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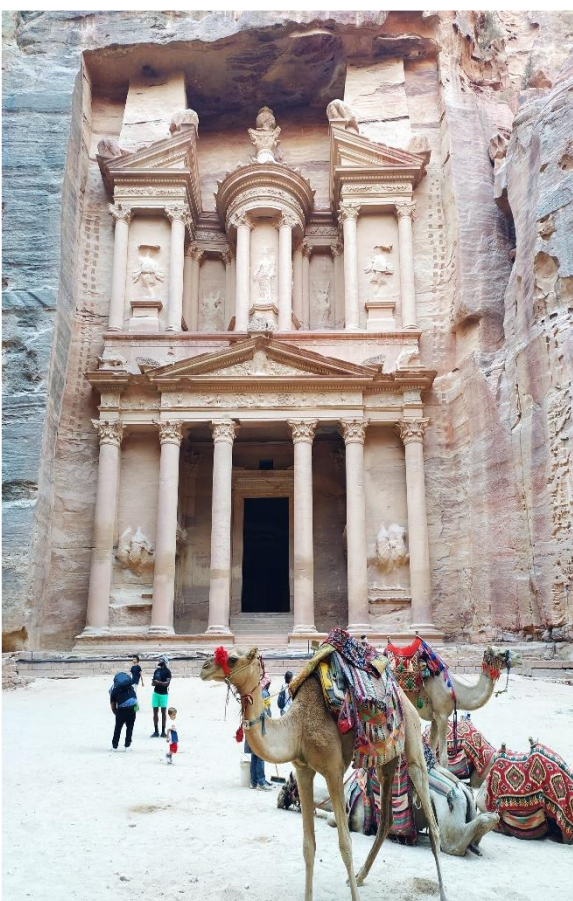
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CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE HISTORIA DEL ANTIGO ORIENTE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY-FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
PONTIFICAL CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF ARGENTINA

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Cover and page 2. The ancient city of Petra, southern Jordan. Photo by Jorge Cano-Moreno.

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presentación titulada “Los reinos de Israel y Judá a partir de las fuentes Neoasirias”. Justel buscó aproximarse al estudio del antiguo Israel a través de fuentes externas al texto bíblico, haciendo hincapié en fuentes cuneiformes. Simultáneamente, realizó una comparación de diversos sucesos históricos y sus representaciones en fuentes imperiales neoasirias y en el texto bíblico.

El primer bloque de presentaciones finalizó con la exposición del Dr. Emmanuel Pfoh, investigador del CONICET, titulada “Perspectivas recientes en el estudio del Levante meridional en la antigüedad”. Pfoh realizó una breve descripción de las interpretaciones tradicionales de la historia del Levante. Tras esto, rescató las nuevas tendencias académicas que favorecen un análisis del Levante como categoría autónoma.

La presentación del Dr. António de Freitas, de la Universidade de Minho, fue la apertura al segundo bloque de presentaciones, con una conferencia titulada “¿Nació la filosofía en Milawanda?”. En esta presentación, Freitas invitó a repensar la atribución clásica al mundo griego como cuna de la filosofía, proponiendo la existencia de tradiciones anteriores y compartidas en la región de la Anatolia, a través de un estudio de fuentes escritas.

Le siguió la presentación realizada por el Mag. Jorge Cano Moreno, de la Universidad Católica Argentina y miembro del CEHAO, cuya presentación se tituló “Puesta en escena y puesta en abismo en Creta neo palacial”. Cano More propuso, a través del estudio de sellos minoicos, una oportunidad de explicar y rastrear las distintas dinámicas políticas dentro de los grupos de poder durante la era neo palacial minoica.

La exposición del Dr. Pablo Andíñach, de la Universidad Católica Argentina y Universidad del Centro Educativo Latinoamericano, y miembro del CEHAO, titulada “Revisar las teorías sobre el origen histórico de Israel”, dio cierre a la primera jornada del coloquio. Andíñach propuso una revisión de las primeras teorizaciones acerca del origen de Israel y como éstas, a pesar de su actual rechazo como teorías válidas, se transformarían e

influenciaron, en mayor o menor medida, los debates contemporáneos.

La segunda jornada del coloquio daría inicio con la presentación del Dr. Jónatan Ortiz-García, de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Su presentación, titulada “Sosteniendo el cielo por los extremos: acerca de la pervivencia e innovación en las creencias y prácticas de tradición osiriana en el Egipto romano”, rastreó tradiciones artísticas del Egipto clásico en la época de dominación Romana. Ortiz-García se centró principalmente en sudarios del ámbito funerario, a través de un enfoque multi disciplinario.

La Dra. Eva Calomino, de la Universidad de Granada y miembro del CEHAO, fue la segunda presentadora de la jornada, cuya presentación “Una mirada a los hallazgos especiales de contextos domésticos en el antiguo Egipto: los small finds del Edificio B de Tell el-Ghaba” es una continuación de estudios previos en lo que se ha problematizado el concepto de small find, así como las problemáticas inherentes a este tipo de evidencia. En esta oportunidad Calomino propuso una revisión y catalogación de los hallazgos de Tell el-Ghaba (Sinaí) con el fin de avanzar en el posible simbolismo que pudieron haber tenido los small finds, así como su capacidad en tanto medios expresivos de temáticas diversas.

Como cierre del primer bloque, tuvo lugar la presentación del Dr. Amir Gorzalczany, investigador de la Autoridad de Antigüedades de Israel y miembro del CEHAO, “Que 20 años no es nada...” El cementerio calcolítico de Palmahim, nuevas excavaciones y descubrimientos”. En esta presentación Gorzalczany propuso un análisis de las excavaciones llevadas a cabo en la localidad de Palmahim. A raíz de los hallazgos propuestos y las características que presenta el sitio, el autor problematizó el paradigma vigente acerca de la distribución geográfica de los tipos de cementerios calcolíticos en el sur del Levante, así como sus características.

El segundo bloque de presentaciones tuvo inicio con la presentación de la Dra. Romina Della Casa, de la Universidad Católica Argentina y miembro del CEHAO. Titulada “Recorriendo las

fronteras de la Tierra Oscura: ambientes liminales de la Anatolia hitita”, la presentación propuso estudiar los textos rituales mugawar respecto a la relación del dios Nerik con las orillas de ríos y mares.

La Dra. Andrea Seri, de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, realizó la siguiente presentación. Titulada “Lamaštu entre la tradición y lo liminal”, a raíz de la representación de Lamaštu en la obra de Thomas Mann, la autora propone una reconstrucción de la figura de Lamaštu basándose en representaciones iconográficas de períodos diversos, así como de diversas fuentes escritas disponibles. Rescató el carácter liminal, y en opinión de la investigadora, ambiguo que posee la figura de Lamaštu.

La última presentación de las jornadas, titulada “De tejonas y máscaras: ¿un nuevo “libro” de los Textos de los Ataúdes para llevar maat a Ra?” fue realizada por el Dr. Carlos Gracia Zamacona, de la Universidad de Alcalá. Gracia Zamacona propuso un nuevo análisis del corpus de los Textos de los Ataúdes. En particular, se centró en la representación del viaje que el difunto debía llevar a cabo para lograr reunirse con el Dios Ra.

Las jornadas se dieron por finalizadas tras unas palabras finales a cargo del Dr. Juan Manuel Tebes, actual Director del CEHAO, quien agradeció a los participantes y expositores de las jornadas y comentó el estado actual del centro, así como los planes a futuro que tiene el mismo.

Did the Ptolemaic Imperial Politics Influence the Language of the Septuagint?

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INTRODUCTION

During the Hellenistic period, the Egyptian Jewish communities were forced to venerate the Ptolemaic rulers as gods with the penalty of martyrdom to those who publicly refused to accept the king as god during the enactment of the imperial cult. It is so narrated in the Second Book of Maccabees where a whole family is tortured and condemned to a cruel death because they want to keep the covenant commitments. In the climax of the story (2 Macc 7:6) a short prayer rises from the lips of one of the martyrs trusting in their future resurrection. The prayer is a quotation of Deut 32:36a, a brief chorus motif that is also repeated in Ps 134:14 LXX) and is the only biblical quotation in the whole book.

The Greek version of the chorus adopts a special vocabulary using a passive form of verb παρακαλέω with divine subject even when other lexical options were available. And even more astonishing is that the same translation is kept in other passages as well (Judg 2:18 and 2 Sam 24:16 // 1 Chr 21:15). This option of the Greek writers would probably sound strange to a Greek audience not familiarized with biblical traditions and it literally translates similar forms of the Hebrew root נָחַם.

When we see these peculiarities some questions arise that must be stated before going on with the analysis. If the meaning of the passive forms of נָחַם with divine subject is uncertain, why then they are usually associated

to some kind of regret in God?; If the verb παρακαλέω is usually associated in the LXX to Hebrew root נָחַם but not always, why the Greek translators kept this association in so difficult passages as those where passive forms with divine subject are present in both languages?; If there are other options in classical literature to express “comfort” or “console” as the verb παρηγορέω why the Greek translators preferred the most unusual sense of παρακαλέω?

I will go by steps before answering the question that gave the title to this paper.

SOME NOTES ON HEBREW ROOT נָחַם

In a recent paper I showed that Hebrew root נָחַם was a cognate form¹ of the Egyptian root *nhh* as they share:

- a) The same trilateral root.
- b) They belong to the same Afroasiatic family of languages along with similar Coptic and Syriac roots.
- c) They share a similar syntactical structure expressed as (*nhh + m + X*) in Egyptian and as (נָחַם + X) in Hebrew.
- d) They have a dual semantic field with the meanings of “to save, restore, comfort” and “to steal, to rob” in the Semitic languages and in the Egyptian languages.
- e) They express similar religious ideas being one of them the belief in “raise from death” as in Syriac and Hebrew. And with its negative meaning the Egyptian *nhh* may also have positive connotations as it may be

applied to someone who is in risk of death and translated as “to be rescued from death” or “to be robbed from death” equivalent “to be saved from death.”

As a result of this cognate relation, the Hebrew root **נחם** implicitly has similar soteriological meanings as the Egyptian *nḥh* but adopts particular nuances in Biblical literature where it is associated to the sense of “comfort” and “console”. These saving characteristics assigned to Hebrew root **נחם** would probably sounded familiar to an audience familiarized with Egyptian and Hebrew languages as were the Jewish scribal circles of Alexandria (Aitken: 2016). In fact this Egyptian form *nḥh* played an important role under Ptolemaic rule as it was part of the coronation titles of Ptolemaic kings and queens when they were named and honored as saviors using the Egyptian *nḥh* and the Greek as “Σωτήρ”.²

Ptolomeo IX	<i>p3 nṯr nty nḥm</i>	Θεός Σωτήρ
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So at a first glance, the expected Greek translation of **נחם** in biblical texts would be the verb Σώσει but it is not the case even once in the whole Bible. Instead was preferred παρακαλέω for primary translating **נחם** even when the meaning of comfort and console was unusual for this Greek verb. So we may wonder if the Jewish scribal circles assigned the soteriological meanings of the Egyptian *nḥh* to the passive forms of παρακαλέω with divine subject (Deut 32:36 and their parallels; Judg 2:18 and 2 Sam 24:16 and others) usually translated as some kind of regret in God.

2 SAM 24

In order to enlighten the supposed negative connotations of these passive forms, I will first present two parallel stories related to the Afroasiatic form *nḥh*. They are the biblical account about the punishment deserved by King

David apparently related to a census he ordered (2 Sam 24) and the Egyptian tale known as *The Destruction of Mankind*.



Fig. 1. Goddess Sekmet – Hathor. Drawing by Ernst Brückelmann, Brüngen-Born/BAI

Both tales have several points in common but I will focus only on those important for our subject. In both stories, the divinity becomes aware that human beings are plotting against them and decide to annihilate his people sending a divine destructor. After the massacre begun, they suddenly decide to stop it because of their piety on the suffering of their people when they hear their wailings so they order the destructor to stop its work and become a friendly figure.

In the Egyptian story, the punishment comes from the hand of an emissary enacted by the dual goddess Sekhmet – Hathor, who is at the same time a fierce lion and a tender mother. We may see some images of this dual goddess showing both aspects carved in a limestone amulet (fig. 1).³

The Egyptian account tells us that when the goddess begins slaughtering, she is named Sekhmet and when she stops the massacre, she is named Hathor. This tale may also explain why one of the names given to the goddess Hathor is “She, who saves the robbed (*nḥht w’y*)” with the Egyptian form *nḥh* in its soteriological meaning.

In the biblical story both actions are subdued to YHWH, the God of Israel, showing his absolute power over his emissaries and on his people's destiny. In 2 Sam 24:16 the text explicitly assigns the destructive power to the hand of God and when God decides to stop the killing the text describes the action with a passive form of Hebrew root **נָחַם** and a similar form of the παρακαλέω in the Greek version. This singular choice of the Greek translators show that they know and confirm the saving aspects laid on the Hebrew **נָחַם** and also shows how they confer a similar positive status to the Greek passive form of παρακαλέω.

This verse is recognized by many scholars as a late addition as if it is suppressed the whole theology of the text changes radically and turns to a previous retributive logic of sin and punishment. In contrary, the insertion of v.26 shows how God save even when no repentance is present in a similar way that the Egyptian god Ra does.

Something similar happens in the account of Judges 2 when God watches the idolatry of his people and decides to punish them with the fierce of his hand and then suddenly decides to stop the massacre when hearing his wailings (Judg 2:11-19).

This "theodicy of mercy" is found in other contexts where passive forms of **נָחַם** and παρακαλέω are present so probably these ideas are related to postexilic elaborations about divine justice and were introduced by the Jewish Alexandrine communities when debating with their Egyptian hosts about divine Law and retribution. Instead of showing only the punitive side of the Law the biblical writers incorporated his merciful aspect similar to that of the Egyptian gods adopting the latent soteriological meaning of Hebrew **נָחַם** and expanding the semantic field of the Greek παρακαλέω.

DEUT 32

But the Jewish circles went a step further in their theological developments and introduced this Theodicy of Mercy at the central core of the Canticle of Moses which chorus motif we introduced earlier. And why it was introduced there? The reason is that the main role of this canticle was to be God's covenantal testimony *against* Israel.

In fact, the Book of Deuteronomy explicitly assigns to the Song of Moses the function of covenantal testimony (Deut 31:19-21) and this role explains why it was placed at the side of the Ark of the Covenant (Deut 31:26) and read cyclically during Sukkot. This testimonial function is also present in the Qumranic scrolls (1Q4 Deuta; 4Q29 Deutb; 4Q30 Deutc) where the Song is recognized as a testimony against Israel.

The theological core of the Song is resumed in the chorus motif we introduced earlier where the covenantal promises are briefly set forth: that God will judge his people and bring comfort on his servants. The biblical writers choose again passive forms of **נָחַם** and παρακαλέω when describing God's merciful acts that will be triggered when he sees his servants almost dead. And again, no regret is needed for God's saving deeds.

The Greek writers are aware of the centrality of this Song as they repeat it separately in Odes 2 and the Samaritan tradition also gave it a central role in its liturgy (Memar Marqah IV). So when the Septuagint quotes and translates the chorus motif in 2 Macc 7:6 and assign it a counter-testimony function by using the *Hapax* ἀντιμαρτυρούσης they are alluding to the Song and asking God to accomplish the covenantal promises he made to Moses.

SELF-CENSORSHIP

Now we return to the last question: If there are other options in classical literature to express “comfort” or “console” why the Greek translators preferred the most unusual sense of παρακαλέω?

As we have seen, the passive forms of נָחַם and παρακαλέω are associated to the covenantal promises, and more specifically to the soteriological aspects of these promises, i.e. to the covenantal blessings.

Beside the fact that the Greek concept of *Soteria* has only earthly connotations (Kung-Jim 2017), the adoption of a similar terminology would have meant to equate, at least in the texts, YHWH's deeds to that of the pharaohs and therefore to recognize that the Egyptian gods and kings had the power to save his people as the God of Israel had; a very uncomfortable situation for the Greek translators circles resident in Egypt.

So they found a solution by the way of self-censorship using tricky words. They developed a rather cryptic terminology by expanding the semantic field of the verb παρακαλέω assigning to it the soteriological categories of the Afroasiatic form *n-ḥ-h*.

This terminology was a linguistic strategy that would have a double purpose. For the Egyptian hosts and authorities, it would sound rather elegant as the sense of comfort was already included in the semantic field of παρακαλέω and the nuances of that verb didn't equate the effective saving power assigned to their gods' *soteres*. Instead, when the Jewish audience heard this terminology, it would immediately call their attention so they became aware of the nexus with the Hebrew נָחַם and all the biblical implications it carried on.

They also extended this terminology to other passive forms of the Greek παρακαλέω when they were related to the covenantal promises. One example is the term παράκλησις, a *theologumena* translated as the Consolation of Israel that includes all the eschatological expectations of fulfillment of the covenantal promises as God's future judgment and the resultant curses and blessings. And extended these soteriological aspects to other passive forms as λόγους παρακλητικούς in Za 1:13 LXX applied to the words of comfort spoken by the Angel of God when he announced the future salvation of Jerusalem, or to the terms παρακλήτορες/παράκλητοι in Jb 16:2 when alluding to the saving functions of the two covenantal testimonies afore mentioned (Dt 32).

This linguistic strategy was developed regarding the vulnerable situation of the Jewish communities' resident in Egypt during the Hellenistic period when they were forced to participate in the imperial Ptolemaic cult and venerate their kings and queens as saviors.

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NOTES

¹ "Why Does God Not Repent But Comforts and Restore"

https://www.academia.edu/75467469/Why_Does_God_Not_Repent_But_Comforts_and_Restore

² Sales (368). Also Ptolomeo XII (281) and Ptolomeo XV (373).

³ Viewegerta and Häser, 162.

Shishak/Shoshenq's Travels – Again!

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“There is an elusive quality about 'Shishak'.” That is the first line of my original paper “Shishak/Shoshenq's Travels” (JSOT, 86, 1999: 3-23) and I had no idea at the time how elusive he really was. To put the most positive spin on the reception of my paper, it received a very lukewarm response. (One scholar claimed my arguments and interpretations were “bizarre”! Needless to say, he is not on my Christmas list) Nevertheless, I believe more than ever, my main arguments were valid.

My main arguments were as follows: the general interpretation of the list makes unwarranted assumptions that Shoshenq went to the Transjordan across the highlands past Gibeon; it is not legitimate to pick and choose names from different rows in the inscription in order to “interpret” particular routes; Shoshenq did not conquer various cities creating layers of destruction, including more locations than can be listed on the list; and, Jerusalem probably is not on the list.

Since 1999, more information is available about Shoshenq I, about his regnal term, his age, and when it may have been suitable for him to invade Asia. In addition, more information is available about various locations on the list which requires a very different route than the ones chosen by many scholars.

SHOSHENQ

We know very little that is certain about Shoshenq I. Kenneth Kitchen (1996: 58-60) argued that Shoshenq came to power in 945 BCE, Troy Sagrillo (2006: x) suggested 944-43 BCE, Aidan Dodson believed his first year was

949-48 BCE (2000) and David Aston (2009) provided one option of about 951 BCE, but Thomas Schneider (2010: 403) believes 962 BCE is a better option. At the present moment, there is no agreement on the date for Shoshenq. In addition, there is uncertainty about the length of his reign. Kitchen and older scholars believed he had a reign of about 21-22 years. However, many scholars suggest a much longer reign – perhaps 30 to 34 years (Sagrillo, 2006: xi; 2012b; Kaper, 2009: 157-8; Brockman, 2011:49; Wente, 1976:278). It is clear that he was a mature adult when he became pharaoh (“middle-aged” according to Redford, 1973: 8, n. 38). It is possible that he was co-regent with Psusennes II for about 5 years (Dodson, 1993: 268) although Dodson also suggests Shoshenq was a junior co-regent with Pasebkhanut II, king in the Thebes region (2009: 110). His eldest son, the future Osorkon I, held high offices in the military before Shoshenq became ruler (Sagrillo, 2012a). Shoshenq may have been granted control over Upper Egypt, including Thebes, and another son, Iuput A, was made High Priest and given command of the armed forces in that area early in his career – at least before Shoshenq's 10th year (Dodson 2009:108-110) and possible before his 5th year (Redford, 1973:8, n. 38). Dodson (2009: 108-9) also seems to suggest that IuputA may have been made High Priest in Thebes before Shoshenq became pharaoh. His daughter was married to the previous ruler, Psusennes II, and so on. In other words, it is likely he was about 40-50 when he became pharaoh. If he ruled over 30 years and invaded Asia at the end of his reign, then he would be the warrior pharaoh at an advanced age of about 70-85 years old. Such an age is not impossible but

it seems unlikely. However, if he had a period of co-regency, then his regnal years would start then and the “sed festival” would be celebrate his entire reign and not just his sole reign. In which case, his sole reign would be reduced by five or so years and he could be about 65-70 when he died. Nevertheless, it seems the advent of his reign must be pushed back a number of years.

Recently, scholars (Krauss, 2006) have used certain lunar festivals to date the first years of Takeloth I and Shoshenq III and then worked back to discover the first year of Shoshenq in 944-43 BCE. However, there are some problems. Kitchen (2009: 167) scornfully dismissed the claim that these dates were connected to certain lunar festivals. Also, they assumed Shoshenq only had 21–22-year reign instead of 30-34 years. Also, it assumes the regnal years for Osorkon I are fixed at 34-5 years. If the certain years for Shoshenq are far more than 21-22 years, then it is possible the certain years for Osorkon are fewer than the actual total. There is also the problems of possible co-regencies for Shoshenq.

Still, Kitchen and others have a major problem. If we accept 945 as the first year, then a 34-year reign would end in 911 BCE and his son Osorkon would begin his reign in 911 and end in 876 BCE. In other words, all the dates for the various pharaohs would be adjusted down 11-13 years. The result would be that Osorkon IV, the last of the 22nd dynasty, would not be on the throne when Piye invaded the north sometime in 728-734 BCE (Schneider, 2010:378; Kahn, 2001: 18). It is more likely that years would have to be taken away from later pharaohs (a very difficult enterprise) or Shoshenq's reign would have start earlier – say about 957-56 BCE (using Kitchen's chronology) or 756-754 BCE based the lunar eclipse theory. This date is very close to the time espoused by Thomas Schneider, i.e. 962 BCE.

ASIA

In addition, we do not know when he traveled in Asia. Kitchen claimed he arrived in the last couple of years of his 21–22-year reign – in other words, about 925-23 BCE. However Aidan Dodson (2000b: 8) and Redford (1973: 10) claim it was early in his reign. In other words, depending on your view of the reign of Shoshenq, he may have invaded Asia as early as 960 BCE and as late as 916 or 907 (depending on the length of his reign). Adding to the chronological problems, we have the problem of archaeological layers of destruction. If an archaeologist dates a layer of destruction to a certain date plus or minus 20-25 years, then it is possible that a layer of destruction that occurred in 980 BCE is attributed to Shoshenq and another that should be dated to 895 BCE is attributed to him as well. It all depends on how you look at the information about Shoshenq.

Many scholars view the list of names as a list of conquered cities. However, it is a list of cities that offered tribute or gifts to Amun in one fashion or another. There is no need to assume any city on the list was destroyed. Instead, we should assume there was no layer of destruction in the 55 or so cities that may be attributed to Shoshenq (Ussishkin, 1990, 72-3, 76). Israel Finkelstein demonstrated that Shoshenq did not destroy Tel Rehov (2009: 268) and did not destroy a number of places in the south (2006: 19, 26-28; 2008: 36-7). Instead, it seems Shoshenq may have introduced a period of prosperity (2006: 21; 2008: 37). The only possible evidence of destruction attributed to the armies of Shoshenq maybe in the Faynan region in southern Jordan (Levy, et. al. 2008; Finkelstein, Lipschits, 2011: 148). It is unlikely that the towns in the Judean Shephelah would have any resources to resist the army of Shoshenq. Aside from the Philistine cities, it seems that in the Iron I and early Iron IIA “the Shephelah was settled by a small rural groups

that only occupied a few sites with a modest settlement hierarchy” (Lehmann and Niemann, 2014:77). In my opinion, we should place ourselves in the minds of a city leader in Gibeon: we know Shoshenq is coming north with a large army, we know we do not have the means to offer any resistance, we do not know what plans Shoshenq has – loot, reestablishing the Egyptian empire, and so on. What we do know is that we want to be on his good side. So we gather as many gifts as possible and toddle off to Beth-Horon or Aijalon (both on the list) and offer up the gifts. These are recorded by the scribes and later on, Gibeon turns up on the list even though not a single Egyptian soldier was near the gates of Gibeon. I believe we should assume the same attitude was found in all the cities – they opened the gates, welcomed him, offered gifts, and then prayed hard that he would move on quickly. Without further evidence, we should not assume any layer of destruction involving the first 55 names on the list involved Shoshenq.

Clearly we do not know when Shoshenq came to power and we do not know when he invaded Asia. He came to power probably sometime between 940 and 962 BCE. Also, he invaded Asia possibly between 960 and 905 BCE. In addition, it is more and more obvious that Shoshenq did not conduct wide spread destruction.

5 ROWS OF NAME RINGS

Shoshenq invaded Asia with an army consisting of three parts which probably split up near Gaza. Shoshenq probably marched north toward Megiddo while the other two wings marched east toward Beersheba, Arad, and so on along the various trade routes. There may have been well over 150 name rings in the inscription at Karnak. However, only about 55 names belong to the northern part of the list and, of these, only about 44 whole or partly damaged names remain. It is

this part of the inscription that interests me as it seems most likely that Shoshenq would accompany this section of his army.

The name rings are found in three basic groups: name rings 11-65 in 5 rows for the northern section of the list; then name rings 66 to about 150 in 5 long lines for the Beer-Sheba valley, Negav highlands and perhaps other nearby regions; then, finally, names on a badly damaged row for the southern coast road (Kitchen, 1986: 432-3). Most scholars assume “the toponyms which have been safely identified represent the following regions...: the Jezreel Valley... the Sharon Plain, the area of Gibeon in the highlands, the area of Penuel and Mahaniam in Transjordan... Other important regions are missing... the highlands of Judah... northern Samaria, the Shephelah, the Galilee and the northern Valley, the central and northern coastal plain... the Gilead. Moab and Ammon” (Finkelstein, 2002: 109-10).

However, it seems that many names “safely identified” must be re-identified and placed elsewhere. Scholars have seen a number of names that they claim are cities in the central Transjordan region: Row 5 - #53 Penuel, #56 Adamah, # 55 “One of Succoth”; Row 2 - # 22 Mahainam. Because of those names, scholars assumed Shoshenq went across the hill region past Gibeon and perhaps Jerusalem. Some suggest that number 59 in row 5 may be “Tirzah”. However, there is a major problem concerning these names. Lucas Petit (2012) looked at the archaeological reports about the various sites in the region where these names are supposed to be located. He points out that almost all the sites show evidence they were abandoned or showed minimal and mostly temporary occupancy. “The only settlement that remained occupied was Tell Damiyah, close to the perennial waters of the River Jordan” (p. 202). If there was nothing there in the region,

why would Shoshenq go there – as Petit asked? And why would their names be on the list of cities offering tribute?

There are additional problems with the selection of names. It is unusual for a geographically grouped cities to be separated in the list. Picking one name from row 2 and others in row 5 is a bit odd but not improbable. However, the identification of the names by scholars seems exceptionally selective. There are two locations for the name “Penuel” in the Biblical texts: the more famous location in the Transjordan, and another in the Judean foot hills. According to 1 Chronicles 4:4, Penuel is the father of “Gedor”. The location for this Penuel is not known but it certainly is not in the Transjordan but in the Judean foothills region somewhere. This second site is close to the route Shoshenq had to take on his way north. Surprisingly, all scholars completely ignore the second site. As there seems to be no occupied site for the Transjordan city, it is time for scholars to consider the second.

There are a number of places called “camp” or “camps” and there is no need to restrict ourselves to the one Mahanaim in the Transjordan. In addition, the name (#22) is located in row 2 (not in row 5), in a group of names a long way from the Transjordan: # 19 Adullam (possibly Adoram), #23 Gibeon, # 24 Beth Horon, #25 *qdtm*, and, #26 Aijalon. Given the location of the other names, it is quite likely that Mahanaim belongs in the same general region – not in the Transjordan.

It is odd that the next name beginning row 3 is #27 *mkdy* which usually is translated as “Megiddo”. There is no reason to separate this name ring from the previous name rings and, in so doing, return to the north again. It is possible that the usual interpretation is correct, but I have argued the name should be grouped with the previous names, i. e., in the northern Judean

Shephelah. I argued it may be “Makkedah” and I still see no better option. There is no evidence that the Philistine cities were targets for Shoshenq, or indeed, any coastal city. Quite possibly, they were allies. It is quite possible that Megiddo was not on the list because it too was an ally.

As for “One of Sukkoth”, this is a very odd name for a city. There is a name in row 5, no. 55 (“*p-nds-k*”) which has been translated as “One of Succoth” by Kitchen. However, he had to rearrange the order of the hieroglyphs and give an unusual translation of one of them in order to divine the name. It seems that, under the influence of the names on either side of this name, and under the influence of the Biblical story of Jeroboam and the belief that Shoshenq was trying to punish him, scholars have been too eager to find Succoth as well.

There are additional problems about sites in the Sharon Plain which are supposed to be on the list. Numbers 38 and 39 in row 3 are identified as Shocoh and Beth Tappuah. The problem here is very simple – there is no known site in the Sharon Plain that in ancient days had the name “Beth Tappuah” or “Tappuah”. This name should be located in a different region. Next, there is a mound that had the name “Shocoh” or “Socah”. However, surface surveys indicate that the site probably was not occupied when Shoshenq was in the area (Miller,2000). In other words, the Shocoh on the list must be found elsewhere. There are two places where we find both Socah and Tappuah: in the Judean foothills (Joshua 15: 34-5) next to the route probably used by Shoshenq, and in the southern foothill region or south of Hebron (Joshua 15: 48, 53). In Josh. 15: 53, the name is “Beth-Tappuah” just as it is in Shoshenq's list. While it is possible Shoshenq went up into the southern Judean hill, I believe the more reasonable location for these two names is in the Judean foothill region.

In row one, three names are not identified: they are either damaged (#11, #12) or unknown (#13 Rubuti).

It is clear some names in row 2 are safely identified in the Jezreel valley: #14 Taanach, #15 Shunem, #16 Beth-Shean, #17 Rehov. After those names. The route favoured by scholars begins to unravel. The next group of identified names in row 2 are the following: #22 Mahanaim, #23 Gibeon, #24 Beth-Horon, #25 *kdtn*, and, #26 Aijalon. #20 is badly damaged. The other three numbers are not safely identified in my opinion: #18 *hprl*, #19 *drmm*, and #21 *swdy*[...]. It seems that these four names (#18-#21) should be connected to either the Jezreel valley names or the names located in the Beth-Horon/Aijalon region. Of course, a third locality is an option as they have not been identified properly.

In row 3, most of the names have not been identified properly. The first name, #27 *mkdy*, has been identified by most scholars as “Megiddo”. I identified it possibly as “Makkedah”. It seemed to me that it seemed so distant from the Jezreel names and so close to the Beth-Horon/Aijalon group that Makkedah was a better option. Also, as Ussishkin (1990) pointed out, it seems Megiddo was not destroyed by Shoshenq. Instead, he or the city set up a stele to commemorate the event. It seems more likely that Megiddo was an ally and should not be on the list just as the Philistine cities are not on the list possibly because they too were allies. Of course, I could be wrong but then why is the famed city of Megiddo not at the beginning of the list?

Row 3 ends with the names #38 Socoh and #39 Beth-Tappuah. Because of this bracketing of names, row three is often seen as a list of names along the international road in the Megiddo-Sharon Plain region. However, as I pointed out,

Socoh and Beth-Tappuah cannot be located in the Sharon Plain region. The more reasonable suggestion is the northern Shephelah where we do find the two names as neighbours. Another possibility may be the southern Judah Highlands.

Once Sokoh and Beth-Tappuah are removed from the Sharon Plain, then it may be possible to identify the other names in the list using other locations.

Row 4 is very badly damaged.

Row 5 begins with #53 Penuel, #54 *hdst* or “New Town”, #55 *p-nds-k* which has been translated as “One of Succoth”, #56 Adam, and, #57 *dl[?]rm*. Numbers 58 to 64 are partially damaged and may not be safely identified. Clearly, number 53, Penuel, cannot be located in the Trans-Jordan and may be located in the Judean foothills. Number 55 should not be identified as “Succoth” in any way. Number 54, “New Town” has been identified as “Qodesh” (Mazar, 1957: 60) and “Kadesh” (Aharoni, 1979: 325) but it is unlikely that we should look for these names in the Trans-Jordan. I suggested “Hadashah” (Joshua 15:37) located near Lachish (15:39). Scholars translate number 57 as “Zemaraim”, a mountain north of Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 13:4) or a place near Bethel (Joshua 18: 22), but this seems out of place on the list. It should be near the name Gibeon (#23 row 2). Also, the second sign is missing and scholars insist on adding the letter “m” to the name.

Clearly there are not as many areas in the list as Finkelstein suggested. There are no names in the Trans-Jordan. Two names that are associated with the Sharon Plain are located elsewhere. However, the other names in that row may be located in the Sharon Plain but, at this point, such identification is very tenuous. They may be names north of Megiddo

somewhere (see: Ahlstrom, 1993) but again that would be speculation. What we have are names that seem to exist along the Judean Shephelah and the Jezreel valley. No other names have been “safely identified”.

REHOBAM'S 5TH YEAR

The fifth year of Rehoboam has played a major part in the Shishak/Shoshenq story (1 Kings 14:25 and 2 Chronicles 12: 1-12). In certain ways, this date has both helped some scholars to determine the dates of the reign of Sheshenq and the time he came to Asia, but, also, to constrain the the chronological opportunities. Many Egyptologists (Kitchen, 2009: 167; Krauss, 2006: 411; Manning, 2006:350-1; Jansen-Winkel, 2006:264) continues to use Rehoboam's 5th year, said to be about 726-725 BCE, as a chronological marker. A major problem for him and some Biblical scholars has been the efforts of Edwin Thiele (1983) to construct an historically sound chronology using the material in the book of Kings. Others have added their efforts as well. Most scholars believe the 5th year was between 917 and 926 BCE. However, these dates use the chronological information damaged by redactors – particularly, the Jehu rebellion story added by the DtrHistorian. The redaction forces at least 153 regnal years (Jehoash 40, Amaziah 29, Azariah 52, Jotham 16 and Ahaz 16 years) into only 118 years (840 to 722 BCE). If we try to remove the texts added by the redactors and repair the damage to the original chronological structure, then it is more likely that the 5th year was closer to 937 BCE (5th year as king over the United Monarchy, Clancy, forthcoming – if I don't die first!). We may see this calculation in Ezekiel 4:4-7 where Ezekiel was told to lie on his side 390 days for the sins of Israel and then 40 days for the sins of Judah ($390 - 40 = 350$, and $586 \text{ BCE} + 350 = 936$). This would be the date the two kingdoms separated and Rehoboam began his 17 years as king of Judah alone.

However, the 5th year may have been chosen by someone who had the work of Manetho or the epitome before him. Despite the fact that the Biblical story had no historical substance, there is no reason to assume that the reference to the 5th year had no basis in fact. It is quite likely that this date was chosen deliberately and was based on some representation of the list of pharaohs. There were numerous demotic stories, Herodotus mentions him, Diodorus (Historical Library 1:94. 3-4) mentions him, and so on, so a late scribe easily may learn about his foray into Asia. All that he would have to do was discover when he ruled Egypt. If we count up all the regnal years for Manetho (Waddell, 1964: Africanus version) starting in 664 BCE (including Necho I, Nekauba, and Stephinates), then Shoshenq had 21 years between 937 and 916 BCE. (Note that Taharkah would be pharaoh in 701 BCE – 2 Kings 19:9; Isaiah 37:9. Also, Bocchoris at Sais would reign from 732 to 726 BCE – a better option for Pharaoh “So”, 2 Kings 17:4). Syncellus, or someone before him (quite possibly Africanus himself), seems to have counted up all the regnal years as one line – in other words, the dynasties would not overlap. There is a note (possibly by a later Christian writer – Jansen-Winkel, 2006: 247) for Petubates of the 23rd dynasty that the first Olympics (776 BCE) were celebrated in his reign. However, this can be done only if we count up all the regnal years from the Persian invasion by Cambyses. In the epitome, Necho II's regnal term probably suffered a scribal error and is given only 6 years instead of a probable 16 years. Once that error occurred, then Petubates had his regnal term in 811 to 771 BCE and the Olympics occurred in his reign. As it stands today, Pedubastet I probably ruled between 835/824 to 810/799 BCE, and Pedubastet II had a 6–10-year reign somewhere in 743-731 BCE. So, in reality, neither one would be a pharaoh for the first Olympics in 776 BCE.

May I point out that if we make a few small corrections to the chronology of Manetho, we reach 937 BCE for the first year of Shoshenq: 16 years instead of 6 years for Necho II, and, 28 years instead of 18 for Taharqa. The total would be 664 BCE plus 22 years for Necho I, 6 for Nekauba, 8 years for Stephinates, add 40 years for the 25th dynasty, 6 for Bocchoris, 89 years for Dynasty II and 116 years for Dynasty 22 = 937 BCE for the first year of Shoshenq. This date matches the date I suggest was the original date for the 5th year of Rehoboam. This may be a coincidence but it may suggest someone was using the epitome as a source and who did not realize that the dynasties overlapped. However, if the original book of Kings was written first, then the Jewish editor of the epitome may have adjusted Manetho to be more in line with the Jewish text. In either case, it may have been believed that the first thing Shoshenq should do is deal with God's plan for Judah and Israel. We have the same basic idea for Cyrus – it was God's plan so the first thing Cyrus did was end the exile and help start rebuilding the temple.

The problem with the date is that it probably was chosen for ideological reasons and not historical ones. For example, David finally rules all of Israel in his third year after the death of Saul's son, Ishbaal. 40 years later, Solomon begins to build the temple in his 4th year. Another 40 years and Shishak turns up in Rehoboam's 5th year to take away all the temple goods and treasures. It seems clear we have an ideological construction and not one based on history.

Any number of scholars insist that Shoshenq was involved with Jerusalem. Andre Lemaire (2009) suggests Jerusalem is not found on the list because of its “fragmentary character” (pp.173-4) and argues the MT text of 1 Kgs. 14: 25-6 should be read that Shoshenq entered and looted the city. Nadav Na'aman (1999: 5-6) claimed a heavy tribute was paid and the source

of the information must have been some text, perhaps a chronicle, before him. He adds “This is clear evidence that writing had reached the court of Jerusalem in the late-tenth century”. There is no doubt that Jerusalem is not on the list as it is and probably was not on the list when it was collected originally. You would expect to find the name of Jerusalem mentioned in one of three places: had it been the centre of an important geo-political entity, it should be at or near the beginning of the list as it would be on any list for Thutmose III; the other option would be to see it on row 2 where we find the names of Gibeon, etc. Even if we accept the name Zemaraim in row five, we may see a place for Jerusalem there as well. However, the name Jerusalem is not found in any of these places so, despite the damage, I believe it is unlikely that Shoshenq bothered with Jerusalem so it would not be the centre of an important geo-political entity. The absence of Jerusalem on the list may suggest the site was unoccupied at the time – aside from temporary occupants of various sorts.

As far as dating archaeological stratum is concerned, Shoshenq, at the present moment, is useless. The time span that the theories about Shoshenq allow are far too great to date any archaeological evidence. In addition, the list of localities does not support any claims about a geo-political entity centred on Jerusalem. In addition, it does not support any claims that Jerusalem was occupied at the time. The traditional interpretation of the list of ringnames needs to be set aside and a new look and interpretation is needed, and not one based on or using the Biblical stories of David – Jeroboam. It seems to me that the best explanation is the one I originally promoted – a route along the Judean foothills and then to Megiddo and the southern Jezreel Valley, and then home. Simple!

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El CEHAO en el mundo: Sudáfrica, Israel y Grecia

Juan Manuel Tebes, Director del Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (CEHAO), realizó entre Julio y Septiembre 2022 una estadia de investigación en el Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS), en Stellenbosch, Sudáfrica, trabajando en su proyecto Decoding the Ancient Sacred Landscapes of the Arid Southern Levant (Southern Jordan/Israel): The Desert Cults Mapping Project (DCMP). El proyecto investiga los paisajes sagrados de los márgenes áridos del Levante meridional según la distribución espacial y la cultura material de los lugares de culto y funerarios de los pueblos que vivieron en el área desde el Neolítico hasta el período Islámico temprano.



Juan Manuel Tebes con los becarios de STIAS

El trabajo de Tebes consistió en recopilar material bibliográfico, sobre todo informes arqueológicos, y chequear los que ya obraban en su poder. Con este material, amplió la base de datos del DCMP en la que figuran todos los yacimientos de culto y mortuorios del sur de Jordania/Israel datados entre el Neolítico y el periodo islámico temprano. También estudió los restos arqueológicos de actividades cúllicas y prácticas funerarias, analizó las evidencias textuales e iconográficas de prácticas de culto e instituciones religiosas que se introdujeron

desde las tierras sedentarias, e investigó las evidencias epigráficas que atestiguan el culto a deidades locales en inscripciones antiguas semíticas del Levante árido meridional.

Por su parte, el profesor Jorge Cano-Moreno realizó una estadia académica en Israel y en Grecia entre los meses de agosto y noviembre del 2022 como becario de la Universidad de Bar-Ilan (Israel) gracias a una Sandwich Scholarship. Estas actividades se dieron dentro del marco de su investigación doctoral sobre la iconografía en sellos y sellados de la cultura minoica durante el período Neopalacial y consistió en realizar un estudio comparativo entre estos objetos y los correspondientes a los estados del Levante durante la Edad de Bronce y el inicio de la Edad de Hierro.

Además, realizó estudios de laboratorio en el Museo de Heraklion, en el Museo Nacional de Atenas y en los almacenes de la Autoridad Israelí de Antigüedades (IAA). Este trabajo consistió en el análisis macroscópico de las piezas conservadas en dichas instituciones para la conformación de un catálogo de imágenes y en el estudio de otras piezas relacionadas con su investigación.



Jorge Cano-Moreno en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Atenas

The Assyrian King List, Chronology and the Dark Ages in the Ancient Near East

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we investigate the consequences for the Assyrian Chronology of dating the end of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt from around 1800 BC to 1530 BC. Dating the New Kingdom in Egypt a minimum of 243 years later than generally accepted implies the existence of contemporaneous kings in Assyria. In the Assyrian King List Enlil-kudur-usur appears as the last king of the lineage of Ashur-uballit I, then is mentioned Ninurta-apil-Ekur son of Ili-pada descendant of Eriba-Adad. We assume that Ili-pada is the grandson of Eriba-Adad I and Ninurta-apil-Ekur started a second royal branch. The consequence is that Ashur-dan II is the son of Tiglath-pileser I. The rearrangement of the Assyrian Kings results in a reduction of about 250 years. A reduction of 250 years brings an end to the Dark Ages in the Ancient Near East.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the article "The Calendar Reforms of Ancient Egypt" (Nel Weggelaar & Chris Kort 1989) we concluded that the Middle Kingdom is anchored more securely than ever to the astronomical dates of the 12th dynasty: year 7 of Sesostri III is 1601 in the alternative chronology (AC), year 30 of Amenemhet III is 1557 AC.¹ The Twelfth dynasty ends around 1530 AC, 270 years later than is currently accepted². Accordingly, we can hardly leave the New Kingdom in its present position and there is no compelling reason to do so.

Drastically reducing the end of the Late Bronze Age is seen as crucial to resolve the archeological and historical enigmas of the "Centuries of Darkness": 1200-900 CC (James et al. 1991:220). The Dark Ages began ca. 1200 CC with the collapse of the Bronze Age

civilizations in the entire Old World (Figure 1). The period was marked by the disappearance of the Mycenaean civilization of Greece and the Hittite Empire in Anatolia; the decline of Babylon after the end of the Kassite dynasty (1155 CC) and a long period of weakness in Assyria up to Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) with a solitary revival during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 CC). Also, an invasion in Egypt by the Sea People during the reign of Rameses III (1184-1153 CC), vagabonds who were invading other regions as well. The kingdom of Elam disappeared around 1100 CC to emerge again after three centuries of silence; etcetera. All this and more is discussed by James et al. Various explanations have been suggested for the collapse that ended only 250 to 300 years later: climate change, drought and famine, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, invasions by outside barbarians and internal conflicts. All these explanations are rejected by the authors as unsatisfactory. They rightly argue that the illusory Dark Ages are caused by the inflated Egyptian chronology, backbone of the surrounding chronologies (James et al. 1991:311-314).

Eratosthenes (ca. 273-192 BC) established a scientific chronology from the war of Troy to his own day (Sarton 1959:112). This is evident from the famous fragment preserved by Clement of

Alexandria, about 400 years later, in the first book of the "Stromata" (I.138.1-3 Caster

the Spartan kings ruled on average 5 Olympiads. He counted 20 generations from 480



Figure 1. Middle East & Eastern Mediterranean 1300 CC - 1200 CC.

1951:145). The fragment consists of a small list which gives the intervals in years between important events in Greek history, from the Trojan war to the death of Alexander.³ According to Clement, Eratosthenes counted 159 years from the settlement of Ionia to Lycurgus and from there 108 years to the first Olympiad (776 BC). This brought the Trojan war to 1184 CC and Lycurgus to 885 CC; implying an average of 35 years for the Spartan kings and creating unsolvable chronological problems that are still keeping us busy. Eratosthenes, a scholar known for his ingenious method how to calculate the circumference of the Earth, cannot be blamed for that. He used the same reasoning for the dating of Troy as for calculating the circumference of the Earth. Measure what you can measure and then extrapolate to what you want to know: the circumference of the Earth or the year of the fall of Troy. He will have seen that

BC, the invasion of Xerxes, until the fall of Troy and arrived at about 880 AC. It is very unlikely that Eratosthenes had a reason to place Lycurgus exactly 159 years after the start of the Ionian colonization and 108 years before the first Olympiad. It is only after the first Olympiad that the Greek had a chronological framework in which dates are accurate to the year. Would Clement have misunderstood Eratosthenes? Eratosthenes probably meant:

884	Fall of Troy	to the return of the Heracleidae	80 years
804	Return of the Heracleidae	from there to the Ionian settlement	60 years
744	Ionian settlement	from Troy to the guardianship of Lycurgus	159 years
725	Lycurgus guardianship	from Troy to the first Olympiad	108 years
776	First Olympiad		

Eratosthenes had information to date Lycurgus eight generations after Troy (ca. 160 years) and one year before the 14th Olympiad. Schematically, he placed the fall of Troy 40 Olympiads before the 14th. He certainly knew that this was not accurate to the year. The 108

years to the first Olympiad is the result. The problem of needing two lawgivers named Lycurgus, as clarified by Plutarch in *Parallel Lives*, vanishes as well using our different interpretation of Eratosthenes's chronology. To summarize: Eratosthenes did not have a dark ages problem.

The first to criticize the extended Egyptian chronology⁴ was Isaac Newton (1728), whose study was published posthumously. He came intuitively to his conclusions and only later, reluctantly, devised the evidence (Manuel 1963:65). Newton reduced the Homeric Age, the Greek Dark Ages, with 300 years. He dated the Trojan war around 900 AC based on an average length of the Spartan kings of 18 to 20 years instead of the common 40 years average "so much beyond the course of nature as is not to be credited" (1728: Introduction and Chapter 1). Newton regarded Eratosthenes as the great culprit who counted with 35-year generations instead of 20 years. In that he was probably mistaken as illustrated in the previous paragraph.

Cecil Torr (1896) was the next scholar who argued for a radical lowering of the Bronze Age. The Egyptologist Flinders Petrie (b.1853) dated the Mycenaean civilization between 1500-1100 CC. The Mycenaean pottery is connected to the 18th and 19th dynasties that would reign in this period in Egypt. The result was an enormous void between the Mycenaean world and that of the early Greek city-states of the eighth century BC. Torr argued that the collapse of Mycenaean culture must have occurred two to three centuries later (James *et al.* 1991:16-17). He also calculated that king Ahmose, first king of the New Kingdom in Egypt, falls 1271 at the latest. A date corresponding to our date: 1287 AC (section 2.6). The beginning of the 12th dynasty was dated by him 1550 at the latest (Torr 1896:51). Although we do not agree with this last

drastic reduction, Torr was right in lowering the Mycenaean civilization and rejecting the established Egyptian chronology.⁵

It is clear that a reduction with a magnitude of 250 years has consequences for the chronology of the entire Ancient Near East. First of all, we have to look at the Assyrian King List. As Brinkman (1973:310) stated:⁶

"There is no body of evidence more important or more widely used than the Assyrian Kinglist tradition. Practically all dates in Mesopotamian history calculated over this time span (1500-600 BC) are based directly or indirectly on the data contained in this tradition."

2. THE DARK AGES IN EGYPT

The main goal of this paper is to revise the Assyrian Chronology, but we will first discuss the results of the article "The Calendar Reforms of Ancient Egypt" (Nel Weggelaar & Chris Kort 1989). This is useful to gain a broad perspective on the timescale (Figure 2) of the Dark Ages. We will also offer new insights that expand on the results presented in the aforementioned article.

It was suggested in "The Calendar Reforms of Ancient Egypt" that the beginning of the New Kingdom might have to be lowered by much more than 250 years.⁷ This is not our current view as can be seen in Figure 2. In section 3 we will show why a smaller reduction of 250 years makes more sense from the Assyrian perspective and provide a detailed genealogy including estimated absolute dates (Figure 8).

The Second Intermediate Period (SIP) is dated by Ryholt (1997) ca. 1800-1550 CC.⁸ The SIP is the period between the end of the 12th dynasty (1985-1800 CC) and the start of the 18th dynasty (1550-1295 CC), respectively the end of the Middle Kingdom and the start of the New Kingdom. Queen Sobekneferu (1806-1802 CC)

is the last ruler of the 12th dynasty (Ryholt 1997:185). In the conventional chronology the duration of the SIP is determined by two Sothic dates: one assigned to year 7 of Sesostris III of the 12th dynasty and the other to Amenhotep I of the 18th dynasty. These two kings are dated respectively in the earlier nineteenth century CC and the later sixteenth century CC (Depuydt 2008:48). Since the two conventional Sothic dates are rejected by us we needed a study about the length of the SIP based on its internal chronology from items of contemporary evidence such as genealogies.

Using Bennett's estimate of 243 years, Ahmose, first king of the 18th dynasty, started his rule in 1287 AC. The beginning of the 18th dynasty in 1287 AC fits nicely with an overall reduction of the dates for the New Kingdom (1550-1069 CC) by some 250 years as suggested by Peter James et al. (1991). This reduction was the result of compressing the Third Intermediate Period (TIP) (1069 CC - 664 BC), dated by James ca. 810-664 BC.¹⁰ The compression could be achieved by allowing greater overlaps between the TIP dynasties, and by strict adherence to the reign lengths actually given by contemporary sources.

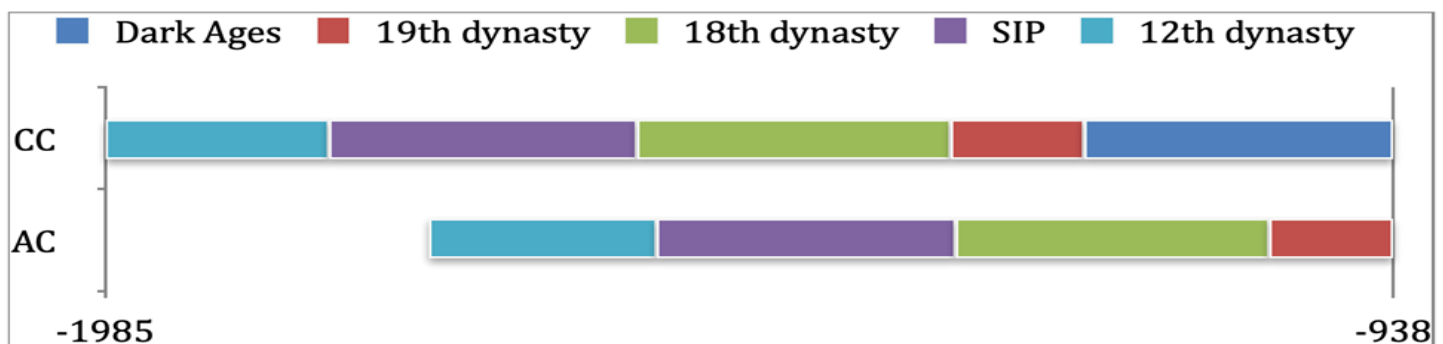


Figure 2: The Dark Ages in Egypt

Bennett (2006) did such a study, concerning the genealogy of the governors of El-Kab, although he certainly did not reject the two Sothic dates (Bennett 2006:235). According to Bennett there are at least 8 generations from king Merhetepre, 13th dynasty, to the death of Renni an official during Amenhotep I, the second king of the 18th dynasty. Bennett calculated a minimum length of 155 years from Merhetepre to Ahmose, the immediate predecessor of Amenhotep I. The 155 years are based on an average of 25 years per generation. To the 155 years he added a period of 74 years for the preceding kings of the 13th dynasty, known from the Turin List, and 14 years for the other 13th dynasty kings assuming 1 year per king. He achieved a reasonable minimum of 243 years between the end of the 12th dynasty and the start of the 18th dynasty (Bennett 2006:240).⁹

Setnakht (1186-1184 CC), founder of the 20th dynasty, was dated approximately 950 (James et al. 1991: 257).¹¹

Between Ahmose (1550 CC) and Setnakht (1186 CC) is a period of 364 years. Setnakht should be dated 923 AC, 364 years later than Ahmose (1287 AC). If, however, we assume that Horemheb, last king of the 18th dynasty, ruled only 14 years and not 28 years as argued by van Dijk (2008), then the end of the 19th dynasty falls in 938 AC and Setnakht starts in 937 AC with the 20th dynasty (Figure 2).¹²

3. THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST

The Assyrian King List is an account of all the kings on the throne of Ashur with their relations and lengths of reigns down to the seventh century.¹³ In the conventional chronology the



Figure 3. Map of Assyria 1392 CC - 934 BC

sequence of kings in this list is seen as consecutive. A reduction of 243 years (Ahmose 1287 AC) means that several kings ruled simultaneously in Assyria. So we need another interpretation of the sequence of kings in the Assyrian King List (AKL). This could result in a different view of how and when the list was made.

The Middle Kingdom ends 1530 AC and 243 years later in 1287 is the start of the New Kingdom. Shaw (2001) counts a period of 198 years from the start of the New Kingdom to Akhenaten who belongs to the 18th dynasty. This means that year 1 of Akhenaten falls in 1089 AC. Akhenaten is connected to the Assyrian king Ashur-uballit I who sent the El Amarna letters nos.15-16 (Moran 1992:37-41). We see no reason why this synchronism should be rejected.¹⁴ Ashur-uballit I reigned 36 years (Brinkman 1972: 345).¹⁵ If his last year coincides with the first year of Akhenaten, then he would start at the earliest in 1125 AC (1089 plus 36). From Ashur-uballit I (1363-1328 CC) up to and

including Enlil-kudur-usur (1196-1192 CC), the last king of the lineage, are 8 generations ruling for 172 years. The earliest possibility for the last year of Enlil-kudur-usur is 953 AC (1125 minus 172). This is 19 years before year 1 of Ashur-dan II.

Ashur-dan II has the same dating in the conventional and alternative chronology: 934-912 BC.¹⁶ According to the conventional chronology Enlil-kudur-usur was succeeded by Ninurta-apil-Ekur. From Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179 CC) to Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) are 10 generations ruling for a period of 257 years. The period of 19 years we mentioned in the previous paragraph is too short to fit 10 generations, our alternative view is that the scribe of the King List started with Ninurta-apil-Ekur a secondary line of kings parallel to the descendants of Ashur-uballit I.

The entry in the AKL shows that Ninurta-apil-Ekur is not related to Enlil-kudur-usur. Ninurta-

apil-Ekur is presented as the founder of a new dynastic line:

“Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ili-ihadda, descendant of Eriba-Adad (I), to Karduniash he went, from Karduniash he went up, the throne he seized (and) 3 years he ruled” (Gelb 1954: 227).¹⁷

There are two questions: If Ninurta-apil-Ekur indeed seized the throne several generations before Enlil-kudur-usur, then when did this happen exactly and why does he appear in the AKL next to Enlil-kudur-usur? In sections 4-6 we will discuss the documentary evidence according to which in the conventional chronology Ninurta-apil-Ekur should be the contemporary of Enlil-kudur-usur.

official who gave his name to the year. Ili-pada III is also known as grand-vizier of Assyria and as king of Hanigalbat (idem 1999: 221). Most probably he is the father of Mardukija, governor of Katmuhu, and of a daughter Uballitutu. Mardukija is also known as limu (idem 1999:219-221). A derogative letter was written to Ili-pada III and Ashur-nirari III “kings of Assyria” by the Kassite king Adad-shuma-usur.¹⁸

In Figure 4 we illustrate the conventional chronologist view of where Ninurta-apil-Ekur is placed in the genealogy. We use a red color to mark the, in our view incorrect, placement of royals in the conventional chronologist view in this and subsequent figures. The greyed-out labels signify that these royals are not kings.

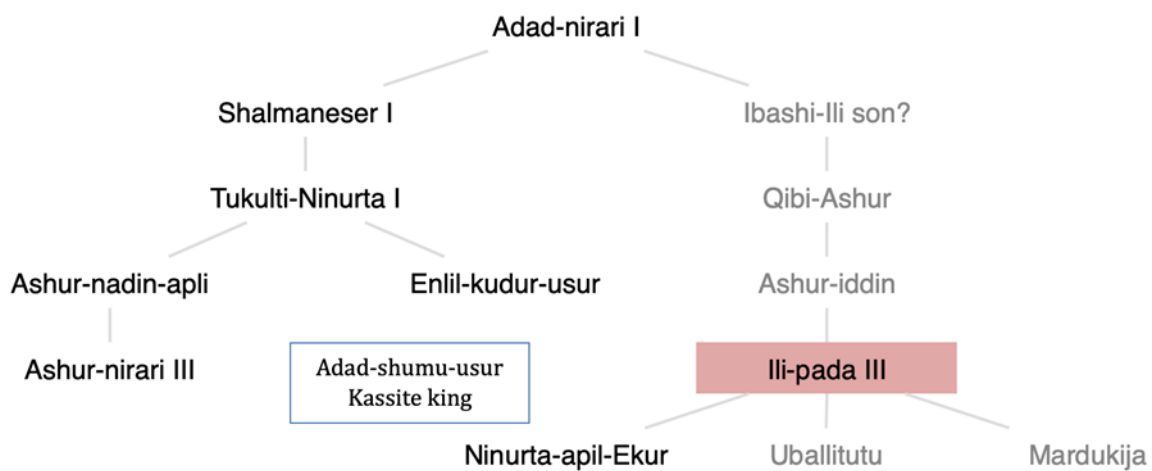


Figure 4. Ninurta-apil-Ekur son of Ili-pada III (CC)

3.1. Ili-pada III, great-grandson of Adad-nirari I and descendant of Eriba-Adad I

In the conventional chronology the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179 CC) is identified with Ili-pada III, son of Ashur-iddin and grandson of Qibi-Ashur (Figure 4). Qibi-Ashur is a son of Ibashli-ili, who is most probably a son of king Adad-nirari I (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999:215-219). Adad-nirari I (1305-1274 CC) is the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit I (1363-1328 CC). Ili-pada III is known as eponym during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. An eponym or limu is a high

There are two other officials named Ili-pada (Figure 5). Chronological reasons, however, determine that in the conventional chronology only the later Ili-pada III, son of Ashur-iddin, can be regarded as the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur: “Aus chronologischen Gründen kommt allein der letztgenannte als Vater des Ninurta-apil-Ekur in Betracht” (idem 1999:219).

3.2. Ili-pada I, grandson of Eriba-Adad I

It is only possible to place Ninurta-apil-Ekur several generations back in time if his father can be identified with a previous Ili-pada who is also a descendant of Eriba-Adad I. There is indeed such an Ili-pada. The earliest known Ili-pada is the father of Ibashi-ili and grandfather of Babu-aha-iddina (idem 1999:219) (**Figure 5**). Babu-

I. Ili-pada II does not belong to the right generation to be the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. For chronological reasons we consider Ninurta-apil-Ekur to be the son of Ili-pada I. Ninurta-apil-Ekur is, like Arik-den-ili, a great-grandson of Eriba-Adad I.

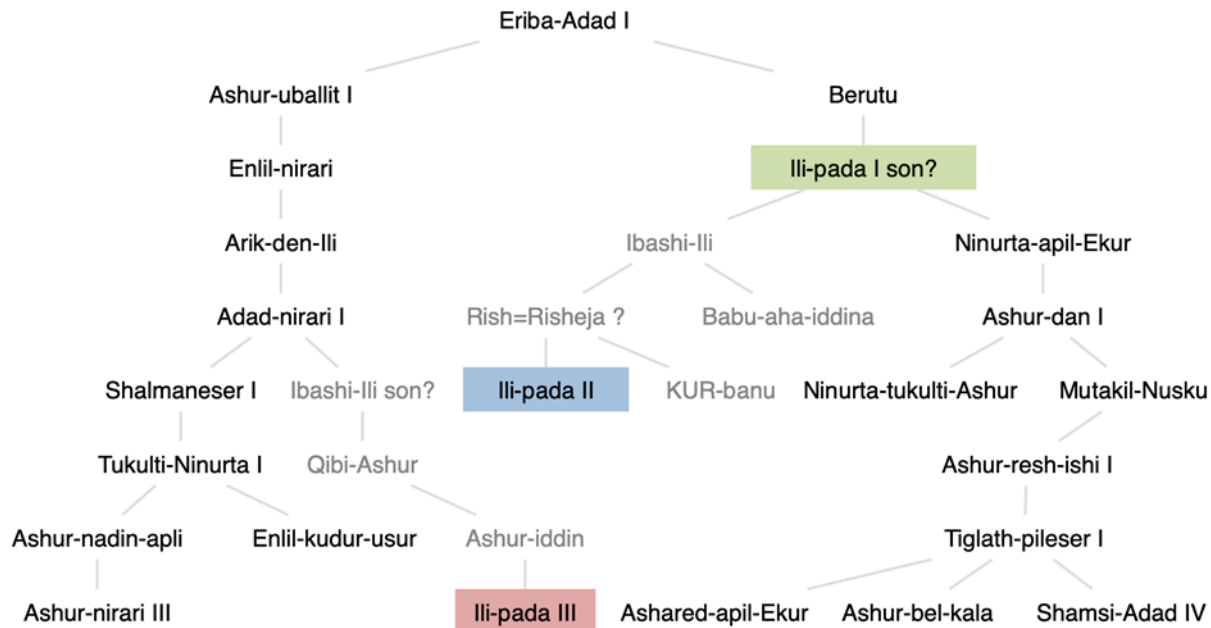


Figure 5. Ninurta-apil-Ekur son of Ili-pada I (AC)

aha-iddina is the well-known chancellor during the reign of three consecutive kings: Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I (Weidner 1959). Cancic-Kirschbaum suggests that the earliest Ili-pada was a grandson of Eriba-Adad I. Eriba-Adad I had at least five sons and one of them is Berutu (idem 1999: 212 figure 2). Probably the same Berutu is known as eponym during the reign of Arik-den-ili, grandson of Ashur-uballit I (Grayson 1987:121, A.O.75.1). If Berutu is indeed the father of Ili-pada, then the latter is a grandson of Eriba-Adad I.

The second Ili-pada is son of Rish-[,], son of Ibashi-ili. Ili-pada II is a contemporary of Shalmaneser I. Rish-[,] may be identical with Risheja son of Ibassi-ili and father of KUR-banu (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999:219). If this is correct, then Ili-pada II belongs to the right generation to be grandson of the first Ibashi-ili, son of Ili-pada

In **Figure 5** we illustrate where each of the three Ili-pada's exist in the genealogy. The plain labels are kings, the greyed out labels are not. The green Ili-pada is the one we assume is the actual father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. The red Ili-pada is the one the conventional chronologists, in our view incorrectly, assume is the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur. The blue Ili-pada is not a candidate

3.3. Rearrangement of the kings in the AKL and the existence of Ashur-dan IIIA

The consequence of moving Ninurta-apil-Ekur to the generation of Arik-den-ili is that Tiglath-pileser I is a contemporary of Enlil-kudur-usur, provisionally dated 953 (AC). According to the AKL, Tiglath-pileser I had three sons: Ashared-apil-ekur, Ashur-bel-kala and Shamsi-Adad IV (Figure 5). Adad-nirari II claims in his inscriptions to be a son of Ashur-dan (II), son of Tiglath-pileser (II) (Grayson 1987:142). For

chronological reasons Adad-nirari II (911-891 BC) can only refer to Tiglath-pileser I, father of Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) (Figure 6).

Ashur-dan (II) claims in his inscriptions to be a son of Tiglath-pileser (II), son of Ashur-resh-ishi (II), son of Ashur-rabi (II) (Grayson 1987: 138 ff.). Evidently, Tiglath-pileser II, who now belongs to the generation of Shamsi-Adad V (823-811 BC), also had a son named Ashur-dan (Figure 8). In the AKL this son is identified with Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) son of Tiglath-pileser I. How this could happen will be explained in sections 3.6 and 3.7. We name the lost king Ashur-dan IIIA to avoid confusion with his namesake of the collateral line: Ashur-dan III (772-755 BC).

In **Figure 6** we illustrate the key points where our view differs from the conventional chronology, in the next section we will provide more details. The plain lines signify direct descendants and the dotted lines signify an arbitrary number of descendants between two connected royals. The green color is used to show where in our view the lineage continues. The red color is used to show where the conventional chronology, in our view incorrectly, assumes the lineage continues.

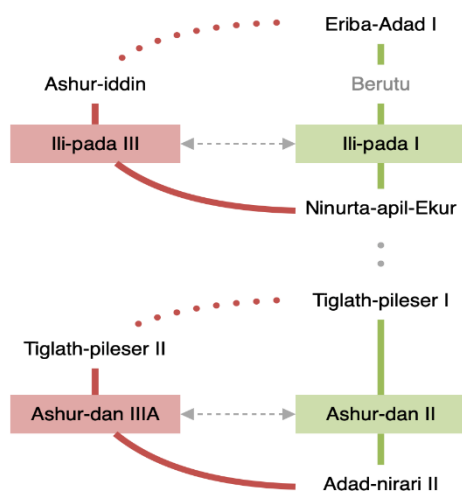


Figure 6. The difference between our view and the conventional view

3.4. Redating the kings of both lineages

What probably happened, as will be explained in detail in section 4, is the following scenario: Ashared-apil-Ekur became involved in the battle between Enlil-kudur-usur, last king of the lineage of Ashur-uballit I, and the Kassite king Adad-shumu-usur. After the death of Enlil-kudur-usur, Ashared-apil-Ekur, son of Tiglath-pileser I, appears to be sole ruler during his two-year reign. He was succeeded by his brother Ashur-bel-kala. At the same time Ashur-dan II, another son of Tiglath-pileser I, established his own line. We date the kings of the two previous branches from year one of Ashur-dan II: 934 BC. Ashared-apil-Ekur is dated 936-935 AC and Enlil-kudur-usur 941-937 AC. Ashur-uballit I started to rule in 1108 AC.¹⁹ Ninurta-apil-Ekur started to rule ca. 1044 AC.

Ninurta-apil-Ekur can only be dated approximately. According to the AKL his two grandsons, Mutakil-Nusku and Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur, ruled “tuppishu” (Grayson 1980-83:111). One explanation of “tuppishu” is “for a short time”. Brinkman (1972) included this short time within the reign of Ashur-dan I. Baker (2010), however, argued rather convincingly that the term “tuppishu” or “tuppi” means “for a one-year period”. We assume that Baker is right.²⁰ Accordingly: one year for Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur (995 AC) and one year for Mutakil-Nusku (994 AC). Brinkman counted 13 years for Ninurta-apil-Ekur and 46 years for his son Ashur-dan I.²¹ An alternative is to count 36 years for Ashur-dan I (Frahm 2017:616 note 5). We follow Frahm, although he noted that the matter remains undecided. Ashur-dan I is dated 1031-996 AC and Ninurta-apil-Ekur 1044-1032 AC. Ninurta-

apil-Ekur came to power during the first decade of Adad-nirari I (1050-1019 AC).

In Figure 8 we present our view of the lineage from Eriba-Adad I to Tiglath-pileser III, including absolute dates for each king's reign. The red color is used to illustrate where the conventional view differs from our view. The green color is used to illustrate our view. The conventional path can be traced by following the grey and red lines, but not the green lines. Of course the dates do not match the conventional dates (except for Ashur-dan II and his descendants), but it will provide insight into where and how much time we compressed.

She relates about a lost clay tablet, found and lost again in the British museum by Julius Oppert, the French-German Assyriologist. Oppert reported in 1855 that according to the inscription "Tiglath-pileser III, coming down to the 42nd year of his reign, said that he ascended the throne in the 20th year of his predecessor" (Simani: 2009:32). If we assume that the lost clay tablet indeed existed, then Tiglath-pileser III could only refer to Ashur-dan IIIA 795 - AC. In that case Ashur-dan IIIA had a reign of 20 years and ruled: 795-776 AC. In 775 AC Tiglath-pileser III started his reign as successor of Ashur-dan IIIA. In 744 BC, when he ascended the throne of

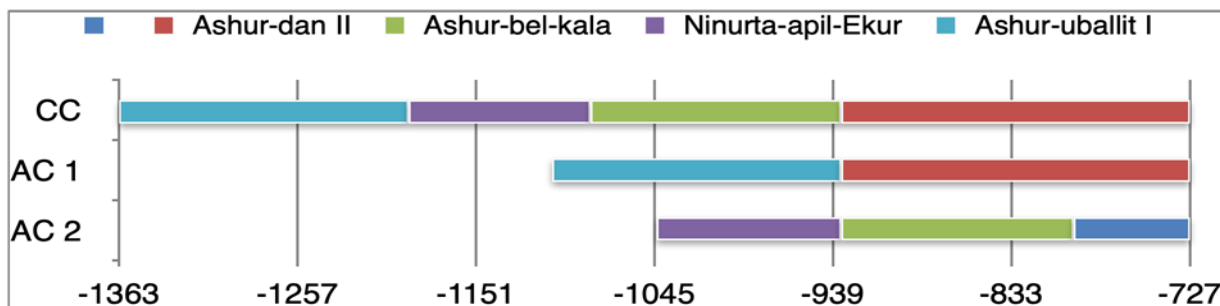


Figure 7. Splitting the single lineage in two parallel lineages CC → AC1 + AC2

3.5. Ashur-dan IIIA (795 - AC) last king of his lineage?

Ashur-dan IIIA (795-AC) seems to be the last king of the lineage of Shamsi-Adad IV (Figure 8). However, it is not ruled out that his successor was Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) before he ascended the throne in 744 BC. Tiglath-pileser III came to the throne in 744 BC as the result of a revolution and can be seen as a usurper whose origins may be doubted (Grayson 1992:71). In the SDAS list, written by his successor, Tiglath-pileser III is added as "son of Ashur-nirari V" when one of his own inscriptions, a stone brick, shows that he was a son of Adad-nirari III (Brinkman 1973: 313). If Tiglath-pileser III is indeed a son of Adad-nirari III (810-782 BC), then it is chronologically feasible that there is some sense in the interesting story told by Simani (2009).

Ashur-nirari V (754-745 BC), the two branches became one. An active career of 49 years (775 minus 727) is rare, but it is not impossible: the Egyptian king Rameses II ruled 66 years.

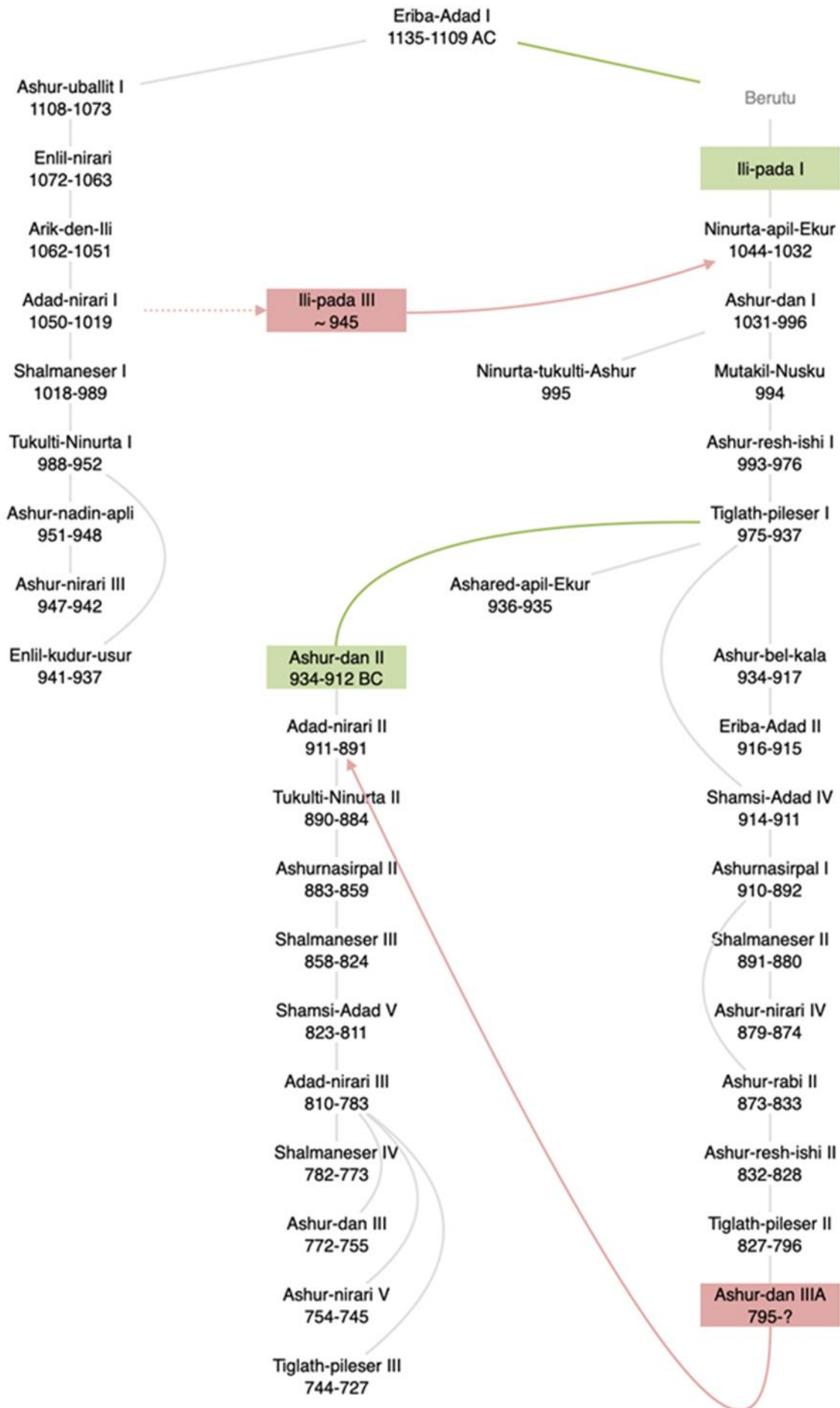


Figure 8. Dating the Branch of Ashur-uballit and the concurrent branch of Ninurta-apil-ekur.

During the last two years of his reign Tiglath-pileser III was also king of Babylonia. In the Babylonian King List A, a later source, he appears as "Pul" (Brinkman 1968:62). Pul is also the Assyrian king who, according to the Bible (II Kings xv:19), received "a thousand talents of silver" from Menachem, the king of Israel. According to the high chronology of Ussher, published in 1650, Menachem reigned: 772-761 BC. Because Tiglath-pileser III started his reign 744 BC, nearly two decades after Menachem, Pul was seen as another otherwise unknown king of Assyria. When Thiele (1951:254) shortened the chronology of the Hebrew kings and dated Menachem twenty years later, 752-742 BC, Pul could be identified with Tiglath-pileser III. Brinkman (1968:61) concluded: "that these two names were used to designate a single ruler is no longer seriously called in question".

To summarize: in the alternative chronology Pul and Tiglath-pileser III could also be the same individual according to Ussher's chronology. Pul is the name of Tiglath-pileser as king of Babylonia and probably also his name as successor of Ashur-dan IIIA.²²

3.6. The Nassouhi List

The Nassouhi List (King List A) is the oldest extensive copy of the Assyrian King List.²³ The List ends with Tiglath-pileser II son of Ashur-resh-ishi II and grandson of Ashur-rabi II. According to Nassouhi (1927:1) the list was probably made during the reign of Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) son of Tiglath-pileser II. As we have shown, Ashur-dan IIIA is the son of Tiglath-pileser II. The Nassouhi List was probably made during the reign of Ashur-dan IIIA (795 - AC)(Figure 8).

In general it is assumed that the Nassouhi List was preceded by another king list. The exact date of the earlier list is disputed (Yamada

1994).²⁴ Azize, who defines the AKL as "a mixture of compilation, editing and original writing" claims that the AKL was created by Ashurnasirpal I (1049-1031 CC) or by his father Shamsi-Adad IV (1053-1050 CC)(Azize 1997:175,78).²⁵

Let us assume that Ashurnasirpal I (910-892 AC) was the first to make the AKL. The problem he faced was how to present the two concurrent lines of Assyrian kings. From the way the AKL is composed, it is clear that the scribe first mentioned the descendants of Ashur-uballit I (1108-1073 AC) up to and including Enlil-kudur-usur (941-937 AC). Then he added the ancestors of his own king: seven generations from Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1044-1032 AC) up to and including Shamsi-Adad IV (914-911 AC), father of Ashurnasirpal I. Four generations later Ashur-dan IIIA (795-AC) updated the list with his predecessors: from Ashurnasirpal I (910-892 AC) up to and including Tiglath-pileser II (827-796 AC) (Figure 8).²⁶

By placing the kings of the collateral lineage directly after Enlil-kudur-usur, the scribe gave the impression that Ninurta-apil-Ekur was his successor. Possibly the scribe, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, explicitly added that Ninurta-apil-Ekur was the son of Ili-pada descendant of Eriba-Adad I. At the time of Ashurnasirpal I (910-892 AC) it must have been clear that this Ili-pada was the grandson of Eriba-Adad I and not the more recent Ili-pada, who is in the first place descendant of king Adad-nirari I (Figure 5). The author of the Nassouhi List excluded Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) and his successors.²⁷ These Assyrian kings of the collateral lineage were added about fifty years later in the Khorsabad King List.

3.7. The Khorsabad List

The Khorsabad List, the second exemplar of the AKL, is made in the seventh year of Tiglath-pileser III (738 BC) (Brinkman 1973:314).²⁸ This list can be seen as a duplicate and an update of the Nassouhi List (Poebel 1942:251). The scribe added the ancestors of Tiglath-pileser III: eight generations, from Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) up to and including Ashur-nirari V (754-745 BC). He did this by connecting Ashur-dan II as son to Tiglath-pileser II, the last king mentioned in the Nassouhi King List. The compiler (738 BC) surely must have known that Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC), ruling eight generations earlier, could not have been the son of Tiglath-pileser II who is the father of Ashur-dan IIIA (795-AC). According to Hallo (1978: 6-7) the main objective of Assyrian historiography was: “to stress the antiquity and continuity of Assyrian institutions”. If Hallo is right, then the connection between Ashur-dan II and Tiglath-pileser II can be seen as a deliberate attempt to falsify history. At least, from our current point of view. However, it can also be an error caused by the piecemeal way in which the king list is composed and the essential linear structure of the king lists. Such a linear structure “did not allow for the contemporary presentation of rulers who may have ruled concurrently” (Hagens 2005:23-24). What may have contributed to the error is that both Ashur-dan’s have a similar genealogy: son of Tiglath-pileser, son of Ashur-resh-ishi. The essential difference appears in the third generation: Ashur-resh-ishi I is the son of Mutakil-Nusku and Ashur-resh-ishi II is the son of Ashur-rabi II (Figure 8).

3.8. Time spans: the later Assyrian kings and the scholars of the 19th century

Whatever the intention of the maker of the AKL, the consequence was that the later Assyrian kings thought that the sequence of the kings in the King List was consecutive. Ninurta-apil-Ekur was seen as the successor of Enlil-kudur-usur

and Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC) as son and successor of Tiglath-pileser II. This is evident from the time spans (*Distanzangaben*) by the later Assyrian kings. To give an example: Esarhaddon (679 BC) calculated a period of 586 years between himself and Shalmaneser I (Na’aman: 1984: 118). This period corresponds to Shalmaneser’s conventional date (1273-1244 CC). Obviously, Esarhaddon’s estimate includes the 247 years from Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1181 CC) to Ashur-dan II (935 BC).²⁹ The nineteenth century scholars based their reconstruction of the Assyrian chronology on the estimates of the later Assyrian kings (James 1991:269). For example, Rawlinson (1871: 50-51) used two inscriptions of Sennacherib dated in respectively 708 and 694 BC. Sennacherib mentioned that Tukulti-Ninurta I reigned 600 years ago and Tiglath-pileser I 418 years ago. Accordingly Rawlinson dated Tukulti-Ninurta I ca. 1300 (CC) and Tiglath-pileser I ca. 1110 (CC).³⁰ Sennacherib is now dated 680-669 BC and the current dates for Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-CC) and Tiglath-pileser I (1114-CC) are merely refinements. The scholars never considered the possibility that the estimates of the later Assyrian kings could be fundamentally wrong. When the Assyrian King List was discovered it appeared that the statements of the Assyrian kings were correct. This was to be expected. The canonical Babylonian and Assyrian King Lists were: “the main sources of all the statements of *Distanzangaben*” (Na’aman:1984: 116).

Both Shalmaneser I and Tiglath-pileser I made statements about the time interval between the rebuilding of a temple by Shamsi-Adad I and their own restorations (Na’aman 1984; Grayson 1987 and 1990). If our chronological reconstruction is correct, then the two statements must match.

Shalmaneser counted 580 years from himself to Shamsi-Adad I.³¹ In his own words:

“...Erisum (i), my forefather, vice-regent of Ashur, rebuilt (it and when) 159 years had passed after the reign of Erisum (i) and that temple had (again) become dilapidated Shamshi-Adad (i) (who was) also vice-regent of Ashur rebuilt (it and) 580 years (passed) that temple, which Shamshi-Adad (i), vice-regent of Ashur, had rebuilt and which had become extremely old...” (Grayson A.O.77.1 lines 112-128 p.185).

Tiglath-pileser I counted 641 years from himself to Shamsi-Adad I.³² In his own words:

“At that time the temple of the gods Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, which Shamsi-Adad (III), vice-regent of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan (II) (who was) also vice-regent of the god Ashur had previously built, (after) 641 had passed it had become dilapidated and Ashur-dan (I), king of Assyria, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (who was) also king of Assyria, tore down this temple but did not rebuilt (it) and for 60 years its foundation had not been relaid ” (Grayson A.O.87.1 lines vii 60-70 p.28).

in his 6th year and the 60-year period is included in the 641 years. We assume Na’aman is right. The result of the Shamsi-Adad I date almost corresponds to the time interval between Shalmaneser I and Tiglath-pileser I in the alternative chronology:

from year 1 Shalmaneser	1018 (AC)	+580 years=	1598 Shamsi-Adad I
from year 6 Tiglath-pileser I	970 (AC)	+641 years=	1611 Shamsi-Adad I

The difference of 13 years corresponds to the interval between year 1 of Ashur-dan I (1031 AC) and year 1 of Shalmaneser I (1018 AC). We assume that Tiglath-pileser I (975-937 AC) based his estimate on the period of 580 years of his contemporary Shalmaneser I (1018-989 AC). The 60-year period to Ashur-dan I (1031-996 AC) was added to the 580 years: together 640 years. The one extra year (641) is either the result of a scribal error or the result of an accurate calculation. Maybe Tiglath-pileser I counted, just like us, exactly 61 years from his year 6 (970 AC) to year 1 of Ashur-dan I (1031 AC) (see section 3.4).

It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the most likely date for Shamsi-Adad I. However, we would like to mention an assumption of







					
m	d	MASH	A	É	KUR
748	010	120	839	495	578
male	god	Ninurta	apil	E	kur

Figure 9. Ninurta or Ashared

We assume that Tiglath-pileser wrongly identified Shamsi-Adad I, father of Ishme-dagan (I), with Shamsi-Adad III son of Ishme-dagan (O). As Na’aman (1984:117) claims: “it is obvious that Tiglath-pileser I refers to Shamsi-Adad I, the founder of the Anu and Adad temple.” According to Na’aman Tiglath-pileser I made his statement

Na’aman (1984:119) and Cole (2014: 6 note 56) that Shalmaneser counted 580 years from Erisum and not from Shamsi-Adad I. The period between Shalmaneser I and Shamsi-Adad I then would be 421 years (580 minus 159 years). The same 159 years, obviously, should be subtracted from the period of 641 years in

Tiglath-pileser's statement. The two-time spans are consistent with a statement by Esarhaddon (Na'aman 1984:118) about the time passed by between Shalmaneser I and Shamsi-Adad I: a period of 434 years. According to the three statements Shamsi-Adad I should be dated in the alternative chronology either 1439 (Shalmaneser = 1018 + 421) or 1452 (Esarhaddon = 1018 + 434 and Tiglath-pileser I = 970 + 482).

4. CHRONICLE ABC 21

2nd Sealand 1025-1005 CC		Bazi 1004-985 CC		One Elamite 984-979 CC Mixed dynasties 978-626	
1. Simbar-Shipak	18	1. Eulmash-shakin-shumi	17	1. Mar-biti-apla-usur	6
2. Ea-mukin-zeri		2. Ninurta-kuduri-usur I	3	1. Nabu-mukin-apli	36
3. Kashu-nadin-ahhe	3	3. Shirikti-Shuqamuna		2. Ninurta-kudurri-usur II	
				3. Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina	?
				4. Shamash-mudammiq	?

Table 1. Three Babylonian dynasties according to Brinkman (1968;1972)

It is not sufficient to only present the reorganized Assyrian King List, we have to validate it against external sources. We are mainly interested in sources that mention Assyrian kings in relation to the Babylonian kings; these matches between sources are called synchronisms.³³ Most of the synchronisms can be found in the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (ABC) (Grayson 1975).

4.1. Synchronisms with the Kassite kings in Chronicle ABC 21

Chronicle ABC 21, also known as Synchronistic History, is an Assyrian source. It was most probably written immediately after the end of the reign of Adad-nirari III (810-783 BC), the last king mentioned in the historical narrative (Grayson 1975: 53).³⁴ The text deals with the relations between Assyria and Babylonia (Karduniash).

The first synchronism to discuss appears after the synchronism between “[Tukulti-Ninurta (I), king of Assyria, (and) Kash[tili]ash (IV), king of Karduni[ash]” (Grayson 1975:161). Kashtiliash is the father of Adad-shumu-usur, although he is not his immediate predecessor (Brinkman:1976:18).

In lines ii 3-8 (based on K4401b) is related:

“Enlil-kudur-usur, king of Assyria (and) [Adad-shuma-usur king of Karduniash] did battle [with one another]. Enlil-kudur-usur (and) Ada [d-shuma-usur...] were engaged in battle and Ninurta-a-pile[kur...] went home. [He mustered] his num[erous] troops [and] mar[ched] to conquer Libbi-ali (Ashur) [...] in his fortress he/it struck/fell. He turned and [went home]” (Grayson (1975:161-162).

Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1044-1032 AC), for chronological reasons, could not be present. Ashared-apil-Ekur (936-935 AC) could be present: he is a contemporary of Enlil-kudur-usur (941-937 AC). First we look at the history of the reading of the names of Ninurta-apil-Ekur and

Ashared-apil-Ekur. Then we discuss the other relevant synchronisms.

The translation by Grayson and other scholars is based on a copy made by L.W.King (1914), which is based on the text in fragment K.4401b.³⁵ Only in this text fragment, in line 5 of Column II, appears the name of “Ninurta-apil-E[kur]”. Transliterated by Tadmor (1958:131): “m.d. MASH.A-É-kur”. The sign “MASH” (no.120) means “asharedu” (Borger:1988). Preceded by “d” meaning “dingir” the sign “MASH” refers to the god Ninurta. The “m” is the determinative which is placed before masculine proper names or names of males.

From the beginning it was obvious that Ninurta-apil-Ekur was involved in the events between Enlil-kudur-usur and Adad-shuma-usur. Ashared-apil-Ekur was still to be discovered.³⁶ When it became clear that Tiglath-pileser I had another son, besides Ashur-bel-kala and Shamsi-Adad IV, his name was read as “Ninurta-apil-Ekur II” the second king by this name. Apparently there were texts in which the name Ashared-apil-Ekur was written as “m.d.MASH.A-É-kur” which corresponds to Ninurta-apil-Ekur.³⁷ In the King List edited by Nassouhi (1927), however, Ashared-apil-Ekur was written “[m.S]AG-apal-e-kur” (Column II line 8 page 10). SAG is an ideogram for “asharedu” just like SAG KAL and MASH.³⁸

From then on the name m.d.MASH.A-É-kur in texts apparently referring to Ashared-apil-Ekur was seen as a scribal error. An example can be seen in the Synchronistic King List, also known as King List 12 (Grayson 1980:116-121). The Synchronistic King List mentions contemporary kings of Assyria and Babylonia down to the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC). In line 18 of column II appears the name of the king who, between Tiglath-pileser I (line 17) and Ashur-bel-kala (line 20), must be Ashared-apil-Ekur. His

name, however, is written as m.d.Ashared.3.-apil-É-kur which corresponds to Ninurta-apil-Ekur (Grayson 1980:117).³⁹

To summarize: in the Synchronistic King List the name of Ashared-apil-Ekur is written exactly as the name of Ninurta-apil-Ekur.⁴⁰ In Chronicle 21 the same signs m.d.MASH-apil-E[kur] indicate the same Ashared-apil-Ekur. Either we have two examples of writing mistakenly m.d.MASH-apil-Ekur for Ashared-apil-Ekur or this is another version of writing SAG (or SAG-KAL)-apil-Ekur. Be that as it may, we assume that the scribe of Chronicle 21 was indeed referring to Ashared-apil-Ekur. The subsequent synchronisms don't contradict this view, as we shall see.

Immediately after the synchronism discussed above the chronicler continues with a synchronism between Ashur-dan and Zababa-shuma-iddina. In the same fragment K44401b, in lines 9-13:

“At the time of Zababa-shuma-iddina, king of [Karduniash [Ash]ur-dan (I) king of Assyria, [went down] to Kardun[iash] [He captured] Zaban, Irriya, Ugarsa [llu (and)...] [He took] their vast [booty] to As[syria]” (Grayson 1975:162).

Zababa-shuma-iddina (1158 CC) is the penultimate king of the Kassite dynasty. Ashur-dan I ruled: 1178-1133 CC. Accordingly, the synchronism with Zababa-shuma-iddina had to refer to Ashur-dan I. After Zababa-shuma-iddina reigned successively: the 2nd dynasty of Isin (1157-1026 CC) and the three short-lived Babylonian dynasties of respectively the 2nd dynasty of Sealand, Bazi and the one Elamite king: a period of 180 years (1158 minus 978) (Table 1). In 978 started Nabu-mukin-apli first king of the Mixed dynasties (978 CC-626 BC). Shamash-mudammiq (900±9), its fourth king, reigned at the time of Adad-nirari II (911-891 BC) (Brinkman 1968:67-76).

In our alternative chronological reconstruction, the Kassite kings remain connected with their Assyrian contemporaries. There is one synchronism known from a contemporary source (Brinkman 1976:185): We assume that Kashtiliash was captured in year 13 of Tukulti-Ninurta.⁴¹ His year 13 is 976 AC. Kashtiliash, who had a reign of 8 years, is therefore dated: 983-976 AC; 249 years later than his conventional date: 1232-1225 CC. From 983 AC we date the Kassite kings as follows:

date Zababa-shuma-iddina in 908 AC and he does not coincide with Ashur-dan II (934-912 BC). We will briefly discuss the various solutions of this problem also because they illustrate the difficulties chronologists encounter in this area. No blood relationship is at yet attested between Zababa-shuma-iddina and any other member of the dynasty (Brinkman: 1976:320). Therefore, the one year reign of the penultimate Kassite king may have fallen anytime during the reign of Ashur-dan II. The alternative is to adopt a shorter

Kassite kings	reign length	date (AC)	Assyrian kings	reign length	date (AC)
Nazi-Maruttash	25	1055-1031			
Kadashman-Turgu	17	1030-1014	Adad-nirari I	32	1050-1019
Kadashman-Enlil II	8	1013-1006			
Kudur-Enlil	9	1005-997			
Sagarakhti-Shuriash	13	996-984			
Kashtiliash	8	983-976	Tukulti-Ninurta I	37	988-952
Enlil-nadin-shumi	1.5	975-			
Kadashman-Harbe II	1.5	-973			
Adad-shuma-iddina	6	972-967			
Adad-shuma-usur	30	966-937	Ashur-nirari III	6	947-942
			Enlil-kudur-usur	5	941-937
Meli-Shipak	15	936-922	Ashared-apil-Ekur	3	936-935
Marduk-apla-iddina	13	921-909			
Zababa-shuma-iddina	1	?	Ashur-dan II	23	934-912
Enlil-nadin-ahi	3	?			

Table 2. The Kassite kings and the synchronisms with the Assyrian kings from Adad-nirari I⁴²

If Adad-shumu-usur, son of Kashtiliash, started his reign 9 years after his fathers' capture, as suggested by Jacob (2013), then he ruled 966-937 AC. His son Meli-Shipak ruled 15 years: 936-922 AC and his son Marduk-apla-iddina 13 years: 921-909 AC (Table 2). The Kassite king Zababa-shuma-iddina who appears in the Babylonian King List A (King List 3) after Marduk-apla-iddina (Grayson 1980-83:91) is seen as his successor (Brinkman 1976). If he is indeed, then we should

reign length for Meli-Shipak and/or Marduk-apla-iddina. The highest attested date for Meli-Shipak is year 12 and for Marduk-apla-iddina year 6 (Brinkman 1976: 22-23). A reduction of 10 years is more than enough to date Zababa-shuma-iddina within the reign of Ashur-dan II. Another possibility is that coregencies existed. The double-numbered year dates, discussed by Brinkman (1976: appendix A 410-412) may be interpreted as such. In that case Meli-Shipak had

a coregency of two years with Adad-shumu-usur and Marduk-apla-iddina a coregency of two years with Meli-Shipak. A four-year loss means we can date Zababa-shuma-iddina 912 AC just within the reign of Ashur-dan II. However, due to all uncertainties the exact year of Zababa-shuma-iddina remains unknown. Most likely it falls during the reign of either Marduk-apla-iddina or Meli-Shipak.

16-18) “Adad-nirari, strong king, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters, the one who defeats his enemies, I, the king capable in battle, overwheeler of cities, the one who scorches the mountains of (foreign) lands...”, 26-29) “.... conqueror of the entire land of Karduniash, who brought about the defeat of Shamash-mudammiq, king of Karduniash” (Grayson 1987 A.O.99.2)

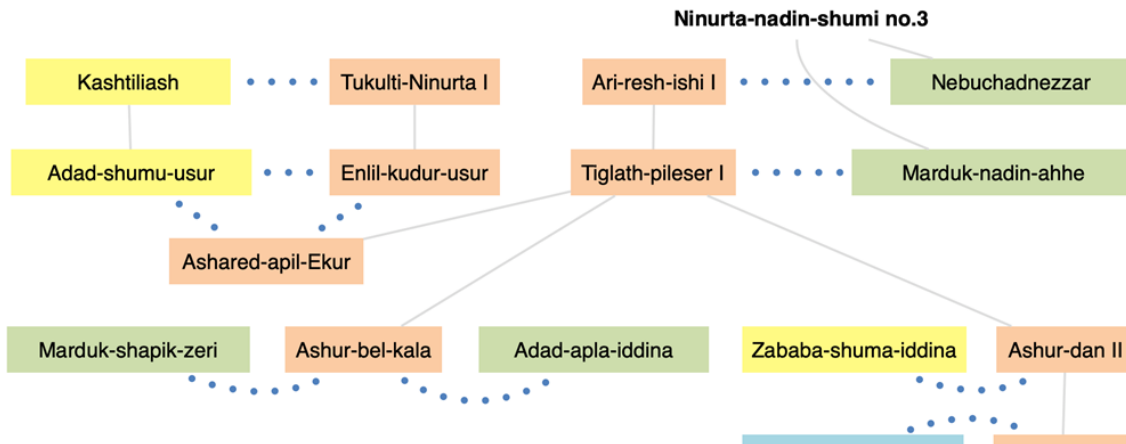


Figure 10. Synchronisms in Chronicle 21

4.2. Synchronisms with the kings of the Second Dynasty of Isin in Chronicle ABC 21

After the passage about Ashur-dan and Zababa-shuma-iddina, as discussed above, Chronicle 21 continues with the synchronisms between the Assyrian kings of the lineage of Ninurta-apil-Ekur and the kings of the Second dynasty of Isin. As the chronicler goes back two generations in his story he begins with the synchronism between Ashur-resh-ishi I and Nebuchadnezzar, fourth king of Isin. He continues with the synchronism between Tiglath-pileser I and Marduk-nadin-ahhe up to and including Ashur-bel-kala who is contemporary of both Marduk-shapik-zeri and Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil (Grayson 1975:163-165) (Figure 10). Next is mentioned Adad-nirari II (911-891 BC) who is contemporary of the Babylonian king Shamash-mudammiq. This synchronism is confirmed by a contemporary source, the Annals of Adad-nirari II:

In Figure 10 we present the two Babylonian dynasties: the Kassites are in yellow, the Second dynasty of Isin is in green, the Mixed dynasties in blue and the Assyrian kings of both lineages are in orange. Descendants are signified by grey lines and synchronisms between kings are signified by dotted lines.

According to the conventional chronology there is a 145-year period between Ashur-bel-kala (1073-1056 CC) and Adad-nirari II (911-891 BC). About this period the chronicler has nothing to report. This indicates that the scribe of Chronicle 21 indeed meant that Ashur-dan II was

contemporary with Enlil-kudur-usur and Ashur-dan II with Zababa-shuma-iddina.

Kings of Isin	reign length	date AC	Assyrian kings	reign length	date AC
1. Marduk-kabit-asheshu	18	1018-1001			
2. Itti-marduk-balatu (son)	8	1000-993			
Adad-apla-iddina IA (son)		992-....?			
3. Ninurta-nadin-shumi	6	992-986	Ashur-resh-ishi I	18	993-976
4. Nebuchadnezzar (son)	22	986-965			
5. Enlil-nadin-apli (son)	4	964-961			
6. Marduk-nadin-ahhe (uncle)	18	960-943	Tiglath-pileser I	39	975-937
7. Marduk-shapik-zeri (son)	13	942-930	Ashur-bel-kala	18	934-917
8. Adad-apla-iddina son of Esagil	22	929-908			
9. Marduk-ahhe-eriba	1	907			
10. Marduk-zer-x	12	906-895			
11. Nabu-shumu-libur	8	894-887			

Table 3. Synchronisms between the kings of the 2nd Dynasty of Isin and the Assyrian kings.⁴⁴

The kings of the Second dynasty of Isin remain connected with their Assyrian contemporaries, descendants of the lineage of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1044-1032 AC).⁴³ Brinkman (1968:75) equated year 8 of Ari-resh-ishi I (1125 CC) with year 1 of Nebuchadnezzar: 1125 ±5 CC. We use the same synchronism. Year 8 of Ari-resh-ishi I (986 AC) is equal to year 1 of Nebuchadnezzar who then is dated: 986-965 ±5 AC. This is 139 years later than his conventional date. From 986 AC we reconstruct the dates of the kings of the Second dynasty of Isin (Table 3). One contemporary source confirms the synchronisms discussed above: In his Annals Tiglath-pileser I said:

“I captured the palaces of Babylon which belonged to Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of Karduniash (and) burnt them. In the eponymy of Ashur-shumu-eris and Ninuailia, twice, I drew up a battle line of chariots against Marduk-nadin-ahhe and defeated him” (Grayson 1990: A.O.87-4 lines 44-51 p. 66).

5. CHRONICLE ABC 24

Chronicle 24 (Eclectic Chronicle) is a narrative of events related to Babylonia sometime before the reign of Marduk-shapik-zeri (1081-1069 CC) of the Second dynasty of Isin until a period after Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC). The author must have been a Babylonian (Grayson 1075:63). It offers many synchronisms between the Babylonian and Assyrian kings.

The synchronisms we are interested in refer to Simbar-Shipak (also known as Simbar-Shihu) of the Sealand dynasty, Eulmash-shakin-shumi of Bazi, Mar-biti-apla-usur the one Elamite king and Nabu-mukin-apli, first king of the Mixed dynasties (Table 1). Before we look at the relevant lines in Chronicle 24 we will calculate an alternative minimum date for Nabu-mukin-apli (978-943 CC). We start our reconstruction with Shamash-mudammīq. The campaign of Adad-nirari II (911-893 BC) against Shamash-mudammīq probably took place between 908 and 902 (Brinkman 1968:

177 note 1090). We take 902 BC as the last option for year 1 of Shamash-mudammīq.

The length of the reign of his predecessor Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina, son of Nabu-mukin-apli, is unknown. He may have had a one-year reign (Brinkman 1968:49). In that case Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina reigned in 903. His predecessor is his brother Ninurta-kudurri-usur II who ruled 8 months (904). Nabu-mukin-apli had a reign of 36 years (Brinkman 1968: 171). The minimum date for Nabu-mukin-apli in the alternative chronology is: 939 - 904 (Table 4).

In Chronicle 24 (Obverse lines 12-18 and Reverse lines 1-2):⁴⁵

Obverse lines 12-18

12 Simbar-Shihu, son of Eriba-Sin, knight of the S[ealan]d,
 13 made the throne of Enlil of Ekurigigal.
 14 in Nisan the fifth year Eulmash-shakin-shumi king
 15 The fourteenth year
 16 The fourth year of Mar-biti-apla-usur
 17 [...] The first year of Nabu-mukin-apli, the king
 18 [...] The Nth year]

Reverse lines 1-2

1 [...] The Nth year of Mar-bit-a]hhe-iddina
 2 [Adad-nerari (II)] (was) the king of Assyria at the time of [Shamash-mudammī]q

Brinkman (1968:161) qualified these lines as “enigmatic abbreviated statements” and made no attempt to give a convincing interpretation. According to our interpretation the statements provide a very concise summary of synchronisms. We restore lines 12-18 as follows:

Simbar-Shipak restored the throne of Enlil in the Ekurigigal⁴⁶
 In the month Nisan (in Simbar-Shipak's) year five Eulmash-shakin-shumi (became) king

(The latter's) year fourteen (is the last year of Simbar-Shipak)

The fourth year of Mar-bit-apla-usur (is) the first year of Nabu-mukin-apli, the king

From the minimum date for Nabu-mukin-apli, 939-904 AC, we reconstruct the dates as follows: Circumstantial evidence confirms this chronological reconstruction. In a chronicle fragment Shirikti-Shuqamuna (985 CC) appears as the brother of Nabu-kudurri-usur (Millard 1964). This is a synonym for Nebuchadnezzar (1125-11014 CC). In the conventional chronology it is impossible that the two are brothers. A writing error is assumed: Nabu-kudurri-usur is possibly confused with Ninurta-kudurri-usur I (987-985 CC) of Bazi (Brinkman 1968:164). In the alternative chronology Shirikti-shuqamuna of Bazi (940 AC) can easily be a brother of Nebuchadnezzar (986-965 AC). He is only dated three years later than the last year of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (943 AC) who is a brother of Nebuchadnezzar.

Brinkman sees a similarity between the famine and disturbances in the 18th year of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1099-1082 CC) and the later famine during the reign of Kashu-nadin-ahhe (1007-1005 CC) (Brinkman 1968:136, 157, 348 and note 945). A similarity which is not surprising because year 18 of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (943 AC) is the last year of Kashu-nadin-ahhe (945-943 AC).

According to Brinkman (1968) Eulmash-shakin-shumi of Bazi may have had an ancestor of the same name, Eulmash-shakin-shumi DUMU Bazi. He held the position of sakrumash-sha-matati during Marduk-nadin-ahhe, sixth king of the Second Dynasty of Isin. This possible ancestor of the king, an official on province level, is mentioned as the receiver of land in texts dating from the tenth and thirteenth year of Marduk-nadin-ahhe's reign. It is impossible that the two individuals are identical because the time gap, about 80 years, is far too large (Brinkman

1968:160, note 972). In the alternative chronology the two individuals can be identical. Year 10 and year 13 of Marduk-nadin-ahhe are respectively 951 AC and 948 AC, exactly within the reign of Eulmash-shakin-shumi (959-943 AC).⁴⁷

(Brinkman 1968:152-54). Zamua is located in the borderlands between northeastern Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran (Bryce 2009:92).

In a section of the Religious Chronicle (Chronicle 17) column ii line 14 it says: “on the 26th of the month Simanu, in the seventh year, day turned to night and there was a fire in the sky”. This may be seen as a reference to an eclipse of the sun (Brinkman 1968: 68 note 345). The passage should refer either to Simbar-Shipak or to Eulmash-shakin-shumi, but no royal name is preserved in this section (Brinkman 1968: 153 note 926). If the eclipse occurred in year seven of Simbar-Shipak, then this is in 957 BC. In the astronomical year numbering this is - 956 and there was indeed a full solar eclipse in this year according to NASA: <https://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/SEsearch> gives May 31 - 956 (Figure 11). The eclipse could have been visible in the area where Simbar-Shipak ruled. His residence is unknown, however, he was active in e.g. Sippar, Nippur and Eridu (Figure 1). Possibly also in the Kifri region or even farther north if Simbar-Shipak is the same man as Sibir, king of Karduniash, mentioned by Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC). Sibir should have captured the city Atlila in the land of Zamua



Figure 11. Solar Eclipse May 31 – 956⁴⁸

Second dynasty of Sealand and Elamite king			Bazi + Mixed dynasties		
1. Simbar-Shipak	18	963-946	1. Eulmash-shakin-shumi	17	959-943
2. Ea-mukin-zeri		946	2. Ninurta-kuduri-usur I	3	942-940
3. Kashu-nadin-ahhe	3	945-943	3. Shirikti-Shuqamuna		940-
1. Mar-bit-apla-usur	6	942-937	1. Nabu-mukin-apli	36	939-904
			2. Ninurta-kudurri-usur II	1	904
			3. Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina	1	903
			4. Shamash-mudammiq		902...

Table 4. Revised dates

6. OTHER EVIDENCE

6.1. Economic document from Emar

In a list of predominantly military equipment we find items which “Melishipak, King of Karduniash sent to [Ninurta-apil] Ekur, king of Assyria” (Frahm 2002, 75D-2217) (Postgate 2014:169). The Assyrian king who received these goods must have been [Ashared-apil]Ekur. Meli-Shipak (936-922 AC) sent his goods in his first or second year to Ashared-apil-Ekur (936-935 AC).⁴⁹

6.2. The Palace or Harem Decrees and Ninurta-apil-Ekur

The Palace or Harem decrees, edited by Weidner (1954), dictate proper behavior within the palace, in particular of the palace women (the harem) and of those male officials who interact with them.⁵⁰ They are preserved on eight fragmentary clay tablets (A-H), deriving from at least four copies. The compilation is made up of 23 decrees from nine different rulers: from possibly Ashur-uballit I up to and including Tukulti-Ninurta I and from Ninurta-apil-Ekur up to and including Tiglath-pileser I. The compilation ends with the decrees of Tiglath-pileser I and was either made during his reign or soon after (Weidner 1954: 265-267).⁵¹

Each decree is separated on the tablets by a single horizontal line. A shift to the decrees of a subsequent king is marked by a double horizontal line. Source G. has an unexpected double line also before decree 17. Decree 17 (lines 78-81) is

attributed to Ninurta-apil-Ekur (Weidner 1954: 266-267).⁵² In line 79 is mentioned a son of Tukulti-Ninurta in relation to a cursing (Weidner 1954:283). This is rather surprising because at the time of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1044-1032 AC) there was no son of Tukulti-Ninurta I (988-952 AC) to be cursed upon. Could it be that the editor of the compilation made a mistake?

Decree 17 is composed of three separate text fragments: H (8-10), G (Rs 3-5) and F (Rs. 3-6). Although Weidner (1954:268) notes that the three fragments complement each other it is not clear how they do. It appears that the text in line 79 of decree 17 is mainly based on fragment G, Rs: line 4 (see Plate IX).⁵³ Weidner (1954:283) transliterates “[...] ta-ta-ru-ur lu mâr tukul-ti d.ninurta” and translates “verflucht oder ein Sohn des Tukulti-Ninurta”. [Translated]: cursed either a son of Tukulti-Ninurta.⁵⁴

It is unconventional to have a decree specifically about one person (son of the king Tukulti-Ninurta). We assume that lu-tur (either the son) was a scribal error and Weidner was right to suggest lu-ú (either or) would have been more logical, especially because lu-ú was used in all the other decrees (Weidner 1954:283).

Weidner states: “Gegen die Lesung lu mâr besteht das nicht unerhebliche Bedenken dass lû in unserem Text sonst

immer lu-ú geschrieben wird. Eine Lesung lu-tur dürfte allerdings ausgeschlossen sein.”

[Translated]: “Against the reading lu mâr exists the not insignificant objection that lû in our text otherwise always is written lu-ú. Reading lu-tur certainly should be excluded.”

The second sentence of Weidner’s comment cited above can only be understood as a scribal error. He probably means that it should be excluded to read lu-ú (either...or). The sign tur (TUR) is an equivalent of the Akkadian word mar, meaning son or descendant (Borger: MesZL no.255). From Weidner’s translation “cursed either a son of Tukulti-Ninurta” appears that he read: lu-tur (son) and not lu-ú (either...or). The cuneiform signs in Plate IX text G, clearly show the signs for lu and tur and this also applies to the signs of the original tablet (Figure 12).

If the compiler had written lu-ú instead of lu-tur as he did in all the other decrees in the compilation,

“m” before IZKIM in line 4 of text G. The sign IZKIM means: thing seen, sign, omen; charm against something, help, remedy (Gadd 1924:185). Borger (2004) has: trust, faith.⁵⁶

If the scribe had written “lu-ú IZKIM d.MASH” then the meaning is: [You shall not] curse either the faith in the god Ninurta. We assume that this should be the original text and that writing lu-tur is an error of the compiler. This interpretation is supported by the content of decree no. 17. From the reconstruction by Roth (1995:203) it appears that the cursing is related to various persons in descending order of importance:

“[If a] palace [woman] should curse [...] or [should she curse] either a descendant of Tukulti-Ninurta [or another member of the royal household or an official of the] royal bedroom [...] or an official of the stool, or if she should spitefully curse any woman who is beneath her in station [...] carrying [a child?] they shall pierce the nose of the palace women; they shall strike her [30?] blows with rods].”




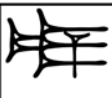
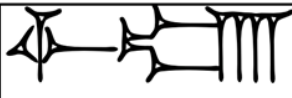
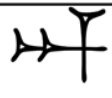

				
LU	TUR	IZKIM	dingir	MASH
812	255	727	10	120
either	son	faith	god	Ninurta

Figure 12. Scribal Error

then the son and Tukulti-Ninurta no longer exist. The cuneiform signs for Tukulti-Ninurta in fragment G,Rs. line 4 are: “IZKIM d.MASH”. One variant of writing Tukulti-Ninurta’s name is “m IZKIM d.MASH” (Brinkman 1976:316 see W,4.1.3.).⁵⁵ However, there is no determinative

We assume that first the god Ninurta is mentioned as the most important in the enumeration. Our interpretation corresponds to the meaning of the other decrees by Ninurta-apil-Ekur, insofar as the content has been preserved. According to decree 11 it is forbidden to swear “by the name of the king

in a quarrel and even more so indeed he shall not swear by the name of the god” (Roth 1995:201-201). This is reminiscent of the third commandment: “You shall not curse God, nor curse a ruler of your people” (Exodus:22:28). Decree 10 forbids to swear by the name of “the god Ashur” who is the highest god of Assyria, as Weidner noted in his comments. In decree 17 the enumeration is completed with the equally important god Ninurta in whom one must put his faith.

7. Conclusion

The main purpose of this article is to achieve a reduction of The Dark Ages as close to 270 years as possible in the Assyrian Chronology in order to obtain a chronology consistent with the one presented in "The Calendar Reforms of Ancient Egypt" (Nel Weggelaar & Chris Kort 1989). We achieved this reduction by assuming concurrent lineages. There are only two positions in the AKL where we give a different interpretation; where we chose to split the lineage:

- Ninurta-apil-Ekur who we assume was a son of Ili-pada I instead of Ili-pada III.
- Ashur-dan II who we assume was a son of Tiglath-pileser I instead of Tiglath-pileser II.

To validate this alternative interpretation of the AKL we investigated if there would be significant conflicts with synchronisms such as ABC 21 and 24 and could not find any. The only conflicts we found are minor ones with plausible solutions:

- The palace decrees, where we assume a reference to the god Ninurta instead of Tukulti-Ninurta I.
- The synchronism between Zababa-shumaidina and Ashur-dan II, which is only off by 4 years at most, the most likely solution is that the

former ruled in the time of what the conventional chronologists assume is his predecessor

These are relatively minor issues compared to the problems conventional chronologists face:

- Archeologists being unable to find evidence of the missing 250 years.
- Civilizations collapsing and reappearing 250 years later.
- Unnatural long reign lengths over many generations.
- Being in disagreement with Isaac Newton.
- Being in disagreement with Eratosthenes, the founder of scientific chronology.

In order to count the number of years in our reduction as accurately as possible we created a detailed genealogy of our view of the AKL with absolute dates. The end result is a reduction of 255 years, which is close enough to our goal of 270 years, given the amount of uncertainty regarding both the Assyrian chronology and the Egyptian chronology.

8. FUTURE WORK

The Hittite kings are connected by several synchronism to the Assyrian, Egyptian and Kassite kings. It is now possible to reconstruct, approximately, the dates of the Hittite kings between circa 1100-934 AC: the period from Suppiluliuma I to Suppiluliuma II. It is clear that there is no longer a gap between the Hittite kings and the Neo-Hittite kings.

We would like to establish an approximate date for the Assyrian king Shamsi-Adad I and his contemporary Hammurabi I, the sixth king of the First dynasty of Babylon. The lowest date in the conventional chronology for the end of the First dynasty of Babylon is around 1500 CC (Gashe et

al. 1991). We consider to date this event, in proportion to the general lowering of the Assyrian and Babylonian chronology, about 250 later: 1243 ±8 CC.

As a result, it will be necessary to investigate once again the predecessors of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I. Suppiluliuma I, father of Mursili II, is connected to Akhenaten 1089 AC. The end of the First dynasty of Babylon is, indirectly, connected to the Hittite king Mursili I. Beckman (2000:26) counted ten generations between Suppiluliuma I and Mursili I. Ten generations is too long to connect Mursili I to an event in 1243 ±8 AC. Güterbock (1956:121) identified Sharri-Kusuh of Carchemish, brother of Mursili II and of Telipinu of Aleppo, with Biyassili of Carchemish. However, Biyassili most probably is the son of another earlier Suppiluliuma (IA), who is also the father of a king Telipinu of Aleppo, the author of the Proclamation. This reduces the number of generations between Suppiluliuma I and Mursili I rather drastically to five. The reconstruction of the Hittite family tree leads to a rearrangement of the kings of Mitanni who are connected to the Hittite kings by several synchronisms and also to a revision of the dates of the kings of Alalakh and Aleppo.

Then we will have to look more extensively at Greece. The Elamite kings are not forgotten. They will have to move along with their Babylonian contemporaries. Circumstantial evidence suggests that there may also have been a collateral line of Kassite kings.

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APPENDIX A

Figure 1: Middle East & Eastern Mediterranean 1200 BC - 1300 BC

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Based on: [Near East topographic map-blank.svg](#): [Sémhur](#)

Figure 3: Map of Assyria 1392 BC - 934 BC

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M%C3%A9dio-assyrien.png>This file is licensed under the [Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported](#), [2.5 Generic](#), [2.0 Generic](#) and [1.0 Generic](#) license.

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NOTES

¹ We use the abbreviations AC= alternative chronology, CC = conventional chronology, BC= established chronology. Parker's (1950:69) dates are year 7 Sesostri III 1872 CC and year 30 Amenemhet III 1813 CC. Parker did not allow for a coregency between the two kings. In our reconstruction the coregency started in year 22 of Sesostri III (1586 AC). Wegner (1996:279) suggested a coregency initiated by Sesostri III "at some point in his 20th regnal year".

² All conventional Egyptian dates are derived from the chronological table of Shaw (2001:480-482), unless indicated otherwise.

³ The Greek text of the fragment and the translation in English can be fo¹ http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Lycurgus*.html

⁴ In more recent studies the following reductions are suggested: Rohl (1995) 300 years; Hagens (2005) 100 years; Furlong (2007) 200 years (reduction of 85 years prior to Ashur-dan II 934-912 BC in Assyrian chronology).

⁵ In a more recent publication Klinger (2006:308) made a similar point.

⁶ Partly inspired by Velikovsky (1978) whose model of a revised chronology involved a reduction of about 500 years (Crowe 2007).

⁷ For a discussion of the various chronological problems involved see Ilin-Tomich (2016:1-21).

⁸ Bennett knew about the uncertainties: "a generational count is inherently an imprecise measure of time" (p.204) and "The genealogies discussed here are certainly not complete and may well not be correct in significant respects" (p. 241).

⁹ The TIP starts with Smendes (1069-CC) first king of the 21st dynasty and ends with Psamtik I (664 BC) 26th dynasty.

¹¹ Thijs (2010; 2011) suggests dates slightly different from those of James.

¹² From Akhenaten to Rameses II is a period of 60 (+1) years (Miller and Devecchi 2010:166). Akhenaten is dated 1089 AC (see section 3) Rameses II then can be dated 1029-964 AC. From Rameses I first king of the 19th dynasty to its last queen Tausert is a period of 104 (+1) years (Kitchen 2013). Rameses I is dated 1042-1041 AC and Tausert 939-938 AC.

¹³ The Assyrian King List is known from five exemplars numbered A-E by Grayson (1980-83): the Nassouhi List (A), the Khorsabad List (B), the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary (SDAS) List (C) and two small fragments D and E. King List A edited by Nassouhi (1927) King List B (Khorsabad List) and C (SDAS List) are edited by Gelb (1954).

¹⁴ The synchronism was doubted by James (1991:340). According to Newgrosh (2007) Ashur-uballit I of the El-Amarna correspondence was not the same as Ashur-uballit I, son of Eriba-Adad I, known from the AKL and inscriptions.

¹⁵ Reign lengths of the Assyrian kings and their dates are henceforward based on the Chronological Appendix by Brinkman in Oppenheim (1972) 335-347. In section 3.4 we will discuss the uncertainties and indicate where we differ with Brinkman. In summary: we count 36 years for Ashur-dan I, not 46, and 2 years for his two sons, not zero.

¹⁶ Based on the Eponym Canon and astronomically fixed by a solar eclipse in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale 763 BC (Smith 1875). This date has been disputed e.g. by Simani (2009)

and defended by e.g.: Hermann Hunger: http://kristenfrihet.se/kf4/dating.htm#_ftnref1

¹⁷ In the Nassouhi List the reign length of Ninurta-apil-Ekur is 13 years. The reading of the name of the father of Ninurta-apil-Ekur changed over time: "Nabu-dan" Nassouhi (1927); "Ilu-ihad-da" Gelb (1954); Ili (i)pa-da, Grayson (1987:303); Brinkman (1973: 312 footnote 34) idem (1976-80:50-51). For a more recent discussion, see Cancic-Kirschbaum (1999).

¹⁸ The letter is preserved as a Neo-Assyrian copy (Brinkman 1976-1980:50-51;1976:91).

¹⁹ Ashur-nadin-apli's reign length is 4 years in the Nassouhi List and 3 years in the Khorsabad and SDAS List (Gelb:1954:227). Brinkman gives him 4 years. If he had 3 years, then Ashur-uballit I started a year later: 1107 AC.

²⁰ Herewith we fulfill Baker's wish for once that it is no longer necessary to insert a footnote stating that the meaning of "tuppi" remains obscure (Baker 2010 see 6.Discussion).

²¹ Brinkman (1973:309 and note 42) read "26[(+x)]" in the Nassouhi list for Ashur-dan I.

²² In II Kings xvi:29 Tiglath-pileser is meeting Ahaz of Judah. King Ahaz is dated 742-727 BC (Ussher) or 735-715 BC (Thiele 1951:254). A date after 744 BC seems to suggest that Tiglath-pileser was his later name in Assyria. In I Chronicle v: 26 both names are used in one sentence: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria and he carried them away". This does not necessarily mean that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were seen as two different kings because the verb (he carried away) is in the single rather than the plural.

²³ The two fragmentary exemplars, D and E, may be older than the Nassouhi List. See for a detailed discussion J.A.Brinkman: (1973:314 f.). These two fragments are only relevant for the discussion about the successors of Shamsi-Adad I and an earlier occurrence of concurrent kings in Assyria, to be investigated in future work.

²⁴ Yamada suggests that the original form of the AKL was already composed at the time of Shamsi-Adad I (no.39) or during the reign of his son Ishme-Dagan (no.40) and then was gradually enlarged through redaction and updating e.g. after Belu-bani (no.48) and once again at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (no.78).

²⁵ One of Azize's arguments is that the entry about Shamsi-Adad IV in the AKL that mentions his coming up from Karduniash to depose his predecessor and then to become king himself is similar to the entries of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, Mutakil-Nusku and Shamsi-Adad I and therefore will be the creation of one and the same author.

²⁶ Shalmaneser II is omitted and mentioned indirectly as the father of Ashur-nirari IV (Nassouhi 1927:10).

²⁷ After Tiglath-pileser II, whose name is underlined, there is a blank space on the Tablet (Nassouhi 1927, 5: Col.II

Liste des rois d'Assyrie; Revers). Was the scribe of Ashur-dan IIIA originally planning to add Ashur-dan II and his successors?

²⁸ The last king in the Khorsabad list is Ashur-nirari V (754-745 BC) Gelb (1954). The SDAS (List C) gives two kings at the end of the list not covered in the Khorsabad List, namely: Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and his son Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC). Brinkman (1973:306) dates the SDAS List shortly after 722 BC.

²⁹ Esarhaddon apparently assigned 49 years to the combined reigns of Ashur-dan I and Ninurta-apil-Ekur.

³⁰ The same dates in Sayce (1894:124).

³¹ Expressed in the inscription as: "9 *shu-shi* 40 MU.MESH" which means: 9x60+40 years.

³² Expressed in the inscription as: "6 ME 41 MU.MESH" which means: 6x100+41 years.

³³ Although synchronisms between kings are the most important ones, there are other types of synchronisms e.g. a solar eclipse in relation to a king.

³⁴ Chronicle 21 is preserved in three copies all of which come from the library of Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC) at Nineveh. Text A (K 4401 a + Rm 854) is in the best state of preservation. The other two copies are small fragments (Text B...K4401b and text C...Sm 2106). The transliteration consists of a combination of the three copies (Grayson 1975:157).

³⁵ The copy is accessible

<http://www.etana.org/sites/default/files/coretexts/15163.pdf>

³⁶ Sayce (1894:124) does not mention him as one of the reigning kings.

³⁷ Nassouhi 1927:10 mentions KAV10.1,7;14616c; KAH 11.76 "douteux" =doubtful.

³⁸ According to Nassouhi who refers to Brünow 3509, 3619 SAG et SAG.KAL are ideograms for asharidu. Nassouhi suggests that possibly the full name was Ninurta-asharid-apil-ekur. Ninurta-apil-Ekur and Asharid-apil-ekur would be abbreviated names (Nassouhi, 1927, 10). In the Khorsabad list the name of Asharid-apil-Ekur appears as "1.SAG KAL*-DUMU.ush.*É-kur" and in the SDAS list:"1.A-*sha-rid* *-A*-É-kur" (Gelb 1954:220-221).1.=m.

³⁹ Grayson (1980:117) based his transliteration on Weidner's copies in AfO 3 (1926). Poebel notes about this copies: "According to Weidner's copies the list would wrongly have d.Ninurta (=d.MASH)-apil-E-kur instead of Asharid = (MASH or SAG KAL)-apil-E-kur" (Poebel 1955:15 note 56 table p. 14).

⁴⁰ We refrain from exploring the synchronisms in the Synchronistic King List. Grayson concluded that it is impossible to present a reliable edition of this text. The copy Weidner made of the deteriorated tablet is based on very poor photographs and he cautioned his readers "...that only collation of the original would verify his copy but he unfortunately was never able to do this collation" (Grayson

1980:116). If the scribe did indeed claim that the Kassite kings Adad-shumu-usur, Meli-Shipak and Marduk-apla-iddina, all names are reconstructed, are contemporaries of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, then he was wrong.

⁴¹ Yamada mentions several estimates for the year in which Tukulti-Ninurta captured Kashtiliash varying from year 6 to year 20 (2003: footnote 34, p.174). So year 13 ±7 of Tukulti-Ninurta is year 8 Kashtiliash: 976±7 AC. Year 13 could be the eponymate of Etel-pi-Ashur. We will follow Jacob (2013) who argues that the capture took place during the eponymate of Etel-pi-Ashur and that nine years later Adad-shumu-usur ascended the throne.

⁴² The synchronisms and the sources are discussed by Brinkman (1976: 28-29). The reign lengths of Kadashman-Enlil II (8) and Kadashman-Turgu (17) are according to Boese (2009). Brinkman has respectively 9 and 18 years. The Kassite chronology can only be reconstructed approximately. There are many uncertainties to be discussed in future work.

⁴³ The synchronisms, included their sources, can be found in Brinkman (1968:68-71).

⁴⁴ Adad-apla-iddina IA son of Itti-Marduk-balatu is not included in Brinkman's reconstruction. See our footnote 47 where we discuss why he should be included in the kinglist.

⁴⁵ The text is based on Grayson (1975:180) except for Line 14 "*ina parakki* MU V..." translated by Grayson "(Marduk stayed) on the dais (in)...". We prefer Brinkman's translation. He argued that *ina parakki* may simply mean *ina Nisanni* which means "in the month Nisan" and goes well with the year numbering following (Brinkman 1968: 31, 161 note 978).

⁴⁶ According to Brinkman (1968:152 and footnote 920) the Ekurigal was presumably a shrine within the Ekur, a temple in Nippur, where probably the cult statue of the god Enlil was solemnly enthroned.

⁴⁷ According to a later copy of a royal inscription, Eulmash-shakin-shumi should have referred to Adad-apla-iddina (Brinkman 1968: 337). Eulmash-shakin-shumi is dated 959-943 AC and he could not refer to Adad-apla-iddina (929-908 AC) son of Esagil. We assume that he referred to Adad-apla-iddina son of Itti-Marduk-balatu (1000-993 AC) known from several texts. He was apparently excluded from the Babylonian King List but must have ruled concurrently with Ninurta-nadin-shumi (992-987 AC) and preceded Nebuchadnezzar (986-965 AC). The existence of an earlier Adad-apla-iddina would explain why Adad-apla-iddina and Nebuchadnezzar are named in this order in a document from Seleucid times and why they shared the same *ummanu*, Esagil-kini-ubba. This would also resolve all issues regarding the descent of Adad-apla-iddina as discussed by Brinkman (1968:135, 141 note 852). We name him Adad-apla-iddina IA.

⁴⁸ This picture was created using the Solar Walk 2 app on Android.

⁴⁹ In Emar was also found a legal document dated in the second year of Meli-Shipak (Lipinski 2006:28).

⁵⁰ Translation in English: Martha T. Roth (1995:195-209).

⁵¹ The eponym during whose year the compilation was made is either [d.Si]n-aplu-iddina or 1.Assu]r-aplu-iddina (Weidner 1954:292). According to Postgate (2014:58 note 53) Freydanck dated Sin-apla-iddina either at the time of Tiglath-pileser I or at the time of Ashur-bel-Kala.

⁵² Weidner (1954:266) assumed that the single line in text F between decrees 16 and 17 is right and the double line in text G between the same decrees is a mistake. He attributed decree 18 to Ashur-dan I because the two oblique wedges in decree 18 can only be reconstructed as "KUR" the last sign of the name of "[Ninurta-apil-Ekur]r, the father of Ashur-dan I (see Plate IX text G.Line 6). If text G is correct, then decree 17 can belong either to Ashur-dan I or to his son Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur and decree 18 to Mutakil-Nusku who mentioned his descent from [Ninurta-apil-Eku]r, the founder of the new dynastic line, if the two wedges indeed have to be reconstructed as Weidner suggested.

⁵³ In fragment F, Rs. line 4 (plate XI) we recognize after a large break in the text the signs ... "ku ti dingir MASH". How the remains of text H must be arranged into text F and G is unclear according to Weidner(1954:289) himself.

See: Plate IX for Text fragment G (VAT 9140+12954 Rs lines 3-5) <http://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/dl/photo/P282475.jpg>

Plate XI for text fragment F (VAT 9652+9655+10402 Vs. lines 3-6). And Plate XII for Text fragment H (VAT 9567 lines 8-10). VAT=Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafel; siglum of clay tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. <http://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de>

⁵⁴ In his note (a) Weidner (1954:283) adds that text G has "ta-ta-ra-ar".

⁵⁵ In his own inscriptions: "m.GISH-Tukul-ti d.NIN.IB" (Brinkman 1976:316). In the SDAS King List and the Khorsabad King List Enlil-kudur-usur is mentioned son of "m" IZKIM d.MASH". However, his nephew Ashur-nadin-apli in the same lists is the son of "1.GISH-KU-ti-d.MASH" (Gelb:1954:218-219). In the palace decrees (6-8) attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta I his name is written: "m.GISH-Tukul-ti d.NIN.IB" (VAT 14407 Vs line 9 and line 17 Tafel XII) (Weidner 1954).

⁵⁶ Sign no.727 AGRIG=IZKIM. Borger notes: "giskim (oder iskim)=tukultu, Zuversicht" (meaning:trust, faith) he refers to no.502 NIR and no.808 KU-MASH. Borger also shows a variant with three vertical wedges. This variant can be seen in the tablet (see figure 12). und in Müller (2005) accessible via internet.

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Marc Van De Mieroop es un reconocido asiriólogo y egiptólogo belga que imparte clases en Columbia University. Publicó muchas obras, pero esta, puntualmente, fue publicada en inglés en Oxford, en el año 2015. La edición que reseñaré corresponde a la traducción al español publicada por Editorial Trotta, en el 2020. El libro trata sobre los períodos y orígenes de las antiguas civilizaciones, desde los orígenes de la escritura hasta el período de los imperios del primer milenio a.C. La obra cuenta con 1064 páginas, incluyendo la bibliografía, mapas, cuadros y toda clase de instrumentos que el autor utiliza para su mejor explicación.

El libro se divide en tres partes; la primera parte, que excluye el capítulo 1, donde el autor nos introduce en la geografía de la zona a tratar, la prehistoria, etc.; comienza con el surgimiento de las ciudades-estado; la segunda parte se enfoca en los Estados territoriales en sus fases más maduras, y la tercera y última parte, habla del esplendor de los más grandes imperios que han construido la antigüedad del Próximo Oriente.

La primera parte, titulada “Ciudades – estados”, se enfoca en el origen de las ciudades y del urbanismo, primero con los sumerios, que serán luego, los precursores de la escritura cuneiforme.

Un elemento que se destaca de este autor y su libro, es el uso de las fuentes, y que, además, las cita textualmente y muestra imágenes de estos recursos primarios de sus estados actuales. Destaca la escritura para la hora de transacciones en el comercio, y el uso de contratos entre comerciantes, y cómo aumentó durante la época Uruk. Usa con astucia y juega indirectamente con la línea de tiempo (p. 46) que implementa en cada capítulo, para no perder el hilo entre los capítulos que conforman, no solo esta parte, sino todas las partes que componen su obra. Asimismo, continua este camino en el surgimiento de las primeras ciudades en Mesopotamia, terminando esta primera parte con el surgimiento de Babilonia, los comienzos de una ciudad que más adelante lograría su apogeo, y, por último, la descripción que encaja perfectamente con la Babilonia de Hammurabi.

En la segunda parte, titulada “Estados Territoriales”, Van Der Mieroop estudia su desarrollo y expansión. No se refiere ya a las ciudades-estado, sino que se enfoca en los imperios que comienzan a expandirse, ideologías que reemplazan a otras, y la gran relación entre Mesopotamia y Egipto que, luego, se verán plasmados en las cartas de El Amarna. En este periodo, se desarrollarán importantes periodos como el Reino Nuevo en Egipto o el

Imperio Nuevo Hitita¹ En esta parte, el autor hace gran mención a las relaciones entre los diferentes estados antiguos, mediante las Cartas de El Amarna, donde se pedían favores a otros reyes o se reclamaban los escasos regalos recibidos con respecto a los presentes enviados previamente. Así encontramos cartas, citadas por el autor, escritas en hitita y acadio cuneiforme, lenguas internacionales ya descifradas que ayudarán a comprender su contenido. Estas fuentes fueron encontradas por “unos campesinos que hallaron grupo de tabillas cuneiformes en la actual localidad de Amarna, donde en el siglo XIV a.e.c. el rey Akhenaton había construido la nueva capital de Egipto, Akhetaton” (p. 207). En estas cartas se hallará la correspondencia entre los faraones egipcios con los reyes y/o vasallos de Mesopotamia. Los estados en esa época que se comunicarán mediante estas tablillas de arcilla serán: Babilonia, Egipto, Asiria, Mitanni, Hatti, Alashya y Arzawa. Se destaca mucho el intercambio de regalos, ya sea para casar a sus hijos con el gobernante, o por protección. Vamos a tener también, enfrentamientos muy importantes entre el Imperio Egipcio y el Imperio Hitita, especialmente en la famosa batalla de Qadesh, en la cual ambas potencias dirán, en sus fuentes, que cada una ganó la batalla. Asimismo, menciona el ataque por parte de los llamados “pueblos del mar”, que hará sacudir los cimientos de los más importantes imperios, haciendo caer a los hititas en la actual Turquía y llevando a Egipto a la retracción política del Tercer Período Intermedio.

En la tercera parte de este libro, titulada “Imperios”, Van Der Mieroop concentra la atención en tres grandes dominios que marcaron la historia del Próximo Oriente Antiguo: Asiria, Babilonia y Persia. Este periodo de grandes Imperios comienza con el Neoasirio, que tendrá figuras como Sargón II, conocido por haber conquistado el reino de Israel con su

capital, Samaria. Detalla los acontecimientos llevados en los diferentes sucesores de Ciro el Grande, como Darío I y Jerjes I, que serán los que se enfrenten con los griegos en las famosas Guerras Médicas. Cabe aclarar, que habrá un punto de inflexión luego de estos conflictos, ya que Grecia no era un país unificado, sino que estaba compuesto por diferentes ciudades-estado que fueron capaces de hacerles frente a la maquinaria militar aqueménida, que detalle no menor, estaba compuesto no solo por persas; sino por babilonios, remeros egipcios y fenicios con experiencia, y griegos de las ciudades conquistadas en la costa de Anatolia. Los aqueménidas caerán ante los ejércitos de Alejandro Magno en el año 323 a.C.

En mi opinión, esta obra está muy bien escrita, a la vez que presenta muchos recursos didácticos como líneas de tiempo, fotos, fuentes, mapas, listas enteras de reyes en orden cronológico, de diferentes imperios o ciudades-estado. Como alumna de la carrera de Historia, lo recomiendo muchísimo, ya que a mí me ayudó muchísimo a la hora de estudiar el Antiguo Oriente. El hecho de poder tener traducidos al español extractos de las fuentes más importantes, me permitió crecer con mi interpretación propia de ellas, permitiendo no hacer abuso de la historiografía y así tener un enfoque propio de las evidencias que nos dejaron las sociedades antiguas. Por supuesto, todavía quedan grandes interrogantes a responder.

NOTAS

¹ Ver, por ejemplo, el gráfico 7.1 (pp 202-203), en la donde se visualizan los desarrollos de los imperios y sus expansiones.

Presentación de los nuevos miembros del CEHAO



Daniel Sánchez Muñoz es Doctor en Historia y Artes por la Universidad de Granada y Titulado en Sumerio y Acadio por la Universidad de Estrasburgo desde 2019. Se ha formado en Asiriología en las Universidades de Wurzburg, Leiden, París y Marburgo. Sus publicaciones están dirigidas a Musicólogos (Revista de Musicología), Arqueomusicología (Telestes), Historiadores de la Antigüedad (ARYS; Pallas) y Asiriólogos (Aula Orientalis; Bibliotheca Orientalis).

Sus líneas de investigación tratan el léxico musical sumero-acadio, los contactos entre distintas tradiciones musicales del mundo antiguo, y la publicación de nuevos textos cuneiformes de diversa índole del segundo y primer milenio a.n.e. Actualmente es Investigador Postdoctoral "Margarita Salas" entre la Hebrew University of Jerusalem y la Universidad de Granada, siendo miembro afiliado del ERC "Ancient Mesopotamian PriestlyScholasticism" (P.I.: Uri Gabbay).

Emanuel Pfoh es Investigador en el Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (UCA-CONICET) y Profesor adjunto de Historia de Asia y África en la Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Es Licenciado en Historia (Universidad Nacional de La Plata), Diplomado Superior y Master en Antropología Social (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales) y Doctor en Historia (Universidad de Buenos Aires). Se ha desempeñado como investigador invitado/visitante en las universidades de Copenhague, Tübingen, Chicago, Sapienza-Roma y Leipzig, además de haber realizado estadias de investigación en la École Biblique de Jerusalén y en el Palestine Exploration Fund de Londres.



Ha sido Secretario Académico del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental "Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser" de la Universidad de Buenos Aires y también Director de su revista. Actualmente es Editor Asociado del Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament, Co-Director general de la serie de monografías académicas Copenhagen International Seminar (Routledge) y Director de Discourses in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Studies (Equinox).

Pfoh ha publicado más de 90 artículos y capítulos de libros, así como los siguientes libros: The Emergence of Israel in Ancient Palestine: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives (2009); Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age: An Anthropology of Politics and Power (2016); y recientemente como editor/compilador, Patronage in Ancient Palestine and in the Hebrew Bible: A Reader (2022) y T&T Clark Handbook of Anthropology and the Hebrew Bible (2022).



Josué Lorente Vidal cursa el Máster Interuniversitario de Historia y Ciencias de la Antigüedad impartido por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid y la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Está muy interesado en el mundo antiguo, especialmente en la Egiptología y el Oriente Próximo especialmente en los procesos de sincretismo de las divinidades egipcias, tanto dentro de su contexto geográfico como su paso al panteón grecorromano. Además, lleva algunos años participando en diferentes campañas arqueológicas: El Foro Romano del Molinete (Cartagena, España), Villa Romana de los Villaricos (Mula, Murcia, España), Ciudad Visigoda de Begastri (Cehegín, Murcia, España), Coimbra del Barranco Ancho (Jumilla, Murcia, España), entre otras.

Finalmente es colaborador en el Centro de Estudios del Próximo Oriente y la Antigüedad Tardía (CEPOAT).

CEHAO SCHOLARLY PARTICIPATION

JUAN MANUEL TEBES

STIAS SEMINAR SERIES

“The Quest for the Origins of Ancient Israel’s God in the 21st century: From Biblical Archaeology to Digital Humanities”.

Seminar, September 13.

Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study.

PUBLIC LECTURE

“The Southern Origins of Yahweh and the Archaeology of the Desert Cults”.

Public Lecture, September 19.

Faculty of Theology, Stellenbosch University.

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF OVERSEAS RESEARCH 2022 ANNUAL MEETING

(With Piotr Bienkowski) “Early Iron Age Faynan – A Critical Review of the Nomadic Polity Hypothesis”.

Presentation, October 19-23.

American Society of Overseas Research (ASOR).

SEMINARIO INTERNO DE INVESTIGADORES

“La búsqueda de los orígenes del dios del antiguo Israel en el siglo XXI: Desde la arqueología bíblica a las humanidades digitales”.

Presentation, October 27.

Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (IICS, UCA-CONICET).

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

Organizer y panelist, November 28-29.

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (UCA), Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA); Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM - IICS - UCA).

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“Edom and Southern Jordan in the Iron Age”.

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FELLOW

Stellenbosch, South Africa, July-September.

Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study (STIAS).

ROMINA DELLA CASA

GUEST LECTURE

“Ancient Environments of Anatolia Through the Lenses of Hittite Ritual Performances”.

Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria. Victoria. March 29th

CO-GUEST EDITOR

The Environment We Share: Human-Non-Human Animal Interactions in The Ancient Near East, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 85/4.

Guest edited by Della Casa, R. and L. Sapir-Hen.

NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY 85/4.

“Encountering Ancient Environments: The Impact of Non-Human Animals in Hittite Anatolia”.

pp. 258-269.

NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY 85/4

With L. Sapir-Hen.

“The Environment We Share: Human-Non-Human Animal Interactions in The Ancient Near East”.

pp. 244-247.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Society of Biblical Literature Travel Award.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE ANNUAL MEETING

Lecture: “From the Shores: Thresholds in Ancient Anatolian Environment.”

Denver, Colorado. November 19th.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

Lecture: “Recorriendo las fronteras de la Tierra Oscura: ambientes liminales de la Anatolia hitita.”

November 29th.

OLGA AGUEDA GIENINI**2021 SBL ANNUAL MEETING**

“Why Does God Not Repent but Comforts and Restores”

Special Award included

San Antonio, TX (USA), November, 2021

COLOQUIOS REVISTA BÍBLICA

Moderadora en el panel de presentación del artículo: Emanuel Pfoh, “Por una sociología del conocimiento de los estudios bíblicos y

arqueológicos del Levante meridional”.

XL SEMANA ARGENTINA DE TEOLOGÍA

“La meritocracia y la aporofobia. Una lectura desde Lucas 16”

Modo virtual, Octubre 2021

PASTORAL BIBLICA

Coordinadora “Café bíblico”

Basílica Santa Rosa de Lima.

ROXANA FLAMMINI**II WORKSHOP INTERNACIONAL: MITO Y SOCIEDAD. EL MUNDO ANTIGUO**

“Cuando el caos dominó Egipto: los Hicsos y su recepción posterior”

Universidad Nacional de Córdoba.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

Organizer and panelist, November 28-29.

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (UCA), Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA); Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM - IICS - UCA).

BOOK REVIEW**THE JOURNAL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY 107**

Ellen MORRIS. 2018. *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*. Hoboken NJ, Willey-Blackwel.

pp. 307-309.

SEMINARIO HISTORIA DE LAS IDEAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA

“La práctica investigativa: pautas para la aprehensión del oficio”

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I JORNADAS DE INVESTIGACIÓN DEL INSTITUTO DE HISTORIA ANTIGUA ORIENTAL UBA

“Integración texto-imagen en la Segunda Estela de Kamose: la representación del "supervisor de las cosas selladas" Neshi”

Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Abril 2021.

JORGE CANO-MORENO**RIHAO 23**

“Una antropología política para Creta Neopalacial”

pp. 91-115.

BAR-ILAN UNIVERSITY

Doctoral Sandwich Scholarship.

Agosto-noviembre.

HERAKLION ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

Estancia de Investigación.

Octubre.

NATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF ATHENS

Estancia de Investigación.

Octubre.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

“Puesta en escena y puesta en abismo. Sellos minoicos y dinámicas políticas en Creta Neopalacial”.

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (UCA), Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA); Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM - IICS - UCA).

SEMINARIO INTERNO DE INVESTIGADORES

“Una antropología política para Creta Neopalacial”.

Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales (IICS, UCA-CONICET).

XVIII JORNADAS INTERESCUELAS / DEPARTAMENTOS DE HISTORIA

“¿Hubo un estado galáctico en el periodo Neopalacial cretense?”

Universidad Nacional de Santiago del Estero.

SBL INTERNATIONAL MEETING

“Why Minoan culture is (still) considered a European society?”

Biases and challenges for future research”

Salzburg, Austria.

5TH INTERNATIONAL POST-GRADUATE AND EARLY CAREER SCHOLARS' CONFERENCE IN AEGEAN ARCHAEOLOGY

“From mise-en-scène to mise-en-abyme in Neopalatial seals: between the depiction and the socio-political dynamics”

On-line.

DANIEL JUSTEL VICENTE

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC HISTORIA 227

“La vida cotidiana en Babilonia”

pp. 44-53.

REVISTA DIGITAL DE LOS MUNDOS ANTIGUOS

“El mecanismo jurídico de la adopción en la Babilonia casita: estado de la cuestión”

5 de enero.

GERIÓN. REVISTA DE HISTORIA ANTIGUA 40/1

“La adopción en la Babilonia casita”

pp. 11-36.

I SEMINARIO “MUNDOS ANTIGUOS DIGITALES”

“Asiria desde Israel; Israel desde Asiria”

Universidad de Alcalá.

I CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL: LA VULNERABILIDAD Y LA DEBILIDAD HUMANA. UNA MIRADA INTERDISCIPLINAR.

“La (des)protección del más vulnerable: la infancia en el Próximo Oriente antiguo a través de los testimonios escritos”.

Universidad San Pablo-CEU, Madrid.

CONFERENCIA

“El Imperio neoasirio y los textos bíblicos”

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

CONFERENCIA

“Children in Second Millennium Mesopotamia and Syria from Cuneiform Sources”.

The International Association for Archaeological Research in Western and Central Asia.

IX CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DEL CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DEL PRÓXIMO ORIENTE

“Documentos cuneiformes sobre comunidades exiliadas en época neobabilónica (s. VI a. C.): historia reciente de las investigaciones y perspectivas futuras de estudio”

Universidad de Sevilla.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

“Los reinos de Israel y Judá a partir de las fuentes cuneiformes neoasirias”.

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (UCA), Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA); Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM - IICS - UCA).

14TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF CHILDHOOD IN THE PAST

Organizador principal.

Universidad de Alcalá.

SEMINARIO LA INFANCIA EN LA ANTIGUA ROMA Y OTROS PUEBLOS DE LA ANTIGÜEDAD

“El niño como sujeto y objeto de derecho en el Próximo Oriente antiguo”.

Universidad Nacional Española a Distancia (UNED). Santander.

PROYECTO

Deported Communities in the Ancient Near East (7th-4th centuries BC). Real propaganda and official versions versus the condition of the exiles.

Tipo de participación: Investigador Principal.
Comunidad de Madrid (ref. CM/JIN/2021/001).

PROYECTO

Las intelectuales y el Imperio. Mujeres cristianas en la cultura tardoantigua y su relación con la autoridad.

Investigador principal: Amparo Mateo Donet.

Institución: Generalitat Valenciana (Ref.: CIGE/2021/106).

PROYECTO

El discipulado en la Biblia.

Investigadores principales: Napoleón Ferrández Zaragoza y Luis Sánchez Navarro.

Universidad San Dámaso.

AMIR GORZALCZANY

TEACHING

Course: “Selected Issues in the Early Islamic Period Archaeology in Israel”

Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva.

BOOK EDITION

In Centro 1: Motion, Movement and Mobility. Collected Papers Vol. 1: Proceedings of the First Annual “In Centro” Conference held by the Central District of Israel Antiquities Authority, the Department of Archaeology and Near Eastern Cultures and the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University on April 26, 2018 at Tel Aviv University.

With: G.D. Stiebel, D. Ben-Ami, Y. Tepper and I. Koch.

Tel Aviv University and the Israel Antiquities Authority. Tel Aviv.

BOOK EDITION

In Centro 2: Remembering. Collected Papers Vol. 2: Proceedings of the Second Annual “In Centro” Conference held by the Central District of Israel Antiquities Authority, the Department of Archaeology and Near Eastern Cultures and the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.

With: G.D. Stiebel, Y. Tepper and I. Koch.

Tel Aviv University and the Israel Antiquities Authority. Tel Aviv.

PALÉORIENT 48(2)

“Adding to the Complexity of Documented Burial Customs in the Ghassulian Chalcolithic Cemetery at Palmaḥim (North), Southern Levant”.

<http://journals.openedition.org/paleorient/1924>

JOURNAL OF MOSAICS RESEARCH 15: 147–165

“The Lod Mosaics: From Luxurious Roman Mansion to Catalyst for Urban and Social Change”.

With: Shoeff, R.

Dedicated to David Parrish.

LEVANT 54(1): 29-49

“Ostriches and People in Archaeological Contexts in the Southern Levant and Beyond”.

With: Rosen, B.

DOI: 10.1080/00758914.2021.2000709

CHAPTER ON BOOKS

“The Lod Mosaic Revisited: New Discoveries in the Roman *Domus*”

In: W. Atrash, P. Gendelman and A. Overman (eds.). *Cities, Monuments, and Objects from the Roman and Byzantine Levant: Studies in Honor of Gabi Mazor*. Archaeopress. pp. 168–177.

CORNERSTONE: MAGAZINE FOR ANCIENT AND HERITAGE SITES 9: 25–42

“The Lod Mosaic Revisited”.

Arabic; with English and Hebrew summaries.

ORGANIZATION OF BAMERKAZ III, TIME

“Joint Congress of the IAA Central District and the Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University, Bar Ilan University and the Weitzman Institute”

Bar Ilan University.

9th June, 2022.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

Ponencia: “Que veinte años no es nada... El cementerio calcolítico de Palmaḥim”.

28 y 29 de noviembre 2022.

EVA AMANDA CALOMINO

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: LIVING IN THE HOUSE

Asistente

Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale and the Research Center in Cairo of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, Universidad de Varsovia.

Cairo, Egipto, Noviembre 27-30.

PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO. A 20 AÑOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN DEL CEHAO

“Una mirada a los hallazgos especiales de contextos domésticos en el antiguo Egipto: los small finds del Edificio B de Tell el-Ghaba”.

RIIPOA/CEHAO-UCA/PRESPEM IICS CONICET-UCA.
CABA, Argentina, Noviembre 28-29.

THEBAN ARCHAEOLOGY MEETING

Poster: “Two Seasons in the Tomb of Amenmose (TT318): Preliminary Results”.

Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (CFEETK).

Mummification Museum. Luxor, Egipto, Noviembre 18-19.

EXCAVATING THE EXTRA-ORDINARY 2. WORKSHOP. EGYPTOLOGY & ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY

“From special findings to domestic dynamics. Contextual study of the small finds of Tell el Ghaba (Egypt)”.

Institute of Ancient Studies, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz. Mainz, Alemania.

Mainz, Alemania, Noviembre 25-26.

ON LINE CONFERENCE “THE CURSE OF EGYPTOLOGY: REFLECTIONS ON AN ANNIVERSARY YEAR”

Asistente.

Departamento de Historia Antigua, Escuela Internacional de Posgrado, Universidad de Granada.

Octubre 04.

CHARLA VIRTUAL “MITOLOGÍA Y RELIGIÓN FENICIA”

Asistente

Grupo de Estudio sobre Lenguas y Escrituras de Oriente y Red de Materialidades, Orientalismos y Narrativas Poscoloniales.

Buenos Aires, Septiembre 24.

CICLO: ¿QUÉ SE INVESTIGA EN NUESTRO DEPARTAMENTO?

“Sobre cerámicas y aves en el antiguo Egipto: los ‘pigeon pots’ de Tell el-Ghaba (Delta oriental)”.

Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Granada, España.

Granada, España, Septiembre 21.

VII CONGRESO IBEROAMERICANO DE EGIPTOLOGIA CIE

“Los ‘pigeon pots’ de Tell el-Ghaba en el Delta oriental de Egipto durante el Tercer Periodo Intermedio: tipología y

contextos”.

Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser (FFyL, UBA). CABA, Argentina.

CABA, Argentina, Septiembre 5-7.

CICLO “¿QUÉ SE INVESTIGA EN NUESTRO DEPARTAMENTO?” BOLDLY GOING WHERE NOT ARCHAEOLOGIST HAVE GONE BEFORE: THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

Asistente

A cargo de Justin St.P. Walsh, Profesor Asociado de Arte y Arqueología de la Chapman University (EEUU).

Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Granada, España, Julio 11.

8 THE OLD KINGDOM ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (OKAA)

Asistente

Universidad de Jaén.

Jaén, España, Junio 21-25.

CICLO: ¿QUÉ SE INVESTIGA EN NUESTRO DEPARTAMENTO? MODOS DE HACER Y TRADICIONES TECNOLÓGICAS EN UN SECTOR DE LA QUEBRADA DE HUMAHUACA (JUJUY, ARGENTINA, SIGLOS XII A XVI)

Asistente.

A cargo de Agustina Scaro, Investigadora CONICET.

Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Granada, España, Junio 02.

SEMINARIO INTERNACIONAL “DECONSTRUYENDO ESPACIOS: MUJERES, MEMORIA Y PAZ EN LA ANTIGÜEDAD”

Asistente

Grupo de Investigación ‘Estudios de las Mujeres’ (HUM-603) y Proyecto de Investigación Feder ‘Mujeres y los discursos de Paz. Orígenes y transformaciones en las sociedades occidentales’ (B-HUM-053-UGR18).

Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Granada, Marzo 3-4.

“DIVERSENILE SEMINAR SERIES 2022. LANDSCAPE AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN BRONZE AGE NUBIA” “INTRODUCTION: THE MIDDLE NILE, GLOBAL NETWORKS AND LOCAL AGENTS”

Asistente

Dictado por Julia Budka (LMU Munich).

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, European Research Council, Enero 25.

DOCENCIA

Clase especial “Materiales en el antiguo Egipto”.
Grado en Arqueología. Arqueología de Egipto y Cercano Oriente.
Universidad de Granada. Marzo 02.

DOCENCIA

Seminario “Small finds de Tell el-Ghaba (Norte de Sinaí, Egipto)”.
Grado en Arqueología e Historia Antigua.
Universidad de Granada. Noviembre 17.

BECAS

Ayudas María Zambrano (junior) para la atracción de talento internacional. Vicerrectorado de Investigación y Transferencia.
Universidad de Granada.
2022- 2024.

BECAS

Beca Interna Posdoctoral.
CONICET.
Abril 2019- Marzo 2022.

ESTANCIA DE INVESTIGACIÓN

Laboratorio de Arqueometría, Unidad de excelencia: “Archaeometrical Studies. Inside the artefacts & ecofacts”.
Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Granada.
Granada (España), Abril 01- Septiembre 30 (2022).

SEMINARIO

Seminario de Digitalización e Impresión 3D de Bienes Arqueológicos. Unidad de Excelencia “Archaeometrical Studies. Inside the artefacts & ecofacts”
Laboratorio de Arqueometría, Dpto. de Prehistoria y Arqueología, UGR.
España. 10 y 24 de febrero.

CONSUELO PACHECO IZURIETA Y SEA

SEMINARIO CONOCIENDO REGIONES

Asistente
Universidad Católica Argentina, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales.
Septiembre 2022.

VII CONGRESO IBEROAMERICANO DE EGIPTOLOGÍA

Asistente
Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras.
Octubre 2022.

XII JORNADAS INTERNACIONALES DE HISTORIA DE ESPAÑA

Asistente
Universidad Católica Argentina, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales
Septiembre 2022.

PABLO ANDIÑACH

ARTÍCULO EN LIBRO

“Narrativas sobre Miriam. La hermana rebelde de Aarón y Moisés”.
Casas Ramírez, *La hermandad desde la Biblia. Aproximaciones textuales, contextuales e intertextuales a propósito de Fratelli Tutti*. Estella, Verbo Divino.
pp. 34-47.

LIBRO

En el nombre del padre. Sexualidad en la teología y el psicoanálisis.
Junto a Violaine Fua Puppulo. Amazon Ediciones, papel y e-libro, 2022; 271 págs.

ECUMENICAL CENTER FOR RELIGION AND HEALTH,

“Sapienciales del Antiguo Testamento o Biblia Hebrea. (Cantar de los Cantares, Proverbios, Eclesiastés y Job)”
19 y 20 de febrero.

CURSO

““Estudio de textos escogidos del libro de Génesis. Exploración hermenéutica”
3-9 de diciembre.
Ahuachapán, El Salvador.

PROYECTO

“La familia y su desarrollo en el mundo bíblico y las culturas del antiguo cercano oriente”.
Universidad del Centro Educativo Latinoamericano (UCEL).
2022-2024.



CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE HISTORIA
DEL ANTIGUO ORIENTE

LIBRARIES AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS
IN THE FIELD OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

BUENOS AIRES

IMHICIHU (Instituto Multidisciplinario de Historia y Ciencias Humanas / Unidad de Investigaciones sobre el Cercano Oriente Antiguo - Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas)

<http://www.imhicihu-conicet.gov.ar/>

E-mail: imhicihu@conicet.gov.ar Address: Saavedra 15, Buenos Aires Tel.: (54-11) 4953-8548 / 2042

CEHAO (Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente)

<http://www.uca.edu.ar/cehao/>

E-mail: cehao@uca.edu.ar
Address: Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1500, Buenos Aires
Tel: (54-11) 4349-0200 (int. 1189)

UCA Library

Online Library Catalog: <http://anima.uca.edu.ar/>
Digital Library:
<http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi>

E-mail: bibliot@uca.edu.ar
Address: Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1300, Buenos Aires
Tel.: (54-11) 4349-0421
Fax: (54-11) 4338-0695
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 08:00 to 17:00

IHAO (Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental "Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser," University of Buenos Aires)

<http://www.filo.uba.ar/contenidos/investigacion/institutos/antoriental/index.htm>

E-mail: ihao@filo.uba.ar
Address: 25 de Mayo 217, Buenos Aires
Tel.: (54-11) 4334-7512 / 4342-5922 / 4343-1196 (int. 107)
Fax: (54-11) 4343-2733
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 15:00 to 19:00.

Academia Argentina de Letras, Donación Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser - Library

Online Library Catalog:
<http://letras.edu.ar/wwwisis/inicio/form.htm>

E-mail: biblioteca@aal.edu.ar
Address: Sánchez de Bustamante 2663, Buenos Aires Tel.: (54-11) 4802-3814 / 2408 / 7509 (int. 216 / 218)
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 13.15 to 18.30

National University of La Plata Library (Biblioteca de Humanidades)

<http://www.bibhuma.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/>
Online Library Catalog:
http://www.bibhuma.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/catalogos/catalogo_basica.php

E-mail: bibhuma@fahce.unlp.edu.ar
Address: Calle 48 entre 6 y 7, 1º subsuelo, La Plata Tel.: 423-5745
Fax: 423-5745
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 08:00 to 19:00

Seminario Rabínico "Marshal T. Meyer" - Library

<http://www.seminariorabinico.org/>

E-mail: biblioteca@seminariorabinico.org.ar Address: José Hernández 1750, Buenos Aires Tel.: (54-11) 4783-2009 / 4783-6175
Fax: (54-11) 4781-4056
Opening hours: Monday to Thursday, 14:00 to 21:00