BCE. Even King suggested that 2100 BCE is called for if one follows these cuneiform texts strictly. Then scholars noticed that the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch placed Abraham in the 19th century with a shorter chronology and they then also found out that Hammurabi was a contemporary of Shamsuiluna and thus Hommel in 1898 suggested the date for Hammurabi to be 1772 BCE, brushing aside the evidence from the cuneiform texts as “round numbers” or generalizations, thus pseudo historical data.

METHODOLOGY

What is necessary, is to ascertain whether there were two Hammurabis, two Burnaburiashes, which Pharaoh is mentioned in the Burnaburiash El-Amarna correspondence (which some of the old scholars mentioned by King 1907 assigned to Amenhotep IV in 1380 BCE).⁹ The point of departure to ascertain the time of Amraphel in Genesis 14 is 1 Kings 6:1-4. Which year was the 4th year of Solomon? What text should be used, Hebrew or Greek and Samaritan Pentateuch is also an important decision. The cuneiform texts as presented by scholars like Smith, Langdon, Rawlinson and others are accepted here as reliable for history. Cheryl-M Simani (2012) is a modern scholar that may be termed

⁷ L. W. King was aware of the new dating as he said: “It may further be pointed out that the majority of writers have been content to assign to Hammurabi dates from one to two and a-half centuries earlier than the estimate of Nabonidus,” (L. W. King 1907: 133). He listed Hommel in 1898 to suggest 1772-1717 BCE (L. W. King 1907: 87).

⁸ Brinkman 1976: 8 footnote 5. In the case of later kings, Sennacherib and Nabonidus, numbers of 100 was involved “multiples of one hundred; round numbers may be involved.” This jargon is typical of someone operating with the *hermeneutics of suspicion* when it comes to chronology of the ancient texts. The “round number” concept is that it is not historical and just broad estimations. The “round number” complaint has also been raised by L. W. King 1904: 132 when he said: “But it must again be pointed out that Nabonidus is speaking in round numbers, when he asserts that seven hundred years separated Hammurabi and Burna-Buriash.”

⁹ The issues were discussed by R. C. Thompson in 1931 and his conclusions were: Burna-Buriash I (1461-1436 BCE), was succeeded by Kurigalzu II (1435-1411 BCE) (R. C. Thompson, “Assyria,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History: Vol. II The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to c. 1000 B.C.*, eds. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, [Cambridge: At the University Press, 1931], 227-251, especially 232) followed by Kara-indash (1410-1401 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 233) and Burna-Buriash II reigned (1395-1371 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 234). Thompson worked in his chronology and history with two Burna-Buriashes. The date for Šagarakti-Šuriaš by Thompson is (1262-1250 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 242). Thutmose III is dated by Thompson (1501-1447 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 231) and Amenhotep II (1447-1420 BCE); Thutmose IV (1420-1411 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 232); Amenhotep III (1411-1375 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 233); Amenhotep IV (1375-1358 BCE) (Thompson 1931: 238).

a “cuneiform conspiracy protagonist” or a cuneiform reception theorist who wants to deconstruct scholars like G. Smith, H. Rawlinson, I. Gelb, S. Horn et al, regarding the authenticity of their data. This *hermeneutics of suspicion* leniency will not be followed here since the subjective bias approach stands under suspicion by itself.¹⁰

BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY

The first issue with biblical chronology is what text should be selected. The Hebrew Masoretic Text has a long chronology but the Greek Text has a short chronology. For the sake of this research, primary attention is given to the Hebrew Text and thus the long chronology.¹¹ Long Chronology refers to the period of 480 years from the 4th year of Solomon to the Exodus out of Egypt date. This is a biblical *Distanzangabe* that is recorded in 1Kings 6:1. That 480 years are calculated by 50% less in the Greek Translation. The long reign would make Thutmosis III the pharaoh of the Exodus but the short reign would make Ramses II or any king in this vicinity its pharaoh for the Exodus. Once the exact date of the 4th year of Solomon is calculated, then the exact year is established when the Exodus took

¹⁰ Cheryl-Michal Simani, *Reassessing the Cornerstone: A Critical Review of the Discoveries of Rawlinson, Smith, and Horn* (USA: The Third House, 2012), 90. “Our inquiry into their careers and publications revealed that the discoveries of Rawlinson, Smith, and Horn are suspicious. Since the authenticity of these discoveries has not been properly established, then they should not be accepted until they have been tested.” The methodology of C-M Simani working with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* in cuneiform studies, is suspicious by itself since she is not only decades away from these laborious scholars, but for some more than a century. To doubt the authenticity of Rawlinson, Smith, Gelb and Horn with the King Lists and other material, is quite eccentric especially when their peers regularly investigated each other’s findings and conclusions. One needs to remind Simani that German, French, and other cuneiformists were regularly checking and cross-checking each other’s work and even collating it to confirm or challenge the evidence presented by the data. It may be that Simani is actually placing her own epistemology underlying her methodology on the line when she started with a long description outlining the *Skepticism vs Faith* scholars and with positive comments mounted her militant horse in favor of the Skepticism scientists. She revealed her subjective bias by this description and thus approached the data with that bias. It could easily be a stumbling-block to a proper understanding of the data. Skepticism has never succeeded in history to deal with the data in a total harmonious way that provides answers for healthy perspectives. For one, there is no comparison between Isaac Newton and Thomas Paine since Isaac Newton worked with *hermeneutics of affirmation* in his commentary on Revelation but Thomas Paine worked, until his drinking problem and death on New York streets, with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* (For a description of the tragic end of Paine see: <http://www.tripatini.com/profiles/blogs/the-death-of-thomas-paine>). The same distinction is evident in a comparison of I. Newton and B. Spinoza. The first embraced the Bible as God’s Word, the last denied it as “holy” scriptures. Simani is not aware of this very important difference. Simani is not the only scholar who critically investigates cuneiform publications. J. Brinkman in his *Appendix D* said about the Kinglist A: “Over the years since the first publication of Kinglist A by Pinches in 1884, there have been widely varying estimates of the trustworthiness of its data, especially the numbers listed for the lengths of individual reigns and dynasties. Modern attitudes have ranged from an uncritical acceptance of most materials in the list to rejection of any regnal number unless it is confirmed by independent sources such as economic texts.” He also explained the complexity of any critical task, condition of the texts, deterioration of the texts, fragmentary nature of the text and other issues (J. Brinkman 1976: 424-439). The problem with Simani is that she emphasizes the historical importance of herself and her interpretive inclinations as the ultimate to explain the significance of the text, subjected to the models, paradigms, beliefs and values of her own. This is common jargon in reception theory and criticism. When one has a broken leg of ignorance about Ancient Near Eastern history, and scholars of the past provided a crutch to bring support to the understanding, it is not a good idea to throw the crutch away. Taking on the role of detective of dead scholars, demands much more than just scratching on the surface of limited data and limited understanding of the context of the data. The problem lies in the *modus operandi* and the intentional agenda behind the methodology. There is a saying in Africa: “A lazy worksperson blames his/her tools.”

¹¹ This issue was well understood by the earlier scholars and L. W. King mentioned it already in 1907 that the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch read a shorter chronology until Abraham than the Hebrew text (L. W. King 1907: 23).

place.¹² From the Exodus to the last year of Joseph was 430 years and that long *Distanzangabe* comes from Galatians 3:17 which many scholars have interpreted to be Abraham, but it is actually Joseph. Since the law was given in 1448 BCE that date would be 1878 BCE as the death year of Joseph. Another *Distanzangabe* says that the time of enslavement in Egypt was 400 years long so if the Exodus was in 1450 BCE,¹³ then the enslavement started about 28 years after the death of Joseph in 1850 BCE. Genesis 50:22 said that Joseph became 110 years old. He was born in 1988 BCE. When Joseph was 30, he became prime minister (1958 BCE Genesis 41:46). The seven good years were until 1951 BCE. In 1950 BCE Jacob came to Egypt and told the Pharaoh that he is 130 years old. Jacob was thus born in 2080 BCE (Genesis 47:9). When Jacob was born Isaac was 60 years old, thus Isaac was born in 2140 BCE (Genesis 25:26). When Isaac was born, Abraham was 100 years old, thus Abraham was born in 2240 BCE (Genesis 21:5). It is now possible to reconstruct the dateline of Abraham from this vantage-point. Ismael was circumcised when Abraham was 99 years old in 2141 BCE (Genesis 17:25). At that time Ismael was 13 years old so Ismael was born when Abraham was 86 years old in 2154 BCE (Genesis 16:17). When Abraham was 75 years old he left his country Haran (Genesis 12:4). That was in 2165 BCE. The invasion of the Jordan Salt-sea area valley was probably directly after 2165 BCE, thus between 2165-2153 BCE (Genesis 14:4). In the 13th year they rebelled thus in 2152 BCE. The suppression of the revolt was in the 14th year in 2151 and Lot was taken as well. The disaster to Lot is after the sin of birth of Ismael and the disbelief in God's ability with the promise through Sarah. In that year 2151 BCE, Melchizedek met Abraham (Genesis 14:18). The incident of the lie in Egypt took place shortly before the invasion of the Jordan area by Amraphel and the others in 2165 BCE. One can almost say the punishment for his lies in Egypt was the invasion of the Jordan valley near the salt-sea. The punishment for the Hagar event was the kidnapping of Lot. Bad foreign

¹² The allocation of the 4th year of Solomon is done by an analysis of inside biblical sources but also extra-biblical sources, taking literally the words of Timaeus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiq. Rom.* 1, 74 that the foundation of Carthage took place 38 years prior to the first Olympiad (776 BCE) thus adding to arrive at 814 BCE. Considering the information of Josephus *Contra Apionem* I, 117-126, that Hiram's accension to the building of Carthage was 155 years and 8 months, scholars added 155 to 814 arriving at 969 BCE. From Servius *Ad Aeneam* 1, 12 one learns that the founding of Carthage was 60 years before the founding of Rome (753 BCE) and thus adding the 60 years, one arrives at 813 BCE for the founding of Carthage and 968 BCE for the accension year of Hiram. According to Justinus' *Epitome Pompei Trogi* 18, 6, 9 the founding of Carthage was 72 years before the founding of Rome. Thus 753 + 72 = 825 BCE as the year of the founding of Carthage, adding Hiram's 155 years 8 months to this leads to 980 BCE for his accension and the building of Solomon's temple as 968/7 BCE (F. M. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *BASOR* 208 [1972]: 17, footnote 11). J. Liver suggested 979/978 BCE as this date (J. Liver, "The Chronology of Tyre at the beginning of the First Millennium B.C.," *IEJ* 3 [1953]: 113-120). E. Thiele placed the accension date of Solomon in 971 BCE and this date is still "unassailable" in 1989 (see Eugene Merrill, "The 'Accensions Year' and Davidic Chronology," *JANES* 19 [1989]: 101-112). Merrill gave the parameters for the date of Hiram as between 980 BCE to 977 BCE. Another outside source confirms 825 BCE as the date of the founding of Carthage. A tablet from the conquest of Shalmanezzer III, during which Jehu paid his tribute was published by F. Safar in 1951 (F. Safar, "A further Text of Shalmanezzer III," *Sumer* 7 [1951]: 11-12, Col. IV, 10-12). On this text is mentioned a certain ba'li-ma-AN-zêri which is connected to Balezoros II of Tyre mentioned in later records of Menander in *Contra Apionem*. He reigned six years followed by Mettenos who reigned nine years and Pygmalion who reigned seven years. The sixteen years of Balezoros II are subtracted from 841 BCE providing 825 BCE as the founding of Carthage. If 981 BCE is the year of Hiram's accension (adding the 8 months as well) and Josephus is correct that Solomon built the Temple in Hiram's 11th or 12th year, then the Temple is started in the fourth year of Solomon (starting with his coregency appointment four years earlier) which is the year 970/969 BCE. This is the date of 1 Kings 6:1. The year of the Exodus in 1450 BCE is calculated from this point following the consonantal text of the Masoretic tradition.

¹³ L. W. King mentioned that if Ussher's date for the reign of Solomon is accepted, then the Exodus would have taken place in 1491 B.C.E. "And since, according to the Hebrew text, 645 years separated the Exodus from the call of Abraham, we should obtain for the latter event the date 2136 B.C." (L. W. King 1907: 23).

practices came in the valley of Jordan and God had to eliminate Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18; 19). This was after 2151 BCE. The relevant time to consider here is the time of Amraphel between 2165-2153 BCE. If the beginning of this invasion is the calculating point of departure for the later cuneiform texts, then 700 years distant from Amraphel = Hammurabi is 1465 BCE for Burnaburiash. He reigned 27 years according to Brinkman's economic texts analysis: my allocation between 1465-1438 BCE. Kurigalzu followed him for 24 years between 1438-1414 BCE. Nazi-Maruttash followed with 26 years between 1414-1388 BCE. Kadashman-Turgu reigned for 18 years between 1388-1370 BCE. Kadashman-Enlil II reigned for at least 8 years from 1370-1362 BCE. Kudur-Enlil reigned for 8 years between 1362-1354/3 BCE. Šagarakti-Šuriaš reigned for 12/13 years between 1354/3- 1342/1 BCE. A cross-check if the calculation is correct is the Distanzangabe of 800 years between Šagarakti-Šuriaš and Nabonidus and if the biblical orientated dating of 1342/1 is the point of calculating the 800 years to Nabonidus, then that 800 years ended in 541, exactly in the reign of Nabonidus.

VAB IV 238 ii 20-22 (DUPLICATE BELOW)

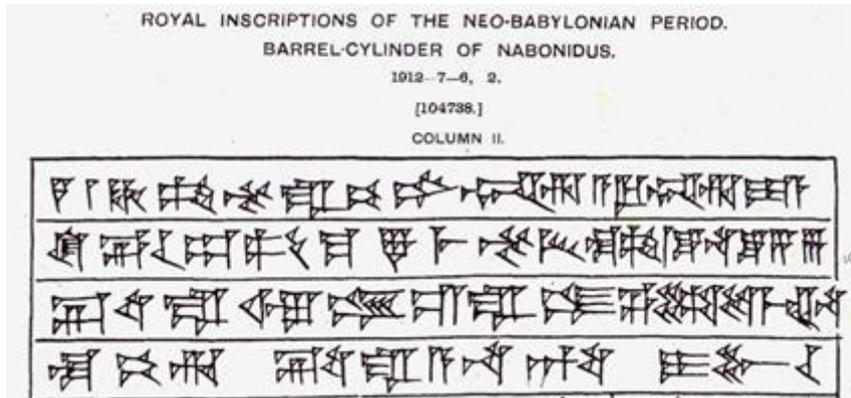
This source was well known to L. King and he discussed this text pointing out that it was just round numbers.¹⁴

King provided a translation:

“The name-inscription of Hammurabi, the ancient king who seven hundred years before Burnaburiash had built for Shamash the temple of Shamash and the temple-tower upon the old foundation, I beheld in the midst thereof and I was afraid.”¹⁵

¹⁴ “According to the suggested system of chronology, Hammurabi, as we have seen, would have come to the throne after 2000 B.C., whereas on the figures of Nabonidus we should probably assign him a date at least a century earlier.” (L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (London: 1904), 132). The dilemma of King is that they all knew that law-code Hammurabi should have been after 2000 BCE but this individual mentioned by Nabonidus was at least 2100 BCE according to King. King reported that “the majority of writers have been content to accept the figures of the List of Kings, and to ignore their inconsistency with the statement of Nabonidus. Others have attempted to get over the difficulty by emendation of the figures in the List and by other ingenious suggestions” (King 1904: 86). He listed the various views of scholars on the dating of Hammurabi the law-giver: Oppert (1888) 2394-2339 BCE; Sayce (1899) 2376-2333 BCE; Rogers (1900) 2342-2288 BCE; Winckler (1894) 2313-2258 BCE; (1892) 2264-2210 BCE; Delitzsch (1891) 2287-2232 BCE; Maspero (1897) 2287-2232; Lehmann-Haupt (1898) 2248-2194 BCE; (1903) 2194-2152 BCE; Marquart (1899) 2233-2191 BCE; Peiser (1891) 2139-2084 BCE; Rost (1897) 2120-2065; Niebuhr (1896) 2081-2026 BCE; Hommel (1895) 1947-1892 BCE; (1898) 1772-1717 BCE. King concluded about the two texts of Nabonidus: “Now the 700 years of Nabonidus, like his 800 years when speaking of Shagarakti-Shuriash, is obviously a round number, but such a plea can hardly explain its discrepancy with the dates suggested by Oppert, Sayce, Rogers, Winckler, Delitzsch, and Maspero, whose results are based on the figures of the List of Kings without alteration” (King 1904: 87-88). King took the position, although skeptical: “Meanwhile the fact may be noted that the reference in the text of Nabonidus would assign an approximate date to Hammurabi in the twenty-first century B.C.” (King 1904: 88). The reason King argued that Hammurabi must be after 2080 is because there was a certain Burna-Buriash in the days of Amenhotep IV (1380). Adding 700 to that ends in 2080 BCE (L. W. King 1907: 18-19). King is aware that scholars date Hammurabi the lawgiver earlier.

¹⁵ L. W. King 1904: 133.

NABONIDUS 700 PERIOD TO HAMMURABI BM 104738¹⁶

Line 1: šá^mha-am-mu-ra-bišarri

Line 2:ma 700 MU.^{meš}la-am^mbur-na-bur-ai-aš

Line 3: uš-ut-ra ù zi-ku-ra-ti e-li te-me-en-na

Line 4: la-bi-ri u⁴a-na^dšamši i-bu-šu.

Results

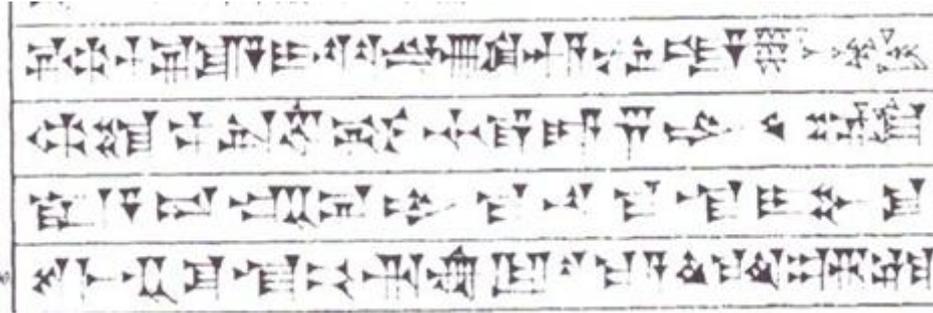
The synchronization of biblical chronology and cuneiform texts, brings one undoubtedly to a more serious understanding of the accuracy of Ancient Near Eastern chronological counting systems. The *Distanzangaben* texts were then not round numbers or generalizations but based upon solid data that the modern investigators have overlooked thus far.

800 YEARS TEXT

The text is mentioned by L. W. King in 1904 but published earlier by Rawlinson.¹⁷

¹⁶ Langdon 1912, 237 plate 29 Column II lines 1-4.

¹⁷ H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in Western Asia* Vol. V, plate 64 Col. III. lines 27ff. <http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/20376.pdf>. Says King about the text: "This king tells us that Shagarakti-Shuriash, the son of Kudur-Bêl, built a temple in Sippar eight hundred years before Nabonidus came across his foundation-inscription recording the event". He calculated then the date by saying: "Now the reign of Nabonidus came to an end in 539 B.C., and, by the addition of eight hundred years, it might be inferred that 1339 B.C. fell within the reign of Shagarakti-Shuriash" (King 1904: 81). Emendations were suggested by Rost from 418 to 478 and by Lehmann-Haupt reduced to 318 (King 1904: 80 at footnote 3). King concluded: "it will be seen that Sennacherib's figure in the Bavian inscription need not be rejected" (King 1904: 80 at footnote 3).



Rawlinson Cuneiform Inscription Plate 64 Column III lines 26ff.

The 800 number appears in line 27. It is preceded by the signs for MU or year. There are eight nails for the number 8 and next to it the word for 100 followed by the Sumerian sign for MU or year. The year reference style is not the same as on the Sippar Nabonidus Barrel Cylinder Inscription since the signs are a shorter form with just MU.Meš here.

3200 YEARS TEXT OF NABONIDUS

In 543 BCE, in his 13th year, Nabonidus wrote the Barrel Cylinder at Sippar Column II saying that 3200¹⁸ years before him the kings searched for the origin of the temple built by Naramsin the son of

¹⁸ S. H. Horn, "A Revolution in the Early Chronology of Western Asia," *Ministry* Vol. 30/6 (June 1957): 4-8 especially page 4 suggested 2300 years as reading of Nabonidus text in this line. It may be based upon a typographical error on Horn's part. Retrieved from <https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/1957/06/a-revolution-in-the-early-chronology-of-western-asia>. Horn is aware that the Kinglists that were discovered around the same time as this text of Nabonidus in 1882, seems to support the time between Nabonidus and Naram-sin. F. van Koppen also indicated that Naram-Sin should be placed in the 23rd century BCE (F.vanKoppen, *Naram-Sin of Ashur; of Eshunna; of Uruk* in The Encyclopedia of Ancient History (26 October 2012). DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah24154. In the Bookreview of S. Langdon, he explained the view of F. Thureau-Dangin (1918): "He dates Naram-Sin 2755-2712, or one thousand years later than the date assigned to him by Nabonidus" (S. Langdon, "Book Reviews: The Chronology of Sumer and Akkad," *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 224-229, especially page 229). Since our modern view of the beginning of the Ur III dynasty is 2112 and for Thureau-Dangin (1918) as 2474, then one should minus the two leaving 462 and minus 2755 with 462 and thus the adjusted Thureau-Dangin date will be 2293 BCE for the time of Naram-Sin. Stephen Langdon however considered the time to be ca. 3755 BCE based on the Nabonidus text (ibid). "The Sumerian king list states that he reigned for thirty-six years, between 2254 and 2218 BCE"(Pouysségur Patrick,

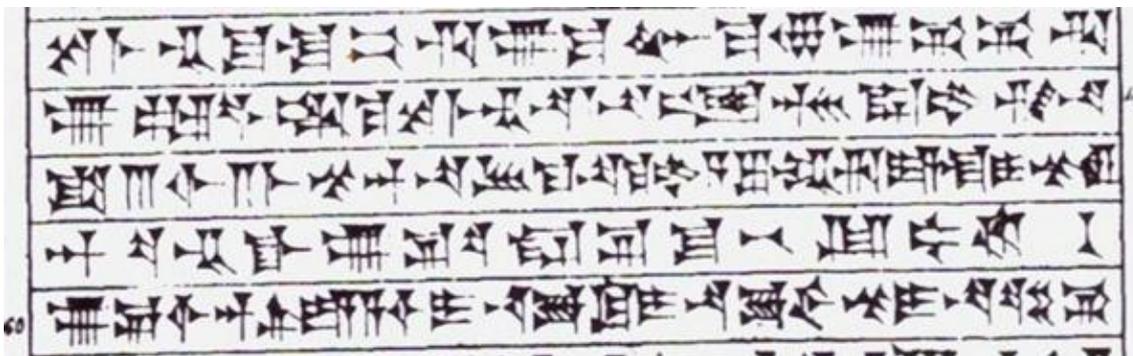
Sargon.¹⁹ That would bring the starting date of 3743 BCE. That is in the days of Jared before Enoch was born. Jared was 43 years old.

The maths that we have in line 58 is $3 \times 10 \times 100 + 2 \times 100 = 3200$.

“One copy of this cylinder was excavated in Babylon, in the royal palace, and is now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. Another copy, shown to the right, is in the British Museum in London. The text was written after Nabonidus' return from Arabia in his thirteenth regnal year, but before war broke out with the Persian king Cyrus, who is mentioned as an instrument of the gods.”²⁰

“While I led Šamaš out of its midst and caused him to dwell in another sanctuary, I removed the debris of that temple, looked for its old foundation deposit, dug to a depth of eighteen cubits into the ground and then Šamaš, the great lord, revealed to me the original foundations of Ebabbar, the temple which is his favorite dwelling, by disclosing the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no king among my predecessors had found in three thousand and two hundred years.”²¹

The Cylinder of Nabonidus text was excavated by Hormuzd Rassam in 1882 and is BM 91109 with a Registration number 1882,0714: 1025. The findspot was the Shamash Temple in South Iraq, Abbu Habba, Sippar. The height of the cylinder is 22.86 cm and its diameter is 9.2 cm.



Column II lines 96-60²²

“Victory Stele of Naram-Sin,” *Louvre*. Last Modified 2009. Online retrieved from <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/victory-stele-naram-sin> on 6th of April 2016).

¹⁹ The Hittites did the same thing. They use to compare, distance and identify their own actions with that Sargon and Naram-Sin. Naram-Sin is mentioned in a Hittite text KUB 3.1++ I 63-ii 1, ii 3-4 and duplicates, edited by Inge Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus* (Heidelberg, 1984), 24-26 (G. Beckman, “Sargon and Naram-Sin in Hatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites” in *Die Gegenwart des Altertums Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, D. Kuhn und H. Stahl [Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001, 91]). The example used by the Hittites is that just like Naram-Sin was impious and caused Akkad to fall so the same can happen to Hittites. P. Michalowski emphasized the later propaganda or backreading about Naram-Sin may affect our own understanding of “empire” and historiography, (P. Michalowski, “New Sources concerning the Reign of Naram-Sin,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 1980): 233-246. DOI: 10.2307/1359836 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1359836>).

²⁰ Lending, J. “Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar,” *Livius.org*. Retrieved 7 April 2014. The 13th year would mean 556 – 13 = 543 BCE. So the calculation of the 3200 years statement should probably be considered from this angle.

²¹ Translation by Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556-539 B.C.* (1989).

²² H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in Western Asia* Vol. V, plate 64 Col. II. lines 58ff. <http://etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/20376.pdf>

Column II

Line 58 šá 3(1000) +2(100) šanâti^{meš} ma-na-ma šarru a-lik maḥ-ri-ja la i-mu-ru

Line 59 ^dšamšu bêlu rabû-ú è-bâr-ra bîti šú-bat tu-ub libbi-šu²³

It is unlikely that Nabonidus who was a historian, archaeologist and theologian would have taken the care to be scientifically precise regarding the kings who built the temples before him, and with the dates of himself “13 years later” or “45 years after Nebuchadnezzar built the temple” to be then imprecise and mythical (modern consensus on *Distanzangabe*) with the 700 years calculation or 800 years calculation to Hammurabi or the so-called 3200 years [our 1700 years] to Naram-Sin (see line 57 for the name of ^mna-ram-^dsin mar ^mšarru-gi-na “Naram-Sin the son of Sargon”. What we know from the Hittites of the Late Bronze II period is that they also were involved in the sciences of Sumerian grammar, Sumerian culture, Sumerian history, Sumerian religion, Akkadian grammar, Akkadian culture, Akkadian history, Akkadian religion, Ancient History since they also used Sargon the Great and Naram-Sin as reference point for comparisons of their own actions in the 13th century BCE. Our problem with these dates is that we do not know enough about Sumerian and Babylonian mathematics to know how they divided and multiplied in their systems or alternative ways of doing so. The inability for modern scientists to totally come to grips with the Sumerian account systems and chronology (for example the Sumerian Kinglist dating systems) is not a “guessing on their part” as it is an “inability on our part”.

RECONSIDERATION OF THE SKL²⁴

²³ Transcription is that of Stephen Langdon and translated into German by Rudolf Zehnpfund (Stephen Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften in Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von R. Zehnpfund [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912], 226). Some adaptations is made to bring it in line with modern conventional transcription styles.

²⁴ The Sumerian King List represented by W-B 123, 444 was composed of at least 18 tablets stitched together with “thread statements” clearly visible. The scribe seems to have had a complete control mentally over the text since he decided to not only copy but “park” the signs with indents in mind sometimes and justified on both sides with stretched spaces between the signs, similarly to what computer Word programs are doing. Some of the words are centered in the space of the line. Presumably for aesthetic reasons. Or was it a memorized teacher’s Final test by a student? He knew the total length of his text and he spaced out words accordingly. Some words like MU for year was placed deliberately in front with exceptions here and there and other words like ni-ag = “reigned” deliberately at the end of the sentence, 112x’s. It is cognitively a well-designed text with total control of spatial dimensions of the different signs. Stereotyped expressions occur with a twist in the expression that may indicate a different time zone writing or a different text as Vorlage for his data. The following tablets can be identified due to differences in phraseology: Text 1: Col. I lines 1-58. A narrator’s preamble is presented announcing a Catastrophic event of a Flood. Text 2: Col. I lines 42-Col. II line 44. In the middle of this text there is a narrator’s insert at Col. II lines 16-19. Col. II line 45 is suddenly a new phrase that will reoccur 15x more. Text 3: Col. II line 47-Col. III line 36 is the next text of the scribe. There are two narrating inserts by the scribe in Col. III line 1-6 and also Col. III line 12-18. The narrator’s “thread statement” link Texts 3 and 4 at Col. III lines 37-38. Text 4: Col. III line 39-Col. IV line 4 is 50% erased. The narrator’s “thread statement” that links Texts 4 and 5 are not visible but imagined in Col. IV line 5. Text 5: Col. IV line 6-16 follows until the narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. IV lines 17-19. Col. IV line 20-35 is Text 6. A narrator’s thread can be seen in Col. IV line 36-38. Text 7: Col. IV line 39-42. A narrator’s “thread statement” follows in Col. IV line 44-45. Text 8: Col. IV line 45-Col. V line 14. Much are defaced. Nearly the whole of Text 9 in Col. V line 16-20 are defaced. The narrator’s “thread statement” survived in Col. V line 21. Text 10: Col. V line 22-32 are followed by a narrator’s “thread statement” stitching Text 10 and Text 11. It is in Col. V line 33. Text 11: Col. V line

The need for further study of the SKL was emphasized by T. Jacobsen in 1939.²⁵ In essence, the SKL²⁶ years are not so “mythical and legendary” as was previously commonly understood.²⁷ If one is familiar with the historical date of the Fall of Ur in 2004 BCE the beginning of the Ur III dynasty in 2112/3 BCE,²⁸ then the SKL years can be used to reliably calculate the years of each king going up to

34-41 is followed with a stereotyped narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. V line 42-43. Text 12: Col. V line 44-Col. VI line 21 is followed by a narrator’s “thread statement” in line 22. Text 13: Col. VI line 23-27 is followed by a narrator’s “thread statement for stitching texts 13 and 14 in Col. VI line 28-30. A narrator’s preamble is given in Col. VI line 31-36. Text 14: Col. VI line 37-46 followed. A narrator’s preamble is given in Col. VII line 1-12 and is followed by a narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. VII line 13-14. Text 15: Col. VII line 15-23 is followed with a narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. VII line 25-28. Text 16: Col. VII line 29-Col. VIII line 6 is followed by a narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. VIII line 7—8. Text 17: Col. VIII line 9-20 is followed by a narrator’s “thread statement” in Col. VIII line 21-22. Text 18: Col. VIII line 23-45 is given and finally one line for the name of the scribe.

²⁵ “In late years the study of the King List has come almost to a standstill, and its evidence is hardly ever used for purposes of chronology. But complete disregard of the King List and its evidence is not justifiable. It must be the purpose of further study to penetrate this general uncertainty and to define as far as possible just what is unreliable in the King List and what is not.” (T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian Kinglist in Assyriological Studies* 11 [Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1939]: 4).

²⁶ There are sixteen copies of the Sumerian King List (KL) known to scholars. They are indicated as A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O and P. All of these texts are in Sumerian but scholars say they do reflect some Akkadian influence at times. The text was composed in the late period of the Ur III period and was later updated. It is even possible that updating and editing was an ongoing process. What then is the case that different mathematical systems were used, all with exact and precision that is common of a high view of physics, astronomy, geometry, architectural designs, building operations, “Victory Stela of Naram-Sin” geometrical harmony in design of the art, and other evidence of advanced knowledge of gravity, strength and the relation of form and shape to this. What seems to modern scholars as mythical and legendary numbers may just be an inability to understand shifting mathematical systems or systems of counting that provide results no different than in this century. The scribes recorded the texts exactly as presented and did not convert the old system counting transition to new system counting in their days, since it was still familiar to them and they left it as is, since mentally they converted it and could fit it in like the system change after Lugalzagesi which appears to modern scholars normal whereas everything before Lugalzagesi take on a modern perceived “mythical and legendary” appearance. The G version of the SKL from Larsa is then very similar in historical succession dates as in current historiography but before Lugalzagesi the dates seem to the modern historians “inflated”.

²⁷ Scholars are listed by Jacobsen in 1939 that worked on the SKL: Gadd, Langdon, E. Meyer, Thureau-Dangin, Ungnad, Scheil and others. Jacobsen said that initially the reliability of the content of the text was rarely seriously questioned in the early study of the text (Jacobsen 1939: 2). Legrain was very optimistic. Also Gadd was optimistic that the gaps would be filled in later (Jacobsen 1939: 2). The publication of Langdon of the Weld-Blundell prism gave the Kinglist almost complete. When the excavations at Al-‘Ubaid revealed a king listed in the Kinglist, scholars started to doubt whether that king could have lived so early as the Kinglist expressed. A wave of skepticism came (Jacobsen 1939: 2). In 1923 and 1926 Weidner came to the understanding that what was listed as consecutive was actually contemporaneous. E. Meyer admitted that the text goes back to reliable sources but that a false successive scheme was provided and that the folklore has tampered with the history of the text (Jacobsen 1939: 3). Landsberger complained in 1931 about the high dates for some kings in the King List (Jacobsen 1939: 3). The old scholars who worked on problems in the Sumerian King List after Langdon, are listed by T. Jacobsen 1939: 3 footnote 8. Landsberger concluded: “Daraus ergibt sich, dass wir uns von der Königsliste vollständig emanzipieren müssen” (Jacobsen 1939: 4). Jacobsen indicated that “a strong element of uncertainty concerning the value of the King List has unquestionably been introduced” (Jacobsen 1939: 4).

²⁸ P. Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men: Thoughts on the End of Šulgi’s Reign and on the Ensuing Succession” in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, edited by D. S. Vanderhooft and A. Winitzer (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 285-320, especially on page 286 where Michalowski makes the ironic statement: “Prior to the eighteenth century, the richest concentrated trove of documentation comes from the century when, in succession, five kings of what we call the Third Dynasty of Ur ruled the land that is now Iraq (c. 2112–2004 BC).” It is ironic that he attached dates to the text which he denies any reliability to when he continued after citing from SKL the Ur III kings from Ur-Nammu to the end and concluded:

the year 2360 BCE, the beginning year of Lugalzagesi the king of Uruk who reigned for 25 years until Sargon the Great took over in 2335-2279 BCE.

QUESTION REMAINING ON SUMERIAN MATHEMATICS

R. K. Harrison explained the dilemma of Sumerian Mathematics very well.²⁹ Young has suggested that the checking of the original signs in the texts were done very well by scholars collating in the past, so that considerations should turn to mathematics. Harrison indicated: “So little insight has been gained into the theoretical dynamics of Sumerian mathematics that it is impossible to say with certainty what the reason was for employing base-60 squared as a constant, assuming that this was its actual function in the King List, as seems eminently probable. It was certainly integral to the structure of the various recorded reigns, unlike some constants in modern mathematics that grace an equation but are not indispensable entities. Why base-60 should have been squared in order to perform its function satisfactorily is also problematical. Perhaps, after all, base-60 squared was intended to serve as a symbol of relative power and importance, which the compilers of the ancient Sumerian King List associated with those men whose reigns they recorded.”

“None of this is as it seems. Only Ur-Namma’s reign is registered in the one extant Ur III manuscript of the SKL. It has been recognized that later redactors fit the Ur III dynasty into a contemporary genealogical mode, making each ruler the son of his predecessor, but it is difficult to establish with precision the family relationships of these men on the basis of currently available information. Later tradition, like the SKL, tended to impose the paradigmatic father-son succession pattern on the Ur III royal family, as seen, for example, in the so-called Weidner Chronicle from the first millennium” (Michalowski 2013: 289). He is standing on the shoulders of the skepticism of Landsberger mentioned supra. Michalowski cites P. Steinkeller, “An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List,” in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke* (eds. W. Sallaberger et al.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003) 268–69; and M. Widell, “Who’s Who in ‘A balbale to Bau for Šu-Suen’ (Šu-Suen A),” *JNES* 70 (2011) 301 n. 73. Michalowski considered the style of the Sumerian King List as “paradigmatic terms” (Michalowski 2013: 288; also P. Michalowski, “Sumerian King List,” in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation* (ed. M. W. Chavalas; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006): 84. Michalowski also made a presentation called: “The Mesopotamian King Lists: History in the Making,” ISAW, NY, April 12, 2013. Retrieved from : <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~piotrm/cv1.html>. The term “paradigmatic” for the Sumerian King List is also found in M.R. Bachvarova, “From “Kingship in Heaven” to King Lists: Syro-Anatolian Courts and the History of the World,” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 12 (2012) 97–118, especially page 99. Bachvarova considered the antediluvian kings section to be appended later to the beginning of the King List towards the end of the nineteenth century BCE (Bachvarova 2012: 100 citing Marchesi [2010: 232], with earlier references, Glassner [2004: 56–8, 108–9], Finkelstein [1963: 44–51]). Relying on a number of scholars, Bachvarova stressed that “At a later point in time the historiographic notes explicating some of the characters’ deeds were added (Marchesi 2010: 233–4, 238–43; Steinkeller 2003: 284, 286)” (Bachvarova 2012: 100). She then concluded: “Thus, the list recounted human history from its beginnings, running through a series of culture heroes before getting into the list of “real” historical kings to which new regional courts added their dynasties to link themselves to world history.” (Bachvarova 2012: 100). G. Marchesi explained that the SKL projects anachronistically and fictionally “the political situation of the Sargonic period—when the entire land of Sumer and Akkad was for the first time unified—into the distant past” (G. Marchesi, “The Sumerian King List and the early history of Mesopotamia,” *Quaderni di Vicino Oriente* 5 [2010]: 231–248, especially page 234). Steinkeller, P. (2003) “An Ur III manuscript of the Sumerian King List,” in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, eds. W. Sallaberger, K. Volk and A. Zgoll. Wiesbaden. 267–92; Finkelstein, J. J. 1963. “The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet.” *JCS* 17: 39–51; Glassner, Jean-Jacques. 2004. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Atlanta, Ga.: SBL.

²⁹ R. K. Harrison, “Reinvestigating the Antediluvian Sumerian King List” *JETS* 36/1 (March 1993): 3-8.

SOME SUGGESTIONS ON THE SKL (TEXT G)

If one reverse from Lugalzagesi as 2360-2335 BCE one may come to Unzi as 2584-2554 BCE considering it as realistic dates of reign in succession. From this time reversing to the Flood one finds examples of high totals given for each city after the Flood. Scholars assumed that they are years. Assume that they are not years but days of 360 days per year and should be divided by 360,³⁰ one needs to add to the starting date of Unzi 2584 BCE, the following amounts in reverse: $100 \div 360 = 0.2771$ for years at Mari; $136 \div 360 = 0.377$ for Adab; $90 \div 360 = 0.25$ for Ur; $187 \div 360 = 0.5194$ for Uruk; $360 \div 360 = 1$ for Hamazi; $3195 \div 360 = 8.875$ for Kiš; $356 \div 360 = 0.98$ for Awan; $177 \div 360 = 0.491$ for Ur; $2130 \div 360 = 6.416$ for Uruk; $126 \div 360 = 0.35$ for Eanna; $23,310 \div 360 = 64.75$ for Kiš. This is a total of 84.2855. Adding this to Unzi's starting reign 2554 BCE gives the date for the SKL Flood with this calculating system as $2554 + 84.2855 = 2638.2855$. The biblical date for the Flood is 2692 BCE.

CONCERNING VARIANTS IN THE SKL

The order of names sometimes are different like W-B read in Col. II line 7-14 Galibum; Kalumumu; Duggagib; Atab; Atabba; Arpium but the Nippur variants are: Galibum; Atab; Atabba; Kalumum; Duggagib; Arpium. It is not enough to say it is a scribal error. The kind of error is a *slip of the memory*, thus it could have been a final exam task of a teacher to his students and some students had a lapse in the memory and mixed the order. Another "scribal error" of Langdon 1923: 10 is at Col. II line 24 where the W-B presumably read the correct form as Me-lam-Kiš-(ki) but in L. W. King, Chronicles II 47 it read "A-lam-kiš-šu". An explanation for this is a reverse reading of Me-lam as A-lam. Did some scribes read from right to left? Whereas W-B read the number of years as 400 in Col. II line 22 another text P. no. 2 I 19 read 410 years. We must remember that discrepancies in number of regnal years can be seen and solved when one considers the two texts that said that Sargon did something in Palu 9 and another text had the same event as Palu 11. What is the problem? Scribal errors? Assyrians started counting from the year he assassinated the previous ruler but Babylonians left that year out plus the *reš šarutiya*, thus Babylonians will report the 9th of Palu but Assyrians will report the same event as 11th of Palu. It can be the reason for the discrepancies between the text in numbers here as well.

³⁰ The reason one should divide with 360 is because it is a very common feature known for a long time in the history of interpretation of long prophetic periods: seven sevens or 49 weeks of Daniel as 490 years using the *year-day principle*. What is a day for the gods or divine is a year for humans. Since the kings before Gilgamesh were divine or divinely-considered, the *year-day principle* was applied in reverse: what was in human reality only one day for a king was reported as a year. Thus, these long reigns in years of the King List should be calculated as days instead of years putting the *year-day principle* in reverse to get to the historical date. It was thus a common feature seemingly in futuristic divine utterances to apply the year-day principle and the *Sumerian King List* source for rulers between the Flood and Gilgamesh were recorded with this device. Applying the *year-day principle* in the Sumerian King List for those long periods, would lead to different results and these totals can now be added up to be measured against the realistic biblical chronology of the consonantal text of the Masoretic text as standard.

What is suggested here is that the SKL does not calculate in mythical or legendary *Distanzangaben* but actually in historical dating provided one understands the mathematical system underlying the recording. The totals given after each city seems to be the short time of its heyday as “empire” and the years of reigns of successive rulers are the years kings could be found at these cities even when they are just “vassal kings” or the like throughout many centuries. They are realistic years. Here and there are also a mixture of realistic years with an amount that should be divided by 360 since they refer to days and not years.

CONCLUSION

This focus on *Distanzangaben* in both the cuneiform texts and Masoretic Text of the Old Testament brought some surprising results. A point of contact between these two sets of data was constantly opt for. Amraphel and Hammurabi was such a link and surprisingly they dated to exactly the same time in both biblical chronology and cuneiform chronology, provided one respect the ancient texts at face value and research with a firm conviction that such a solution can be found. It was found that Nabonidus 13th year was the starting point for a 800 period calculating back to the middle of the year of Šagarakti-Šuriaš in 1342 BCE and given the texts discussed by J. Brinkman (1976) working out with precision the date of Burna-Buriaš, that date becomes the starting-point for the 700 year period *Distanzangaben* to the time of an apparent earlier Hammurabi or Hammurabi I, which dates to 2165 BCE. That date synchronizes with the time of Amraphel mentioned in Genesis 14 utilizing the *Distanzangaben* of the Masoretic Text without skepticism. The *Distanzangaben* of 600 years by Sennacherib dates between 702 BCE after his war with Babylon and 1302 BCE, a date synchronized with the cuneiform tablets as the time when mdAdad-šuma-ušur regained control over Babylon. The 3200 years text known to scholars for a long time, was the subject of much discussion and doubt in the past. The realistic years between the 13th year of Nabonidus and Naram-Sin cannot be 3200 years and it is better to suggest that our understanding of their counting notations in Ancient Mathematics, means that our translation of their writing system of numbers in this citation, is lacking. The surprise is that if the number is not considered to be $3 \times 10 \times 100 + 2 \times 100 = 3200$ but rather $3 \times 10 \times 100$ divided (by two) $+ 2 \times 100 = 1700$, the year of Nabonidus coincides to the year conventional science is allocating to him, 2254 BCEff. The Masoretic Text Flood date is 2692 BCE and it was found that if the *Sumerian King List* is considered chronologically successive until a certain point moving back, to the year of Unzi as historical, a switch of system to calculate the legendary kings before him to the Flood of the *Sumerian King List* with a year-day principle, that is one of the keys to understand time reckoning in the books of Daniel and Revelation, one divine day = 360 human years, so these divine kings' large numbers need to be humanized by dividing it with 360 back into human years. Thus the Sumerian Flood date is 2668 BCE. Scientists need to remind themselves that Nabonidus scribes in the library may have included some of those Israelites' children who were deported since 723 BCE and 586 BCE. The scholars working with a Short Chronology for Mesopotamia and with a *skeptical hermeneutics* of the *Distanzangaben* should probably return to the discussion since harmonization has more to offer for both cuneiform and biblical science than nihilism.

REFERENCES

- [1] A. Y. Ahmad, "Excavation at Qadhiah: The Texts of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.)," *Al-Rāfi dān* vol. 21, 2000, pp. 51-59
- [2] M. R. Bachvarova, "From "Kingship in Heaven" to King Lists: Syro-Anatolian Courts and the History of the World," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* vol. 12, 2012, pp. 97–118.
- [3] P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.* New Haven, 1989.
- [4] G. Beckman, "Sargon and Naram-Sin in Hatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites." in *Die Gegenwart des Alterturns Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs In den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, D. Kuhn and H. Stahl, Eds. Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001, pp. 91ff.
- [5] C. Bezold, "Two Inscription of Nabonidus," *PSBA*, pp. 84-104. Plates 1-V, January 8, 1889.
- [6] Y. Bloch, *The Order of Eponyms in the Reign of Tukult ī -Ninurta I.*, *OrNS* vol. 79, 2010, pp. 1-35.
- [7] J. Boese, *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten. Eine sumerische Denkmalsgattung des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, *UAVA* vol. 6, 1971.
- [8] _____, *Burnaburiaš II., Melišipak und die mittelbabylonische Chronologie*, *UF* vol. 14, 1982, pp. 15-26.
- [9] _____, 'Ĥarbašipak', 'Tiptakzi' und die Chronologie der älteren Kassitenzeit, *ZA* vol. 98, 2008, pp. 201-210.
- [10] _____, *Kadašman-Enlil, Kadašman-Turgu und die kassitische Chronologie des 14. und 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, *AoF* vol. 36, 2009, pp. 85-96.
- [11] R. Borger et al., *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königs-inschriften/ Leiden: 1961.*
- [12] J. Brinkman, "Kaštiliaš(u)," in *RIA* vol. 5, 1976-1980, pp. 476f.
- [13] _____, "Notes on Mesopotamian History," *BiOr* vol. 27, 1970, 301-314.
- [14] _____, "Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600 to 625 BC. The Documentary Evidence," *AJA* vol. 76, pp. 271-294.
- [15] _____, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History. A catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*, Chicago, 1976.
- [16] J. A. A. Brinkman, *Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*, in *Materials and Studies for Kassite History*, vol. I, Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976/
- [17] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &C., in the British Museum, Part XXXVI*, London: Oxford University Press, 1921.
- [18] Y.S. Chen, *The Emergence and Development of Sumerian and Babylonian Traditions Related to the Primeval Flood Catastrophe from the Old Babylonian Period*. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK, 2009.
- [19] F. M. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *BASOR* vol. 208, 1972, p. 17.

- [20] J. R. Davila, "The Flood Hero as King and Priest," JNES vol. 54, 1995, pp. 199–214.
- [21] V. Donbaz, *Ninurta-tukult ī -Aššur. Zamanina ait orta Asur idarî belgeleri*, Ankara, 1976.
- [22] D. O. Edzard, "Königslisten und Chroniken," RLA vol. 6, 1980-1983, pp. 77–86.
- [23] F. El-Wailly, "Synopsis of Royal Sources of the Kassite Period," Sumer vol. X, 1954, pp. 43-54 at 27-S-1.
- [24] I. S. Finkel, "Bilingual Chronicle Fragments." JCS vol. 32, 1980, pp. 65–80.
- [25] J. J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet." JCS vol. 17, 1963, pp. 39–51.
- [26] J. Friberg, *A Remarkable Collection of Babylonian Mathematical Text: Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection Cuneiform. Cuneiform Texts I. Sources and Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences*. New York: Srpinger, 2007.
- [27] G. J. Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*. London: Luzac & Co. 1921.
- [28] H. D. Galter, "Ša lām abūbi: Die Zeit vor der großen Flut in der mesopotamischen Überlieferung." In *Von Sumer bis Homer: Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, ed. Robert Rollinger, pp. 269–301. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005.
- [29] A. George, 2011. "Sumero-Babylonian King Lists and Date List." In *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, ed. A. R. George et alii, pp. 199-205. CUSAS vol. 17. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2011.
- [30] J-J. Glassner, Jean-Jacques. *Mesopotamian Chronicles*. Atlanta, Ga.: SBL, 2004.
- [31] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1975.
- [32] R. K. Harrison, "Reinvestigating the Antediluvian Sumerian King List," JETS vol. 36/1, March 1993, pp. 3-8.
- [33] I. Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus*. Heidelberg, 1984.
- [34] E. Hornung, R. Krauss, & D. A. Warburton, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology, Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1, The Near and Middle East* vol. 83, 2006.
- [35] S. H. Horn, "A Revolution in the Early Chronology of Western Asia," *Ministry*, vol. 30/6, June 1957, pp. 4-8. Retrieved from <https://www.ministrymagazine.org/archive/1957/06/a-revolution-in-the-early-chronology-of-western-asia>
- [36] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions I*. Wiesbaden: 1972, nos. 825-828.
- [37] W. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension." JCS vol. 17, 1963, pp. 52–57.
- [38] J. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian Kinglist*, in *Assyriological Studies*, vol. 11, Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- [39] K. Jaritz, "Quelle zur Geschichte der Kaššû-Dynastie," MIO vol. VI, 1958, pp. 187-265, No. 192.
- [40] L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I*, London: 1904, pp. 106-109, 163-165. (hand-copy). Photo: Iraq vol. XX, 1958, PL, VIII, No. 2.

- [41] L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings Including Records of the Early History of the Kassites and the Country of the Sea. Vol. II: Texts and Translations*. London: Luzac & Co. 1907.
- [42] K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1966. Hbk. pp.191ff.
- [43] J. Klein, "A New Nippur Duplicate of the Sumerian Kinglist in the Brockmon Collection, University of Haifa." In *Velles paraules: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in honor of Miguel Civil on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. P. Michalowski et al., pp. 123–29. Sabadell (Barcelona), Spain: Editorial AUSA, 1991.
- [44] J. Klein, J. 2008. "The Brockmon Collection Duplicate of the Sumerian King List (BT 14)." In *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, ed. Piotr Michalowski, pp. 77–91. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008.
- [45] F. R. Kraus, "Zur Liste der älteren Könige von Babylonien," *ZA* vol. 50, 1952, pp. 29–60.
- [46] C. Kühne, *Imperial Mittani: An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction*, in D. I. Owen & G. Wilhelm (eds), *Nuzi at Seventy-Five, SCCNH, Vol. 10*, 1999.
- [47] C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna, AOAT, vol. 17*, 1973.
- [48] W. G. Lambert, "A New Fragment from A List of Antediluvian Kings and Marduk's Chariot." In *Symbolae biblicae et mesopotamicae: Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, ed. M. A. Beak, pp. 271–80. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- [49] W. G. Lambert, "The Seed of Kingship." In *Le Palais et la royauté*, ed. Paul Garelli, pp. 427–40. CRRA 19. Paris, 1974.
- [50] S. Langdon, *The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, vol. 1. Sumerian and Semitic Religious and Historical Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- [51] S. Langdon, *Historical Inscriptions, Containing Principally the Chronological Prism, W-B. 444. OECT II. The Weld-Blundell Collection II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- [52] S. Langdon, "Miscellaneous Communications," *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 251–59.
- [53] S. Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften in Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, aus dem Englischen übersetzt von R. Zhenpfund*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1912.
- [54] S. Langdon, "Book Reviews: The Chronology of Sumer and Akkad," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, pp. 224-229.
- [55] B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'dunkles Zeitalter'," *JCS*, vol. 8, 1954, pp. 31-45; pp. 47-73; pp. 106-133.
- [56] J. Lending, "Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar," *Livius.org*. Retrieved 7 April 2014.
- [57] "Sargon and Naram-Sin in Hatti: Reflections of Mesopotamian Antiquity among the Hittites" in *Die Gegenwart des Alterturns Formen und Funktionen des Altertumsbezugs in den Hochkulturen der Alten Welt*, D. Kuhn und H. Stahl. Heidelberg: Edition Forum, 2001.
- [58] J. Liver, "The Chronology of Tyre at the beginning of the First Millennium B.C.," *IEJ* vol. 3, 1953, pp. 113-120.

- [59] G. Marchesi, "The Sumerian King List and the early history of Mesopotamia," *Quaderni di Vicino Oriente* vol. 5, 2010, pp. 231–248.
- [60] E. Merrill, "The 'Accensions Year' and Davidic Chronology," *JANES*, vol. 19, 1989, pp. 101-112.
- [61] P. Michalowski, "Sumerian King List," in *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*. Ed. M. W. Chavalas, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- [62] P. Michalowski, "The Mesopotamian King Lists: History in the Making," ISAW, NY, April 12, 2013. Retrieved from : <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~piotrm/cv1.html>.
- [63] P. Michalowski, "New Sources concerning the Reign of Naram-Sin," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* vol. 32, No. 4, October 1980, pp. 233-246. DOI: 10.2307/1359836 Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1359836>.
- [64] P. Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men: Thoughts on the End of Šulgi's Reign and on the Ensuing Succession" in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, edited by D. S. Vanderhooft and A. Winitzer, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013, pp. 285-320.
- [65] P. Michalowski, "History as Charter: Some Observations on the Sumerian King List." *JAOS* vol. 103, 1983, pp. 237–47.
- [66] H. Otten, E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger* Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970. *Archiv für Orientforschung. Beihefte*, vol. 12.
- [67] Poebel, Arno. 1914. *Historical and Grammatical Texts. PBS V*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- [68] P. Pouysségur, "Victory Stele of Naram-Sin," Louvre. Last Modified 2009. Online retrieved from <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/victory-stele-naram-sin> on 6th of April 2016)
- [69] H. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in Western Asia*. Vol. V, plate 64 Col. III. lines 27ff.
- [70] F. Safar, "A further Text of Shalmanezar III," *Sumer*, vol. 7, 1951, pp. 11-12.
- [71] P. Steinkeller, "An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List," in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*. Eds. W. Sallaberger et al.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003, pp. 268–269.
- [72] V. Scheil, "Listes Susiennes des dynasties de Sumer-Accad," *RA* vol. 31, 1934, pp.147–66.
- [73] C-M. Simani, *Reassessing the Cornerstone: A Critical Review of the Discoveries of Rawlinson, Smith, and Horn*, USA: The Third House, 2012.
- [74] E. Sollberger, "The Rulers of Lagaš." *JCS* vol. 21, 1967, pp. 279–91.
- [75] P. Steinkeller, "An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List." In *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, ed. Walther Sallaberger et al. 267–92. *Orientalia Biblica et Christiana* 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003.
- [76] H. Tadmor, *JNES*, vol. XVII, 1958, pp. 136-137.
- [77] R. C. Thompson, "Assyria," in *The Cambridge Ancient History: Vol. II The Egyptian and Hittite Empires to c. 1000 B.C.*, eds. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, Cambridge: At the

University Press, 1931, pp. 227-251. Retrieved 8 March 2016 at http://archive.org/stream/Assyria_938/CAH2_10#page/n11/mode/2up

- [78] M. Widell, "Who's Who in 'A balbale to Bau for Šu-Suen' (Šu-Suen A)," JNES vol. 70, 2011, p. 301.
- [79] E. Weidner, Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger. Graz: 1959, No. 29.
- [80] H. Unger, & R. Pruzsinszky, (eds) Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited. Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEEM 2000 (Vienna 8th–9th November 2002), Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 6, Wien, 2004.
- [81] F. Van Koppen, Naram-Sin of Ashur; of Eshunna; of Uruk in The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, 26 October 2012. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah24154
- [82] C-A. Vincente, "The Tall Leilān Recension of the Sumerian King List." ZA vol. 85, 1995, pp. 234–70.
- [83] M. Yamada, "The second military conflict between 'Assyria' and 'Ḫatti' in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I." Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Vol. 105 no. 1, 2011, pp.199-220, at footnote 46. URL : www.cairn.info/revue-d-assyriologie-2011-1-page-199.htm. DOI : 10.3917/assy.105.0199)
- [84] S. Yamada, "Tukulti-Ninurta I's Rule over Babylonia and Its Aftermath: A Historical Reconstruction," Orient: Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan 38, 2003, pp. 153-177. Online accessed at <https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/browse/orient1960>).
- [85] S. Yamada, The Editorial History of the Assyrian King List, ZA, vol. 84, 1994, pp. 11-37.
- [86] L. Woolley, Ur Excavations VIII. The Kassite Period and the Period of the Assyrian Kings, London, 1965.
- [87] E. F. Weidner, Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger, AfO Beih. 12, 1959.
- [88] C. Wilcke, Claus. "Die Sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit." In Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung, ed. Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg and Hansjörg Reinau, 1988, 113–40. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner.

Diagram to show how Texts from Nabonidus Harmonize with the Masoretic Text Chronology

(Koot van Wyk 2016 [DUn at PhD] PhD Visiting Professor Department of Liberal Education, Kyungpook National University, Sangju Campus, South Korea, Conjoint lecturer of Avondale College, Australia)

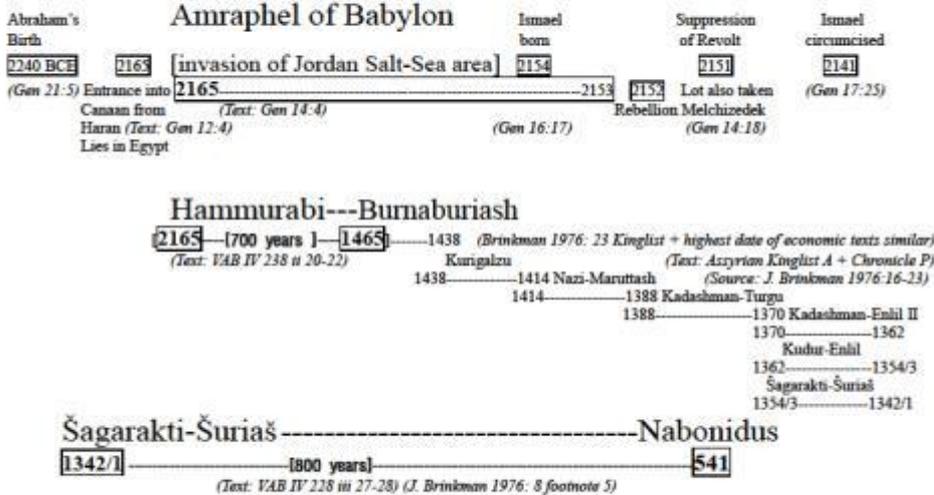


Diagram of Comparison of Sumerian King List reckoning and Masoretic Text reckoning of the Date of the Flood

(Koot van Wyk 2016 [DUn at PhD] PhD Visiting Professor Department of Liberal Education, Kyungpook National University, Sangju Campus, South Korea, Conjoint lecturer of Avondale College, Australia)

Year-day Divine reckonings of the Kingships until Unzi (360 day in year inflated numbers) || Proper historical years

Flood	KiŠ	Eanna	Uruk	Ur	Awan	KiŠ	Hamazi	Uruk	Ur	Adab	Mari	KiŠ	AkŠak
	23,310	2310	177	356	3195a/c	360	187	104(?)	90	136	100	2584 BCE (Unzi)	
	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360		
	64.75yrs	6.41yrs	0.491yrs	0.98yrs	8.875yrs	1yr	0.5194yrs	0.28yrs	0.25yrs	0.377yrs	0.277yrs		
	Total 84,2094 yrs + 2584 BCE												

SKL

Date of Flood

2668 BCE <----->

2692 BCE Arpachšad Shalah Eber Peleg Reu Serug Nahor Terah Abraham (birth year of Abraham)

2690 BCE 2590 2555 2491 2461 2449 2399 2370 2340 BCE (Calculated from 970 as 4th year of Solomon)

Masoretic Text

Chronology for the Flood

Diagram to show how Texts from Nabonidus Harmonize with the Masoretic Text Chronology

(Koot van Wyk 2016 [D Litt et Phil ThD] Visiting Professor Department of Liberal Education, Ryerson National University, Sengjo Campus, South Korea, Conjoint lecturer of Aonodale College, Australia)

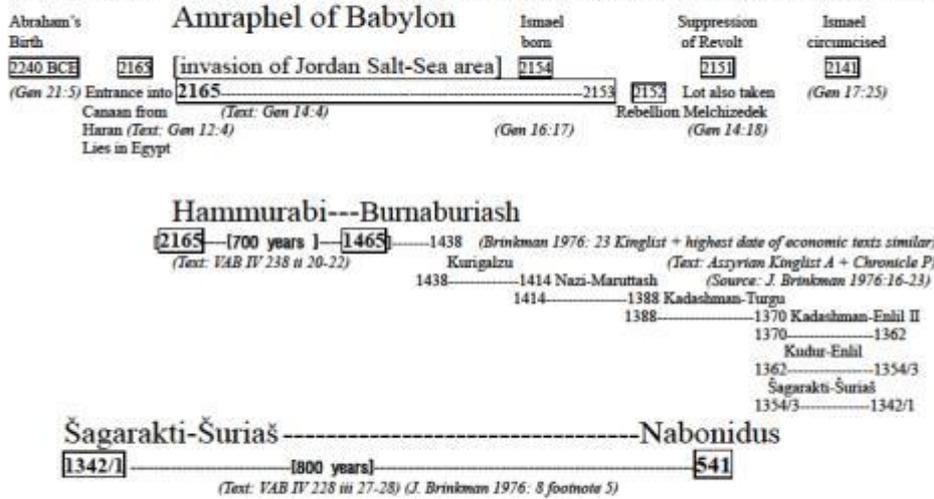


Diagram of Comparison of Sumerian King List reckoning and Masoretic Text reckoning of the Date of the Flood

(Koot van Wyk 2016 [D Litt et Phil ThD] Visiting Professor Department of Liberal Education, Ryerson National University, Sengjo Campus, South Korea, Conjoint lecturer of Aonodale College, Australia)

Year-day Divine reckonings of the Kingships until Unzi (360 day in year inflated numbers) || Proper historical years

Flood	KŠ	Eanna	Uruk	Ur	Awan	KŠ	Hamazi	Uruk	Ur	Adab	Mari	KŠ	Akkak
	23,310	2310	177	356	3195	360	187	104(?)	90	136	100		2584 BCE (Unzi)
	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360	+ 360		
	64.75yrs	6.41yrs	0.491yrs	0.98yrs	8.875yrs	1yr	0.5194yrs	0.28yrs	0.25yrs	0.377yrs	0.277yrs		
													Total: 84,2094 yrs + 2584 BCE

SKL

Date of Flood

2668 BCE <----->

2692 BCE Arpachsad Shelah Eber Peleg Rau Serug Nahor Terah Abraham (birth year of Abraham)

2690 BCE 2590 2555 2491 2461 2449 2399 2370 2240 BCE (Calculated from 970 as 4th year of Solomon)

Masoretic Text

Chronology for the Flood

APPENDIX: PROBLEM TEXT OF SENNACHERIB'S 600 YEARS TO TIKULTI-NIN.IB

There is a text K2673³¹ mentioned by H. Radau (1908) that indicates that Sennacherib said that he reigned 600 years after the ruler that followed Kaštiliašu II, namely Tikulti-NIN-IB.³² He said his campaign in Babylon was 600 years after this ruler. Radau was citing Rawlinson III R. 4, No. 2. The lowest possible date permitted to coincide with the biblical chronology would be to put Tikulti-NIN.IB so that the 10th year is the 1st year of ^mŠagarakti(-Šuriaš). The campaign over Babylon is normally placed either in 702 BCE or 689 BCE. Sargon took Babylon according to scholars like Olmstead et al in 710 BCE. However, Olmstead admitted that he is not sure about it since there are conflicts in the texts as a result of this dating. The solution of the 9th of palu and 11th of palu dating placed that year in 713 BCE. It is the next year that Babylon was taken by Sargon and that would be in 712 BCE. Three years in Babylon would let Sargon return in 710 BCE. He would have placed his son Sennacherib, who by now was associated with his father, as one can see from the letters he wrote to his father during his stay at Babylon, on the throne instead of his father. Sennacherib could have referred to 702 BCE as the starting year for the calculation of the 600 years to an event around the time of Tikulti-NIN.IB but dating to 1302 BCE. What is not clear about this text is whether the 600 years are associated with the time Tikulti-NIN-IB took it from Babylon or whether it is dated to the later time when someone took it from Assyria to Babylon.³³ This second option seems more viable. Sennacherib seems to imply this in his text reproduced below. If the date is in 702 it is 1302 and if it is in 689, it is in 1289. The explanation is given when one considers the data analysis of J. Brinkman

³¹ K2673 was published by Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* Vol. III plate 4 No. 2 and translations of it were given by G. Smith, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* I page 71 and *Records of the Past* Vol. V page 85f. Schader, *Keilinschriften Biblischen* I page 10f. and Sayce, *Records of the Past* (New Series) V, page IX plus note. The text here is that of L. W. King, pages 106-109. http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/eos/eos_page.pl?DPI=100&callnum=PJ3835.B85_cop2&object=74; also =75 and =76 at the end of this link is a presentation of the text. E. A. Wallis Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the kings of Assyria. The cuneiform texts with translations, transliterations, etc., from the original documents in the British Museum* (London: Printed by order of the Trustees, 1902), pp. 14-16.

³² The article by M. Yamada about Tukulti-Ninurta I is unfortunately done with the short-chronology reckoning that is very popular these days. His dating followed many other scholars who allocated him to 1233-1197 BCE (see for example J. Llop-Radau, "The Development of the Middle Assyrian Provinces," *Altorientalische Forschungen, Akademie Verlag* 39/1 (2012): 87-111, especially page 87 that indicated that the chronology of the Assyrian period is still "imprecise"). One shortcoming of the article is that none of the texts cited by Yamada mentioned Tukulti-Ninurta explicitly, except the fragmentary nature of a Hittite letter KBo XVIII 25 (+) XXXI 69, that does mention the name of Tukulti-Ninurta in the obverse line 2: "mGIŠ.TUKUL-ti-^dIB-u[š]" (M. Yamada, "The second military conflict between 'Assyria' and 'Ḫatti' in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1/2011 (Vol. 105), p. 199-220, at footnote 46. URL : www.cairn.info/revue-d-assyriologie-2011-1-page-199.htm. DOI : 10.3917/assy.105.0199). Much of the discussion of, not only Yamada but all scholars listed by him, are done "between the lines of the text" and not "in the text". All who opt for the short chronology stand under the obligation to reject the *Distanzangaben* of Nabonidus and Sennacherib as "educated guesses" or "round numbers", to use King, Brinkman et al's jargon.

³³ J. Brinkman 1976: 8-9 footnote 5 at note 6 accepted that Sennacherib recaptured it but Sennacherib can only recapture it taking it at Babylon if someone took it from Tukulti-NIN.IB of Assyria and brought it there some time after Tukulti-NIN.IB. A revolt is reported after the reign of Tukulti-NIN.IB and that king ruled 30 years so that the time from Sennacherib plus 600 years would fall in the time of this king who brought the seal with Tukulti-NIN.IB's inscription to Babylon during that time. It is from Babylon that Sennacherib brought it back. That is explicitly what Sennacherib said in line 4 of K2673 "This seal the enemy carried away from Assyria to Akkad". Line 4 ^{abnu}kunukku an-nu-u ištū ^{mātu}Aššur ana ^{mātu}Akkadū gar-ri ik-ta-din.

describing the kings of Kinglist A: when Tukulti-NIN.IB took over he reigned for 7 years. It would bring the date down to 1327 if 7 years are considered but 1325 if 9 years are considered. The revolt against Tukulti-NIN.IB occurred before they put Adad-šuma-ušur, which is indicated by the Kinglist A as 9 years³⁴ and not 7. S. Yamada (2003) indicated that W. Röllig and J. Brinkman explained that there is a difference between the Assyrian Kinglist and the Babylonian Kinglist A seen here reproduced. Yamada mentioned that scholars are wondering why Tukulti-NIN.IB are not mentioned on the Babylonian Kinglist A. The years $1.5 + 1.5 + 6 = 9$ which is the years when Tukulti-NIN.IB was in control until the revolt came.³⁵



L. W. King Pages 106-109.

Obverse

5. ana-ku^{m d} Sin-aḫē^{meš}-erba šar^{mātu} Aššur

6. ina 600 šanāti^{meš} Bâb-ili akšud(ud)-ma

7. ištu makkur Bâb-ili us-si-ši-aš-šu

Edge: makkur Ša-ga-ra-ak-ti-Šur-ia-aš šar kiššati

Reverse

1. ^dTukulti-Ninib šar kiššati apil^{itu} Šulmânu(nu)-[ašaridu] šar^{mātu} Aššur

³⁴ For evidence recently of a probable 9th year for Tukulti-NIN.IB see J. Llop-Radua, "The Development of the Middle Assyrian Provinces," *Altorientalische Forschungen, Akademie Verlag* 39/1 (2012): 87-111, especially 97 footnote 60 where Llop-Radua mentioned that he made comments on MARV 4, 117 that there was possibly a year 9 for this king.

³⁵ This view of the vassals considered to be presenting the simultaneous time of Tukulti-NIN.IB's rule over Babylon was also the view of Brinkman 1976: 20ff.; Wiseman 1975: 443; (see S. Yamada 2003: 154 at footnote 6).

Translation:

Obverse

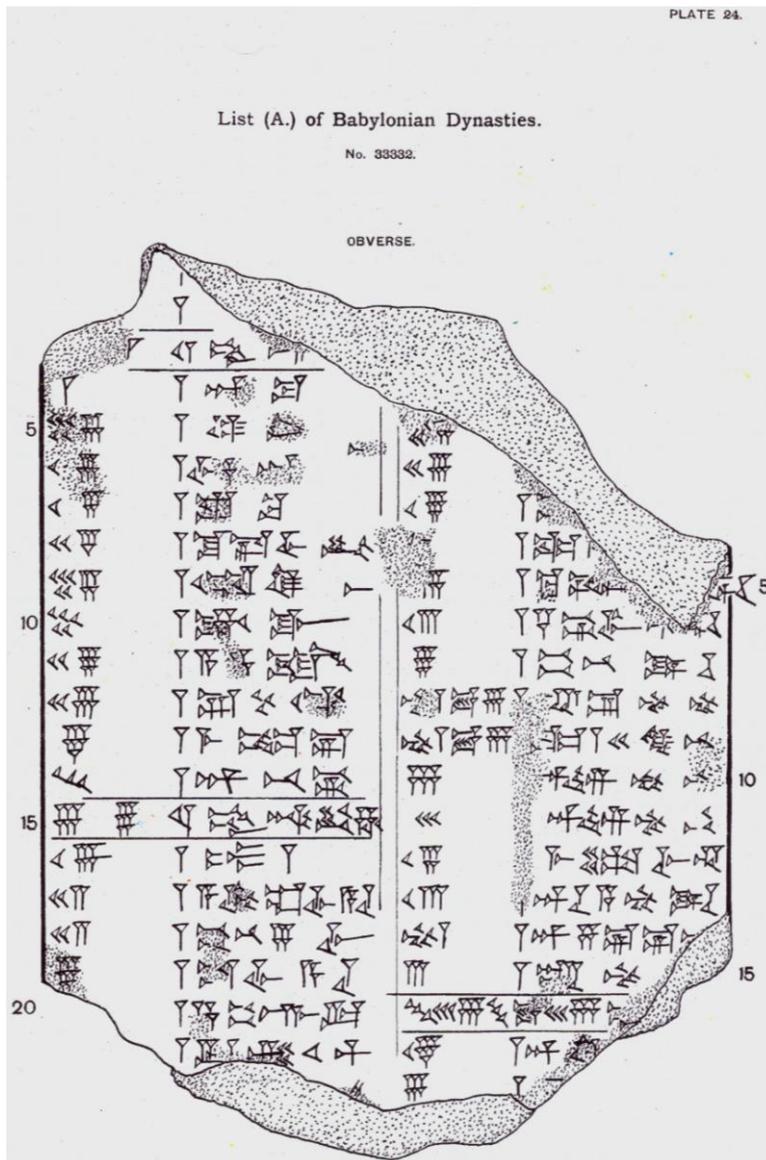
5. But I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria
6. after six hundred years, conquered Babylon,
7. and from the spoil of Babylon I brought it forth.

Edge

“Property of Šagarakti-Šuriaš, king of hosts”

Reverse

1. “Tukulti-Ninib, king of hosts, son of Šalman[eser], king of the land of Assur



Kinglist A³⁶ is discussed by J. Brinkman in 1976 and on page 21 is a translation:

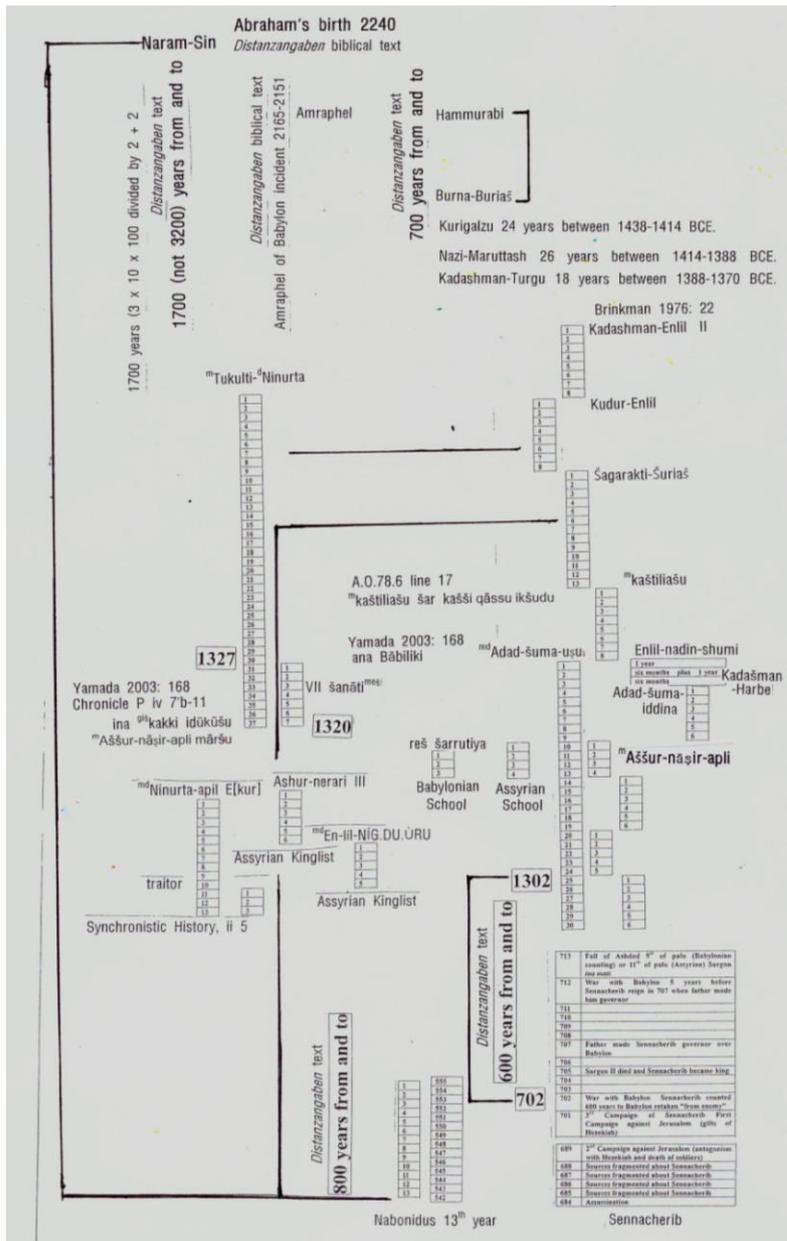
³⁶ E. A. Wallis Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &C., in the British Museum Part XXXVI* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), plate 24.

King 27 is in Col II

line 6 “13 ^mŠagarakti(-Šuriaš)
 line 7 8 ^mKaštil (iašu)
 line 8 MU ITU 6 ^mENlil-nādin-šumi
 line 9 MU ITU 6 ^[m]Kadašman-Ḫarbe
 line 10 6 ^[m]Adad-šumu-iddina
 line 11 30 ^[m]Adad- šumu-ušur”

Translation: line 6 “13 (th year of) ^mŠagarakti(-Šuriaš)
 line 7 8 (th year of) ^mKaštil (iašu)
 line 8 (1) year month 6 ^mENlil-nādin-šumi
 line 9 (1) year month 6 ^[m]Kadašman-Ḫarbe
 line 10 6 (th year of) ^[m]Adad-šumu-iddina
 line 11 30 (th year of) ^[m]Adad-šumu-ušur”

Diagram to illustrate the harmonization of *Distanzangaben* with history and biblical chronology



The key to the understanding of Sennacherib's 600 years *Distanzangabe* may be found in texts presented conveniently by S. Yamada in 2003. The data is very helpful although the reconstruction of chronology of Yamada may wait a while. Yamada considered the texts related to the timing of the reconquest of Babylon by Adad-šumu-ušur (S. Yamada 2003: 166). He listed nine points summarizing his view and especially point 9 is extremely valuable since it provides, according to this researcher, the key to the starting date of the 600 years. Yamada concluded after reviewing the Chronicle 25 line 4 and the Synchronistic History ii 3-8 that "after the assassination of ^mTukulti-^dNinurta, northern Babylonia still continued to be ruled by Assyrian governors during the reigns of ^mTukulti-^dNinurta's three successors, i.e. Ashur-nadin-apli (3/4 years), Ashur-nerari III (6 years), and Enlil-kudurri-ušur ruled over the southern part of Babylonia, and gradually extended his control northward, fortifying Nippur and waiting for an opportunity to recover the remaining part of Babylonia." The only problem

is that the texts do not indicate that the takeover was gradual but came with the defecting of Ninurta-apil-Ekur maybe in his year 10 (see diagram) and the end of the life of Enlil-kudurri-ušur. That time would have been the 25th year of Adad-šumu-ušur. It appears that the life and work of Adad-šumu-ušur spanned 30 years (S. Yamada 2003: 154) from the day in 1327 BCE when ^mTukulti-^dNinurta took Babylon until about 5 years beyond the day he took Babylon back again in 1302 BCE (this researcher's own reconstruction). The *Distanzangabe* of Sennacherib spans to this day in 1302 BCE which is the day in Sennacherib's text line 4 of K2673: "this seal the enemy carried away from Assyria to Akkad". The enemy of Sennacherib (an Assyrian) will be Adad-šumu-ušur (a Babylonian). The list between Burna-Buriaš and Adad-šumu-ušur can be seen in the reduplicated cuneiform text supra. Burna-Buriaš is the other *Distanzangaben* that spans to Nabonidus and a further one from Burna-Buriaš spanning to Hammurabi I.