

THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST FROM KHORSABAD—*Concluded**

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THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION*

Official Reign

Limmu Period

1. Tudia
2. Adamu
3. Iangi
4. Kirišamu
5. Harharu
6. Mandaru
7. Imšu
8. Haršu
9. Didānu
10. Hanū
11. Zuabu
12. Nuabu
13. Abāzu
14. Tiliū
15. Ašarab
16. Ušpia
17. Apiašal, son of Ušpia
18. Halū,¹ son of Apiašal
19. Samānu, son of Halū¹
20. Ha(i)ānu, son of Samānu
21. Ilu-Mer, son of Ha(i)ānu
22. Iakmesi, son of Ilu-Mer
23. Iakmeni, son of Iakmesi

* With corrections and additions from contemporary sources. The notes accompanying this list appear at the end of the list.

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—*Continued*

	Official Reign	Limmu Period
24. Iazkur-ilu, son of Iakmeni		
25. Ilu-kapkapi, son of Iazkur-ilu		
26. Aminu, son of Ilu-kapkapi		
27. Sulili, son of Aminu		
28. Kikkia		
29. Akia		
30. Puzur-Aššūr I		
31. Šallim-aḫḫē, ² son of Puzur-Aššūr I		
32. Iluṣumma, son of Šallim-aḫḫē		-1853
33. Ērišu I, son of Iluṣumma	40	1852-1813
34. Ikṫnu, son of Ērišu I		1812-
35. Šarru-ḫin, son of Ikṫnu		
36. Puzur-Aššūr II, son of Šarru-ḫin I		
37. Narām-Sin, son of Puzur-Aššūr II		
38. Ērišu II, son of Narām-Sin		-1727
39. Šamši-Adad I, son of Ilu-kapkapi	33	1726-1694
40. Išme-Dagān, son of Šamši-Adad I	40	1693-1654
41. Aššūr-dugul, son of a "nobody"	6	1653-1648
42. Aššūr-apla-idi, son of a nobody	0	1648
43. Našir-Sin, son of a nobody	0	1648
44. Sin-namir, son of a nobody	0	1648
45. Ipqi-Ištar, son of a nobody	0	1648
46. Adad-ṣalṭūlu, son of a nobody	0	1648
47. Adasi, son of a nobody	0	1648
48. Bēlu-bāni, son of Adasi	10	1647-1638
49. Libajju	17	1637-1621
50. Šarma-Adad I	12	1620-1609
51. ĒN-TAR-Sin, son of Šarma-Adad I	12	1608-1597
52. Bazzajju, son of Bēlu-bāni	28	1596-1569
53. Lullajju, son of a nobody	6	1568-1563
54. Šū-Ninua, son of Bazzajju	14	1562-1549
55. Šarma-Adad II, son of Šū-Ninua	3	1548-1546
56. Ērišu III, son of Šū-Ninua	13	1545-1533
57. Šamši-Adad II, son of Ērišu III	6	1532-1527
58. Išme-Dagān II, son of Šamši-Adad II	16	1526-1511
59. Šamši-Adad III, son of Išme-Dagān, son of Šū-Ninua	16	1510-1495
60. Aššūr-nerāri I, son of Išme-Dagān II	26	1494-1469
61. Puzur-Aššūr III, son of Aššūr-nerāri I	14 ³	1468-1455
62. Enlil-nāšir I, son of Puzur-Aššūr III	13	1454-1442
63. Nūr-ili, son of Enlil-nāšir I	12	1441-1430
64. Aššūr-šadūni, son of Nūr-ili	0 ⁴	1430
65. Aššūr-rabi I, son of Enlil-nāšir I	0	1430
66. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I, son of Aššūr-rabi I ⁵	0	1430
67. Enlil-nāšir II, son of Aššūr-rabi ⁶	6	1429-1424

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—*Continued*

		Official Reign	Limmu Period
68. Aššūr-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-rabi I ⁷	7	1423-1417	
69. Aššūr-bēl-nišešu, son of Adad-nerāri II	9	1416-1408	
70. Aššūr-rīm-nišešu, son of Adad-nerāri II ⁸	8	1407-1400	
71. Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē, II, son of Aššūr-rīm-nišešu	10	1399-1390	
72. Erība-Adad I, son of Aššūr-bēl-nišešu	27	1389-1363	
73. Aššūr-uballiṭ I, son of Erība-Adad I	36	1362-1327	
74. Enlil-nerāri, son of Aššūr-uballiṭ I	10	1326-1317	
75. Arik-dēn-ili, son of Enlil-nerāri	12	1316-1305	
76. Adad-nerāri I, son of Arik-dēn-ili ⁹	32	1304-1273	
77. Šulmānu-ašarēd I, son of Adad-nerāri I	30	1272-1243	
78. Tukulti-Ninurta I, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd I	37	1242-1206	
79. Aššūr-nādin-apli, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I	3 ¹⁰	1205-1203	
80. Aššūr-nerāri III, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apli ¹¹	6	1202-1197	
81. Enlil-kudurra-ušur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta I	5	1196-1192	
82. Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Nabû-dān	13 ¹²	1191-1179	
83. Aššūr-dān I, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur	46	1178-1133	
84. Ninurta-tukulti-Aššūr, son of Aššūr-dān I	0	1133	
85. Mutakkil-Nusku, son of Aššūr-dān I	0	1133	
86. Aššūr-rēša-iši I, son of Mutakkil-Nusku	18	1132-1115	
87. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I, son of Aššūr-rēša-iši I	39	1114-1076	
88. Ašarēd-apil-Ekur, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	2	1075-1074	2 ¹³ 1074-1073
89. Aššūr-bēl-kala, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	18	1073-1056	1072-
90. Erība-Adad II, son of Aššūr-bēl-kala	2	1055-1054	
91. Šamši-Adad IV, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra I	4	1053-1050	- 1049
92. Aššūr-nāšir-apil I, son of Šamši-Adad IV	19	1049-1031	19 ¹⁴ 1048-1030
93. Šulmānu-ašarēd II, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apil I	12	1030-1019	12 ¹⁴ 1029-1018
94. Aššūr-nerāri IV, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd II	6	1018-1013	6 ¹⁴ 1017-1012
95. Aššūr-rabi II, son of Aššūr-nāšir-apil I	41	1012-972	1011-
96. Aššūr-rēša-iši II, son of Aššūr-rabi II	5	971-967	

THE KINGS OF ASSYRIA ACCORDING TO THE KING-LIST TRADITION—*Continued*

	Official Reign		Limmu Period	
97. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II, son of Aššūr-rēša-iši II	32	966-935 ¹⁵	33 ¹⁶	965-933 ¹⁶
98. Aššūr-dān II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra II	23	934-912		
99. Adad-nerāri II, son of Aššūr-dān II	21	911-891		-890
100. Tukulti-Ninurta II, son of Adad-nerāri II	7	890-884	7 ¹⁷	889-883
101. Aššūr-nāṣir-apli II, son of Tukulti-Ninurta II	25	883-859	25 ¹⁸	882-858
102. Šulmānu-ašarēd III, son of Aššūr-nāṣir-apli II	35	858-824	35 ¹⁹	857-823
103. Šamši-Adad V, son of Šulmānu-ašarēd III	13	823-811	13	822-810
104. Adad-nerāri III, son of Šamši-Adad V	28	810-783	28 ²⁰	809-782
105. Šulmānu-ašarēd IV, son of Adad-nerāri III	10	782-773	10	781-772
106. Aššūr-dān III, son of Adad-nerāri III	18	772-755	18	771-754
107. Aššūr-nerāri V, son of Adad-nerāri III	10	754-745 ²¹	10 ²²	753-744 ²²
108. Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III, son of Adad-nerāri III	18 ²³	744-727 ²³	20 ²⁴	743-724 ²⁴
109. Šulmānu-ašarēd V, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III	5	726-722	4 ²⁵	723-720 ²⁵
110. Šarrukīn II, son of Tukulti-apil-Ešarra III ²⁶	17	721-705	32 ²⁷	719-688 ²⁷
111. Sīn-aḫḫē-erība, son of Šarrukīn II	24 ²⁸	704-681	38+x ²⁹	687-650-x ²⁹
112. Aššūr-aḫa-iddina, son of Sīn-aḫḫē-erība	12	680-669	—	—
113. Aššūr-bāni-apli, son of Aššūr-aḫa-iddina	36(+x) ³⁰	668-633(-x) ³⁰	—	—
114. Aššūr-etel-ilāni, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli ³¹	4(+y) ³²	632(-x)-629(-x-y)		
115. Sīn-šumu-lišir ³³	0(+z?) ³⁴			
116. Sīn-šarra-iškun, son of Aššūr-bāni-apli	7-x+5 ³⁵	(x+)-623-612 ³⁶		
117. Aššūr-uballiṭ II ³⁷	4 ³⁷ (+y?)	611-608 ³⁷ (-y) ^{37, 38}		

NOTES TO LIST OF KINGS

1. King list (Khorsabad): ʾa-lē (apparently genitive form).
2. Inscriptions: Ša-lim-a-bu-um.
3. Preserved only in Nassouhi list.
4. King list: 1 month.
5. Probable, but the Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē's genealogy, has only *mār aš-i[ur-...]*.
6. The Khorsabad list, to date the only source for Enlil-nāṣir II's genealogy, has *aḫa-iš*, "his (= Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I's) brother." On Aššūr-nādin-aḫḫē I's father, see preceding note.
7. So according to inscriptions of Aššūr-rim-niše'u, Erība-Adad I, and Aššūr-uballiṭ I. The Khorsabad list erroneously makes Aššūr-nerāri II the son (instead of the brother) of his predecessor Enlil-nāṣir.

8. So according to Aššūr-rim-nīšēu's own inscription. King list erroneously: "son (instead of brother) of Aššūr-bēl-nīšēu."

9. So according to Adad-nerāri I's own inscriptions and the Nassouhi list. Khorsabad list erroneously: "brother of Arik-dēn-ili."

10. Nassouhi list: 4.

11. Nassouhi list: son of Aššūr-nādin-apli.

12. So Nassouhi list; Khorsabad list: 3.

13. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 3 (period summary).

14. *Ibid.*, col. 4 (period summary).

15. End of Nassouhi list.

16. KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 5 (period summary).

17. Concluded from inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta plus Canon II; Canon II (evidently by mistake omitting one limmu): 6.

18. So according to Canons I plus II; KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 6 (period summary), probably omitting one limmu: 24.

19. Rm. 580 omits the 6th limmu. Canon I divides Šulmānu-ašarēd III's limmu period into a first period of 30 years (857-828) and a second of 5 years (827-823).

20. Canon III, owing to the insertion of a supernumerary limmu, probably enumerated 29 limmu's.

21. End of Khorsabad list.

22. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary), Canon III and Canon II. Canon I and the eponym chronicles: 8 (753-746).

23. So according to the old traditional system of counting the regnal years. According to Tukulti-apli-Ešarra's own counting (including his accession year): 19 (745-727).

24. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8; Canon III; and apparently Canon II. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 18 (745-728).

25. So KAVI, No. 21 ff., col. 8 (period summary) and Canon III. The eponym chronicles and Canon I: 5 (727-723).

26. So according to the fayence plaque of Šarrukīn, published by Unger in Publications des Musées d'Antiquités de Stamboul IX.

27. So evidently KAVI, No. 21 ff., cols. 8 and 9 (period summary) and Canon III. Canon I (and evidently also Canon II and the eponym chronicles): 17 (722-706). Canon IV probably 17 (723-707).

28. According to another system found in several business documents with double datings: 25 (705-681) or rather 24 (705-682).

29. Canon I and evidently Canon II and 82-5-22, 121:24 (705-682); Canon IV: probably 24 (704-681).

30. To date, the latest tablets from Aššūr-bāni-apli's reign—as far as I know—are Krückmann, NRVt (1933), No. 132, dated: *Nippurki* *u-17-KAM MU-36-KAM* *AN-ŠAR-bāni-apli šar kiššati*, and No. 13, dated: *Nippurki* *u-17-KAM MU-36-KAM* *AN-ŠAR-bāni-apli šar kiššati*. Other tablets from Nippur dated in the 26th (Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 1), the 31st (Contenu, TC XII, No. 5), the 32 (+ . . .) (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, No. 36) and the 34(?)th year (*ibid.*, No. 37). The utmost limit for *x* would be 5 years (see n. 35).

31. According to KAVI, No. 182, col. 4, 1, 7, immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli.

32. To date, the latest tablet from Aššūr-etel-ilāni's reign is Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 5, dated: *Nippurki* *u-1-KAM MU-4-KAM* *Aššūr* (=AN-ŠAR)-*etel* (=NIR-GAL)-*ilāni*, *šar māt Aššur*. Other tablets from Nippur are dated in the 2d (Clay, *op. cit.*, Nos. 4 and 6) and the 3d year (Krückmann, *op. cit.*, Nos. 104 and 38; cf. also No. 35, l. 11, for which see n. 34). The utmost limit for *y* would be 5 years (see n. 35). Unfortunately BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated in the accession year of Sin-šumu-līšir omits the month in the date and therefore can give us no hint—by means of a comparison with BE VIII 1, No. 5, which is dated in the first day of the 8th month of Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year—as to whether this year could have been the last year of Aššūr-etel-ilāni. Nor is it possible to calculate a sufficiently definite date from the fact that in the contract delivery of sheep in the month of Ullūlu is stipulated. Possibly the contract was made in the year preceding that in which delivery was to be made; in this case the contract could have been made in any of the seven months from Ullūlu to Adar of the year in which Sin-šumu-līšir ascended the throne. Note that TC XII, No. 14, is dated in the 11th month of Sin-šarra-līkun's accession year, and that, if Aššūr-etel-ilāni's 4th year actually should be his last, and furthermore should be identical with Sin-šarra-līkun's accession year, the reign of Sin-šumu-līšir, as it is attested to date, could well have covered part of the time between the 8th and the 11th month.

33. To date, the only evidence for Sin-šumu-līšir as king of Aššūr is the New York Metropolitan Museum tablet, Clay, BE VIII 1, No. 141, dated (with omission of the month): *Nippurki* *u-13-KAM MU-SAG-NAM-LUGAL-LA* *14 Sin-šumu-līšir* (=XXX-MU-SI-ŠA) *šar māt Aššur*. His position between Aššūr-etel-ilāni and Sin-šarra-līkun (both sons of Aššūr-bāni-apli) follows from the simple deliberation that if he belongs in this period there is no other place for him than between the two kings just referred to. The donation documents of Aššūr-etel-ilāni, Johns, ADD, Nos. 649 and 650, show that a Sin-šumu-līšir (=XXX-MU-SI-ŠA and XXX-MU-ŠA)—who by his paternal care for the young prince as well as by his political and military activity (perhaps he was even instrumental in bringing about the king's accession to the throne) had deserved well of Aššūr-etel-ilāni and for this reason had acquired his special favor—at that time was an eminent personage in Assyria. It is therefore extremely likely that this Sin-šumu-līšir and the king Sin-šumu-līšir are identical. For this reason—as well as because according to the synchronistic king list KAVI, No. 182, Aššūr-etel-ilāni was the immediate successor of Aššūr-bāni-apli—he can have become king of Assyria only after Aššūr-etel-ilāni. On the other hand no king of Assyria could have been recognized as ruler in the Babylonian city Nippur after Sin-šarra-līkun, since in the last year of this king's reign (612) Nineveh and Assyria proper were conquered and since in that year the seat

of the Assyrian kingdom was removed to Harrân. Moreover, Assyrian domination over southern Babylonia (Uruk and Nippur) must already have come to an end before 616, the year with which the chronicle published by Gadd begins. Also note that there is no inscriptional evidence that Sin-šarra-iškun was the immediate successor of Aššūr-etel-ilâni.

34. In the absence of any pertinent evidence it is, of course, impossible to say whether Sin-šumu-lišir's reign extended beyond his accession year or whether he ruled only a short time—possibly only one or several months or even a few days—within that year. At least an indication that Sin-šumu-lišir's reign lasted only a short time may be seen in the fact that the tablet Krückmann, NRVt, No. 35, enumerates four silver claims dating from the 2d year of Sin-šarra-iškun, one claim dating from Sin-šarra-iškun's accession year and one claim dating from the 3d year of Aššūr-etel-ilâni (AN-ŠAR-NIR-DINGIR-MEŠ).

35. To date the latest certain Sin-šarra-iškun date is that of the tablet King, ZA IX, 396 ff.: "Uruk TC XII, No. 16: Uruk U-12-KAM MU-7-KAM Sin-šarra-iškun-ur (XXX-LUGAL-GAR-UR) šar (=) (Aš)-šur. The date of Contenau TC XII, No. 16: Uruk U-12-KAM MU-21-KAM Sin-šarra-iškun (XXX-LUGAL-GAR) cannot be correct, since even in case Aššūr-bāni-apli ruled only 36 years (until 633) and Aššūr-etel-ilâni ruled only 4 years (until 629), the period left for Sin-šarra-iškun's reign, of which we know that it ended in 612, would extend over no more than 17 years. Since all other Sin-šarra-iškun tablets, all of which come from Babylonia, are dated within the years 0-7—in addition to ZA IX, 396 ff., cf. the Uruk tablet, TC XII, No. 14: Year 0; the Sippar tablets, VS VI, No. 2, and Everts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach etc.*, Appendix, No. 1: Year 2; and the Nippur tablets, Krückmann, NRVt, Nos. 39 and 35: Year 2 (in the latter text also references to Aššūr-etel-ilâni, Year 3, and Sin-šarra-iškun, Year 0); TC XII, No. 15: Year 5, and Krückmann, *op. cit.*, Nos. 41 and 42: Year 6—the 21 of TC XII, No. 16, may perhaps be misread for 3.

The 7 years attested for Sin-šarra-iškun in Babylonia must be prior to 616 (=10th year of Nabû-apla-ušur), since judging from the events related in Gadd's chronicle for the years 616-612 the Assyrians had no longer any foothold in Babylonia during these 5 years. Sin-šarra-iškun's reign therefore lasted at least 12 years (=7+5). The most extreme limit for x would be 5 years (628-624), namely, in case no additional regnal years are to be added to the known reigns of Aššūr-bāni-apli (=x), Aššūr-etel-ilâni (=y), and Sin-šumu-lišir (=z).

36. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, Pls. 1 ff., ll. 38 ff.: End of Sin-šarra-iškun's reign in the 14th year of Nabû-apla-ušur (=612).

37. According to Gadd's assumption, which is followed above, Aššūr-uballiṣ was the immediate successor of Sin-šarra-iškun. Gadd therefore supplies his name in l. 49 of his chronicle before the words (in l. 50): "In the city of Harrân as king of Aššūr ascended the throne." It is strange, however, that if Aššūr-uballiṣ's accession to the throne was related already in the section reporting the events of 612, he should be referred to in l. 60, in the section relating the events of 610 (=Nabû-apla-ušur's 16th year), as "A[š]-šur-uballiṣ-šir šar ina māt aš-šur ina aš-šur u-šir-bi," "Aššūr-uballiṣ, who had ascended the throne in the land Aššūr." Instead of simply as "king of Aššūr," as he actually is referred to in the immediately following section which relates the events of 609. As long as we have no ambiguous evidence, it may therefore be advisable to keep in mind that the king who according to ll. 49 f. in 612 ascended the Assyrian throne in Harrân perhaps may not have been Aššūr-uballiṣ but another Assyrian nobleman. If this should turn out to be correct, the list would end as follows:

117.	1	611
118. Aššūr-uballiṣ II	3 (+z?)	610-608(-z)

38. Gadd, *op. cit.*, ll. 53 ff. (15th year of Nabû-apla-ušur); ll. 58 ff. (16th year); ll. 16 ff. (17th year), and l. 76, catchline for the next tablet (18th year). Note, however, that we know nothing about the contents of the section on Nabû-apla-ušur's 18th year and that therefore it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that Aššūr-uballiṣ still occupied the throne in 608.