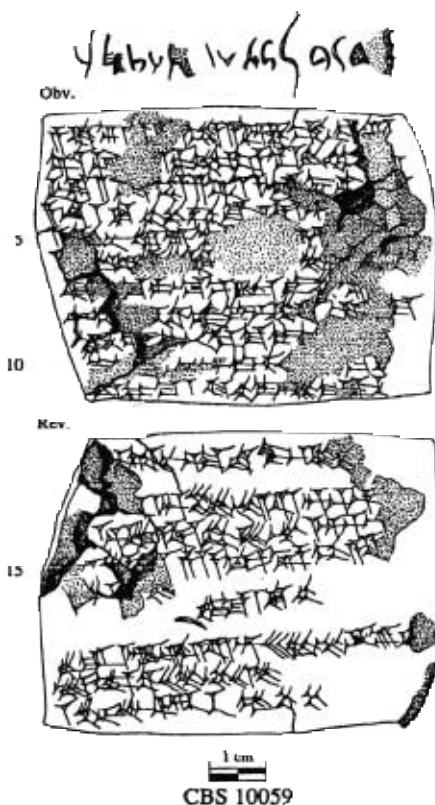


Late Achaemenid Babylonian Chronology —

a. Xerxes-Artaxerxes I

The latest known Babylonian legal text dated under Xerxes is CBS 10059, a lease of a palm grove for date cultivation (*ana nukurribūti*) contracted at Nippur 20/v/21 = 10 August 465 B.C. Xerxes was already dead when it was written, killed by his son six days earlier, 14⁷/v/21 = 4 August 465 B.C. (BM 32234 = LBAT *1419 ; the second digit of the numeral indicating the day is damaged, but « almost certainly » 14 : Walker in Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period, ed. J. Curtis [1997], 21 with 25 n. 11 despite Sachs apud Parker-Dubberstein Babylonian Chronology 17 and Stolper, Journal of Hellenic Studies 110 [1988] 19



Nippur, 20/v/21 Xerxes, 11 August 465 B.C

¹ A.ŠĀ É GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR²¹ KÁ ÍD *Ḥa-am-ba-ri*¹ ² UŠ.SA.[DU] ¹*Pa-ṭè-e-si*
 LÚ *Mi-ṣ[ir-a]*-*I*¹ ³ ù *a*²-*dī*²¹ KÁ 2-ta šá URU *Ban-né*¹-[šá-a-a] ⁴ a-na ¹*Ki-din*
 LÚ.GÚ.GAL A-šú šá ^{1d}[...] ⁵ ¹*a-na* LÚ¹.NU.<GIŠ>.SAR-ú-t[u ...] x x [...] ⁶
 x [x] x x x ¹x *dī*²¹ [...] ⁷ *mu* ¹*i*²¹[x]¹x x x¹ ⁷ *dul-l[u ina] šu-pa-la* GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR
i-pu-u[š] ⁸ ¹*lib-bi*¹ [u *ḥa-r*]u-ut-tum *i-nam-ī* šar ZÚ.LUM¹.MA ⁹ ¹*ina muḥ-ḥi*
 GIŠ.¹x *i-mid*¹-*si-ma i-n[ak-kis]* ¹⁰ x x [x] x x *i ti* [...] ¹¹ ¹ZÚ².LUM².MA¹ ¹*Ki-din*
i-nam-ī *da*²-*āš*¹-*šú*

(Reverse) ¹² [*na-bal*]-*kát-ta-nu* 1/2 MA.NA *i-nam-din*

¹³ [LÚ.MU.KI]N⁷ ^{1d}50-MU-MU A-šú šá ^{1d}MAŠ-SUR ¹⁴ [¹Ri]-*mut* A-
 šú šá ¹ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{1d}MAŠ-S[UR²] ¹⁵ [A-šú šá] ¹SUM.NA¹-a ¹Šá-KÁ-*kal-bi*
 A-šú šá ¹⁶ ¹r_x x¹

¹⁷ LÚ.ŠID ^{1d}EN-GI A-šú šá ^{1d}30-ŠEŠ-MU EN.LÍL.KI ¹⁸ ITI.NE
 UD.20.KÁM MU.21.KÁM ¹⁹ ¹Ḥi-ši-²*ar-šú* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Reverse) *šu-pur* ¹*Ki-din*

(Upper Edge) *tmryn zy kdn ṭn²š[x]*

(1-4) A field, (that is,) a date orchard(?), at the opening of the Ḥambari Canal, adjoining (property of) Paṭ-Esi the Egyptian, and extending as far as(?) the second opening (at) the Village of Carians, [PN² handed over that field] to Kidin, the *gugallu*, son of [...]–(5-6) he (i.e., Kidin) for date cultivation .. (7-9) He will do the work below the palm(s). He will safeguard the heart and offshoots (of the palms). He (the lessor?) will make an assessment of the dates on the trees and he (Kidin?) will cut them. (10-11) [If ... ,] Kidin will give him [x] dates.

(12) Any party who violates the terms (of this contract) will pay a half mina (of silver).

(13-16) [Witness]es : Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Ninurta-eṭir ; Rīmūt son of Aḥḥē-iddin ; Ninurta-e[ṭir², son of] Iddinaja ; Ša-pī-kalbi, son of [...].

(17-19). Scribe : Bēl-ušallim, son of Šin-aḥ-iddin. Nippur. Month V, day 20, year 21. Xerxes, King of lands.

(Reverse) Fingernail mark of Kidin.

(Upper Edge) Dates of Kidin [x]

1. ÍD *Ḥambari* : cf. URU ^(m)*Ḥambari* in Murašû texts, Zadok, Rép. géogr. 8 150.
 2. *Pa-ṭè-e-si* : for comparable spellings of Eg. *p3-dj-3s.t*, Aram. *ṭf³sy*, see Zadok, Göttinger Miszellen 26 (1977), 65, and add ¹*Pa¹-ṭe-e-su* Camb. 85 :4 (coll.).
 3. The “Village of Carians” (URU *Bannēšu*) in later Murašû texts was already established by the reigns of Cambyses and Nebuchadnezzar IV (URU (*šá*) LÚ *Bannēšaja*, in the group of texts McEwan LB Tablets 27, OECT 10 402-406, see van Driel, JESHO 32 206).
 9. Cf. *uḥinnu ina muḥḥi* GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR *i-mid¹-si-ma i-nak-ki-is* YOS 7 162 :14f., see Coquerillat Palmeraies 46 and 111, Ries Bodenpachtformulare 92.
- Upper Edge : the Aramaic letters are incised, not inked. *tmryn* : otherwise wr. *tmrn* in docketts on Babylonian tablets.

Other legal texts from the last regnal year of Xerxes are OECT 10 185 (Hursag-kalama 27/-/21, see Graziani, *Annali Suppl.* 47 [1986] No. 80), OECT 10 326 (9/1/21 ; see Stolper, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110 197 n. 4), and IM 55085 (1N 285) (Nippur, 2/1/21, collated from cast, despite “Xerxes year 13” in OIP 78, 76).

The first known Babylonian record of the accession period of Artaxerxes I is the fragmentary lease von Weiher Uruk (= AUWE 13 [1998]) 307. The rented property is to be in the tenant’s possession as of the beginning of an uncertain month in a year indicated (12) *šá* MU.21.KÁM SA[G.LUGAL-ú-tú] (13) *šá* ¹*Ár-tak-šat-su* LUGAL. The sign indicating the month name is destroyed ; the restoration of the year is taken from the date-formula : the text was drawn up in Uruk on the eighteenth day of a month whose name is destroyed, in a year indicated (20) *šá* MU.21.KÁM SAG.LUGAL-ú-tú [...] (21) [¹*Ár-tak-šat-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]. The year is not “21. Jahr (nach) dem Beginn des [Königtums] des Artaxerxes” (so von Weiher) but “year 21 (of Xerxes), the accession year of Artaxerxes (I),” that is, 465/64 B.C. The year is indicated in the same way in Cowley Aramaic Papyri No. 6 :1f., as observed by Parker-Dubberstein *Babylonian Chronology* 15 : *šnt 21 r’š mlwki’ kzy r’thššš mlk’ ytb bkrs’h* (see Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2, B2.2).

b. Late Achaemenid Babylonian Chronology : Darius II-Artaxerxes II

My note on evidence for the end of the reign of Darius II and the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes II (CAH VI² [1994] 238 n. 13) mentioned that CBS 1714, “dated in the first year of Artaxerxes II, records a receipt of rent due for the period covering the nineteenth year of Darius and the first year of Artaxerxes, implying that the two years were contiguous”. Here is the text.

¹ ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ ŠÁ ŠE.NUMUN *šá* URU *Hu-uš-su*-[(x)] x [(...)] ² *šá ana* GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI ¹*Tat-tan-nu* DUMU *šá* ^{1d}AG-DIN-*su*-E¹ [É] RIT² ³ *ma-la* ĤA.LA *šá* ¹*Nu-uh¹-hu-lib-bi*-DINGIR.[MEŠ²] ⁴ ¹*u* ¹¹*Ĥa-la-bi-E-si* *šá* KI ^{1d}EN-[...] ⁵ [...] ¹*x*¹ ĤA.LA-*šú-nu* *šá* MU.19.KÁM ^{1d}*[a-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL] ⁶ *u* MU.1.KÁM ¹*Ar-tak-šat-su* [LUGAL] ⁷ ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÁ MU-*tim* [...] ⁸ A-*šú* *šá* ^{1d}EN-URÛ-*šú ana* UGU ¹*Tat-tan-[nu ina* ŠU¹¹ PN] ⁹ DUMU *šá* ¹ARAD-*ia ma-ĥi-[ir (e-tir)*

(Reverse) ¹⁰ [LÚ¹ *mu-kin-nu* ¹*r*MU²¹-^dEN [LÚ²] [...] ¹¹ ^{1d}AG-DIN-*su*-E DUMU [*šá*] ¹*x*-*x*-[...] ¹² ¹*Lib¹-lu¹* ¹*x*¹ [...] ¹*x*¹ [...] ¹³ [¹...] ¹⁴ ¹*Ap-l[a-a ...]* ¹⁵ ^{1d}¹*x*-¹ [...]

¹⁶ [¹] ^{d1}*Na-[x]-x-x* *x* [LÚ.ŠID DUM]U *šá* ^{1d}AMAR.UTU-MU-MU ¹⁷ E.KI ITL.¹*x*¹ UD.21.KÁM MU.1.¹KÁM¹ (18) ¹*Ar-¹tak¹-[šat]-¹su¹* LUGAL KUR.KUR

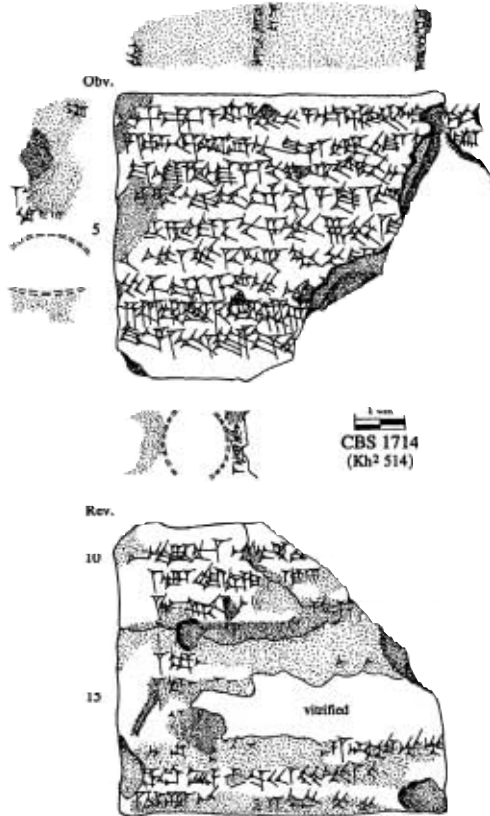
(Reverse) ¹*su*²¹-*[pur*²...] (Upper Edge) NA₄.[KIŠIB] / [¹] ^dAG-DIN-*su*-E // ¹NA₄.KIŠIB¹ / ^{1d}EN-NUMUN-SI.SÁ (Left Edge) [NA₄.KIŠIB / [¹ ...] // NA₄.KIŠIB / [...] (Lower Edge) [NA₄.KIŠIB] / ^{1d}EN-MU-*x*

(1-7) Barley as rent for a field of arable land in the town Ḫuṣṣu-..., that is on lease to Tattannu, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, a “hand”-property?, the entire share that Nuḫḫu-libbi-[ilāni?] and Ḫalabi-Esi [hold together with] Bel-..., [rent for] their share for year 19 of D[arius (II) the King] and year 1 of Artaxerxes (II) [the King]— (7-9) [PN], son of Bēl-uṣuršu, has received the barley as rent for that field from [PN₂], son of Ardija on behalf of Tattannu, [son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi] ; [(he is paid in full)].

(10-15) Witnesses : Iddin²-Bēl [...]; Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son [of ...]; Liblut [... ...]; Aplā [...].

(16-17) Na-[..., scribe, s]on of Marduk-šum-iddin. Babylon. Month x, day 21, year 1. Artaxerxes, King of Lands.

(Reverse) Fingernail mark² of [...]. (Upper Edge) Seal of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi. Seal of Bēl-zēr-lišir. (Left Edge) Seal of [...]. Seal of [...]. (Lower Edge) [Seal] of Bēl-šum-x.



CBS 1714 (Kh² 714), Babylon, 21/-/1 Artaxerxes II, 404/03 B.C.

Parker-Dubberstein Babylonian Chronology 16 remarked on the absence of legal texts from regnal years 17-19 of Darius II. Texts identified since then include, in addition to Durand Textes babyloniens pl. 36 AO 17603 (2/vi/19), cited in CAH VI2 238 n. 13 : Dar. 476 (-/xii/18) ; Durand Textes babyloniens pl. 39 AO 17606 (16/iv/18) ; BM 30125 = Bertin pl. 2395 = R. 117 (10/iv/18) ; ZA 5 279 (5/iii/18) ; FuB 14 21 No. 11 (-/x/18+), Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 2 pl. to 177f. (12/iii/17, see Oelsner Wo 8 316f.).

The accession period of Artaxerxes II is attested in BE 55953, a fragmentary tablet from the Kasr at Babylon, now known only from excavation photographs (kindly made available to me by Professor Johannes M. Renger on behalf of the D.O.G.). It is dated [... M]U.19.KÁM MU.SAG¹Ar-<tak>-šá-as-²su³!

Parker-Dubberstein Babylonian Chronology 16 cite only BE 9 1, dated 28/vii/1 = 31 October 404, as evidence for the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes II. Other texts dated in the first regnal year are BE 55770 (from excavation photographs ; 21/i/1 = 30 April 404) ; Die Welt des alten Orients, ed. Borger et al. (Göttingen, 1975), 181 No. 1 (9/v/1 = 14 August 404) ; Actes du 8^e Congrès International 23 (4/vi/1 = 8 September 404) ; VAT 15694 (21+/vi/1 = 25+ September 404) ; NBC 6161 (4/x/1 = 4 January 403) ; and NBC 6167 (14/x/1 = 14 January 403 ; see Beaulieu, Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale, 1, 56).

VAS 6 186, dated 10/viii/46, is still the latest known text from the reign of Artaxerxes II. Other texts from the final years of Artaxerxes II are : NBC 11540 (13/i/46[?]) ; see Beaulieu Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale, 1, 73, collated : ¹ITL.APIN¹ MU.46.KÁM, line 6) ; Hunger Uruk 129 (-/-/46) ; an uncatalogued, unnumbered text in the Columbia University Library collection (19/xiib/45 ; courtesy R. Ellenbogen, J. R. Siegel ; collated) ; AJSL 16 67 No. 2 (10+x/-/45) ; UET 4 43 (-/-/45) ; and CBS 1591 = Kh2 541, now BT 8 in the Brockmon Collection (Haifa) (-/-/45 ; courtesy E. Leichty, R. Kutscher ; cf. Oelsner, Wo 8 315 n. 18).

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