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BM 54209: A Document from the Reign of Nabonidus

The document published here¹ belongs to a typical group of documents concerning the interest-free loan of silver, on condition that the debtor pays back the amount due before the determined date. Should the borrower not keep to the assigned time, the agreement stipulates interest of one shekel of silver per mina per month, that is 20 per cent per annum — typical terms known from numerous documents from this period.

Obv. 1. 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ^{md}AG-GI2. A-šú šá ^mA-qar-a A ^{lu}SIMUG3. ina UGU ^mIR-^dGu-la A-šú šá4. ^mKi-rib-tu A ^{lu}Dul-lu-pu5. ina ^{iti}NE ina SAG.DU-šú i-nam-din

6. ki-i la it-tan-nu šá ITU

7. ina UGU 1 ma-ni-e

Edge 8. ina 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina muh-hi-šú

Rev. 9. i-rab-bi

10. ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^mDu-um-mu-qa11. A-šú šá ^mHu-za-lu A ^{lu}SIMUG12. ^{md}UTU-MU-SUM?^{na?} A-šú šá ^mTIN A ^mX

¹ I would like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for the kind permission to publish this document.

I would like to express my most cordial appreciation to Dr. Cornelia Wunsch who during my one-month-long stay in the British Museum on many occasions helped me with her advice, and who either corrected or improved the readings of the texts I was studying. Equally cordially I would like to thank Dr. I. L. Finkel for the discussions about this text and many other texts; valuable suggestions were made by Prof. J. A. Brinkman and Dr. John MacGinnis who additionally copied lines 18–19 of the text and corrected my English.

13. ^mNÍG.BA-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá ^{md}EN-MU-GAR^{un}

14. A ^{lu}SIMUG u ^{lu}ŠID ^mNa-din A-šú šá

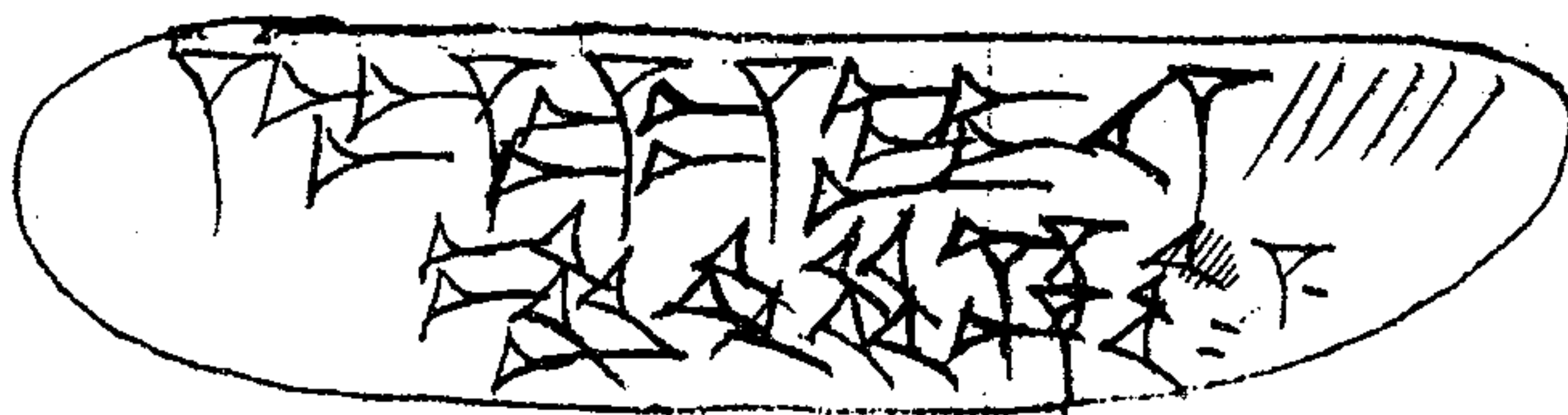
15. ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ŠEŠ A ^mŠEŠ-DÙ

16. TIN.TIR.[KI] ITI.DIRIG.ŠE.KIN.KUD

17. U₄.[22]. KÁM MU.1.KÁM

L. g. edge 18. ^{md}AG-I x [x]

19. LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI



54209 L.18+19

“8 shekels of silver belonging to Nabû-ušallim, son of Aqara, descendant of the Smith family, charged against Arad-Gula, son of Kiribtu, descendant of the Dullupu family. In the month of Abu he will deliver (the silver) in its capital amount. If he does not deliver it, he will pay additionally one shekel of silver per mina per month.

Witnesses: Dummuqa, son of Huzalu, descendant of the Smith family; Šamaš-šum-iddinna?, son of Balaṭu, descendant of ...; Iqīša-Marduk, son of Bēl-šum-iškun, descendant of the Smith family, and the scribe Nadin, son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of Ahu-bāni. Babylon, Addaru II, 22 day of the first year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon”.

Commentary

L. 12 The reading of the third part of the name is very uncertain. Signs (or a sign) were written over the original text, it is therefore difficult to read them. Also, the family name which was written on the right hand edge of the tablet is now completely obliterated.

Although it has not been published before, the document has aroused interest because of its place and date of issue: Babylon, according to E. Leichty² and

² E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol. VI: Tablets from Sippar 1, London 1986, p. 135.

D. A. Kennedy.³ In the light of Kennedy's list, it was the second of the two earliest documents from Babylon, both dated to the first year of Nabopolassar's reign; thus it would certify that the capital remained in the hands of Nabopolassar after his coronation on the twenty-sixth day of the month of Arahsamnu 626 B.C.

The necessity of assuming that the same intercalary month of Addaru was added in two consecutive years inclined me to suggest to date the text not to the first, but to the second year of Nabopolassar,⁴ for which — according to Kennedy's list — the intercalary month of Addar is attested by three texts. Leichty's and Kennedy's dating was accepted with no objections by N. Na'aman.⁵

During my work in the British Museum in September and October 1994, I collated the signs in line 18, and I came to the conclusion that the dating of the text to the time of Nabopolassar's reign was not correct although the reading of the king's name is not without hesitation. The sign AG is fully clear; it is followed by a sign which looks like I and at least two signs which are difficult to identify. So it is not excluded that the scribe who turned the tablet mistakenly wrote some other signs and then corrected it to the king's name, i.e. Nabû-na'id.

The dating of the text to the first year of Nabonidus agrees with the fact that the first year of this king was just a year with the intercalary month of Addaru. The most important argument for such a dating is the result of prosopographical studies. Two of the people who occur in BM 54209 are known from other texts.

1. Arad-Gula, son of Kiribtu, descendant of the Dullubu family (line 3) is known from the following texts;

— Ner 14:2 (Babylon, 2.5.Ner 1 (559 B.C.)

— BM 54179: 8 (Babylon, 14.9. Ner —)⁶

— Nbn 6:2 (Iltabbartu⁷, 9. 6. Nbn 0)

— Nbn 962:3 (Babylon, 2.4.Nbn 16) (without family name, but identification is certain)

— VS 6, 89:14 (Babylon, 25.4. Nbn 17).

The activity of Arad-Gula lasted at least from 559 B.C. till 539 B.C., i.e. 21 years.

2. (Nabû)-Nadin-(šumi), son of Marduk-šum-ušur, descendant of Ahu-bani, the scribe of our text (l. 14) is known from seven other documents:

— Nbk 166:21 (Babylon, 11.6.Nbk 26 (579 B.C.)

— Nbk 188:16 (Babylon, 19.7.Nbk 28)

— Nbk 214:13 (Babylon, 12.8.Nbk 28)

³ *Documentary Evidence for the Economic Base of Early Neo-Babylonian Society*, JCS 38 (1986) p. 179 under T.1.14.

⁴ S. Zawadzki, *The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian Relation in Light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle*, Poznań-Delft 1988, p. 153.

⁵ *Chronology and History in the Late Assyrian Empire (631–619 B.C.)*, ZA 81 (1991) 245.

⁶ R. H. Sack, *Neriglissar — King of Babylon*, (AOAT, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1994) No. 73.

⁷ Near Babylon and Borsippa according to R. Zadok, RGTC 8, p. 179.

- Am 22:21 (Babylon, 15.4. AmM 2)
- Nbn 212:11 (Babylon, 29.2.Nbn 12 (here with his full name))
- Nbn 687:35 (Babylon, 24.12a.Nbn 12)
- Nbn 1132:11 ([Babylon], 2.12. Nbn —)

His activity lasted at least from 579 B.C. till 544 B.C., i.e. 35 years.

If one tries to maintain the former dating, then it would have to be assumed that the activity of Arad-Gula lasted from 624 till 539, i.e. 96 years, with a textual gap between 623 and 560 B.C., while that of (Nabû)-Nadin-(šumi) lasted from 623 till 544, i.e. 91 years with a textual gap between 623 and 580 B.C. According to the dating suggested here, the text would have been written at the early period of the activity of Arad-Gula, and in the third decade of the activity of (Nabû)-Nadin-(šumi). Both the analysis of the tablet and the prosopographical evidence quite unmistakably show that it is necessary to assume that BM 54209 was written in the first year of Nabonidus' reign. This means that there is no evidence now that the first year of Nabopolassar was an intercalary year, and that BM 54209 should be disregarded in any attempt at the reconstruction of chronology of the reign of Nabopolassar and of synchronism with Assyria.

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Prospographic research gave us the possibility to re-date BM 54209 from the time of Nabopolassar to the time of Nabonidus reign. Using the same method we can establish the exact dating of 21 texts published by J. N. Strassmaier as the texts from the time of Nabonidus. In all of these texts the year of issue is not followed by the king's name and as the prosopographic research shows they were written in different time.⁸

(1) Nbn 25: 23 Aiaru (II), year 1. San Nicolò, on the basis of the mention of ¹⁴rab bīt kīli, showed that it is necessary to date the text to the first year of one of the kings of the Achaemenid dynasty.⁹ It can involve Cyrus, Cambyses, or even Nebuchadnezzar IV.¹⁰

⁸ I decided to publish this study even though I was aware that it presents solely materials for socio-economical research. My decision was based on the fact that the dating suggested by Strassmaier are often treated as exact ones, and have influence on results of particular studies.

⁹ M. San Nicolò, *Eine kleine Gefängnismeuterei in Eanna zur Zeit des Kambyzes*, in: *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger*, Zweiter Band: Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte, Heft 35, München 1945, p. 6/7, Note 5.

¹⁰ In such case this would be the earliest text dated to his reign. On necessity of dating the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar IV's usurpation to this months, see my paper *Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in Light of the Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources*, AMI 27 (1994), p. 136.

(2) Nbn 49: 5 Addaru (XII), year 1. We can assign the correct dating by two diagnostic personal names occurring in the text, i.e. Bēl-remanni and Nabû-apal-iddin ¹⁰PA, who receives the *pappasu* of the bakers. The latter can be identified at least in nine texts, with five out of them — Dar 2 (26.XI.), Dar 3 (27.XI.), Dar 5 (22.XII.), Dar 7 (24.XII.), Dar 10 (-.-.) — dated to Darius' accession year; one — Dar 36 — to year 2 (17.V.); and Dar 21 could have been written already in his first or at the beginning of his second year of reign. In such case it is clear that Nbn 49 must be dated not to Nabonidus' year 1 (555 B.C.), but to Darius' year 1 (521 B.C.). Nabû-apal-iddin appears also in Nbk 11 dated 27.II.Nbk 1. His presence compels us to date this text to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV (521 B.C.).¹¹

(3) Nbn 155: -. Du'uzu (IV), year 4. The presence of Nabû-našir, the baker (¹⁰MU),¹² means that a dating to the fourth year of Darius is necessary.

(4) Nbn 156: 2 Ululu (VI), year 4. In the text 9 1/2 mašihu pappasu ¹⁰MU-ú-tu šá ¹⁰NE adi makkasu šá bīt ^dGula was given to Taqiš-Gula, who should be identified with the šāpiru ša nuhatimmē. His activity lasted at least from the first year of Cyrus¹³ till the fifth year of Cambyses. Accordingly, the text may be dated to the fourth year of Cyrus of Cambyses.

(5) Nbn 207: 25 Abu (V), year 5. The text mentions three well-known scribes of the Ebabbar temple, namely Bēl-apal-iddin, Bēl-iddin and Našir, with the third name being a hypocorism of a well-known name of Marduk-našir. In the light of currently available data their activity covers the following periods:

Bēl-apal-iddin, active from 27.XI.Nbk 30 (Nbk 228) to 17.III.Cyr 9 (Cyr 339);

Bēl-iddin, active from 9.IX.Nbn 16 (Nbn 999)¹⁴ to 18.XII.Dar 2[6] (CT 55, 32);

(Marduk-)Našir, active from 7. VIII.Nbn 8 (Nbn 297) to 29.VIII.Cyr 5 (CT 57, 699).

¹¹ On the consequences this fact makes, see my paper mentioned in Note 10.

¹² According to Mac Ginnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period*, Poznań 1995, p. 132, he held the office of šāpiru of the bakers from Dar 4 to Dar 8.

¹³ Mac Ginnis, op. cit. 132. It is not excluded that he held this post already in the 14th year of Nabonidus (cf. Nbn 799:18 where the name of his father, Bēl-nadin-apli, is given).

¹⁴ Strassmaier suggested to date four other texts, among them Nbn 81 (20+x.IX.2) and Nbn 86 (2.XII.2) in which Bēl-iddin is mentioned to the reign of Nabonidus, but it seems unreasonable. Mentioned for the first time in the sixteenth year of Nabonidus, the scribe was active without any intermission till the 26th year of Darius. If one dates both texts for the reign of Nabonidus, one cannot explain his lack of activity for almost exactly 14 years. That is why the two texts should be dated to the reign of one of the Persian kings, Cyrus, Cambyses or Darius. Also two other texts, Nbn 1100 (without date) and Nbn 1122 (22.IX, without year), should be dated either to the very end of Nabonidus' reign or to the Persian period as well. For the same reason it seems that Bēl-iddin, the scribe of the document CT 55, 134: 20 (-.VIII.Nbk -.) is not to be identified as Bēl-iddin of whom we are speaking here, or the document should be dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar III or IV.

Taking into account the period of activity of Bēl-iddin and Marduk-nasir, the text can be dated only to the fifth year of Cyrus' reign (534 B.C.).

(6) Nbn 208: 9.Šabatu (XI), year 5. The text mentions two temple scribes, i.e. Bēl-apal-iddin, whom we know from the previous document, and Kī-Nabû. The assigning of the exact initial date of Kī-Nabû's activity presents some difficulties. As a sure date we can assume 9.VII. [Nbn]¹⁵ 11 (Nbn 574). Maybe he is to be identified as Kī-Nabû from the text CT 57, 309:13 (Nbn 6) or CT 56, 92:7 (Nbn 8[?]). It is noteworthy that both texts, Nbn 207 and 208, have very similar contents; it cannot be excluded that they were written by the same scribe. Since the scribe occurs for the last time on 6.XI.Cam 3, the only possible date is the fifth year of Cyrus.

(7) Nbn 209: 15 Šabatu (XI), year 5. The presence of Nabû-našir (cf. above Nbn 155, No 3) justifies dating to the fifth year of Cyrus. The text mentions also Širikki, who due to identical context, can be identified as Širikki, son of Kurbanni from Nbn 225 (cf. below) and probably as Ši-iš-ki, son of Kurbanni from CT 55, 381: 18 (without date, but the presence of Bēl-iddin, the scribe, shows that it is necessary to date the text also to the period of the Persian rule, which is confirmed by the presence of Uš-ša-a ša kurummati šarri, known also from Cam 227:3 (10.I.Cam 4)).

(8) Nbn 214. Line 14 mentions the fifth year of an unnamed ruler. San Nicolò, on the basis of presence of Bunene-ibni ^{lú}rab bīt kīli, indicated that it is necessary to date it to the reign of the Achaemenid dynasty.¹⁶ It can involve the reign of Cyrus, which is also indicated by the presence of Gimillu, son of Šapik-zeri, weaver, (^{lú}išparu) known from documents from the period Nbn 17 — Cam 3 (Nbn 1029, Cam 156).¹⁷

(9) Nbn 225 dated on 14 Simanu (III), year 6. The text originated certainly in the time of Darius' reign, which is indicated by the presence of Nabû-našir ^{lú}MU¹⁸ and Eriba, son of Šellibi, known also from three other texts from the time of Darius: Dar 71:3 (2.V.Dar 3), Dar 570:4 (10.VIII. Dar 6) and CT 57, 684:5 (1?-.Dar [-]). Eriba is probably the brother of Bēl-remanni, also mentioned in the text, who was active from the fourth year of Cambyses to the fifth year of Darius.¹⁹

(10) Nbn 231: the month of Abu (V), year 6 is mentioned. The presence of Iqīša-Marduk, son of Etel-pī-Šamaš from the šangû Sippar family excludes the

¹⁵ Such dating of the document, despite unclear name of the ruler, cannot be questioned.

¹⁶ Ibid. (Note 9).

¹⁷ Maybe we deal with the same person in Cam 199:4 (15.IX.Cam 3). Obviously, his companion Itti-Nabû-guzu is not to be identified as Itti-Nabû-guzu ^{lú}rab bīt kīli. Quite certainly, he is to be identified as Gimillu ^{lú}išpar birme from the text Cam 256:17 (without date).

¹⁸ Cf. above, Note 12.

¹⁹ CT 57,18:8 (13.IX.Cam 4) (son of Šellibi) and Cam 347:12 (13.XII. Cam 6) (brewer of the temple of goddess Annunitu) and from Dar 99:7 (5.-.Dar 3), according to which he was son of Šellibi and the brewer of the temple of goddess Annunitu.

dating of the text to the sixth year of Nabonidus. His activity is certified for the period from 28.VIII.Nbn 1[?]5 (SCT 81:5) to 27.XI.Cam 8 (Cam 412:5). Therefore, our text can be dated either to the sixth year of Cyrus or to the sixth year of Cambyses.

(11) Nbn 234: 1.Ululu (V), year 6. In the text the name Ina-šilli-Nergal appears, which we know from ten other texts from Sippar, and we are almost sure it is not the same person. The crucial information is included in Cyr 234:2 (6.VII.Cyr 5), in which he is mentioned in the context of payment for the houses, just like in Nbn 234. On this basis, it seems more justified to date this text to the sixth year of Cyrus' reign.

(12) Nbn 237: 22/23 Ululu (VI), year 6. The dating to the period of the reign of Nabonidus is uncertain. On the other hand, none of the persons appearing in the text can be identified with absolute certainty. However, it seems that Bēl-remanni (1.14) should be identified as the man bearing the title ^{lú}šāpiru ša ^{lú}nuhatimmē, as the criteria for the identification are based on the quantity of barley he received (80 mašihu ša sattukki) as the sattukku of the month of Du'uzu, very close to the sums known from other texts in which this man appears; cf. e.g. Cam 358 (16. I. Cam 7): 77 1/2 mašihu; Cam 392 (30.X.Cam 7): 77 mašihu; Cam 383 (28.VII.Cam 7): 70 mašihu. Since his activity covers years Cam 5–8, our text should most probably be dated to the sixth year of Cambyses.

(13) Nbn 283: 10 Aiaru (II), year 8. The text mentions only one person, Iddin-Bēl, but regrettably the title is broken.²⁰ The date can be assigned thanks to recent research by Mac Ginnis who showed particular interest in the Ebab-bar temple in the third and eighth years of the reign of Cyrus.²¹ Our text relating to the oil for the purpose of "cleaning of the shrine's door of the goddess Aya", further on "of the canopy of Bunene, Belit Sippar and Gula and pedestals of shrines (šubat^{meš} ša papahu^{meš}) of gods of Sippar and pedestals ša tabata of Šamaš and akitu Belit of Sippar matches perfectly the eighth year of Cyrus.²²

(14) Nbn 290: 27 Aiaru (II), year 8. The document mentions Nidintu ^{lú}ša muhhi ešru who held this office in the period Cam 6 — Dar 23 (cf. Mac Ginnis, p. 145). Therefore, we can only choose between the sixth year of Cambyses and the sixth year of Darius. The first date seems more likely because the other person this text mentions, namely Bēl-šunu son of Zerutu, is known from the documents from period Nbn 8–17. Out of the two dates question, one should therefore choose the one closer to the reign of Nabonidus, i.e. Cam 8.

(15) Nbn 303: 17 Ululu (VI), year 8. The basis for deciding on the ruler's name is very narrow — the text mentions only Bunene-ibni, while the title ^{lú}rē'i

²⁰ In my opinion, he should be identified as ^{lú}itinnu.

²¹ Mac Ginnis, *Letter Orders* 185.

²² One can also consider it as preparation for the ruler's visit to Sippar.

sattukki most probably refers to him. Probably the same person appears in CT 57, 640:8 (11.-.9). I feel inclined to identify him as Bunene-ibni son of Šamaš-našir from the documents CT 57, 408:3 (15.III.Cyr 8) and CT 55,472:17 (without date). Probably the same person occurs in CT 57, 18:23 (-.IX.Cam 4); CT 57, 581:9 (without date, with title ^{lú}ša bīt alpē) and in badly preserved texts CT 55, 471:19,43; 539, Rev 8; 558:12; 618:4 and 686:2 (-.-.7). The eighth year of Cyrus seems reasonable because of Cyrus' activity in this city, as was shown by Mac Ginnis.²³

(16) Nbn 358: 10. Tašritu (VII), year 9. From among three persons this text mentions, two are known also from other documents from this archives; they are: a. Nabû-zer-ukin son of Bēl-uballiṭ, present in Nbk 15:7 (27.XI.Nbk 25); Nbk 228:2 (27.XI.Nbk 30);²⁴ Nbk 292:2-3 (8.II.Nbk 36), i.e. between 580-569 B.C. and b. Nabû-ahhē-iddin, son of Duhummu, present in Nbk 75: 3 (3.IV? Nbk 9), i.e. in 596 B.C.. Upon accepting the dating of Nbn 358 to the ninth year of Nabonidus (547 B.C.), we would have to date the activity of Nabû-ahhē-iddin to the period 596-547 B.C. in the span of 50 years! This indicates that the dating of Nbn 358 to the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar II is reasonable. In consequences of such dating we assume that both documents, in which Nabû-ahhē-iddin, son of Duhummu appears, date back to one and the same year, and that activity of Nabû-zer-ukin, son of Bēl-uballiṭ began 16 years earlier, in 596 B.C., and lasted till 569, i.e. for 27 years, a period which can be reasonably accepted.

(17) Nbn 397: year 9. A five-line text, seriously broken; therefore, dating is very uncertain. Line 3 mentions as a deliverer (?) of a four-year-old ox a certain Nabû-našir son of Ne[rgal-x]. From the time of Cyrus (years 3-8) we know Nabû-našir as deliverer of sheep for ginu/sattukku offering (Cyr 122, 125, 150, 152, CT 57, 408:7). In case this is the same person, Nbn 397 should rather be dated to the ninth year of Cyrus.

(18) Nbn 567:9 Šabatu (XI), year 11. The text must be dated to the eleventh year of Darius I because among the persons it mentions there are: a. Uballissu-Gula (1.16) who is certainly to be identified as the scribe of the Ebabbar temple, active in the period from Dar O (Dar 10) to Dar 36 (cf. Mac Ginnis, No 79); b. Šamaš-lē'i (1.12, 15, and probably also in 1.20) who occurs in the Sippar documents four more times, i.e. in Nbk 159 (6.I.Nbk 26 (579 B.C.) as the seller of two geese (paspastu), son of Šamaš-KIL-an and in CT 56, 316:8 (23.-.Dar 11); CT 57, 688:6,9,11 (21.IX.Dar 11) and CT 56, 325:5 (10.III.-); dating of the last document to the reign of Darius is also possible. In this document a few people appear, but more accurate data is available only about Itti-Nabû-guzu who cannot be identified as Itti-Nabû-guzu ^{lú}rab bīt kīli from the period of Nbn 5-13, but

²³ Mac Ginnis, *Letter Orders* 185.

²⁴ Here his family membership is given: Isinnaya.

as Itti-Nabû-guzu from Dar 200: 16–17 (9.II.Dar 6) with the title ša É. NÍG.GA and/or from CT 57, 707:12 (19.-.Dar 11). Therefore, Šamaš-lē' i from the last three texts is most likely to be identified as the one we know from our text.²⁵

(19) Nbn 1058. The text mentions the date of 3 Nisanu (I). More probable is the dating of the document to the reign of Cyrus — the beginning of Darius I, since there appears Arad-Annunitu ^{lú}rab qašti known from CT 55, 152 (10.XII.Cyr 8); CT 55, 286 (23.III.Dar 3) and Mac Ginnis 25 (24.XII.Dar 7).²⁶

(20) Nbn 1099. It mentions the month of Ululu II (VIb). The presence of such persons as Habaširu (active in the period Cam 3 — Dar 20)²⁷, Kī-Nabû (active Nbn 11 — Cam 3)²⁸, Šamaš-ah-iddin ^{lú}rab sikkate (active in the period Nbn 16-Dar O)²⁹ clearly indicates that it is necessary to date the text to the period of the Achaemenid rule over Babylonia, i.e. to the third year of Cambyses (cf. the period of captivity of Habaširu and Kī-Nabû).

(21) Nbn 1100. Undated, but Kī-Nabû and Bēl-iddin are mentioned, which also suggests dating to the period of the Achaemenid dynasty.

²⁵ In this text also Bēl-remanni appears (1. 14), but it lacks ground for his identification as any of the persons by this name known from texts from the temple archives.

²⁶ As well as in CT 57, 82 (year 4 is mentioned) and CT 56, 357 (without date).

²⁷ The earliest mention is in Cam 197 (9.IX.Cam 3), the latest in Binning 6 (Dar 20). He can also be identified as Habaširu Cam 169 (2.6.Cam 3), in which case he would be son of [X]-Marduk.

²⁸ The earliest document mentioning this scribe is Nbn 574 (9.VII. [Nbn] 11), the last one is Cam 211 (6.XI. Cam 3). Also probable is his identification as the individual appearing in CT 57, 309 (the sixth year of Nabonidus) and in CT 56, 92 (Nbn 181).

²⁹ The earliest text is CT 56, 320 (27.IV.Nbn 16); the latest one is Dar 2 (26.XI.Dar O).