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BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

BY THE LATE G. BERTIN, M.R.A.S.

First Attempts—Allegories of the Classics—Babylonian Systems of Dating—The Chronological Tablets—Tablet of the Dynasties of Babylon—Philological Tablet—Tablet of the Royal Canon—Average of Reigns—Reconstruction of the Tablet—Data given by the Monuments—Exactly Accurate Chronology Impossible—List of all the Dynasties—Comparison with the Dynasties of Berosus—First Inhabitants of Babylonia—Semitic Occupation—Antediluvian Kings—Prophetism—Pre-Akkadian Semites—Akkadian Invasion and First Dynasty—The Kassites—Heroic Period—Semitic Renaissance—Rise of Babylon—Sisku Dynasty—Kassite Dynasty—Assyrian Influence—Elamite King—Second Period of Assyrian Influence—Fall of Nineveh—Persian and Greek Conquests—Last Days of Babylon.

MANY attempts have been made to establish with a degree of accuracy the Babylonian chronology, but all have failed from want of sufficient documents. Previous to the Assyriological discoveries the historians depended mainly, if not altogether, on the relations of Herodotus and Ctesias,<sup>1</sup> and both lived a long time after the Persian conquest of Babylon; mere travellers besides, and unacquainted with the language of the country, they were often imposed upon by their dragomans or misunderstood them.

<sup>1</sup> The fragments which pass as those of the history of Ctesias are no doubt those of a work of a Greek traveller who gave it as that of the physician of Artaxerxes.

The Jews, being in closer connection with the Babylonians, were better informed, and the information given in the Bible agrees with what was contained in the fragments of Berosus. The Christian historians and chronographers worked hard to make the statements in the Bible agree with those of the classics; these endeavours gave birth to the artificial system we find in George Syncellus, Eusebius, and others, and preserved till lately in the school books.

The Greeks had treated the Babylonian history as they had treated their own: tribes, nations, or dynasties were represented by names of supposed kings. It is only the discoveries of native monuments which give us the key of this system. Belus, the supposed founder of Babylon, who is said to have come from Egypt, represented the first Semites, Ninus the Akkadian, Semiramis the Sumerian rules, and Nynias probably the rise of the Assyrian power. It would be, of course, impossible to explain the system if we had not the native documents. Among the fables and allegories we find, however, sometimes real historical facts, like the fall of Sardanapalus;<sup>1</sup> but, indeed, this historical event has been much misrepresented, as in Sardanapalus we must see the rebel son of Salmanasar II., Assur-dan-apal, who truly died under the ruins of his town (about 823).

The legends and fables of the classics have now been rejected, but the historians have not been able to fill up the periods formerly attributed to the allegorical personages. I am now able to do so, thanks to the chronological tablets in the British Museum. That such tablets existed we already knew a long time ago by the fragments of Berosus, for, with the very deficient system of dating of the Babylonian, the reconstruction of the chronology would have offered too much difficulty without such tables.

The system of dating by the regnal years of the kings is

<sup>1</sup> This king is Assur-dan-apal, son of Salmanasar II., who put himself at the head of the inhabitants of the town of Assur, jealous of the pre-eminence given to Nineveh. He was defeated and buried himself under the ruins of Assur. The Greeks confounded this event with the fall of Assur-sar-iskun (Sarakos), the last king of Nineveh.

always unsatisfactory, for, if it gives the exact position of an event in the reign of a king, it is of little value if we do not know the position of this king in the chronology. At Babylon in the first dynasty they had, however, a worse system, the date being indicated by a remarkable event, as the opening of a channel, the consecration of an image to the gods, &c. The want of a system of consecutive dates was no doubt felt, for between about 3000 and 2000 several eras are made use of. We have the tablets dated from the fall of Karrak, or Larsa, &c. The Assyrians at an early date adopted the system of Eponym, but we would be at a loss to fix the date of each of them if we had not the list of Eponyms made up by the Ninevite scribes, and this only for the later part; in some cases the Assyrians seem to have had some doubts, as the four copies come down to us do not always agree, the difference being in some instances of two or three years.

It was, no doubt, to counteract the deficiency of the various systems of dating that these chronological tablets have been written.<sup>1</sup>

The three chronological tablets I have spoken of—now in the British Museum—are in a very bad state of preservation, but it is by supplementing, as will be seen, one by the other that I have been able to reconstruct the complete list of the kings and dynasties from the earliest period. The first tablet,<sup>2</sup> which I call tablet A, contained when complete the full list of the kings, arranged in dynasties, from the rise of Babylon to power and to the rank of metropolis. The second,<sup>3</sup> tablet B, is the most important, though we possess only a small fragment: it gave when complete the list of all

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrians and Babylonians were not, however, very particular about chronology and dates, for even at a very late period in historical documents we read statements beginning in this way: 'In a certain year,' or 'In a year unknown.' The deficiency of the system of dating by the year of the king is well illustrated by the Egyptian history; for instance, though every year of Ramses is well known, the writers disagree among themselves to the extent of centuries as to the age of this king.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* May 1884.

<sup>3</sup> Published by G. Smith, *S.B.A.* vol. iii. Part II. 1874.

the kings of Babylon, from the time considered, as we shall see, historical by the Babylonians, arranged by dynasties, with the numbers of the years of each king and the summation of each dynasty. The third,<sup>1</sup> tablet C, gave the list of the Akkadian, Sumerian, and Kassite kings who ruled over Babylon previous to the Semitic renaissance. Each name is accompanied with its translation in Semitic Babylonian, but without any mention of years, as the list appears to have been made simply to give the translation.

The first tablet is easily completed, as by a fortunate accident the summations of nearly all the dynasties are preserved. The first dynasty which was missing is fortunately supplemented by a small tablet,<sup>2</sup> also in the British Museum, giving the first and second dynasties with the numbers of the years of the first. The last dynasty, the summation of which is also lost, is easily reconstructed by means of the Assyrian documents, as it begins in 732 with Ukinzir. The length of the tablet is ascertained by the number of the kings of the third dynasty, which extends from column 1 to column 2. The summation says 36 kings, and as the name of the first king, Kandis, in the first column is opposite that of Meli-Sihu, the last but three in the second column, it is certain that the tablet contained 32 lines in each column. We can therefore reconstruct the tablet thus:—

(Obverse) First column.—Dynasty of Babylon, 11 kings and summation 12 lines; dynasty of Sisku, 11 kings and summation 12 lines, and 8 kings of the Kassite dynasty: total 32 lines. Second column.—28 names and one line summation of the Kassite dynasty and 3 names of the dynasty of Pase: total 32. (Reverse) Third column (right-hand side<sup>3</sup>).—8 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase, 3 names and summation of the Tamtim dynasty, 3 names and summation

<sup>1</sup> Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* January 1881. The contents of these three tablets are given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Mr. Pinches, *S.B.A. Proc.* December 1880.

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse of tablets the columns run from left to right, but on the reverse from right to left.

of the Basi dynasty, 1 line for an Elamite king, and 12 names of the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty: total only 30 lines, because space is lost by the ruling of separation lines after the dynasties each side of the summation. Fourth column (left-hand side).—5 names and summation of the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty. The rest of the column was no doubt covered with 21 names (as the tablet was probably written under Nabonidus) and the Colophon.

It may be noticed that as this tablet had for principal object chronology the names of the kings are sometimes written in abbreviation; for instance, in the second dynasty, Kian for Kianibi, Gulki for Gulkisar, and in the last dynasty the name of the well-known king Kandalanu is given as Kandal.

A great many of the missing names in this tablet have also to be supplied from the synchronic history,<sup>1</sup> which gave all the instances in which the Assyrian and Babylonian empires came in connection, and also from the Babylonian chronicle.<sup>2</sup>

The tablet so reconstructed contains the names of 115 kings, divided into nine dynasties, and covers 1,833 years, from B.C. 2371 to 538, the first year of Cyrus.

The tablet C, which might also be called the philological tablet, contained also four columns, two on each side; each column is divided into two, the left-hand side containing the names of the kings and the right-hand side their translation. As for the number of lines, it is not so easily ascertained, because there are no summations, but Assyriologists accustomed to handle tablets can without difficulty determine the middle of a tablet, and, as in this case half of the tablet only has been lost, the probable number of lines in each column can be fixed with almost certainty. In my estimate I follow the

<sup>1</sup> All the fragments of the tablets containing this history have not been published and some appear to be missing, though G. Smith consulted them. Professor Sayce has given a translation (*Records of the Past*, vol. iii.) of what he could get at the time (1874). Some other fragments have been found since.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Mr. Pinches in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* The translation is also given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. p. 232 *et seq.*

conclusions of Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, who, examining tablets every day, is more likely to get an accurate idea of the primitive state of our tablet.<sup>1</sup> The tablet was distributed thus:—Column 1 (obverse): 40 names, the last 12 being preserved and are Akkadian; the last but one is that of Sargina, or Sargon, and the last that of a queen, Azag-Bau; then between two division lines this observation: ‘These are the kings who, after the Flood, did not write as to the order of one another.’ Then follow nine names, all Kassite. Column 2: the first 33 lines are lost, then follow 27 names Sumerian: 1 line is lost at the end. Column 3 (reverse): 2 lines are lost, then come 18 names, Akkadian, and 9 Sumerian; the end of the column 32 lines are lost. Column 4: 13 names, Kassite; then follow several lines, partly destroyed, with division lines, which contained perhaps the summation, observations, and the Colophon.

The total of the names which the tablet contained when complete is 40 before the observation in the first column, and 149 in the rest. The change of the language to which the names belonged indicates, as we shall show, a change of dynasty. We have not, unfortunately, any native documents which might determine the number of years covered by this long list of kings. After much thought I had recourse to the method of average,<sup>2</sup> and I was rewarded, as will be seen by the most complete and unexpected success.

After having examined many successions or dynasties of kings of modern as well as of ancient times it becomes evident that the duration of the reigns follows certain laws, which when philosophically considered are most rational. In quiet times the average of reign is 20 years, or even 26: this happens generally at the beginning of a dynasty, and is easy to understand; for if a conqueror or an usurper, as are generally

<sup>1</sup> Professor Sayce accepts also the estimate of Mr. Pinches for the number of the missing lines.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that this system of average has ever been resorted to, but it is remarkable that the average of fifteen for a reign stands good, not only for ancient, but also modern times. The longer the period, the more accurate the average.

the founders of dynasties, had only a short reign, he could not have time to establish himself strongly enough to pass the crown to his heirs. For this reason Alexander and Napoleon founded no dynasty ; on the contrary, Augustus and Charlemagne had a long reign. In troubled times, and especially at the end of dynasties, the average falls to ten and even five years ; again this is rational, because it is the law of nature that those who play the more prominent part should be sooner exhausted. Royal families after a time seem to be worn out, so to say ; that explains why they die out. Another cause which contributes to shorten the reigns of the kings at the end of dynasties is that then the country often falls into anarchy, either because a nation as a family after playing an important part on the stage of the world becomes effete and worn out, or from some other causes as yet undetermined. Taken altogether, the dynasties of all nations and periods give an average of 16 years for each reign, or more accurately  $15\frac{1}{2}$  years. I have chosen the number 15 because it is more easily worked, and not to be accused of exaggeration. It may be noticed that this average is confirmed by the figures given by the tablet A, which gives for the 115 kings 1,833 years, that is, a little less than 16 years for each. Taking, therefore, this number of 15 years for the average of each reign, we have for the 50 kings previous to the observation in the first column 750 years. I say 745 to obtain a round number, as will be seen. The rest of the tablet contained the names of 149 kings, with the average of 15 years for each : it gave a total of 2,235 years. All these kings had non-Semitic names.

Of the tablet B, which contained once the Royal Canon of Babylon, we possess only a small fragment, but as it belongs to the middle of the tablet we see that the tablet primitively contained three columns on each side. The number of the lines on each column can be ascertained exactly ; on the middle column of the reverse (that is, column 5), is the name of Simmas-Siku, first king of the dynasty of Tamtim, and exactly opposite on the column 3 (that is, the right-hand side of



reverse) is the name of the first king of the dynasty of Babylon, Sumu-abi. As we know that there were from this king to the other 69 names and 4 summations, the columns of the tablet must have contained 73 lines. In this case the 73 lines were:—11 names and summation of the dynasty of Babylon, 12 lines; 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Sisku, 12 lines; 36 names and summation of the Kassite dynasty, 37 lines; 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase, 12: total 73. This shows us also that the dynasty of Babylon, by which begins the tablet A, was preceded on the tablet B by a long series of kings, whose names covered the three columns of the obverse, and about a third of column 4 on the reverse. These kings must have therefore belonged to a period previous to B.C. 2371.

Who were these kings? To answer we must turn to the philological list of tablet C, for the obverse of the fragment of the tablet B is nearly entirely effaced; we have only, on what was line 41 of column 1, the end of the line, which shows the summation 600 years, and in the middle column (column 2) three names of kings.

After many efforts and attempts one thing became clear to me—it is that the Babylonians had in their chronology a period which they considered as marking the starting point of historical times. This we might have guessed before, as on the philological list (tablet B) it is stated, after the first group of names, that their chronological order is uncertain. I tried, therefore, to begin the tablet B by the Kassite dynasty led by Hammurabi, and everything fitted admirably. It is evident that the royal canon contained in tablet B was historical, and therefore began with Hammurabi, considered by the Babylonians as the first historical king.

With the help of the philological list we can therefore reconstruct the dynasty in the following manner, giving at the same time to the dynasties the sum of the average of 15 years for each king:—

Column 1 (obverse) began with the Kassite dynasty of 40 kings for 600 years; this number is given by the tablet, and

confirms in a remarkable way my calculation. Then came 31 Sumerian kings; column 2 began by 5 Sumerian names, followed by the summation of the first Sumerian dynasty of 35 kings for 525 years; then 20 Akkadian names and summation of the second Akkadian dynasty of 20 kings for 300 years; then the nine names and summation of the second Sumerian dynasty of 9 kings for 135 years. Then there is a long break in the philological list; we are therefore unable to supply the names of the kings. Fortunately this break corresponds to the three lines preserved on the tablet B, and they show that the dynasty following there was Akkadian.<sup>1</sup> From the number of the lines we see that it contained 30 kings for 450 years; the column ended with the first seven names of the second Kassite dynasty. Column 3 began the last eight names and summation of the second Kassite dynasty of 15 kings for 225 years.

Here the philological list (tablet C) ends. The explanation is simple. The writer of this tablet had as his object simply to give the list of the kings' names, which were not Semitic, with the translation of them; he therefore began probably with the names of the kings of the first Akkadian dynasty, whose chronological order was uncertain, and extended down to the end of the second Kassite dynasty, after which came the Semitic renaissance. It is certain that the first dynasty of Babylon began on the thirtieth or thirty-third lines of the fourth column; therefore most of the third column, and the beginning of the fourth, was covered by the names of the Semitic dynasty, which, judging from the number of lines, contained 110 names, and the summation of a Semitic dynasty of 110 kings for 1,650 years; but I make it 1,649 years to obtain a round number with the date of the first dynasty of Babylon, B.C. 2371.

The rest of the tablet is easily reconstructed. On column 4, after the summation of the Semitic dynasty, came 11

<sup>1</sup> One name is Semitic, Apil-Sin; but this is not surprising. We are coming near the Semitic renaissance, and probably the Semites were already coming to the front.

names and summation of the dynasty of Babylon of 11 kings for 294 years; the 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Sisku of 11 kings for 368 years; and the beginning of the Kassite dynasty, column 5, began with the last names and summation of the Kassite dynasty of 36 kings for 576 years 9 months; then came the 11 names and summation of the dynasty of Pase of 11 kings for 72 years 5 months. Here begins the fragment of the tablet, and we see that the scribe has given more than one line to each king. The end of the column is filled up with the dynasty of Tamtim, 3 kings for 21 years 5 months; the dynasty of Basi, 3 kings for 20 years 3 months; the Elamite dynasty, composed of one king only for 6 years; the first Assyro-Babylonian dynasty of 17 kings for 280 years; and the first few names of the second Assyro-Babylonian dynasty. The sixth and last column began with the last names of the second Assyro-Babylonian dynasty of 22 kings for 194 years. But as the tablet was probably written under Assurbanipal, it contained probably only 14 names. It was followed by the Colophon, but the greater part of the column was blank, as we see from the fragment which extends partly on column 6.

To give an idea of the tablets I give a drawing of them, with lines marking the extent of the tablets when they were complete. The reader will be able to reconstruct easily tablet B, containing the complete canon of the kings from Hammurabi I., the first historical king of Babylon.

Whatever may be the conclusions arrived at, it is indispensable that they should be confirmed and supported by the data given by the inscriptions, and to show that the conclusions arrived at have nothing to fear from such comparisons I will give here the list of the data given by the inscriptions, and which have served as base to all the previous attempts.

1. Sargon, King of Nineveh (B.C. 722-705), but speaking as King of Babylon, says <sup>1</sup> the 350 kings (no doubt in round numbers) ruled before him over Babylonia. Sargon probably

<sup>1</sup> *W.A.I.* i. pl. 36; *Records of the Past*, iii. p. 4.

speaks only of the historical kings from Hammurabi I.; and effectively from this king to Sargon we count 355 kings of Babylon.

2. The same king, to speak of the most ancient time, says<sup>1</sup> from the time of Adi-Ur. This is the name of the first king of the mythical dynasty previous to the Flood.

3. Nabonidus (555-538) says<sup>2</sup> that Sagasalti-Burias ruled 800 years before him, *i.e.* 1355.

4. The same king says<sup>3</sup> that Naramsin ruled 3,200 years before him, *i.e.* 3755, and as we know that Sargon of Agade ruled 45 years, it places the beginning of this early king at 3800, that is, at the beginning of the Semitic dynasty.

5. The same king says<sup>4</sup> that Burnaburias ruled 700 years after Hammurabi (2259-2214), therefore in about 1560.

6. Assurbanipal (667-624) says<sup>5</sup> that Kudur-Nanhundi took Babylon 1,635 before his own conquest of Elam in 645, *i.e.* in 2280.

7. Tiglath-pileser I. (1320-1300) says<sup>6</sup> that Assur-dan ruled 60 years before him, *i.e.* 1880.

8. The same king says<sup>7</sup> that Samû-Ramamu, Petesi of Assur, ruled 641 before Assur-dan, therefore in 2021.

9. We arrive now at a very difficult question. Sennacherib says<sup>8</sup> that the seal of Tugulti-Ninip I. was carried away to Babylon 600 years before his capture of Babylon in 692, and in the Bavian inscription he states that the image of Sala was carried from Nineveh by Marduk-nadin-ahe, King of Babylon, under the reign of Tiglath-pileser I., King of Assyria, 418 years<sup>9</sup> before the same capture of Babylon in 692. It has been supposed that the capture of the seal of Tugulti-Ninip

<sup>1</sup> See my *Pre-Akkadian Semites*, *Journal R.A.S.* xviii. Part III.

<sup>2</sup> *W.A.I.* v. pl. 64, col. 3, l. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* col. 2, l. 56 *et seq.*; *Records of the Past*, new series, i. p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *W.A.I.* vol. i. pl. 69, col. 2, l. 4 *et seq.* As published, the passage is not clear, but new fragments have been found since which take away all doubts.

<sup>5</sup> Smith's *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *W.A.I.* iii. pl. 4, No. 2.

<sup>9</sup> This number is at the beginning of line 50. This inscription has been often translated. The translation of Mr. Pinches appeared in the *Records of the Past*.



of Egypt, and comes to confirm the fact that the Babylonian king ruled about the year 1560.

11. The synchronous history, though not giving dates, is of great importance, as it shows which kings of the two countries of Assyria and Babylonia were contemporaneous. This document began with Assur-sum-esis (1625-1610); it gives, therefore, useful informations, and the synchronism of the various kings must be respected.

12. The Assyrian Eponym canon and the Assyrian chronicle fix with certainty the Assyrian chronology from 891, and therefore serve to fix also the dates of many events in Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Chronicle, which begins with the third year of Nabonassar, makes certain the dates of the last Assyro-Babylonian dynasty.

Here may be noticed that an exactly accurate chronology is impossible, because the various nations, or even the same nation at different periods, had not the same calendar,<sup>2</sup> so that the same event given by two writers, though agreeing perfectly, may appear to be placed in two different years. The Babylonian year in the historical period began with the month *Nisannu* in March, but there is evidence that it was not always so; the year was besides a very vague one; intercalary months and supplementary days were added arbitrarily when it was noticed that the festivals would not coincide with the natural phenomena they were to celebrate.

*S.B.A.* together with two other tablets and some extracts. For the last two years the authorities have promised the publication of all of them, and in the meanwhile they do not allow anyone to publish any part of them—which is rather surprising, when Mr. Budge was allowed to publish the most important, for I cannot believe that he would have done so without permission.

<sup>1</sup> These two documents are given by Professor Sayce in the *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptian year began in August, the Persian and Armenian also; but the Athenian in June, the Macedonian in September, the Syrian began with *Tisri* (September-October), the Greco-Syrian with *Elul* (August-September). The beginning of the year varied even with the towns—at Tyr on October 19, at Gaza on the 28th of the same month, at Damas on the spring equinox. To make things worse, there are doubts about the beginning of the various eras: the Seleucidian era, which is used in some tablets, is fixed by some in 312, or 311, or even 310. I have adopted the first date, which is given by Ptolemy. It may be noticed that the era of Nabonassar never existed, but was invented by Ptolemy.

Here follows a table of the Babylonian dynasties as reconstructed by the examination of the chronological tablets and other documents :—

*Mythical and Prehistoric Period.*

Antediluvian dynasty, 10 kings.

*Circa* B.C. 7500? Pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty.

7000 Akkadian first dynasty, 50 kings for 7,457 years.

*Heroic Period.*

*Circa* B.C. 6255 First Kassite dynasty, 40 kings for 600 years.

5655	First Sumerian	35	525	„
5130	Second Akkadian	20	300	„
4830	Second Sumerian	9	135	„
4695	Third Akkadian	30	450	„
4245	Second Kassite	15	225	„

*First Historical Period—National Dynasties.*

4020	Semitic dynasty,	110	kings for	1,649	years.
2371	Dynasty of Babylon	11	kings for	294	„
2077	„ Sisku	11	„	368	„
1709	Kassite dynasty	36	„	576	„ 9 months.
1132	Dynasty of Pase	11	„	72	„ 6 „
1060	„ Tamtim	3	„	21	„ 5 „
1038	„ Basi	3	„	20	„ 3 „
1018	Elamite dynasty	1	king for	6	„
1012	First Assyro-Baby-				
	lonian dynasty	17	kings for	280	„
732	Second Assyro-Ba-				
	bylonian dynasty	22	„	194	„

*Second Historical Period—Foreign Dynasties.*

538	Persian dynasty	13	kings for	207	years.
331	Alexander's dynasty	3	„	19	„
	Seleucidian era.				

Professor Sayce has often dwelt on the remarkable accuracy of the statements of Berosus, though they have come down to us through ignorance, and in some cases bad-faithed copyists. After having reconstructed the Babylonian chronology, I am obliged to render to the Babylonian historian the same tribute. To show the remarkable accuracy of Berosus, it suffices to draw a table of his dynasties side by side with those given by the native documents :—

<i>Monuments.</i>	<i>Berosus.</i>
Antediluvian kings.	Antediluvian kings.
Pre-Akkadian Semites.	(Evekhous for 2,400 years.)
Akkadian first dynasty.	(Khomasbelus for 2,700 years.)
Heroic period, 6 dynasties of 149 kings for 2,235 years.	
Semitic dynasty, 110 kings for 1,649 years.	Semitic dynasty, 86 kings.
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Dynasty of Babylon, 11 kings 194 y.	Median dynasty 8 kings for 224 y.
„ Sisku 11 „ 368 „	Unnamed „ 11 „ 358 „
„ Kassite 36 „ 576 „ 9 m.	Chaldæan „ 49 „ 458 „
„ Pase 11 „ 72 „ 6 „	Arab „ 9 „ 245 „
„ Tamtim 3 „ 21 „ 5 „	} Assyrian „ 45 „ 526 „
„ Basi 3 „ 20 „ 3 „	
„ Elam 1 king 6 „	
„ Ass. & Bab. 17 kings 280 years	
„ „ (2nd) 22 „ 194 „	
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N. From the dynasty of Babylon, 115 kings for 1,832 years 11 months.	From the Median dynasty, 122 kings for 1,811 years.

All the abbreviators and copyists of Berosus misunderstood the plan he had followed, as he speaks of the antediluvian kings they placed after the Flood, the dynasty of 86 kings, and identified Evekhous, who was included in it, with Nimrod, supposed builder of the tower of Babel. Accustomed to consider the date of Nabonassar, given by Ptolemy, as the standard date, they assumed that the dynasty of 45 Assyrian kings finished there and ridiculously placed after it Phulus and Nabonassar.<sup>1</sup> Not being able either to give up entirely all the fables reported by the classics, they placed after the Arabian dynasty the mythical Semiramis, but Berosus mentions her only to complain of the introduction of the myth by Herodotus into Babylonian history.<sup>2</sup>

Berosus had as his object, not the history of Babylonia, but

<sup>1</sup> This would place the beginning of the first dynasty of Babylon, called Median by Berosus, according to the number given by his copyists, in 2559—nearly two centuries earlier than the chronological tablet.

<sup>2</sup> G. Smith seems to have understood it so, for in his table of the Berosian dynasties he leaves out this mythical queen (*Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 4).



that of Babylon ; he began, therefore, with the first dynasty of Babylon, which is called in his abbreviator Median. This name has given rise to a great deal of misapprehension and to the notion that an Aryan population ruled over Babylon. But this name of Median is not here derived from Media, but from the Babylonian *matu*,<sup>1</sup> 'country.' Babylon was for the Babylonians the country *par excellence* as Rome was *Urbs* for the Romans. The name of the second dynasty appears to have been forgotten by the copyists, but the right number of kings is preserved. The Chaldæan dynasty is the Kassite of the tablet,<sup>2</sup> but in the tablet the name is lost ; and though the greater number of the kings are Kassite, there are also many Semitic, and the name Chaldæan, or rather Babylonian, might be applied to the dynasty, especially as the Kassites always adopted the manners, customs, and even language of the conquered. The Arab dynasty of 9 kings corresponds to the dynasty of Pase : this was the name of a town near Babylon. Perhaps, as it was in the direction of the desert, the kings coming from this place have been called Arab. The Assyrian dynasty of 45 kings represented for Berosus the period of Assyrian influence, and corresponds to the last five dynasties of the tablet, giving together 46 kings.<sup>3</sup>

The figures representing the number of years attributed to each dynasty appear to have suffered much more from the hands of the copyists, but it would seem that they had summations to guide themselves, for when they reduced the years of one dynasty they increased those of the next. It is remarkable that the summation of the six dynasties of

<sup>1</sup> The word *matu* is considered by most Assyriologists as Akkadian in origin, and its pronunciation is then *mada*. I believe, however, the name to be Semitic, but this does not affect the question, as the Babylonians attributed everything to the Akkadians, and often changed the words to force an Akkadian etymology.

<sup>2</sup> There is a difference in the number of kings, but figures are easily mistranscribed ; besides, Berosus may have given more names than the tablet, which sometimes has neglected unimportant kings. For the following Arab dynasty (Pase of the tablet) the reverse happened ; Berosus evidently neglected those kings who only ruled a few months.

<sup>3</sup> This number of forty-six kings, with that of the tablet, forty-five, is striking, and is also an argument against terminating the Berosian dynasty at Nabonassar.

Berosus gives 122 kings for 1,811 years, against 115 kings for 1,832 years and 11 months: the difference is not 22 years. As for the number of the kings, it may be that Berosus included in his Chaldæan dynasty kings neglected in the chronological tablet as unimportant; it may be noticed that more than 36 names of kings have been recovered for this period; there are therefore certainly names omitted.

Though the Babylonian history previous to the rise of Babylon did not enter in the plan of Berosus, he spoke of it. He gave first the 10 mythical kings previous to the Flood. Afterwards he spoke, summarily no doubt, of the prehistoric and heroic dynasties. It seems that we have distorted remains of his statements in the mention of the two kings, Evehous and Khomasbelus, who have been included in the dynasty of 86 kings. These two kings seem to represent, the first the period previous to the Kassite invasion—that is, the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasties, perhaps 110 kings for 1,650 years, and the first Akkadian dynasty of 50 kings for 750 years; he received therefore 2,400 years. The second represents the six dynasties of the heroic period, 149 kings for 2,235 years, and 2,700 years are attributed to him. If we accept this explanation it puts back the first pre-Akkadian or first Semitic king as far as B.C. 8650, which is not an impossible figure.<sup>1</sup>

The first inhabitants of Babylonia were no doubt the representatives of the low race<sup>2</sup> which is found everywhere previous to the arrival of what has been called the nobler races. They have left no records, because they accept always the language and customs of the conqueror. Previous to the Semitic invasion they wandered, perhaps for centuries, in the thick virgin forests which then covered Babylonia,

<sup>1</sup> As these explanations are mere supposition I have not included this number in my table. I suppose provisionally the first Semitic invasion to have taken place 500 years before the Akkadian conquest, but I believe that it took place much earlier.

<sup>2</sup> I called this race the ground race, because it forms, so to say, the lower stratum of the population everywhere. See my paper 'The Races of the Babylonian Empire,' *Journal of the Anthropol. Institute*, November 1888.

disputing their food with the wild beasts. The Persian Gulf then extended much farther inland, and half of the country was covered with marshes.<sup>1</sup> These savage inhabitants have left no traces, unless the flint implements found in Babylonia are to be attributed to their skill,<sup>2</sup> and they have been absorbed by the Semitic population, though now and then we see revivals of their type on the monuments. As this population always lives in a state of freedom or anarchy, it is not really conquered, but sees simply its country occupied.

The Semites who took possession of Babylonia came from Syria. The race seems to be originally of the south part of Egypt,<sup>3</sup> and to have been repulsed by the ancestors of the Egyptians in prehistoric times. After having made a long stay in the region of Arabia Felix, where they acquired the very marked characteristics of the race, they extended into Arabia. Those who remained appear to have still retained a certain connection with Egypt, as indicate the common legends; they occupied little by little Syria, and from Syria passed into Babylonia. Possibly they took the road across the desert, which was then a fertile country.

Before going farther we will examine the mythical dynasty of the kings before the Flood.

It is difficult to say who were the kings who compose the antediluvian dynasty. Do they represent really a certain period, or are they kings of a later age who have been placed in the mythic period by the popular imagination? It is impossible to say; however, their names, as I have remarked elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> are Semitic. Adiur, the first king, and Ardututu and Umnapisti are mentioned on the monuments. The second king, called Alaparus or Alasparus, is probably *Ilu-*

<sup>1</sup> This has been proved by Loftus in several papers read before the Royal Geographical Society.

<sup>2</sup> Some may be seen in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper 'Origin and Primitive Home of the Semites' in the *Journal of Anthropol. Institute*; also my paper 'Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns' in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* vol. xvii. Part I. Since writing these papers I have gathered a great many more proofs.

<sup>4</sup> In my *Pre-Akkadian Semites* the names of these kings have been so mutilated that identification is sometimes impossible.

*ishpar*, the third Amelon or Amillarus, probably *Amil-Ur*; the sixth king Daonus, or Daos, is perhaps *Dānu*, the judge, unless we have the name of Tammuz. *Damuzi*, as the name of *Samas* was transcribed *Saos* by the Greeks, the letter 'm' being dropped. In Euedoreskhus, or Euedorakhus, we may have the name of Merodach, *Maruduk* or *Amaruduk*, the Babylonian divinity, and as this name has been identified with that of Nimrod, it is probably a king of the pre-Akkadian dynasty.

At a later date this period was considered as allegorical and astronomical; the duration of each reign was changed according to the theories of the various writers. In the fragment of Berosus, as we possess it, the ten kings appear to have been assimilated to the ten most brilliant stars of the ecliptic, and the length of their reigns calculated to represent their relative position. Originally they represented the primitive ten divisions of the year.

One of the most striking characteristics of this period is prophetism, that is, a great moral influence acquired by popular preachers over the people, unsupported by any civil force, as we see it among the Jews at a later date. In Babylonia at the earliest period prophets appeared at various times and exercised a great civilising influence. At a later date these prophets were considered as Avatars of the God of Wisdom. The names of these prophets have been so miscopied by the abbreviators of Berosus, that it is nearly impossible to guess the real and primitive form.

It is propable that the mythical dynasty contains some of the kings of the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty, and for this reason it is perhaps impossible to recover the names of the kings of this dynasty. Belus is no other than the national god of the Semites, Bel, 'the lord.' We are, however, told that it is under his guidance that the Semites left Egypt and took possession of Babylonia.<sup>1</sup> Nimrod, another king of this dynasty, is the same as *Maruduk*, shorter form of *Amaruduk*

<sup>1</sup> Suidas says that Babylon was founded by a colony from Egypt led by Belus.

and *Namaruduk*. This king, according to the tradition preserved in Genesis,<sup>1</sup> extended the Semitic influence to the north and founded several cities in Assyria.

The Semites brought with them into Babylonia the first elements of civilisation and the art of writing: this was still in the pictorial state. We have no documents of this period, however, unless, as there is reason to believe, some of the omen tablets are later transcriptions of observations of this period.<sup>2</sup>

The Akkadians<sup>3</sup> before the invasion of Babylonia lived in Media, but they appear to have been much more gifted intellectually than the other tribes of the same land and race. They invaded Babylonia either by small bands or in mass, under the leadership of a great warrior, but the former is more likely. The Semites, ill organised for resistance, defended themselves in vain. Sargon, or Sargina,<sup>4</sup> was the last champion of the Semitic independence,<sup>5</sup> and a legend after his death was developed which promised the coming back of the old king, who was to re-establish the Semitic kingdom. It is the Messianic king that Sargon of Agade claimed to be.

After a long dynasty Babylonia saw a new invasion, that of the Kassites (6255), a population coming like the Akkadians from Media, but much inferior to them intellectually. They ruled for a long period, and were expelled by a Sumerian

<sup>1</sup> This passage is probably an interpolation, but it has preserved no doubt an old tradition.

<sup>2</sup> For this question see my paper 'Origin and Development of the Cuneiform Syllabary' in *Journal of the R.A.S.* vol. xix. Part IV.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Akkad* is a Semitic translation of *Uru*, 'the strong ones,' by which these people called themselves.

<sup>4</sup> This king has been for a long time confounded with Sargon of Agade; Mr. Pinches first separated them.

<sup>5</sup> The Akkadians followed a religion in which the propitiation of evil spirits played the principal part, and used to bury the dead. They introduced their customs into Babylonia, but they were modified; however, there must have been a time of struggle. At this period I should therefore place the emigration of Abraham, who would not accept the innovations. This patriarch seems to have had a real existence, but later on he was made to represent a tribe, and his life was extended over centuries. The Abraham who went to Egypt can be neither the same as the one who emigrated from Uru, nor the same as the one who fought Kudur-Lagamar.

king (5655), whom I believe to be the famous hero Gilgamesh.<sup>1</sup> In the poem relative to this early king we are told that he freed Babylonia from the foreign tyrant Umbaba, and that he extended his empire all over Western Asia: his capital was Erech and his language Sumerian.<sup>2</sup> Gilgamesh was a real king and ruled effectively, but in the course of time he was transformed by poets into a solar hero, and his deeds arranged accordingly, though we can still detect the main lines of his prosperous reign.<sup>3</sup>

After the first Sumerian dynasty the Akkadians took the power again, but the Sumerians took it a second time, to leave it finally to the Akkadians. The third Akkadian dynasty was destroyed by the Kassites, and their dynasty closes the heroic period.<sup>4</sup>

The Akkadians inhabited the northern, and the Sumerians the southern parts of Babylonia, and the changes of dynasties appear to indicate the fluctuation of the power between the tribes. No echoes have come down to us of the wars which must have taken place to bring about these changes. But after the second Kassite conquest Akkadians and Sumerians disappear for ever from the scene. This seems to prove that they always were in a minority, and formed a kind of aristocracy; they had adopted the Semitic civilisation, and given to it a peculiar character. When they disappeared they bequeathed this peculiar civilisation to the Semites.

With the Semitic renaissance (4020) begin the real historical times, for which we have contemporaneous documents

<sup>1</sup> Formerly called Giodubar and wrongly identified with Nimrod. Mr. Pinches has found lately the real reading of the name, and Professor Sayce noticed that this name is given by Ælian under the form of Gilgamesh.

<sup>2</sup> The Sumerians were the southern branch of the Akkadians, and spoke a dialect of the same language. The name *Somer* is still applied by the Arabs to the south-west part of Babylonia.

<sup>3</sup> It is during this dynasty that I should be inclined to place a conquest of Egypt by a Sumerian king; this is no doubt the origin of the tradition which makes Semiramis rule on the Nile.

<sup>4</sup> I call this period heroic because it is the period during which appeared all the Babylonian heroes and were written all the heroic poems.

and remains. It has been a subject of great surprise that all the excavations never reveal anything from the earlier period, though the skill of the artists shows that a long period must have elapsed before.<sup>1</sup> The explanation appears simple to me. Originally Babylonia was covered with thick forests; the first inhabitants took from these forests materials to build their houses and temples, and from the marshes papyrus to manufacture their writing material. With the progress of civilisation and the increase of the population the forests and papyrus disappeared.<sup>2</sup> Then the wood was replaced by bricks, and the papyrus by clay. This change took place, no doubt, at the time of the Semitic renaissance, and Time, which has destroyed the wooden monuments and the papyrus documents, has spared bricks and clay. Fortunately the scribes of this age have written copies of the old poems of the heroic period. The time of poems was over, and the scribes were satisfied with commentaries and translations, and it is only by these later transcriptions that we know the early Akkadian and Semitic literature.

Only a small number of the host of kings who fill this period are known to us: the most brilliant of them is Sargon of Agade,<sup>3</sup> the Messianic king. A great warrior, he extended his conquests from the Persian Gulf to Armenia, and from the mountains of Media to the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>4</sup> A great builder, he founded many cities and many temples, one of them in Babylon itself; in this town was also a palace constructed by him. Lover of the Fine Arts, he gathered a large library and encouraged artists and scribes; it is from his copies of the old tablets, which were copied for Assurbanipal, that most of the copies which we have, have come down to us. Though he ruled

<sup>1</sup> The oldest seal we possess—that of the scribe or librarian of Sargon of Agade—is perhaps the best of all those which have come down to us. Those of later kings show a decay in the art.

<sup>2</sup> As is known, the papyrus plant has disappeared also from Egypt. It is still found in Sicily and in Central Africa.

<sup>3</sup> The annals of his reign and that of his son have been preserved in omen tablets. They are translated by Professor Sayce (*Records of the Past*, new series, vol. i. pp. 37-41).

<sup>4</sup> Some read also Cyprus.

forty-five years, his empire was too vast to last.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by his son Naram-Sin, but with him seems to disappear the supremacy of Agade.

As we have no list of the kings of this dynasty, we cannot reconstruct it; many names of kings are known, but for the greater number it is doubtful if they ever ruled over Babylon. We may except the kings of Ur, Ur-Bau and his son Dungi, who came some time after the kings of Agade.

Previous to the rise of Ur to power the pre-eminent city appears to have been Nipur, but nothing is known of its king. It may only be noticed that this city is that of Bel, the national god of the Semites. After the predominance of Ur, Lagash seems to have flourished, but its Patesis, the best known of whom is Gudea, were more artistic than military and made no conquests. Towards the end of the period Karrak rose to power, but an Elamite conquest came to disturb Mesopotamia. Kudur-Mabuk, the Elamite king, made the conquest of all the southern region, but Babylon was spared, and he founded a dynasty at Erech.

Many more names might be recovered if explorations in Babylonia were carried on more systematically.<sup>2</sup>

It may be noticed here that Berosus gives only 86 kings to the dynasty, and possibly my estimate of 110 kings is a little exaggerated, and not justified enough by the probable number of lines missing. The date which I have adopted is nevertheless probable, for we have the date certain—3800 for the first year of Sargon of Agade. At the time of this king the Kassite rule seems to have been forgotten; it is not therefore much to suppose that 220 years had elapsed. On the other hand, if I applied my system of average to the 86 kings

<sup>1</sup> The end of his reign was filled with a series of revolts; the king was even besieged in his capital. Naram-Sin struggled probably in vain all his reign to maintain the conquests of his father.

<sup>2</sup> The relative positions of the kings and empires have been calculated from the position of the bricks in the monuments, as the kings gloried in repairing the structures of their predecessors. The style of the writing has also been used, but all these data are very unsatisfactory, and we cannot know the real position of the kings of this period until we find the missing portion of the Royal Canon.



it would give 1290, and place the beginning of the dynasty about 3561, which is too low a date, as it is below that of Sargon.

This long Semitic period of sixteen centuries and a half was perhaps also on the tablet divided into several dynasties, and the place occupied by the summations would reduce the number of lines occupied by the names of kings ; but if there were only 86 kings they must have ruled more than 15 years on the average, and this would be due to the fact that, as the predominance passed constantly from one town to another, the vitality and energy of the ruling family were maintained and the reigns were longer.

The rise of Babylon to power (2371) marks a real epoch in Babylonian history. Before then the want of homogeneity was rendered greater by the constant change of capital. When Babylon assumed the lead it preserved it to the last. The Babylonian empire offers also a greater power of resistance : this is well illustrated by the Elamite and Kassite invasions. The invading kings, having once taken Babylon, seem to have exhausted their force, and no more spread over the whole of Western Asia, as they used to do. Kudur-Nanhundi took and pillaged Babylon in 2280 ; but this event, far from weakening the Babylonian dynasty, seems to have given it new energy, and Hammurabi, who came to the throne in 2259, raised Babylon, during his reign of 45 years, to the first rank. All the kings of this dynasty had long reigns and left the crown to their sons.<sup>1</sup>

Of the second dynasty of Sisku (2077 to 1709) we only know the names of the kings. They must have had peaceful reigns, for, eleven in number, they ruled on the average over 31 years each. We have no documents, not even private tablets, of this period ; the only fact to note is that during the time of this dynasty ruled the early Patesis of Assur, Ismi-Dagan,

<sup>1</sup> Of this dynasty we possess numerous private contract tablets, which indicate a great development of commerce. It is rather curious that the contract tablets seem to cease with this dynasty. We have a long period extending till the second Ninevite empire, of which we have no contract tablets. No doubt the centre of commerce had shifted and the locality has not been yet found.

and Samsi-Rammanu in the town of this name, for Nineveh was not yet built. The latter king constructed a temple to Anu and Rammanu in 2021, that is, under the reign of Kianñi-bi, the second king of the dynasty of Sisku.

The last two kings, Melamma-Kurkura and Ea-gamil, ruled only six and nine years respectively, which indicates a state of disturbance, and, in fact, an invasion of Kassites put an end to the dynasty. A Kassite dynasty established itself at Babylon, but without changing anything in the laws of the land. The third king is called in the chronological tablet  $\text{𒌦 𒀭𒀭 𒌦 𒀭𒀭} \langle \text{𒀭} \rangle$ , *A-gu-á-ši*, which I suspect to be the ideographic writing<sup>1</sup> of  $\text{𒌦 𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭} \text{𒀭𒀭}$ , *A-gu-ka-ák-ri-me*, for this celebrated king must have ruled, and there is besides no room in any other part of the chronology. Agu-kak-rime calls himself king of Kassi, king of Babylon, coloniser of Ashnunak, king of Padan, Alman and Gutî, which shows that he was a great warrior. His inscription is written in Semitic Babylonian.<sup>2</sup>

The Assyrian power had rapidly increased. Bel-kapkapu (about 1850) changed the title of Patesi for that of king, which was borne henceforth by the Assyrian rulers. About 1620 the two empires of Assyria and Babylonia came into contact and made a treaty, but this pacific intercourse soon became hostile. From the time of the Assyrian king Assuruballit and the Babylonian king Burnaburias the two nations were constantly at war. At this period, however, the Egyptian conquest in Asia occupied the attention of the Assyrians and left the Babylonians at peace for a while; but soon the Ninevite kings asserted their power again, and several times occupied Babylon. One of the most glorious kings of the period is Tiglath-pileser I. (1320-1300), but his brilliant reign terminated in disaster, and he saw the Babylonian army, led by Marduk-nadin-ahe, plunder

<sup>1</sup> As the tablet has chronology as its object, ideograms are often used for the sake of shortness. The same thing happens in the trade documents, which are even at late date more ideographic than the early historical inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The copy we possess has been made by the Assyrians. It has been translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vii. (first series).

his own capital. The Assyrian empire fell into decay for a while, and from about 1200 Babylonia is left to herself. The short reigns of the kings appear, however, to indicate trouble; after the Kassite came the Pasa dynasty, in which some kings only reign a few months. The same may be said of the Tamtim and Basi dynasties.<sup>1</sup>

In 1018 the Elamites occupied Babylon and gave a king, who ruled six years. After this the Babylonians appear to have shown greater energy; one of their kings, Sibir, towards 930 or 940, carried successfully his arms against the Assyrians: this is the last success. Soon comes the brilliant reign of the Ninevite Assur-nasir-pal, who during 25 years placed the Assyrian power above all others. From this time Babylon is in the hands of the Ninevites, and revolt after revolt only makes the yoke on her neck heavier.

It is difficult to understand why the author of the chronological tablet begins a new dynasty with Ukinzir (732). Berosus did not, and made one dynasty of the last two of the tablet.

It may be noticed that there is a change of policy from this time in the conduct of the Ninevite kings towards Babylon. The kings take a more direct interest in the city, and take up their residence there. If this policy had been maintained by Assur-bani-pal, it would probably have saved the Assyrian empire, for it would have been absorbed by Babylon, as was at a later date the Persian empire, and Babylonia,<sup>2</sup> maintained as the metropolis, would have forgotten that her rulers had a foreign origin.

The writer of the tablet, as well as Berosus, does not seem to take into account the fall of Nineveh (607); the disappearance of the Assyrian empire had, however, a great influence on the history of Babylonia, for the Assyrian power was such

<sup>1</sup> The longer notice in the Royal Canon would incline one to believe that the writer had a national prejudice in favour of these kings. Mr. Pinches understood it so, but it is only a supposition, as we have no documents of the period.

<sup>2</sup> This is the cause of all the revolts of Babylon: this city would not accept the position of a provincial town. It probably tired the patience of the Ninevite kings.

that all the nations around never attained any degree of prosperity except when Assyria was for one cause or another reduced to impotence. After the fall of Nineveh the Babylonian empire appeared to be the greatest on earth, but this is only apparent, for Nineveh had cleared the field : Elam had been totally destroyed, the Hittites and other Syrian populations crushed, Egypt made powerless. But the days of the Babylonian empire were counted, new tribes and new races were pressing around, ready to rush on to the hollow colossus, waiting only for a bold leader. This leader was Cyrus. The empire was in truth so weak that when the Persians came before Babylon the town was captured without fighting.

The Persian kings came to dwell in Babylon, and partly lost their own language ; nothing was changed, the empire was too vast to have any unity. Darius, who had practically to make the conquest of his empire, tried to prevent the return of such revolts, but simply destroyed in the people all feelings of patriotism. After two centuries of Persian rule the empire passed into the hands of Alexander. If this conqueror had lived he would have been Babylonised like the Persians ; though transformed by the introduction of the Greek mind, Babylon would have gone on as in the past. But after a few years of anarchy the great city came under the rule of Seleucus, and was by the Greek rulers sacrificed to political exigency, and its inhabitants transported wholesale to people the new city, Seleucia.<sup>1</sup>

Babylon died a slow death ; its temples were, little by little, deserted, and fell into ruin. The ceremonies, however, went on before a more and more reduced congregation, and the cuneiform writing was still studied and used,<sup>2</sup> and it appears to have been superseded only by the introduction of Syriac by the Christians.

The tablets of this last period are very interesting, because they show us the Babylonians adopting the science of

<sup>1</sup> The fact has been doubted, but I have found a tablet mentioning this event.

<sup>2</sup> We have tablets down to the Christian era, and perhaps later.

the Greeks; for instance, from the time of the Greek conquest real astronomical documents become numerous; before this epoch there was no astronomy.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noticed that though Greek proper names are found, and that the Babylonians must have learnt Greek, we do not find any Greek words in the inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Drs. Epping and Strassmaier have published a book under the title of *Astronomisches aus Babylon*; but this title is rather a misnomer, as the book treats only of the Seleucidian period. See on this subject my lectures at the British Museum reported in *Nature*, July 4, 11, 18, and August 8, 1889.

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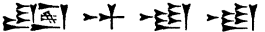

NOTE.—This paper has been passed through the press by the Misses Bertin, the late M. Bertin's sisters, who were in the habit of assisting him in his literary works.

THE BABYLONIAN ROYAL CANON.

MYTHICAL AND PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

*Antediluvian dynasty.*

(10 kings for 120 sari.)

1		sari.	
	Adi-Ur	10	Oannes, prophet.
2	.....		
	Ilu-išpar	3	
3	.....		
	Amil-Ur of Ur	13	
4	.....		
	Ammenon of Chaldæa	12	Annedotus, prophet.
5	.....		
	Amegalarus of Ur	18	
6	.....		
	Dānu (or Dumuzi) of Ur	10	Four prophets: Euedokus, Eneubulus, Eneugannus, and Anementus.
7	.....		
	Euedorakhus (Amarduk) of Ur	18	Odakon, prophet.
8	.....		
	Amempsimus of Larsa	10	
9			
	Ardu-Tutu of Suripkhu	8	
10			
	Um-napištim, h.s.	18	

SEMITIC (PRE-AKKADIAN) DYNASTY.

(number of kings and length of their reigns unknown.)<sup>1</sup>














I . . . . .			
Belus			B.C. 7500 (?)
.....			
.....			
→† ←↔↗			
Marduk			

NOTE.—Short form of Amaruduk or Namaruduk, probably the same as Nimrod.







FIRST AKKADIAN DYNASTY.

(50 kings for 745 years.)

(38 names lost.)

39	 →†			
	..... -Ur			B.C. 7000 (?)
40	 →†			
	..... -Ur			
41	 →†			
	Ur -	Damu		
42	→†	↗		
	Babar -	uru		
43	  →†			
	Ur- . . . . . la			
44	 →†	↗		
	Ur -	Babar		

<sup>1</sup> If we accept the number of 4 neri, given by Berosus for the length of the reign of Evekhous, as representing the duration of the prehistoric period, it would place the first king at B.C. 8655 and an average of 160 kings. As the first Akkadian dynasty contained 50 kings, it leaves 110 kings for 1650 years for the pre-Akkadian Semitic dynasty.

- 45  Iskipal  
 46  Gulkišar  
 47  Aadarakalama  
 48  Akur - du - anna  
 49  Šargina  
 50  Azaga - Bau, a queen







B.C.  
7000 (?)

NOTE.—The chronological order of these rulers is uncertain.

HEROIC PERIOD.

FIRST KASSITE DYNASTY.

(40 kings for 600 years.)

- 1  Hammu - rabi  
 2  Ammi - sadugga  
 3  Dur - galzu  
 4  Simmaš - Šiḫu  
 5  Ulam - Buriāš  
 6  Nazi - Murudaš

6255



7 𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 Meli - Šihu

6255

8 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦  
 Burna - Buriāš

9 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 Kara - Enlil<sup>1</sup>

(31 names lost.)

FIRST SUMERIAN DYNASTY.

(35 kings for 525 years.)

(Two names lost, but here probably)

𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦  
 Gilgameš

5655

.....  
 3 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 ..... ġi - gal

4 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 ..... ġi - gal

5 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦  
 Lu - Šilik - lušar

6 𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 Un - kur - Šilik - alim

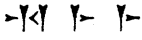
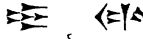

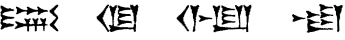

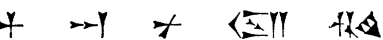


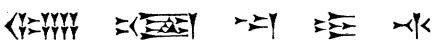
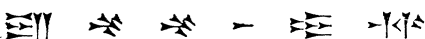
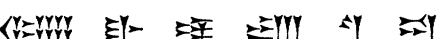
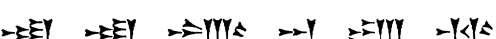

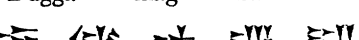


7 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦  
 Ka - šer - mal - Tutu

8 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦  
 Šazu - Kusmu

9 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 Šazu - abtila - nengu

10 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦  
 Ur - Nintinbagga




<sup>1</sup> Instead of *Enlil* it may be *Murube*, which is the name of Bel in Kassite.

- 11  Hu - meme
- 12  Dili - Ġidu
- 13  Munatila
- 14  Uru - šatu
- 15  Uru - âgal - duabi
- 16  Labar - Nu - dimmut
- 17  Urudu - manše
- 18  Kud - ur - Alima
- 19  Dun - agaba - ġiti
- 20  Damu - mu - aš - ġigal
- 21  Dun - gal - turta - ê
- 22  Tutu - bulantagal
- 23  Dugga - maġ - šazu
- 24  Ġidu - lammara.
- 25  Mul - ġisal
- 26  Lugal - uru - ibila

5655

N.S.—VOL. V.

D

27   Lugal -  ibila

5655


28   Mulki -  ibila -  du

29  ..... ibila


(six names lost.)


SECOND AKKADIAN DYNASTY.


(20 kings for 300 years.)

1  ..... a - edina

5130

2  Si - dū


3  Kur - nigin - garra - Kur - šiš - nene

4  Ninip - saklitar - zae - gen


5  Ninip - salziteŋski - agaga


6  Ellil - Ellilki - kibi - gi




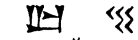

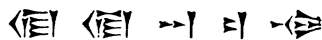
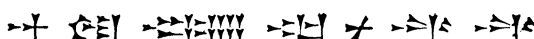

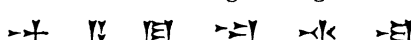
7  Ututuku - Ğar

8  Kurgal - nigmu - pada

9  Aba - Šanabi - dari

10  Aba - Šanabi - dir.


11  Eš - guzi - gin - a.

- 12    
 Gu - un - zu'
- 13    
 Nap - saggenna
- 14    
 Maššugal - Babar - gude
- 15    
 Ur - šanabi
- 16    
 Lu - Damu
- 17    
 Duldul - Izzir
- 18    
 Ninsag - gunupalpal
- 19    
 Aku - sag - algi
- 20    
 Aku - batila


5130

SECOND SUMERIAN DYNASTY.

(9 kings for 135 years.)

- 1    
 Larru - nindub - al
- 2    
 Lubar - Egir - azaga
- 3    
 Bad - Mullilla
- 4    
 Ur - gula
- 5    
 .. nularag - salaga - šumu - aldibba


4830

- 6  Eš - guzi - ġar - sag - men
- 7  Babar - sagtab - mu
- 8  Ġar - kar - zi
- 9  ..... du


4830


THIRD AKKADIAN DYNASTY.


(30 kings for 450 years.)

.....  
 .....  
 ..... ni

4695


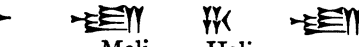

 Kas - kur, h.s.

 En - gen - nunna

 Abil - Kiš, h.s.

SECOND KASSITE DYNASTY.

(15 kings for 225 years.)

- 1  Ulam - Murube
- 2  Meli - Ĥali
- 3  Meli - Šumu

4245

<sup>1</sup> These two names are restored from the Babylonian translation.

<sup>2</sup> This name is generally read *Illat*. Prof. Sayce reads it *Illadu*, but adds that it seems to have been *Pallil* in Akkadian.

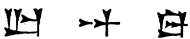

4	𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Meli - Šibarru	
5	𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦	Meli - Šaḥ	4245
6	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Numgirabi	
7	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦	Numgirabi - Šaḥ	
8	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Numgirabi - Buriáš	
9	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Kara - Buriáš	
10	𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦	Kara - Šaḥ	
11	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦	Nazi - Šiḥu	
12	𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦	Nazi - Buriáš	
		(three names lost.)	

HISTORICAL PERIOD, NATIVE DYNASTIES.

SEMITIC DYNASTY.

(110 kings for 1649 years.)

.....		
.....		4020
𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦	Šargina, king of Agade	45
𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦 𒌦𒌦𒌦	Naram - Sin, h.s.	3755

.....  
  
 Ur - Bau<sup>1</sup> King of Ur  
  
 Dungi h.s.  
 .....  
 .....




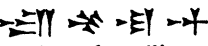
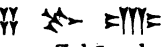
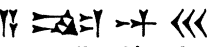
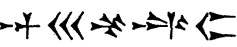
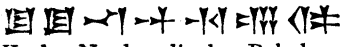


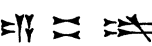



REMARK.—We have about thirty or forty other names of rulers of this period, they are inscribed on seals, cones, votive tablets, private contracts, etc. These rulers are said to have had power over Ur, Uruk, Nipur, Apirak, Lagash, Karrak, Larsa, etc., but do not appear to have extended it over Babylon, and for this reason are left out here.

With this dynasty finishes the uncertainty of the periods occupied by each dynasty, and I take this opportunity to remind the reader that my reconstruction of the Babylonian royal canon has no pretence to exact accuracy; some of the dynasties may have been longer or shorter, some of the kings belonging to one may have belonged to another; for, as stated before, in arranging the names under different dynasties, I have often tried to obtain round numbers. But all this does not affect the general result; and we have this fact, that the tablet B, the royal canon, contained before the first dynasty of Babylon, three columns and a third covered with names, that is the base of my scheme; and even if I am wrong in the arrangement of the names, I must be right as to the number of kings and the approximate dates.

<sup>1</sup> This reading is still uncertain, it might be Ur-Gur; but the name is found written Ur-Babi and Ur-Bau, though we may have here three, or at least two, different kings.

DYNASTY OF BABYLON.



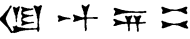
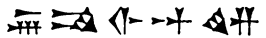

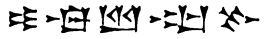

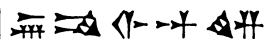




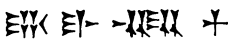
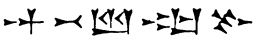


(11 kings for 294 years.)

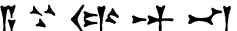

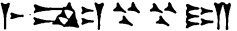

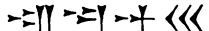
1		15	2371	
2		35	2356	
3		14	2321	
4		18	2307	
5		30	2289	
			2280	
				Kudur-Nanḫundi takes Babylon, and retires after plundering the temples.
6		45	2259	
7		35	2214	
8		25	2179	
9		25	2154	
10		21	2129	
11		31	2108	



DYNASTY OF SISKU.












(11 kings for 368 years.)

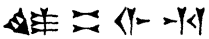
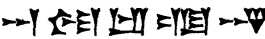






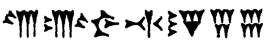
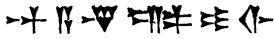
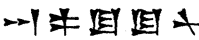


1		Anma - ili	51	2077		Isme-dagan, patesi of Assur.
2		Kiannibi	55	2026 2021		Samši-Rammanu, h.s., patesi of Assur.
3		Damki - ili - šu	46	1971		Igur-kapkapu, patesi of Assur.
4		Iškipal	15	1925		Samši-Rammanu II, h.s., patesi of Assur.
5		Šušši - aḥe	27	1910		Ḫallu, patesi of Assur.
6		Gul - kišar	55	1883		Irišum, h.s., patesi of Assur.
7		Kir-gal - dara - maš, h.s.	50	1828		Bel-kapkapu, 1st king of Assur.
8		A-adara - kalama, h.s.	28	1778		Adasi, king of Assur.

9		26	1750	 Bel - bani, h.s.
10		6	1724	
11		9	1718	 Irba-Sin, king of Assur.

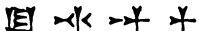





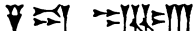



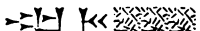

DYNASTY OF KASSITES.

(36 kings for 576 years 9 months.)

1	 Kandiš	16	1709	 Aššur-nadin - aḫe, h.s., king of Assur.
2	 Agum - ši, h.s.	22	1693	
3	 Agu - â - ši	22	1672	
	Supposed to be the same as  Agu - kak - rime			
4	 Ušši, h.s.	8	1649	 Aššur-nirari I, king of Assur.
				 Nabu-dān, h.s., king of Assur.
5	 Adu - melik	(15)	1641	
6	 Tazziumaš	(15)	1626 1625 (15)	 Aššur-šum-ešir, king of Assur.

 Murubi - šiḫu	(16)	1611	
		1610	(20)  Ninip-tugultu-Aššuri, h.s., king of Assur.
 Kara - indaš	(15)	1595	
		1590	(20)  Aššur-bel-nisi-šu, king of Assur.
 Duri - galzu I	(20)	1580	
		1570	(20)  Buzur - Aššur
 Burna - buriaš (700 years after Ḥammurabi)		1560	
		1550	(20)  Aššur-ubaliṭ, king of Assur.
 Šagasalti-buriaš, h.s. (800 years before Nabu-na'id)		1355	
		1340	(20)  Aššur-riš-iši, h.s., king of Assur.
 Nabu-kudur-ušur I		1320	(20)  Tugulti-pil-ešar, h.s., king of Assur.
 Marduk-nadin-aḫe	(10)	1315 1310	Nineveh taken, and the seal of Tugulti-Ninip and the images of Sala and other divinities carried to Babylon 618 years before Sennacherib (692).



			
	1430	(20)	Tugulti - Ninip I, king of Assur.
			
	1410	(10)	Bel-kudur-ušur, king of Assur. (killed by the following.)
			
Rammanu . . . . .			
			
	1400	(20)	Ninip - pil - esir
			
Zagaga - šum - idin			
(probably also at B.)			
			
	1380	(20)	Aššur-dān, king of Assur.
			
Kudur - Bel			
			
	1360	20)	Mutakkil-Nusku, h.s., king of Assur.
23 . . . . .			
	26	1275	
			
			Aššur-rab-amar, king of Assur.
24 . . . . .			
	17	1249	
			
	2	1232	Aššur-nimati, king of Assur.
25 			
Kara . . .			
26 			
Giš - amme - ti	6	1230	

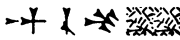
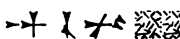
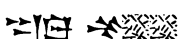
27		13	1224
28		8	1211
29		y. m. 1 6	1203
30		y. m. 1 6	1202
31		6	1200
32		30	1194
33		15	1164
34		13	1149
35		1	1136
36		3	1135

Aššur - našir - pal I, king of Assur.

DYNASTY OF PAŠE.

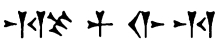

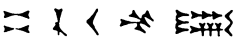
(11 kings for 72 years 6 months.)

1		17	1132
(Mardokentes of Berosus's list.)			
2	.....	6	1115
3-7	Six unknown kings	4	1109

8 (Mušeši-Marduk)	22	1105	
9  Marduk-nadin . . .	y. m. 1 6	1083	
10  Marduk-zir . . .	13	1082	
11  Nabu - nadin . . .	9	1069	

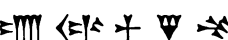
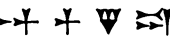

DYNASTY OF TAMTIM.

(3 kings for 21 years 3 months.)

1  Simmaš - Šihu	18	1060	
2  Ea - mukin - ziri	5 m.	1042	
3  Kaššū - nadin - aḥe	3	1041	

DYNASTY OF BASI.

(3 kings for 20 years 3 months.)

1  E-Ulbar-šakin-šumi	17	1038	
2  Ninip-kudur(-uṣur)	3	1021	
3  Šilanim-šukamuna	3 m.	1018	

DYNASTY OF ELAM.

(1 king for 6 years.)

1  .....	6	1018	
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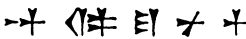

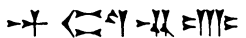
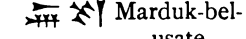



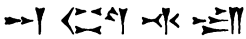
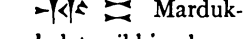
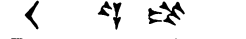
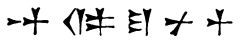


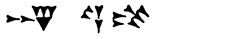
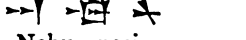
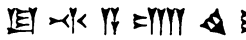
FIRST ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

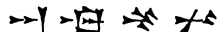
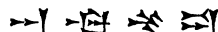
(17 kings for 280 years.)

1		13	1012	
	Irba - Marduk <sup>1</sup>			
2		m. d. 6 12	999	
	Marduk-abla-iddina II, <sup>1</sup> h.s.			
	.....			
	Sibir			Tugulti-pil-ešar II, king of Assur.
	Nabu-šum-damiq		928 (17)	Aššur - dān, king of Assur.
	Nabu - šum - iškun		911 (22)	Rammanu-nirari II, h.s., king of Assur.
	Rimmon-nadin-aḫe		889 6	Tugulti-Ninip II, h.s.
	Nabu-abla-iddina		883 25	Aššur-našir-apli, h.s., king of Assur.

<sup>1</sup> The position of these two kings is not certain.




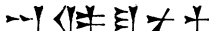

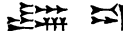
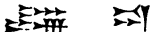



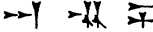


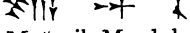










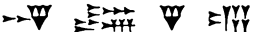




			 858 35 Šalmanu-ašar II, h.s., king of Assur.
 Marduk-šum-iškun			
  Marduk-bel-usate			
 Bau-aše-iddin			
			 Aššur-dain-apli, h.s., rebel king of Assur.
			 823 13 Samši-Rammanu, h.b., king of Assur.
  Marduk-balatsu-iḫbi, h.s.			
			 810 29 Rammanu-nirari III, h.s., king of Assur.
			 781 10 Salmanu-ašar, king of Assur.
			 771 18 Aššur-dān III, king of Assur.
 Nabu - šum - iškun	6	754	
			 753 8 Aššur - nirari
 Nabu - našir	14	748	
			 745 18 Tukulti - pal - esar III, h.s., king of Assur.

 Nabu-nadin-ziri, h.s.	2	734	
 Nabu-šum-ukin, h.s.	m. d. 1 12	732	

SECOND ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

(22 kings for 194 years.)

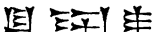

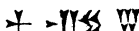

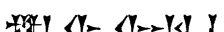



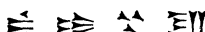
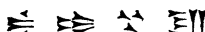
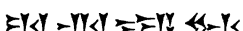
1	 Ukin-ziri	3	732		
2	 Pulu	2	729		
3	 Ululā	5	727	5	 Šalmanu-ašar, king of Assur.
4	 Marduk-abla-iddin	12	722	17	 Šarru-ukin, king of Assur.
5	 Šarru - ukin	5	710		
6	 Sin-ahe-eriba, h.s.	2	705	24	Same king of Assur.
7	 Marduk-zakir-šumi	1 m.	703		
8	 Marduk-abla-iddin	6 m.			
9	 Bel - ibni	3	702		
10	 Aššur - nadin - šumi	6	699		
11	 Nergal-ušeziḫ	1	693		
12	 Mušeziḫ-Marduk	4	692		

13		8	688		
	Sin - ahe - eriba				
14		13	680	13	Same in Assur.
	Aššur-ahe-iddin				
15		20	667	43	 Aššur-bani-apli, h.s., king of Assur.
	Samas-šum-ukin				
16		22	647		
	Kandalanu				
17		21	625		
	Nabu - abla - ušur				Aššur-etel-ilani-kain, h.s., king of Assur.
			624	4	
			620		 Bel - šum - iškun
			607		 Aššur - šar - iškun Fall of Nineveh.
18		43	604		
	Nabu - kudur - ušur				
19		2	561		
	Amil - Marduk				
20		4	559		
	Nergal - šar - ušur				
21	Labaši - Marduk	3 m.	555		
22		17			
	Nabu-na'id				
	Fall of Babylon		538		

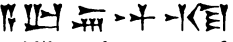
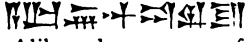
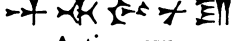

HISTORICAL PERIOD, FOREIGN DYNASTIES.

PERSIAN DYNASTY.

(13 kings for 207 years.)

1				
	Kuraš	9	538	
2		y. m.		
	Kambuzia, h.s.	7 5	529	
3				
	Barzia (the Magian)	7 m.	522	
4				
	Dariamuš (Darius)	36	521	
5				
	Aḫšiaršu	21	485	
6				
	Artakšatsu	40	464	
7				
	Aḫšiaršu II	2 m.	424	
8	.....			
	Sogdianu	7 m.		
9				
	Dariamuš II	19		
10				
	Artakšatsu II	46	405	
			400	Retreat of the ten thousand.
11				
	Artakšatsu	21	359	
12	.....			
	Arses	2	338	
13		y. m.		
	Dariamuš III	4 10	336	

## MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

1		7	331
	Alikandar, son of Philippos		
2.		6	324
	Alikandurusu, son of Alexander		
3		6	318
	Antigonus		
4			312
	Siluku (Selucidian era)		