The Chronology of the Reign of Ashurbanipal

By A. K. Grayson

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The chronology of the reign of Ashurbanipal is still one of the more uncertain areas in Neo-Assyrian history and yet one of the most crucial. Since George Smith's History of Ashurbanipal (1871) three major studies of the subject, by Johns (1902—1907),[1] Streck (1916),[2] and Weissbach (1928),[3] have been presented but in the half century since the last mentioned article a number of new sources and publications which bear on the chronology have appeared and the time is ripe for a new synthesis.[4] The problems surrounding Kandalanu and the date of the end of Ashurbanipal's reign belong more to Babylonian than Assyrian history and, since they have been the object of intensive interest in recent years, they may be excluded from this enquiry.[5]

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[1] PSBA 24 (1902), pp. 235—241; 25 (1903), pp. 82—89; 27 (1905), pp. 92—100, 288—296; 29 (1907), pp. 74—84.

[2] Streck, Asb. 1, pp. CCXXXIV—CCXXXVIII

[3] RLA 1, pp. 203f.

[4] Relevant new sources will be referred to as necessity arises in this article. Relevant special studies are: Piepkorn, Asb. (1933); Aynard, Asb. (1957); Tadmor, Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Orientalists' Congress in Moscow in 1960 (Moscow, 1962) pp. 240f.; Brinkman, Or. n.s. 34 (1965), pp. 241—258; Brinkman, Or. n.s. 38 (1969), pp. 335—348; Dietrich, Aramäer (1970) and cf. Brinkman, Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 304—325; K. A. Kitchen, The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (Warminster, 1973) §§ 353—360; Weippert, WO 7 (1973), pp. 39—85; Spalinger, Or. n.s. 43 (1974), pp. 295—326; Spalinger, JAOS 94 (1974), pp. 316—328; Spalinger, JARCE 13 (1976), pp. 133—147; Cogan and Tadmor, Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 65—85; Spalinger, JAOS 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.

In this study I have avoided a pedantic documentation of everyone's opinion on every date, particularly in cases where the opinion is simply out-of-date, and only in matters of wide discrepancy will there be some discussion of other views. The dates for the various editions of the annals in the brief outline published by Tadmor, op. cit., have been accepted here as preferable to those implied by Falkner, in her study of the post-canonical eponyms in AfO 17 (1954—56), pp. 100—120.

[5] Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), pp. 35—46; Borger, WZKM 55 (1959), pp. 62—76; Borger, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 59—78; J. Oates, Iraq 27 (1965), pp. 135—159; von Soden, ZA 58 (1967), pp. 241—255; Rost, FB 10 (1968), pp. 39—62; Reade, JCS 23 (1970), pp. 1—9.

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The present article is essentially a synthesis which builds upon the work of many scholars, incorporating new texts and studies in an attempt to reconstruct the best possible chronology of Ashurbanipal's reign on the basis of our current knowledge.[6] Emphasis is on military and political affairs although building projects and cultic matters will be mentioned.

The reason that this is such a problematic area is the fact that chronologically oriented sources for Ashurbanipal are singularly sparse. There is no eponym chronicle for the entire reign; the eponym list breaks off at 649; no Babylonian chronicles are preserved beyond 667; and the chronological confusion is compounded by Ashurbanipal's "annals". In the text of the annals no eponyms are quoted for events but rather the campaigns are numbered in order of their appearance in the narrative and since the order of appearance is often different in the various editions, the number of the same campaign is often different.[7] The designation "campaign" is also misleading for several expeditions or military incidents are commonly included under what is introduced as one campaign. The sequence of events in the narrative is unreliable for campaigns are arranged primarily along geographical rather than chronological lines. In other words Ashurbanipal's "annals" are not true Assyrian annals at all; rather they are a cross between the annals and display texts.[8] Given these difficulties, how is one to reconstruct a chronology?

A crucial first step is the correct arrangement and dating of the editions of the annals dated by eponyms of the "post-canonical" period, a matter which has been studied by Tadmor and whose conclusions are accepted in this paper.[9] Beyond this one must re-examine

[6] I am grateful to Dr. G. Frame, Dr. J. Reade, and Prof. H. Tadmor, for reading a draft of this article and offering me their opinions of which I took cognizance in writing the final draft. They are, of course, not responsible for any statements in this article.

[7] Even the phrase *ina rēš šarrūti* is only a general term for the early part of the reign and not the *terminus technicus* for "accession year". This is illustrated in Edition F (Aynard, Asb. pp. 30—33 i 35—51) where the last campaign against the Egyptians is introduced by *ina rēš šarrūti*. There is, of course, usually an eponym date after the concluding formulae of each exemplar of an edition.

[8] For studies of the interrationships of the annals and the method of compilation see Olmstead, Historiography pp. 53—59 and the works cited above in n. 4 by Piepkorn, Aynard, Spalinger, Cogan and Tadmor to which add Cogan, JCS 29 (1977), pp. 97—107.

[9] Cf. above n. 4.

all the evidence in order to present a practical system of dates for the period. In this study the detailed documentation will be relegated to appendices so that the reader may follow the main argument without tediously working through all the evidence unless he chooses to do so.

Briefly, Appendix A sets forth the firm dates of the reign, the dates derived from Babylonian chronicles, oracle texts, astronomical observations, and everyday documents. Appendix B presents the evidence for the dates of the beginning and end of the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin, these being crucial for the identification of the regnal years of Shamash-shuma-ukin in the chronicles. Appendix C contains a list, in alphabetical order, of major incidents included in Ashurbanipal's annals; each is given an abbreviation, brief bibliography, and summary of contents. The abbreviations will facilitate discussion for one need only mention "Arabs 1" or "Arwad 2" without further documentation. It is to be stressed that most of these major incidents can be dissected into a number of parts and have internal chronological problems of their own. This has been amply illustrated in special studies (cited below) of the Egyptian campaigns by Spalinger, the Arab campaigns by Eph'al and Weippert, and the Gyges of Lydia narrative by Cogan, Tadmor and Spalinger. Such investigations, of which more are needed, are beyond the scope of this paper wherein only the date of the core of the incident is sought in order to establish a practical outline of the chronology of the reign.

Appendix D deals with the problem of the date of the first campaign to Egypt during Ashurbanipal's reign. In Appendix E are listed the dates of the editions of the annals. Appendix F is a brief discussion of the sequence of events in the annals and illustrates that the sequence is geographically rather than chronologically oriented.

The task of the present discussion, then, is to weave together all of the information and argumentation set forth in the appendices and to conclude with a chronological table of the events of Ashurbanipal's reign. A word about the method of citing Gregorian dates in this article is appropriate at this point. Technically all dates should be given double numerals (e.g. 648/47) to reflect more properly the correspondence with the Gregorian calendar but the method is cumbersome and has been generally avoided. Nor has any attempt been made to equate the months and days given in the sources with modern months and days since our ignorance of the use of the intercalary month in the Assyrian calendar prevents us from making such equations.

To begin in the middle, the dates of the Shamas-shuma-ukin Rebellion are 652 to 648. [illegible] erupted late in 652 (x/19) and was not fully

suppressed until at least the middle of the fourth month of 648, according to the firm dates listed in Appendix A.[10] This event is a convenient fixed point from which to work out the chronology. Turning back to the early part of the reign, "Arwad 1" (Yakinlu submits to Ashurbanipal) must have occurred about 667 just before or in connection with the first Egyptian campaign since Arwad is listed in "Egypt 1" (in Edition C) among the kingdoms which provided troops and in "Arwad 1" it is stated that Yakinlu of Arwad had not previously been a subject of Assyria.

In the period after the first Egyptian campaign (667) and before the outbreak of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion (late 652) a number of incidents must be placed, viz. "Egypt 2", "Tyre", "Arwad 2", "Tabal", "Hilakku", "Lydia 1", "Mannaeans", "Medes", "Urartu 1", and "Elam 1—3". The reasons for this conclusion are: 1) They must have a *terminus ante quem* of 649 since they are all included in Editions B and D (see Appendix E); 2) No mention is made in any of the narratives of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion; 3) The major campaigns ("Egypt 2", "Tyre", "Mannaeans", "Medes", "Urartu 1", and "Elam 3") could hardly have been undertaken during the first Egyptian campaign or during thShamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion.

In fact some of the incidents can be dated more precisely within the period 667—652. "Elam 1" concerns the attack of Urtaki on Assyria and, as Walker has demonstrated, it is known that Ashurbanipal (or at least his army) was in Egypt at the time on the first campaign.[11] Thus "Elam 1" dates to 667. In "Elam 2" is narrated the deposition of Urtaki and the flight of Ummanigash, the crown prince, to Assyria and this must be identical, as Millard recognized, with the chronicle entry for 664 (vii/12) regarding the flight of an Elamite prince to Assyria (see Appendix A).[12] "Elam 3" is actually dated, it seems, by a lunar eclipse to 653 (see Appendix A). As to "Lydia 1", Cogan and Tadmor have shown that this must date in or before 665, the lowest possible date for Edition E_1.[13]

Precise dates cannot be assigned to the remaining incidents. In the proposed chronology I have simply listed them in the order in which

[10] Dr. Frame informs me that some documents to be published by Prof. Brinkman are dated in the fifth month. I am grateful to Prof. Brinkman and Dr. Frame for this information.

[11] Bauer, Asb. pp. 56f., Rm. 281. See Walker in Barnett-Asb. p. 6, n. 6.

[12] Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 19.

[13] Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 83f. Cf. Spalinger, JAOS 98 (1978), pp. 401 and 409.

they appear in the annals with a sequence of dates. These dates are really just guesses although there are other considerations which lend them credibility. The incidents regarding voluntary tribute ("Arwad 2", "Tabal", and "Hilakku") would naturally occur after the successful campaigns against Egypt ("Egypt 2") and Tyre just as narrated in the annals.[14]

We have now arrived back at our fixed point, the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion (652—648) and there are some incidents which are closely related to it. "Elam 4" describes Elamite support for the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion and has a *terminus ante quem* of 649 (Editions B and D) so that it should be placed c. 651—650. As to "Arabs 1", although some of the events included in this narrative, such as Yauta's raids in the west, can be dated earlier in the reign the core of the narrative is Qedar's involvement with the Shamsh-shuma-ukin Rebellion which must have occurred c. 650 since it has a *terminus ante quem* of 649 (Editions B and D).[15]

The campaigns described in "Elam 5" and "Elam 6" have the *terminus ante quem* of c. 646 (Edition F). More specifically they must have taken place before the early part of 646 since they should precede the letter of Ummanaldash (iv/26/646) and one exemplar of Edition F is dated ii/—/646. Thus the dates 648 and 647 for "Elam 5" and "Elam 6" respectively are reasonably certain. The month (iii/—) of the beginning of the campaign in "Elam 5" is recorded in Edition A (Streck, Asb. p. 40 iv 110).[16] "Elam 7" and "Elam 8" must have occurred after "Elam 6" and if one accepts the chronological sequence of Edition A, the only edition in which the remaining incidents are narrated, one could arbitrarily assign successive years, viz. "Elam 7" 645, "Arabs 2" 644, and "Elam 8" 643 with "Urartu 2" (gifts from Sardur) also in 643.

[14] This fits the chronology generally adopted by other scholars, including Egyptologists, who date Tandamane's death to 664; the subsequent Assyrian campaign ("Egypt 2") to 664/3; and the capture of Thebes to 663. Cf. Weissbach, RLA 1, p. 204a; Aynard, Asb. p. 18; Spalinger, Or. n.s. 43 (1974), p. 295; Spalinger, JAOS 94 (1974), p. 317b; and Kitchen, Third Intermediate Period § 355.

[15] Cf. Weippert, WO 7 (1973), pp. 69—73; Eph'al, The Nomads on the Border of Palestine in the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods, unpublished thesis submitted to the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1971. Although I have not seen the thesis Dr. Eph'al kindly gave me an abstract for which I am indebted to him.

[16] I am indebted to Dr. G. Frame and Dr. Julian Reade for their advice on this matter.

The date of the death of Gyges ("Lydia 2") must be lower than the traditional date of 652 since it does not appear in any of the Editions except Edition A (c. 643/2).[17] It should be somewhere after c. 646 (Edition F) and before c. 643 and recently Spalinger has presented a cogent argument for a date of 644.[18] The voluntary dispatch to Assyria of gifts narrated in "Cyrus" and "Hudimiru" can be dated shortly after c. 643/2 since these incidents are not found in Edition A but the motive for sending the gifts is said to be an Assyrian victory over Elam, presumably Elam 8. The abortive attacks on Assyria by "Dugdamme" (Lygdamis) should also be placed after c. 643/2 since they are not found in Edition A but before c. 639 since the narrative appears in Edition H.

Proposed Chronology

Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
669	viii/10	Esarhaddon died on the way to Egypt	Appendix A
	ix/—	Ashurbanipal ascended the throne in Assyria	Appendix A
668	i/23	Oracle request: Will Marduk approve of Shamas-shuma-ukin taking his hand?	Appendix A
	ii/—	Marduk and the Babylonian gods left Ashur and entered Babylon	Appendix A
	x/20	Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was executed	Appendix A
	—/—	Shamash-shuma-ukin ascended the throne in Babylonia	Appendix B
	—/—	Kirbitu and its king were captured	Appendix A
667	—/—	"Arwad 1"	Discussion
	—/—	"Egypt 1"	Appendix D
	—/—	"Elam 1"	Discussion
c. 666— 665	—/—	"Lydia 1"	Discussion
c. 666— 663	—/—	"Egypt 2"	Discussion

[17] Cf. Cogan and Tadmor, Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 78f., n. 25.
[18] Spalinger, JAOS 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.

Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
664	vii/12	"Elam 2"	Discussion
c. 662	—/—	"Tyre"	Discussion
	—/—	"Arwad 2", "Tabal", "Hilakku"	Discussion
c. 660	—/—	"Mannaeans"	Discussion
c. 658	—/—	"Medes"	Discussion
c. 657	—/—	"Urartu 1"	Discussion
657	viii/9	Royal decree affecting land holdings of Baltaya	Appendix A
	May 15	Astrologer's report: Cimmerians will overrun the west	Appendix A
655	iii/27	Bed and throne of Marduk to be sent back to Babylon	Appendix A
	vii/—	Wall of Ashur rebuilt	Appendix A
654	—/—	Bed of Marduk returned to Babylon	Appendix A
653	—/—	New chariot of Marduk taken to Babylon	Appendix A
	—/—	"Elam 3"	Appendix A
652— 648	—/—	Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion	Discussion
652	ii/23	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Babylon	Appendix A
	ii—x	Major-domo conscripted troops in Babylonia	Appendix A
	iv/17	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall into Assyrian hands if they enter Babylon? No.	Appendix A
	x/19	Hostilities between Assyria and Babylonia began	Appendix A
	xi/8	Shamash-shuma-ukin took up defensive position in Babylon	Appendix A
	xii/12	Battle between Assyrians and Babylonians	Appendix A
	xii/27	Assyrians defeated Babylonians at Hirit	Appendix A
c. 651— 650	—/—	"Elam 4"	Discussion
651	—/—	Insurrections in Assyria and Babylonia	Appendix A
	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A

Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
651	i/4	Report on oracle request: Nabu-bel-shumati has gathered archers in Elam; will he come to Assyria and be defeated? No.	Appendix A
	vi²/9	Shamash-shuma-ukin captured Cuthah	Appendix A
	—/27	Officers of *A[ssyria rebelled]*	Appendix A
	—/—	*[Nabu-be]l-shumati* captured Assyrian troops	Appendix A
	vii/15	Report on oracle request: Has Shamash-shuma-ukin fled to Elam? No.	Appendix A
	viii/16	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall at the hands of the Assyrians? Yes.	Appendix A
	xi/11	Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin flee Babylon?	Appendix A
	—/(x+)13	Report on oracle request: Will [. . .-d]annin ally himself with Ashurbanipal's enemies? No.	Appendix A
	—/—	Report on oracle request: If troops of Ashurbanipal attack troops of Shamash-shuma-ukin at Bab-same, will they prevail? Yes.	Appendix A
c. 650	—/—	"Arabs 1"	Discussion
650	i/—	No procession Of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	ii/5	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of the Sealand regarding the removal of Nabu-bel-shumati and the appointment of Bel-ibni	Appendix A
	iv/11	Babylon put under siege	Appendix A
	viii/13	Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
649	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	iv/24	Babylonian legal document: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
	x/9	Legal documents from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land"	Appendix A
	—/—	Letter of Ashurbanipal to Indabiga	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on fortress (*ekal māšarti*) of Nineveh	Appendix A

Year	Month/ Day	Event	Source
649	—/—	Work on wall of Nineveh	Appendix A
c. 649	iii/20	Legal document from Babylon: hard times described	Appendix A
648	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu	Appendix A
	ii/29	Legal documents from Babylon: Babylon under siege	Appendix A
	iii/—	"Elam 5"	Discussion
	iv/15	Legal document from Borsippa: the last document dated to Shamash-shuma-ukin's reign	Appendix A
647	—/—	"Elam 6"	Discussion
646	ii/24	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Uruk	Appendix A
	iv/26	Letter of Ummanaldash to Ashurbanipal	Appendix A
c. 646	—/—	Work on *Bīt-redûti* at Nineveh	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on Akītu house of Ishtar at Nineveh	Appendix A
	—/—	Work on a palace (name missing) at Nineveh	Edition C
	—/—	Work on temple of Nabu at Calah	Edition C[19]
c. 645	—/—	"Elam 7"	Discussion
c. 644	—/—	"Lydia 2", "Arabs 2"	Discussion
c. 643	—/—	"Elam 8"	Discussion
	—/—	"Urartu 2"	Discussion
c. 641	—/—	"Cyrus", "Hudimiru"	Discussion
c. 640	—/—	"Dugdamme"	Discussion
c. 639	—/—	Work on *Gula Temple* at Babylon	Appendix A

APPENDIX A

Firm Dates

669	viii/10	Esarhaddon died on the way to Egypt. ABC Chron. 1 iv 30f. = Chron. 14:28f.
	ix/—	Ashurbanipal ascended the throne in Assyria. ABC Chron. 14:34 and cf. Chron. 1 iv 33

[19] One exemplar; see Knudsen, Iraq 29 (1967), pp. 60—63

668 i/23 Oracle request (by Ashurbanipal?): Will Marduk approve of Shamash-shuma-ukin taking his hand and leading him back to Babylon?
AGS 149

ii/— Marduk and the Babylonian gods left Ashur and entered Babylon.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 34—36 = Chron. 14:35f. = Chron. 16:5—7

x/20 Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was executed.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 38 = Chron. 14:39

—/— Kirbitu and its king were captured.
ABC Chron. 1 iv 37 = Chron. 14:38

667 —/— First Egyptian campaign (see Appendix D).
ABC Chron. 14:40—44

664 vii/12 The Elamite prince fled to Assyria.
ABC Chron. 15:2f.

657 viii/9 Royal decree of Ashurbanipal affecting land holdings of Baltaya.
Postgate, NARGD Nos. 9—12

May 15 Astrologer's report: Cimmerians will overrun the west but Assyria will be spared.
ABL 1391 and see Hartman, JNES 21 (1962), pp. 25—37.

655 iii/27 Dedicatory text from the bed and throne of Marduk to be sent back to Babylon.
K 2411. See Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 211.

vii/— Wall of Ashur rebuilt.
Weidner, AfO 13 (1939—41), pp. 204—207

654 —/— Bed of Marduk was returned to Babylon.
ABC Chron. 15:4. Cf. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 19—23.

653 —/— New chariot of Marduk was taken to Babylon.
ABC Chron. 15:5. Cf. Millard, Iraq 26, p. 23.

July 13 "Elam 3" dated by lunar eclipse. See Mayr in Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 105—109.

652 ii/23 Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Babylon.
ABL 301

ii — x Major-domo conscripted troops in Babylonia.
ABC Chron. 16:9f.

iv/17 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall into Assyrian hands if they enter Babylon? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 102

x/19 Hostilities between Assyria and Babylonia began.
ABC Chron. 16:11

xi/8 Shamash-shuma-ukin "withdrew before [illegible] enemy into Babylon".
ABC Chron. 15:6 and Chron. 16:12

652 xii/12 Battle between Assyrians and Babylonians.
BM 32312 r. ii 10' (reference courtesy of A. Sachs apud G. Frame). Cf. Hodson, The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World pl. 3.

xii/27 Assyrians defeated Babylonians at Hirit.
ABC Chron. 16:13—16

651 —/— Insurrections in Assyria and Babylonia.
ABC Chron. 16:17

i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron, 16:18f.

i/4 Report on oracle request: Nabu-bel-shumati has gathered archers in Elam. Will he come to Assyria and be defeated? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 105

vi²/9 Shamash-shuma-ukin captured Cuthah.
ABC Chron. 15:7—10

—/27 Officers of *A[ssyria rebelled]*.
ABC Chron. 15:11

—/— [*Nabu-be]l-shumati* captured Assyrian troops.
ABC Chron. 15:12—18

vii/15 Report on oracle request: Has Shamash-shuma-ukin fled to Elam? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 109

viii/16 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin fall at the hands of the Assyrians? Omens favourable.
PRT 107

xi/11 Report on oracle request: Will Shamash-shuma-ukin flee Babylon?
PRT 113

—/(x+)13 Report on oracle request: Will [. . .-d]amin ally himself with Ashurbanipal's enemies? Omens unfavourable.
PRT 115

—/— Report on oracle request: If troops of Ashurbanipal attack troops of Shamash-shuma-ukin at Bab-same, will they prevail? Omens favourable.
PRT 118

650 i/— No procession of Marduk or Nabu.
ABC Chron. 16:20f.

ii/5 Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of the Sealand regarding the removal of Nabu-bel-shumati and the appointment of Bel-ibni.
ABL 289

iv/11 Babylon put under siege.
ABC Chron. 15:19

viii/13 Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land".
BM 113235. Pinches, PSBA 10 (1888), pp. 146f. and pls. 4—6.[20]

649	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu. ABC Chron. 16:22
	iv/24	Babylonian legal document: "Famine and hardship in the land". BM 77216 (83-1-18,2597). Pinches, JTV 26 (1893) p. 169 and Oppenheim, Iraq 17 (1955), p. 77, n. 26.[20]
	x/9	Legal document from Babylon: "Famine and hardship in the land". BM 47366 (81-11-3,71). Pinches, op.cit. pp. 163—65.[20]
	—/—	Letter of Ashurbanipal to Indabigash. ABL 1151
	—/—	Work on fortress (*ekal māšarti*) of Nineveh. Edition B
	—/—	Work on wall of Nineveh. Edition D
c. 649	iii/20	Legal document from Babylon: beginning broken but reference to selling children indicates hard times which must then be the nineteenth or twentieth year (number missing) of Shamsh-shuma-ukin BM 74652 (82-9-18,377a). Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), pp. 37f.[20]
648	i/—	No procession of Marduk or Nabu. ABC Chron. 16:23
	ii/29	Legal document from Babylon, probably from this year: "The enemy is encamped against the city". Rm 4,93. Strassmaier, 8e Congrès No. 6.[20]
	iv/15	Legal document from Borsippa: last document dated to Shamash-shuma-ukin's reign. BRM 1, 38. See San Nicolò, BR 8/7, No. 22 and cf. Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), p. 36.[21]
646	ii/24	Letter of Ashurbanipal to the people of Uruk. ABL 518
	iv/26	Letter of Ummanaldash to Ashurbanipal. ABL 879
	—/—	Work on *Bīt-redûti* at Nineveh. Edition F

[20] See further, Johns, PSBA 27 (1905), pp. 98—100; Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), pp. 35—38; Oppenheim, Iraq 17 (1955), pp. 76—86; Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 29.

[21] Figulla, UET 4, No. 201 does not date to the twenty-first or twenty-second year of Shamash-shuma-ukin. Weidner, AfO 16 (1952—53), p. 36 noted that if this were so, it would present serious chronological problems.
The date (r. 10—12) in fact reads:
[^{iti}x U]D 21^{kâm} [MU x ^{md}GIŠ].ŠIR-MU-GI.NA [*šar Bābili*]^{ki}
I am grateful to J. N. Postgate for collating the tablet, v in the Iraq Museum (IM 57169), and for confirmation of these readings.

c. 646	—/—	Work on Akitu house of Ishtar at Nineveh. Edition T
c. 639	—/—	Work on *Gula Temple* at Babylon. Edition H (NB version)

APPENDIX B

Dates for the Beginning and End of the Reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin

I Beginning 668 B.C.

1. Some economic texts from Babylonia (Uruk) are dated in the "accession year of Ashurbanipal". See Brinkman, MKH 1, p. 433 sub G8 and n. 57.

2. The chroniclers (ABC Chrons. 1 iv 30—38; 14:34f.; 16:1—7) regarded the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin as that following the year of Esarhaddon's death and Ashurbanipal's accession. Besides the clear sequence note that events in Iyyar (ii) of Shamash-shuma-ukin's accession year are narrated although Esarhaddon died in Marchesvan (viii) and Ashurbanipal acceded in Kislev (ix).

3. AGS 149 is an oracle enquiry about whether Marduk will approve of Shamash-shuma-ukin becoming king in Babylon and it is dated i/23/668.

4. In his royal inscriptions (e.g. Streck, Asb. p. 28 iii 72; p. 230:11f.; p. 234:14f.) Ashurbanipal claims that he installed Shamash-shuma-ukin to rule Babylonia.

Conclusion: Ashurbanipal, who ascended the throne in Kislev (ix) of 669, ruled both Assyria and Babylonia for the remainder of 669 and at the beginning of the following year, as late as the twenty-third of Nisan (i), Shamash-shuma-ukin was still not recognized as a monarch. During 668, however, he gained the position of king of Babylonia with Ashurbanipal's sanction but, since it must have happened after i/23, it was too late to regard this as Shamah-shuma-ukin's "first year" and so 668 was his "accession year". Much of the evidence presented here was used by Johns, PSBA 27 (1905), pp. 94—97, who arrived at the same conclusion and subsequent scholars have generally been of the same opinion.

II End 648 B.C.

1. The number of regnal years for Shamash-shuma-ukin is missing in all the chronographic texts except the Ptolemaic Canon which says twenty.[22]

2. The last document dated to the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin bears the date iv/15/20 (see Appendix A and n. 21 and cf. n. 10).

3. The Akitu Chronicle (ABC Chron. 16:23f.) omits the years after the twentieth year of Shamash-shuma-ukin and before the accession year of Nabopolassar since no interruption of the Akitu festival occurred during these years.

[22] In the Uruk King List ff. Borger (apud Grayson, RLA 5 sub "Königslisten" §2.2 King List 5) has proposed: "[21 years] [Ashurbanipal], variant [Shamash-shuma-ukin]" this reconstruction the numeral obviously refers to the regnal period o. Ashurbanipal and cannot be accepted as a precise statement regarding the regnal years of Shamash-shuma-ukin

Thus there was an end to the hostilities before Nisan of 647 and 648 was the year of Shamash-shuma-ukin's death.

Conclusion: Shamash-shuma-ukin's death must have occurred in 648, some time after iv/15.

APPENDIX C

Table of Incidents in Ashurbanipal's Annals

Abbreviation	Bibliography[23]	Incident Core[24]
Arabs 1[25]	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 64—71 vii 82—viii 64 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 80—87 vii 93—viii 63 C: Streck, Asb. pp. 144f.; Bauer, Asb. p. 18; Knudsen, Iraq 29, p. 54. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Campaign against Qedar as revenge for its support of the Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion.
Arabs 2[25]	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 70—83 viii 65—x 5	Campaign against Abiyatu and the Nabatu.
Arwad 1	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 18f. ii 63—67 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 34f. i 70—75 Streck, Asb. pp. 168f r. 27—31	Yakinlu of Arwad brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.
Arwad 2	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 18—21 ii 81—94 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 44—47 ii 82—92 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 34f. i 78—ii 9	After Yakinlu's death, Ashurbanipal recognized Azibaal as king of Arwad.
Hilakku	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 18f. ii 75—80 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 34f. i 71—75	Sandasharme of Hilakku brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.

[23] Only key references are given and fragments are generally omitted. For full bibliography see Borger, HKL.

[24] See above p. 229.

[25] For more detailed analyses and dates of the Arab campaigns see the studies cited in n. 15 above.

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Cyrus	H: Weidner, AfO 7, p. 4	Cyrus heard of Ashurbanipal's Elamite victory and sent tribute to Nineveh.
Dugdamme	H: Thompson, Iraq 7, p. 109; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 109f.	Dugdamme's abortive attacks on Assyria.
Egypt 1	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 7—13 i 52—117 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 30—35 i 50—95 C: Streck, Asb. pp. 138—41; Bauer, Asb. p. 14; Knudsen, Iraq 29, pp. 52f; Millard, Iraq 30, p 105. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 10—13; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 99f. Streck, Asb. pp. 158—161:2—32	Campaign against Terhaqah and the capture of Memphis.
Egypt 2	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 13—17 i 118—ii 48 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 34—41 i 95—ii 40 C: Streck, Asb. pp. 140—43; Bauer, Asb. p. 15; Millard, Iraq 30, p. 105. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 12—15; Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 100f. F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 30—33 i 35—55 H: Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 102f. Streck, Asb. pp. 160—67:33—r. 5	Terhaqah's alliance crushed; Necho re-installed; campaign against Tandamane; capture of Thebes.
Elam 1	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 56—59 iv 18—53 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 H: Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 102f.	Campaign against Urtaki who had invaded Babylonia.
Elam 2	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 58—61 iv 54—86 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Flight of Ummanigash to Assyria.
Elam 3	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 26—29 iii 27—69 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 60—77 iv 87—vii 2 C: [illegible]er, Asb. p. 16 D: [illegible]pkorn, Asb. p. 97	Campaign against Teumman who was decapitated; punishment of Gambulu.

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Elam 3	F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 38—43 ii 53—iii 5	
Elam 4	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 76—81 vii 3—92 C: Bauer, Asb. p. 17 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 42—45 iii 6—32 G: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 102f. iv 1—22	Elamite support for the Shamah-shuma-ukin Rebellion; Indabigash.
Elam 5	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 40—47 iv 110—v 62 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 44—49 iii 33—iv 16	Against Ummanaldash; Bit-Imbi; Tammaritu.
Elam 6	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 46—61 v 63—vii 8 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 48—61 iv 17—vi 21 T: Thompson, PEA pp. 34f. iv 37—v 32	Against Ummanaldash; sack of Susa; return of Nanai.
Elam 7	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 60—63 vii 9—81	Elamites flee to Assyria.
Elam 8	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 82—85 x 6—39	Revolution in Elam against Ummanaldash.
Hudimiru	H: Weidner, AfO 7, pp. 4f.	King of Hudimiru heard of Ashurbanipal's Elamite victory and sent gifts to Nineveh.
Kirbitu[36]	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 48f. iii 5—15 C: Bauer, Asb. p. 15 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 14f. Millard, Iraq 30, pp. 101f. Streck, Asb. pp. 166f. r. 6—12 Cf. Streck, Asb. pp. 206—209.	Campaign against Kirbitu.
Lydia 1	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 20f. ii 95—110 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 46—49 ii 93—iii 4	Dream of Gyges; message to Ashurbanipal; Gyges' conquest of Cimmerians.

[36] By "Kirbitu" is meant the capture of Kirbitu (668). The additional narrative, found in some sources, of the transportation there of Egyptians probably occurred after "Egypt 1" (667).

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Lydia 1	D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 16f.; Millard, Iraq 30, p. 102. F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 34—37 ii 10—20 Streck, Asb. pp. 166—69 r. 13—21	
Lydia 2[37]	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 20—23 ii 111—125	Gyges' death; Lydia overrun by Cimmerians; Gyges' son submits to Assyria.
Mannaeans	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 22—27 ii 126—iii 26 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 50—57 iii 16—iv 2 C: Bauer, Asb. p. 15 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 E: Aynard, Asb. pp. 36—39 ii 21—52 H: Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 102f.	Campaign against the Mannaeans.
Medes	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 56f. iv 3—8 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Conquest of Median Cities.
Shamash-shuma-ukin Rebellion	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 28—41 iii 70—iv 109 C: Bauer, Asb. pp. 16f.; Knudsen, Iraq 29, pp. 55—57	
Tabal	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 18f. ii 68—74 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 44f. ii 71—79 D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 34f. i 71—77 Streck, Asb. pp. 168f. r. 22—26	Mugallu of Tabal brought his daughter with dowry to Nineveh.
Tyre	A: Streck, Asb. 16—19 ii 49—62 B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 40—45 ii 41—70	Siege of Tyre.

[37] This incident, of which Gyges' death is the core, includes the information that Gyges sent [illegible]s to Egypt which Spalinger (JARCE 13 [1976], p. 143) dates to 663/2 while Kitchen (Third Intermediate Period § 367) dates it to 655/4.

Abbreviation	Bibliography	Incident Core
Tyre	D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97 F: Aynard, Asb. pp. 32—35 i 56—69 H: Nassouhi, AfK pp. 102 f.	
Urartu 1[28]	B: Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 56 f. iv 9—17 C: Bauer, Asb. pp. 15 f. D: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 97	Capture and decapitation of Andaria of Urartu.
Urartu 2	A: Streck, Asb. pp. 84 f. x 40—50	Sardur of Urartu sent gifts to Ashurbanipal.

APPENDIX D

The Date of Ashurbanipal's First Egyptian Campaign

Only one narrative regarding Egypt during the time of Ashurbanipal is preserved in the Babylonian chronicles and this is a fragmentary passage in the Esarhaddon Chronicle (ABC Chron. 14:40—44) in which the names Terhaqah and Necho occur. This event is identical with the first campaign against Egypt ("Egypt 1") as narrated in the annals, wherein Terhaqah appears in all accounts and Necho's presence is implied in all editions and specifically noted in Edition C. The chronicle passage is dated the first year of Shamash-shuma-ukin which provides the date of 667 for the first campaign against Egypt.

Any attempt to date the first campaign earlier encounters serious obstacles. The lack of inclusion of an earlier campaign in the chronicle is a major objection and the omission of Esarhaddon's defeat in Egypt is not analogous.[29] Urtaki's invasion of Assyria ("Elam 1") occurred when the Assyrians were in Egypt on the first attack and it is inconceivable that these major events could have occurred in the three months of the accession year of Ashurbanipal (669). If they are placed in 668 it leaves little time for the good relations between Assyria and Elam to develop of which Ashurbanipal boasts at the beginning of his reign.[30] Thus I would maintain the old view that the first campaign of Ashurbanipal against Egypt occurred in 667.[31]

[28] Another Urartian incident in which Rusa, predecessor of Sardur, sent nobles with gifts to Ashurbanipal is described in a relief epigraph. See Weidner, AfO 8 (1932—33), p. 188 and cf. Barnett, Asb. pp. 6 f. That this same incident is described in the very fragmentary Edition G (Bauer's "K") has been assumed by Piepkorn (Asb. p. 102 iii 21—24 and cf. Streck, Asb. p. 136) but the extensive restorations, including the royal name, leave this very uncertain.

[29] See ABC p. 219.

[30] Cf. ABL 295.

[31] Spalinger, Or. n.s. 43 (1974), p. 295 dated it to 669/8. Both Streck, Asb. 1, p. CCXXXVII, and Weissbach, RLA 1, p. 204a, dat[illegible]t to 667. Aynard, Asb. p. 18 accepted 666 while Kitchen, Third Intern[illegible]iate Period § 353 gave 667/6.

APPENDIX E

Dates for Editions of the Annals of Ashurbanipal

Date	Edition	Bibliography[32] and Comments
c. 666/5	E_1	Cogan and Tadmor, Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 81 f.
c. 665/4	E_2	ibid.
c. 663	Annals Tablets	Streck, Asb. pp. 158—175; Bauer, Asb. pp. 33 f. Regarding the date cf. Piepkorn, Asb. p. 8; Spalinger, Or. n.s. 43 (1974), p. 309 and JARCE 13 (1976), p. 134.
649[33]	B	Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 19—94. Dated by eponym.
649[34]	D	Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 95—99. Dated by eponym.
646	C	Cf. Borger, HKL 1, p. 15 and 2, p. 11. On the date see Cogan and Tadmor, Or. n.s. (forthcoming)
c. 646	F	Aynard, Asb. Dated by eponym.
c. 646	T	Thompson, PEA pp. 29—36. Dated by eponym.
c. 643/2	A	Streck, Asb. pp. 2—91. On the date see Tadmor, Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Orientalists' Congress in Moscow in 1960 (Moscow, 1962), p. 240.
c. 639	H	Nassouhi, AfK 2, pp. 97—106; Weidner, AfO 7, pp. 1—7; etc.
?	G	Piepkorn, Asb. pp. 101—103 ("K"). This edition is too fragmentary to suggest a date.

APPENDIX F

Narrative Sequence in Ashurbanipal's Annals

That the sequence of events in the annals of Ashurbanipal is chronologically unreliable has long been known. George Smith first noted it in his History of Ashurbanipal (p. 316), Olmstead and Streck concurred, and more recent studies have demonstrated how convoluted the complications of the narrative sequence can be.[35] Incidents are narrated primarily according to geographic proximity and, although the sequence varies somewhat from one edition to another, in all editions a general pattern is apparent: first districts in the west appear, then the north, east, south, and south west in that order. Such a grouping bears no relation to the chronological sequence of events as a glaring example will suffice to show. The campaign against Kirbitu definitely occurred in 668 (see Appendix A) but it is narrated in Edition B (also the fragmentary Editions C, D, E, and the Annals Tablet) after the first campaign against Egypt (667, see Appendix D) because subsequent to the Egyptian campaign, Egyptians were transported to Kirbitu.

[32] Only key references are given. For full bibliography see Borger, HKL.

[33] Some exemplars are dated 648 but no change or addition is evident in the narrative.

[34] See Millard, Iraq 30 (1968), p. 103. As with Edition B (see n. 33 above), some exemplars are dated 648 but no change or addition is evident in the narrative.

[35] Spalinger, JA[illegible]94 (1974), pp. 316—328; Weippert, WO 7 (1973), pp. 39—85; Cogan and [illegible]mor, Or. n.s. 46 (1977), pp. 65—85; Spalinger, JAOS 98 (1978), pp. 400—409.