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Occupations and Status Categories (Classes) in Borsippa

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This paper offers an overview of the occupations and classes of the Borsippans between c. 750 and 484 BCE.¹ However, the abundant documentation on the scribes, who are over-represented in the Mesopotamian archives, as well as that of the slaves (except for an occurrence of one royal slave, below, 2.3), cannot be presented within the limited framework of an article. Occupations are mentioned relatively rarely in the documentation which is overwhelmingly private. The only exceptions are the main prebendal occupations, viz. the brewers, bakers and butchers, which are thoroughly discussed by Waerzeggers 2010 (see below). Occupations, which - as we happen to know - were prebendal (i.e. belonged to the personnel of the Borsippan temple of Ezida) - are dealt here separately from the non-prebendal

¹ Abbreviations (mostly of editions of cuneiform texts) are as in AHw. and CAD, unless otherwise indicated. adm. = administrative. The abbreviated rulers' names are self evident. The months in Roman figures below are the Babylonian ones. In filiations, a single stroke (/) and a double one (//) denote "son of" and "descendant of" respectively. I should like to thank Professors P. Steinkeller, P. A. Beaulieu, J. Greene, J. Armstrong and the Harvard Semitic Museum for permission to quote from an unpublished HSM tablet, and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the BM tablets and to quote from numerous unpublished BM tablets. The IAC tablet is published with kind permission of Professors J. M. Robinson and Tammi Schneider of the Institute of Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont Graduate University and the SC tablets by kind permission of Dr. M. Antonetti of the Rare Books Room of the library of Smith College (Northampton, MA). The research for this paper was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant No. 742/05).

ones. However, the separation of the non-prebendal occupations from the prebendal ones is often tentative due to insufficient pertinent documentation and inadequate context. Holders of prebendal occupations were under the jurisdiction of an overseer (*šāpiru*). For Ezida, overseers of brewers, bakers, oil-pressers, butchers and measurers are recorded so far (see Waerzeggers 2010, 57-59). Decuries of the barbers are also mentioned (see below, 1.1.7). Ezida had also prebends of gatekeepers, fishermen, reed workers and oxherds. Hence these occupations, as well as the arrangers of the offering table, are explicitly prebendal. Implicit prebendal occupations in Borsippa are goldsmiths and jewellers, textile specialists (except for tailors) and boatmen, seeing that they were explicitly prebendal in other Babylonian temples during the same period. Other artisans and craftsmen were hired by Ezida (outsourcing, some received rations). Occupations, which are recorded only in surnames, such as *Asû* (^{lú}A.ZU, BM 46919, 14) “physician” (rare in Borsippa, possibly resident in Babylon, cf. Waerzeggers 2010, 253 with n. 897 ad BM 96166), *Aškāpu* “leather worker”, *Itinnu* (e.g. *I-tinnu*, BM 29200, 9) “builder”, *Lāsimu* “express messenger” (< “runner”, *La-si-mu*, BM 29113, 3), *Pahāru* (^{lú}*Pa-ha-ru*, BM 26609, 11) “potter”, *Nāru* (^{lú}NAR, e.g. BM 26523, 21) “singer/musician”, *Bāqīlu* (*Ba-qí-li*, e.g. HSM 1899.2.125, 2, 9, 11, 13) “maltester”, *Maššar-bābi/bābāni* (^{lú}EN.NUN KÁ^(meš), variant *ma-aš-šar-bal-ba-ta-šú*, BM 26484, 3) “gatekeeper”, *Rab-tarbaši* (e.g. GAL *tar-ba-šu*, BM 82728, 12) “in charge of the cattle pen”, *Ša-nāšišu* “peddler who sells *nāšu*-beer”, *Ša-nahbēšu* “beer seller” (CAD N/1, 135-136), *Ša-tābtīšu* (*šá* MUN^{hi.a}-šú, e.g. BM 26604, 20) “salt trader”, *Ša-udēšu* (*šá ú-de-e-šú*, BM 13290, probably from Borsippa, late Chaldean, see Zadok 2009, 84), possibly “seller of containers” (sg. *udû*, CAD U/W, 22-25, s.v. *udû* A; for the pattern see von Soden 1995, 28**, 137c: e.g. NA *ša-pīlišu* “handler of limestone”, CAD P. 382a; also as producer as NA *ša-muttāqīšu* “maker of sweetmeats”, CAD M/2, 309b), *Rab-banê* (^{lú}GAL *ba-né-e*, e.g. BM 29096, 19) “keeper of temple date palm grove” (apparently originally a honorific title), *Raksu* “hired” (*Rak-su*, e.g. BM 94711, 3; his status

designation is not recorded after the MB period, implying that the surname was crystallized in the early 1st millennium BCE at the latest), *Šandabakku* (*Šá-an-da-bak-ku*, BM 82677, 13 from 31 Dar. I = 491/0 BCE, not in use outside Nippur during the 1st millennium BCE), *Iššakku* (^{lú}*Iš-šak-ka*, BM 94637, 13, ^{lú}ENSÍ, e.g. BM 29007, 21, a title which was not in use after Nabopolassar's reign) and *Šabrû* (^{lú}PA.AL, not in use after the OB period) are not included here. The same applies to the following surnames: priests of Adad (^{lú}SANGA ^dIŠKUR, e.g. BM 28912, 10), Ea (^{lú}Ē.BAR ^dIDIM, e.g. BM 17725, 10, ^{lú}SANGA ^dIDIM, e.g. BM 26786, 11), Nabû (e.g. ^{lú}É.BAR ^d+AG, BM 26545, 26), Ninurta (^{lú}SANGA ^dMAŠ, e.g. BM 82777, 14), Zariqu (^{lú}SANGA ^d*Za-ri-qu*, BM 29081, 13; ^{lú}É.BAR ~, BM 82632, 9, more common in Babylon like Šangur Ištar Bābili which is recorded in Borsippa, but is originally from Babylon), haruspex (*bārû*, ^{lú}HAL, e.g., BM 94819, 11) and the *rab-ummi* (^{lú}GAL *ú-mu*, BM 29051, 11). All are discussed in Zadok, forthcoming. It can be observed from the abundant material about occupations from 1st millennium BCE Mesopotamia (Neo-Assyrian combined with Neo/Late-Babylonian) that specialization was still not as intensive as in the later documentation from the Near East, pertaining e.g. to the Byzantine and early Islamic periods (notably in the Geniza documents, to be discussed in a forthcoming publication).

1. Occupations

1.1. Prebendal occupations (including non-prebendal craftsmen active in the Ezida temple)

1.1.1. Measurers (sg. *mādidu* > *mandidu*, 1)

Measurers supervised the distribution of staples. Iddina-Nabû (MU-^d+AG) ^{lú}*man-di-di* is recorded in BM 28880, 10 from the Šaddinnu archive datable sometime between 521 and 484 BCE. He is mentioned before a homonymous arranger of the offerings table (MU-^d+AG ^{lú}*mu-ban-nu-ú*, line 11; Mubannû is a common surname in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE). The titles are indicated in that list (cf. Jursa

2004, 189 with n. 122) in order to distinguish between homonymous individuals.² Rations (commodity not indicated) of such supervisors (anonymous, number not indicated) are recorded in the administrative document BM 103669 (no place and date, belonging to the archive of the Borsippan Ardīya/Šulâ//Ilīya, 7.XI.4 Nab = 552/1 to -.-.- 29 Dar. I = 493/2 BCE). They received just 0;0.2 kor, whereas a magus (^{lí}*ma-gu-šú*) got 0;1 kor and Ardīya 0;04 kor:

BM 103669 - light brown to cream-coloured, horizontally oriented (oval tag), 37x22x13mm.

(1) 1 PI ^{lí}ma-gu-šú (2) 4 BÂN a-na ^{m̃}ĪR-ia A ^{m̃}šu*-la*-a (3) 2 BÂN a-na ^{lí}man- ıdi-ıdi^{mes} (r.: drawings of numbers, related? 4) 6 (5) 81 2 BÂN.

This is the only occurrence of a magus in Borsippa (in the Achaemenid period magi are recorded in Babylon, Uruk and Kish, and a settlement near Nippur was named after them, see Dandamayev 1992, 166f.). The surname Mandidu (^{lí}*Man-di-di*, e.g. BM 28893, 19) is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.5 mina of an unspecified commodity (dates?) was given to anonymous measurers (^{lí}*man-di-di*^{mes}) according to a damaged list of disbursements received by craftsmen (presumably of Ezida in view of the occurrence of Bēl-ibni/Gūzānu, BM 29093, cf. Jursa 2004, 189 with n. 122) from 7.VIII.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BCE.

1.1.2. Gatekeepers (sg. *maššar bābi*, 1) and porters

BM 26735 Borsippa, 15.II.25 Dar. I = 497/6 BCE; archive of Ilīya (Marduk-šuma-ibni/Šulâ); Marduk-šuma-ibni, who holds the porter's prebend of Ezida (lit. “of the entrance of Nabû”) together with relatives,

² The same motivation is discernible in BM 94725, an undated, unprovenanced, and unassignable account of dates (found among Borsippan tablets). The paternal names of the two homonymous males are indicated in order to distinguish between them.

(a) 5;0.2 kors of dates of Iddina-Nabû/Nabû-ēreš; (b) 9;3.2.3 kors (of dates) of ^fHumbištu; (c) 13;1.1.3 kors (of dates) of Iddina-Nabû/Marduk-šuma-ibni: (1) ^f5¹ (3 are preserved) GUR 2 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA šá ^{m̃}MU-^d+AG (2) A (text DIŠ) šá (text A) ^{md}+AG-APIN^{es} (3) 9 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÂN 3 ŠĪLA šá ^fhu-um-bi-ši-tú (4) 13 GUR 1 (PI) 1 BÂN 3 ŠĪLA šá ^{m̃}MU-^d+AG A-šú šá (5) ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DŪ.

received barley according to his share until the end of I.25 Dar. I from Nidinti-Nabû/Nabû-zēra-ušabši//Rab-tarbaši. The latter is obliged to supply Marduk-šuma-ibni with several items including ten belts (differently Waerzeggers 2010, 430-431:41, subject to collation) from I.II.25 Dar. I onwards (i.e. two weeks before the issue of this receipt; cf. Hunger 1968, 498: *ša muhhi nēbehi ša bēl Barsip*). The first witness belongs to the Bāqīlu (“maltester”) clan, which was apparently connected with the brewer's prebend held by Marduk-šuma-ibni and the scribe was possibly a nephew of Marduk-šuma-ibni.- BM 25849 is an undated (NB/LB) and unprovenanced administrative record (unassignable) about temple personnel (presumably Ezida in view of the pairs of deities). An anonymous gatekeeper of the house of the sacred meal (*bīt naptani*) is recorded. See Waerzeggers 2010, 13.

1.1.3. Food processing

1.1.3.1. Bakers and related professions

1.1.3.1.1. Bakers (sg. *nuhatimmu*)

The rich documentation on the c. 280 prebendary bakers, the largest group of recorded priests of Ezida, is thoroughly analyzed by Waerzeggers 2010, 197ff., 475ff. BM 21998 from 18.V.22 Nbk. II= 583/2 BCE is an unassignable memorandum issued in the presence of three witnesses. It records receipt of eight kors of barley by two officials, viz. Nabû-ēda-ušur the courtier (*ša-rēši*) and Šuma-iddina (or Nādin-šumi), the commissioner (*bēl-piqitti*) of(?) a certain Marduk-nāšir, from Nabû-ahhē-iddina on account of 1. Mār-bīti-gāmil/Nabû-šuma-iddina (or -nādin-šumi) *nu-uh-tim-mu* (cf. the same spelling in Unger 1931, 284, iii, 360, also from Nbk. II's time). The second witness is son of Marduk-nāšir, perhaps the same as the hypothetical master of the commissioner.

BM 102279 no place, 5.VI.10 Dar. I = 512/1 BCE.; adm., unassignable; see Zadok forthcoming, 2, 26; presumably related to Šaddinnu (overseer of the prebendal bakers of Ezida):

(1) i-na 15 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá i-na (2) ši-pir-tu₄ šá ^{md}+AG-TIN^{it} lúšà-tam é-zì-da (3) šá TA pa-ni ^{md}+AG-KAR-ZI^{meš} A m₄DÙ₁(or NI?)-na-a U₄.5.[KA]M (4) ^{it}KIN MU.10.KAM, ^{md}da-ri-ia-^ra'-muš LUGAL (5) i-na 6 GUR ŠE.BAR 6 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA (6) a-na ^{md}DINGIR-KA-ia-ÛRU lúMU na-di-in (7) 3 GUR ŠE.BAR 2 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na (lo.e. 8) ^fsi-lim-^dBA.Ú AMA (9) šá ^{md}+AG-it-tan-nu 4 GU₄ UDU na-di-in (r. 10) 3 GUR ŠE.BAR 3 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na (11) ^{md}DI.KU₅-EN-ÛRU lúGÌR.LAL na-di-in (12) 2 GUR ŠE.BAR 2 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na (13) <<a-na>> AMA šá ^mni-din-tu₄ A ^{md}+AG-DU-A na-di-in (14) 1 GUR 1 PI 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR 1 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA (15) a-na ^{md}+AG-_i-ši-ARHUŠ lúš_u-šá-nu (16, centred). na-di-in (17) PAP 15 GUR 1 PI 3 <BÁN> ŠE.BAR 15 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA (u.e. 18) AŠ qí-bi šá ^{md}+AG-TIN^{it} lúšà-tam é-zì-da (19) a-na lúš_i-rik na-di-in

Translation of 5-9: Out of six kors of barley and six kors of dates which were given to 2. the baker Ilu-pīya-ušur; three kors of barley (and) two kors of dates were given to Silim-Baba mother of Nabû-ittannu; four oxen were (also) given. The preceding entry records dates given according to a letter of the chief administrator of Ezida. All the individuals, who received barley and dates according to this document, were oblates of Ezida under his jurisdiction (cf. below, 1.1.3.4, 2.3).

BM 26115 no place, --.35 (Dar. I = 487/6 BCE); presumably related to the archive of Šaddinnu/Balāssu//Bēliya²u. Individuals with filiation: Bēl-ēṭir/Nabû-aha-ušabši and his father, Nabû-aha-ušabši/Balāssu (first and second installments, one and 1;2.3 kor respectively); account of dates given in three installments to bakers (of Ezida). The third installment (25 kors) is for Nabû-bullissu.

A non-prebendary baker is recorded in BM 26642 from Borsippa, 19.I.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BCE; archive of Rē²i-alpē (Rēmūt-Nabû/Nabû-kīn-zēri). It is a promissory note for silver of ^fŠikkû /Mušēzib-Marduk//Arkât-ilī-damqā charged against Rēmūt-Nabû with a slave (3. Sīn-ēṭir, a baker) as pledge, explicitly on terms of antichresis (therefore there is no interest). The same slave was pledged on the same terms ten years later according

to the receipt for silver BM 26644 from Borsippa, -.VI.19 Dar. I = 503/2 BCE (same archive). The debtor, Rēmūt-Nabû, will supply the creditor, Nabû-bullissu/Marduk-erība//Šá(?)¹-x(x)-na.(?), with a daily quantity of 20 loaves of bread as compensation (*maddattu*) of the slave, who was a baker. If the pledged slave runs away or dies, it is implied that the debtor will pay the balance of the debt.

BM 82701 from [...] --.20(?) Dar. I = perhaps 502/1 BCE (same archive) is a promissory note for 20 shekels of silver of Ardi-Tašmētu/Nabû-šuma-ukīn//Naggāru charged against Rēmūt-Nabû with the same slave as pledge. The slave has to serve the creditor and supply him every day 20 loaves of bread as well as 0;0.0.1 kor and six *ku-ru-ú* (hitherto unattested; a baked ware?). Cf. BM 29485 (below, 1.1.3.1.2) and HSM 1895.1.19. The baker Sîn-ēṭir is recorded together with Rēmūt-Nabû in broken context in Moore, *Mich. Coll.* 51, 5 from the same archive (date lost).

Nabû-bullissu/Haddâ//Šangû Ištar-Bābili, who was obliged to supply Lā-abāši/Rēmūtu/Rē²i-alpē (probably son of the above-mentioned Rēmūt-Nabû) 20 loaves of bread of good quality every day from 1.IV.36 Dar. I onwards according to the promissory note BM 94906 (Borsippa, 9.II.36 Dar I = 486/5 BCE), might have been from Babylon in view of his surname (the surname of the second = last witness, Hašdāyu/Itti-Marduk-balātu//Ea-eppēš-ilī, is also typical of Babylon). Rēmūt-Nabû and his father were prebendaries of Ezida. An anonymous baker received beer according to an unassignable administrative document from 19.IV.24? (ruler unknown, BM 25938).

1.1.3.1.2. Millers (sg. *tē'inu*).

Numerous millers (at least 210 including several of foreign extraction) are listed especially in the *iškaru* file (see Waerzeggers 2010, 212ff.; a complete edition was prepared by me). ^ú*tē*₄-^u*i-ni* is mentioned in BM 25938 (cf. above, 1.1.3.1.1 *in fine*). BM 29485 is an unprovenanced and undated (early Achaem.) administrative document related to the *iškaru* lists (file in the archive of Šaddinnu/Balāssu/Bēliya²u). It lists quantities of barley assigned to five individuals (millers and bakers: Hašdā, Nabû-

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ušallim, Gūzānu/Tabnē²a, Rēmūtu/Bēl-uballiṭ and [Zan]zīru(?)/Gimillu). These quantities (in four cases 0;1.4 kor per individual and in one case 0;1.1 kor) are leftovers from one kor of barley originally given to each individual in order to make flour.

1.1.3.1.3. (Bread) smearers (sg. *ṭēhū*)

BM 29093 (7.VIII.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BCE) is a damaged, unprovenanced and unassignable list of disbursements received by craftsmen (presumably of Ezida, cf. above, 1.1.1), including *ṭēhū* “a culinary profession” (CAD Ṭ, 83b) or more specific (with AHW., 1385b): “those who smear hot bread with a fatty substance” (as an offering; see Waerzeggers 2010, 229f.):

(8) up-na-a-tu₄ ṣá¹ lúŠU.I^{mes} ṣx₁ [...] (9) šá lúṭe-hi-ia m_{eri}4-[ba?-...] (10) šá ti-nu-ru m_{li}-ṣx₁ [...].

1.1.3.2. Brewers

The abundant evidence for 125 prebendal brewers, the 2nd-largest group of recorded priests of Ezida, is analyzed by Waerzeggers 2010, 153ff., 367ff. (cf. Zadok forthcoming, 4, B, a).

1.1.3.3. Oil-pressers (sg. *šāhitu*, 1)

Borsippa, -.IV.[1]6 Nab. =550/49 or 540/39 BCE;

BM 82680 - archive of Rē²i-alpē (Nabû-kīn-zēri/Aplâ); promissory note for 42 kors of dates of Karē²a/Hanūnu (oil presser), which were assessed and will be paid by Nabû-kīn-zēri in month VII (during the harvest of the dates). This oil-presser was not a prebendary in view of his West Semitic extraction. Witnessed by Kalbâ/Nabû-lē²i//Urannu (this surname is recorded only here) and Kidinnu/Nādinu; scribe:

[xx]/Mušēzib-Marduk/N[aggāru].

(1) 42 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá m_{ka}-[r]e-e-a (2) A-šú šá m_{ha}-nu-nu lú₁.SUR AŠ UGU (3) m_d+AG-DU-NUMUN A-šú šá m_A-a (4) A lúSIPA GU₄^{mes} AŠ it_iDU₆ ZÚ.LUM.MA (5) šá m_{ka}-re-e-a in-ni-im-du (6) ZÚ.LUM.MA-šú AŠ ŠÀ^{bi} (7) i-šal-lim (r. 8) lú_{mu}-kin-nu m_{kal}-ba-a A-šú šá (9) m_d+AG-DA A lú_{ur}-an-nu (10) m_{ki}-din-nu A-šú šá m_{na}-din (11) u lú[UMBISAG m_{xx} A-šú š]á. m_{KAR}-^dAMAR.UTU (12) A lúN[AGAR?? bár-si]pa^{ki} (13) it_iŠU [U₄.x. KAM MU.x+(?)]₆ (or

16).KAM (14) ^d+AG-I [LUGAL] ^Eki . The Šāhitu and Šāhit-ginê (*Ša-hi-ti gi-né-e*, BM 29066, 17) clans are recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.3.4. Butchers (“meat carvers”, sg. *ṭābihu*)

The rich documentation on the prebendary butchers is thoroughly analyzed by Waerzeggers 2010, 251ff., 525ff. The number of recorded butchers of Ezida is much smaller than that of the bakers and brewers (at least 25, i.e. the equivalent one-tenth of the bakers or one-fifth of the brewers). In addition, a handful of individuals were engaged in meat production. Madānu-bēla-ušur, who received three kors of barley and three kors of dates on 5.VI.10 Dar. I = 512/1 BCE, was an oblate of Ezida (BM 102279, see above, 1.1.3.1). The *Ṭābihu* (^{lu}GÍR.LÁ) clan is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE. The surname *Ṭābih-ka-ri* is very rare – in Borsippa then (BM 38254, 2, perhaps originally from Babylon).

1.1.3.5. Arrangers of the offerings table (sg. *mubannû*, 1)

Iddina-Nabû (cf. above, 1.1.1).

1.1.3.6. Fishermen (sg. *bā ʾiru*)

TuM 2/3, 206 from Borsippa, -.II.[x+?]3 Npl. (623/2 or 613/2 BCE) is a contract about division of the fisherman’s prebend (*isiq bā ʾirūti*) of Ezida for days 16th-18th throughout the year (see van Driel 2002, 123, 133, n. 20, 141, n. 58). The principals belong to the Bā ʾiru clan: Nabû-naʾid/Nabû-[…], Nabû-x₁ [-x]/Nabû-aha-iddina (or –nāšir-šumi) and Nabû-lēʾi (also the scribe, he will receive one mina of silver from Nabû-naʾid). The operative section ends with a violation clause (fine of two minas of silver). Since the parties belong to the Bā ʾiru clan, none of the three witnesses do: Nabû-naʾid/Ea-imbi, Nabû-uballit/Esaggila-massi and Nabû-apla-iddina//Ardiyaʾūtu. The *Bā ʾiru* clan (e.g. ^{lu}Ba-ʾi-ri, BM 26231, 26) is common in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.3.7. Oxherds

Ezida had a prebend of oxherd, which was held by at least 35 individuals during 138 years (623-484 BCE, cf. Zadok 2006, 391; see the thorough discussion by Waerzeggers 2010, 273ff., 553ff.).

1.1.4. Craftsmen

1.1.4.1. Reed workers (sg. *atkuppu*)

BM 25849 records temple personnel (presumably of Ezida in view of the pairs of deities) including an anonymous reed worker (presumably a prebendary, cf. above, 1.1.2). More reed workers are recorded in BM 29240 (see Waerzeggers 2010, 39, 79). For the prebend of the reed workers see Zadok 2009, 76. The surname *Atkuppu* (e.g. ^{lit}*At-kup-pu*, BM 17680, 3) is very common in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.4.2. Goldsmiths (sg. *kutimmu*, 1)

Sîn-iddina (see below, 1.2.2.2); distribution of silver from the treasure of Ezida to goldsmiths is recorded in TCL 13, 149 (=Joannès 1989, 42, 315) from 16.XII.1 Camb. = 529/8 BCE. Numerous goldsmiths and jewellers going to Borsippa are mentioned in Frahm and Jursa 2011, 56. The surname *Kutimmu* is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE (e.g. ^{lit}*KÜ.DIM*, BM 26553, 21).

1.1.4.3. Jewellers (or stone-carvers, sg. *kabšarru*, 1)

Ten kors of dates of Ardi-<GU₄>.SI.SÁ and Nidinti-Bēl the jewellers are recorded in Zadok and Zadok 2003, 36f.: BM 26484 from early Achaemenid Borsippa.

1.1.5. Textile specialists

1.1.5.1. Weavers (sg. *išparu*)

Anonymous weavers (^{lit}*UŠ.BAR^{meš}*) are recorded in the damaged undated and unprovenanced account BM 96154 (apparently of hides with sums of silver; unassignable; Nergal-ibni, Bašiya, Gūzānu and four individuals with damaged names are mentioned). The *Išparu* clan is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.5.2. Sack makers (sg. *šaqqāyu*, see Bongenaar 1997, 313f. ; 1)

HAM 73.2958 (administrative, unassignable) from 4-5.II.35 <Dar. I> = 487/6 BCE has (line 8) ku.-šur-a *šaq-qa-A+A šá* (of) ^m*ILIMMU₄* (= Nabû-bullissu).

1.1.5.3. Garment menders (sg. *mukabbû*)

This profession is mentioned in BM 96114 (undated, see Waerzeggers 2010, 31, 39, 138, 152).

1.1.5.4. Washermen (sg. *ašlakku*, 1)

Ina-tēšî-ēṭir/Iddinâ (or Šumâ)//Hulamîšu, [^{lú}áš]- 'la¹-ku, Borsippa, 10.XII.3 Nab = 553/2 BCE. Washermen's contracts are recorded in Borsippa as late as 9.VII.19 Dar. I = 503/2 BCE (see Waerzeggers 2006, 83f. and *pass.*). Both the *Ašlakku* and the *Pūšāyu* (*Pu-ša-A*+<A>, BM 29025, 15) clans are recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.6. Transportation: boatmen (sg. *malahhu*, 9)

Rēmūtu ^{lú}MÁ.LAH₄ received an unspecified quantity of barley on 7.III .5 Nab. = 551/0 BCE according to the third entry of the administrative receipt BM 29217. The preceding entries record receipt of 12 garments (?) by Ṭāb-šār-Ezida ([x]-10.<II>) and of spadices for fire-wood (*hu.šābu*?) by Ṭāb-šār-Ezida from Nabû-iqbi (21.<II>- 1.III). His namesake (son of Bānīya and father of Balāssu) is mentioned in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (year not indicated) in the administrative record IAC 122 = Knopf 1931, 6 (brown, vertically oriented, 83x50x22mm.). The place of issue is not indicated, but Ezida is mentioned. Therefore a Borsippan provenance is possible, but a prebendal connection is not ascertained.

(1) ^{lú}HUN.GĀ^{meš} šá a-na ^{lú}ma-^rl[a-hi (xxx)] (2) ^mTIN-su A ^mre-mut ^{lú}ma-la-hi (3: indented). ^{md}+AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ^{meš}-šú ^{md}+EN-ŠEŠ^{meš}-[x(x)] (4: indented). ^mIR^d+AG ^mšá^d+AG-ba-ni (5) PAP 4 AŠ IGI ^mTIN-su-iq-bi x (eroded) (6) ^mre-mut A ^{md}Ü-a ^{lú}ma-la-hi (7: indented). ^{md}+EN-DÛ ^{md}U.GUR-MU-A (8: indented). ^mtab-né-e-a ^{md}+EN-SUR (9) PAP 4 AŠ IGI ^mre-mu-ti ^{lú}ma-la-hu (10) ^{md}U.GUR-ke-šir ^{lú}ma-la-hu (11) šá ^{md}+AG-eri₄-ba ^{md}+AG-DU(?) ^mip-ri-ia(?) (12: indented). ^ma-da-da (13) PAP 4 AŠ IGI ^{md}U.GUR-ke-šir ^{lú}ma-la-hu(!) ^{giš}MÁ^{meš} ^{lú}x(?) (14) ^{md}KUR.GAL-GIŠ^{ir} ^{lú}ma-la-hi šá ^mba-la-ṭu (15: indented). ^{md}+AG-MU-ÛRU ^{md}UTU-SUR (16: indented). ^{md}+AG-LUGAL-ŠEŠ^{meš}-šú ^{md}+AG-

ka(?)-šir (17) PAP 4 AŠ IGI^{md}KUR.GAL-GIŠ^{ir} 9 x AŠ IGI-šú (18) ^{md}é-a-ŠEŠ^{mes}-MU^{lú} ma-la-hu šá^m na-din (19: indented). ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU^m a.-nu-x-GIŠ (20: indented). ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ^{mes}-NIGIN^{md} KUR.GAL-MU(?) -a-ni (21) PAP 4 AŠ IGI^{md} é-a-ŠEŠ^{mes}[š]-MU (22) ^{md}U.GUR-PAP^{lú} ma-l[a-hu...] (lo.e. 23: indented). ^már-ra-bi^m [...] (24: indented). ^mIM^d+EN-DU₁₀.G[A ...] (25) PAP 4 AŠ IGI^{md} [...] (r. 26: indented). 73(?) AŠ IGI^m ár-[ra-bi(?)] (27) ^{md}AMAR.UTU-eri₄-ba [^{lú}ma-la-hu (...)] (28: indented). ^{md}+AG-NUMUN-MU^m x₁ [...] (29: indented). ^mba-ni-ia^m ši[l-la-a] (30) PAP 4 AŠ IGI^{md} AMAR.UTU-SU 8 DIŠ[+x]

(space)

(31) ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ^{mes}-GÁL^{ši} A-šú AŠ NÍG.GA TA U₄.5.KAM

(32) ^mšu(?) -ma-a ^mkal-ba-a ^mmu-še-zib-^d+EN (33) PAP 3 TA U₄.6.KAM (erasure)

(34) ^{md}UTU-MU TA U₄.4.KAM KÙ.BABBAR AŠ IGI É (35: indented). NÍG.GA(?) é-zī-da₁ x sal maš-ha-a

(space)

(36) 3 LIM ku-pur u it-tu-ú (37) 1 LIM 4 ME tum-bé-e (38) 4 ME a-bat-tu₄ (39) 6 GÍN pit-qa a-na ^{md}+AG-EN-D[Û] (40: inserted in tiny script) ^{md}+EN-re-man-ni šá x x x₁ [(xx)] (41) ^litiSIG₄ U₄.6.KAM [MU.x.KAM] (u.e. 42) ^{md}+AG-NÍG.DU-Û[RU LUGAL bābili]

Superscription: hired workmen which (were assigned) to boatmen. (**a** = 2-5) Balāssu/Rēmūtu, the boatman; Nabû-šar-ahhēšu, Bēl-ahhē-[x], Ardi-Nabû, (and) Ša-Nabû-bani: altogether four at the disposal of Balāssu-iqbi.

(**b** = 6-9) Rēmūtu/Bāniya, boatman; Bēl-ibni, Nergal-nādin-apli, Tabnē²a (and) Bēl-ēṭir: altogether four at the disposal of the boatman Rēmūtu.

(**c** = 10-13) Nergal-kēšir, the boatman of Nabû-erība, Nabû-ukīn?, Ipriya? (and) Adada: altogether four at the disposal of Nergal-kēšir, the boatman of boats x.

(**d** = 14-17) Amurru-līšir, the boatman of Balātu; Nabû-šuma-ušur, Šamaš-ēṭir, Nabû-šar-ahhēšu (and) Adad-kāšir?: altogether four (*recte* five) at the disposal of Amurru-līšir; 9 x at his disposal.

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(**e** = 18-21) Ea-ahhē-iddina, the boatman of Nādinu; Šamaš-aha-iddina, Anu-x-līšir, Nabû-ahhē-upahhir (and) Amurru-iddinanni?: altogether four at the disposal of Ea-ahhē-iddina.

(**f** = 22-25) Nergal-nāšir (or -ušur), the boatman (of [PN]; Arrabi, [...], Šār-Bēl-ṭāb (and) [...]: altogether four at the disposal of [Nergal-nāšir (or -ušur); << 73(?) at the disposal of Ar[rabi(?)]>>

(**g** = 27-30) Marduk-erība, [the boatman]; Nabû-zēra-iddina, x [...], Bānīya and Ši[llâ]: altogether four (*recte* five) at the disposal of Marduk-erība; eight x.

(**h** = 31) Šamaš-ahhē-ušabši (or -šubši) his son, from the property from day five onwards.

(**i** = 32-33) Šumâ?, Kalbâ (and) Mušēzib-Bēl: altogether three from day six onwards.

(**j** = 34-35) Šamaš-iddina from day four onwards: silver at the disposal of the storehouse (?) of Ezida.

(**k** = 36-38) 3000 (lumps?) of refined and crude bitumen; 1400 planks as well as 400 (lumps) of limestone.

(**l** = 39) six shekels of which 1/8 is alloy - Nabû-bēla-ibni;

(**m** = 40) Bēl-rēmāni of x-x-x [(xx)]; date.-

An anonymous boatman is recorded on 12.IX.22 Dar. I = 500/499 BCE (BM 29173). The *Malahhu* clan is recorded in Borsippa in the 1st millennium BCE (Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Rēmūt-Nabû, e.g. BM 94670, 2).

1.1.7. Barbers (sg. *gallābu*, 1)

See the detailed discussion in Waerzeggers 2010, 39, 79, 331.

Seven decuries of barbers (?) were given flour, barley and dates according to the damaged account BM 94810 from Borsippa, -IX.2 Nab = 554/3 BCE (unassignable). BM 96169 from 16.III.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BCE is an account-memorandum (prebendal) concerning dates, *pappasu* of the fortnight of the bakers' overseer Šaddinnu/Balāssu/Bēliya²u of V-XII (8 months, i.e. two *maššartu* periods + two more months) of year 7 of Dar. I. The dates were disbursed out of the *tēlītu* upon authorization of Rēmūtu/Nabû-ahhē-šullim (see Waerzeggers 2010,

496-497:87, cf. 249: a baker) to 12 individuals including at least three bakers (Līšir/Gūzānu, Sūqāyu/Gūzānu and Gimillu/Gūzānu), one brewer (or homonymous with a brewer, Mukīn-zēri/Balāssu) and one barber, viz. Gūzānu/Rēmūt-Baba. The Gallābu (e.g. ^{lú}gal-la-bi, HSM 1895.1.17, 14) clan is well-attested in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

1.1.8. Diviners (sg. *šā'ilu*)

An anonymous diviner of Mār-bīti is mentioned in the undated letter BM 25997 (see Waerzeggers 2010, 28, cf. CAD Š/1, 111-112 with lit.).³

1.1.9. Cultic performers

The prebends of the Acrobats (sg. *huppû*) and entertainers (sg. *kurgarrû*, cf. Zadok 2006, 442) are discussed by Waerzeggers 2010, 39 with n. 205.

1.2. Non-prebendal occupations

1.2.1. Guards (sg. *bēl maššarti*, 1)

Ni-din-ti (Borsippa), 17.III.2 Xer. = 484/3 BCE (Jursa and Weszeli 2004, 7).

1.2.2. Craftsmen

1.2.2.1. Carpenters (sg. *naggāru*, 6)

BM 26784 no place, 8.X.0. Camb. = 530/29 BCE (silver given to Ezida) -almost oval; archive of Nabû-šuma-ušur/Ba(?)-si(?) -ia (Bēl-kēšir acted as his proxy); receipt about 3.5 shekels of silver given according to the (rate of) the cashbox (*arānu*) of Ezida, given to Ezida:

(1) 3 MAŠ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá^{md}+EN-ke-[šir] (2) U₄. 8 .KAM šá^{iti}AB 1.MU.S[AG]. (3) NAM.LUGAL.LA^mkam-bu-zi-ia (4) LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR (5) AŠ na-áš-par-tu₄ šá^{md}+AG-MU-ŠEŠ (6) A-šú šá^m.ba?-si? -ia (r. 7) AŠ UGU^[giš] 1a¹-ra-an-nu (8) a-na^d+AG id-di-nu (9) in the presence of the witnesses: Sîn-iddina, goldsmith, (10) Aplā, smith (in charge of the cashbox) and Mušēzib-Nabû, carpenter.

³ ^dNa-ki-i-ni (cf. Waerzeggers 2010, 32) is to be read ^dUTU ki-i-ni: the sign after the determinative is identical with -par at the end of line 12 (collated).

Šuma-ukīn the carpenter is recorded in an unprovenanced and undated administrative list (BM 85628), perhaps from the Borsippan archive of Gallābu seeing that Nabû-šuma-ukīn and Nabû-zēra-ukīn (homonymous with a father and his son of the Gallābu clan, second half of the sixth century BCE) are mentioned without filiation as a deliverer and a transferor respectively. It records flour, barley and wheat which (were brought?) to the house (estate) of Nabû-zēra-ušabši and were placed at the disposal of Ea-iddina. The carpenter Bēl-ana-mērehti was sent by Haddā to Nabû-aha-ittannu, who is described as Haddā's equal ("brother"). Upon Haddā's request Nabû-aha-ittannu gave the carpenter two shekels of white silver through Ana-muhhi-Bēl-taklāk according to a letter from 22.VI.0 Šamaš-erība (484/3 BCE, Waerzeggers 2003-04, 165:3). Three Borsippan carpenters (sg. ^{lú}NAGAR *na-al-pa-tu*₄, i.e. pl. of *nalpu*, a tool) are recorded in CT 56, 809 from the archive of the Ebabbarra temple at Sippar (see Bongenaar 1997, 395f. with n. 337). The *Naggāru* clan was prominent in 1st-millennium BCE Borsippa (e.g. *Na-an-gar*, BM 29096, 15).

1.2.2.2. Smiths (sg. *nappāhu*, 3)

BM 96475 4.III.24 <Nbk. II or Dar. I> = 581/0 or 498/7 BCE; five shekels of white silver of *nuhhutu*-quality are at the disposal of 1. Balātu the smith apart from ten minas of copper. BM 103598 from 15.XIIB.35 Dar. I = 487/6 BCE is an administrative receipt for cress:

(1) 2 (GUR) sah(text GUR)-le-e (2) AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}+AG-LUGAL-P[AP] (3) u ^{mú}-bar SIMUG^{mes} (4) ^{iti}Š[E] EGIR-u (lo.e. 5) U₄.15.KAM (r. 6) MU.35.KAM (7) ^{mda}-ri-²-a-muš LUGAL

Translation: Two kors of cress (were received) from 2. Nabû-šarra-ušur (presumably a royal smith) and 3. Ubāru the smiths; date. The *Nappāhu* clan is well-attested in 1st millennium Borsippa (e.g. ^{lú}*Nap-pa-hu*, BM 26636, 15). There is a single occurrence of a surname *Nappāh parzilli* (^{lú}SIMUG AN.BAR) in an undatable list of arable land from there, viz. the anonymous daughter of Nabû-zēra-iqīša/N. (TuM 2/3, 194).

1.2.2.3. Stone cutters (sg. *purkullu*)

They are mentioned in BM 26791 from 9.IX.3 (ruler not mentioned, see Waerzeggers 2010, 39). They (three damaged names are recorded) probably received barley. The surname *Purkullu* is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE (^{lú}BUR.GUL, e.g., HAM 73.2823, 16).

1.2.2.4. Master builders (sg. *arad-ekalli*, 1)

BM 29534 (no place, 19.IX; unassignable) is an administrative document recording Iddina-Bēl of the decury of Nabû-rē²û²a and Nabû-si-da-an-ni. The latter is defined as a master builder:

(1) U₄.20 1^{LÀ} šá ^{iti}GAN (2) ^mMU-^dEN šá 10-tì šá ^{md}+AG-SIPA-ú-a (3)^{md} +AG-si-da-an-ni ^{lú}IR É.GAL (4-6) intentionally erased.

1.2.3. Textile specialists: tailors (sg. *kāširu*, 1)

[...]/Abu-ul-īdi, 29.VII.5 Camb. = 525/4 BCE (see Waerzeggers 2006, 85f.).

1.2.4. Transportation

The numerous messengers occurring in the Borsippa documentation are not discussed here, as they are rather a status group fulfilling an *ad hoc* task. ^{lú}DUMU *šip-pir*^(meš) refers to messengers rather than alphabet scribes despite Joannès, OECT 12, 12f. *ad A* 111, 8 (“scribes *sepīru*”), 15.IV.1 Xer. = 485/4 BCE (read *ta₅-lam* in line 6). 0.5 mina and one shekel of silver were given to one and two ^{lú}DUMU *šip-pir*^{meš} respectively.

1.2.4.1. Merchants or commercial agents (sg. *tamkāru*, 1)

Rēmūtu is recorded in the account of dates BM 28880, which is datable to the early Achaemenid period as it belongs to the Borsippa archive of Bēliya²u (Šaddinnu/Balāssu), cf. 1.1.1 above:

(15) [1] ME GUR ^mre-mut ^{lú}DAM.GÀR a-na UGU ^mDU-NUMUN (16) [PAP 1] ME 50 ^r6 (at least 156) GUR 2 (PI) 3 BAN ZÚ.<LUM.MA> šá ^mDU-NUMUN ma-hír (17)[PAP.PAP x ME x]+23 GUR 2 (PI) 4 BÀN.

1.2.5. Animal husbandry (cf. in general Kozuh 2006)**1.2.5.1. Shepherds (1)**

A contract of lease of fifty ewes (cf. Jursa 2010, 257-258, n. 1542 *in fine*), which have given birth (BM 26615, Borsippa, 27.VI?1 Xer. = 485/4 BCE), was concluded between the owner of the herd, Marduk-ēṭir/Nabû-ahhē-iddina//Ea-ilūta-bani (archive holder, recorded as a principal only in this deed), and Iddina-Bēl/Nabû-ušallim//Ahu-ēreš (duration: five years). Each year Iddina-Bēl will give Marduk-ēṭir one mina of wool for each ewe, ten of the progeny of the fifty ewes and pay the cattle tax (*šibtu*). The payment of wool and progeny are much lower than those recorded in the Prince Arsham dossier of the Murašû archive about 70 years later (1.5 mina of wool for each ewe and 33.33 of the progeny of fifty ewes, see Cardascia 1951, 155-157 ad PBS 2/1, 145), but no tax on the flocks belonging to the prince are mentioned. Iddina-Bēl is implicitly a shepherd. He acted as an oxherd as well, but did not belong to the Oxherd clan (*Rē'i-alpē*). Apart from a deed about lease of three oxen and nine cows. The third witness (Iddina-Nabû/Nabû-ittannu) out of five belongs to the (Ea-)ilūta-bani clan. The other four are Nabû-balāssu-iqbi/Nabû-ušallim//Rīšû[?]a, Ṭābīya/Nabû-(mu)kīn-zēri//Kidin-Nanā, Nabû-ušuršu/Nabû-zēra-iddina//Iddina-Nergal and Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Nabû-šuma-iddina//Naggāru. The scribe is Silim?-Marduk/Iddina-Nabû//Ilīya. No witness belongs to the clan of the second party. The archive holder, Marduk-ēṭir (^dAMAR.UTU-KAR^{ir})/^d+AG-PAP^{me}-MU//DINGIR-ta-DÛ), is recorded as early as 4.III.4 Dar. I = 518/7 BCE, when he acted as the 2nd witness in BM 102274, 15 (Borsippa, Rē'i-alpē archive). Perhaps his connection to the archive of the owners of the oxherd prebend had something to do with his activity as a lessor of a small herd of cattle.

BM 26615 - brown, horizontally oriented 59x44x23mm.

(1) 50 ^{udu}U₈ UDU^{hi.a} a-lit-tu₄ šá ^{md}AM[AR.UTU-SUR] (2) A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-PAP^{me}-MU A ^mDINGIR-ta-ḌÛ [a-na] (3) GIŠ.BAR a-di 5 MU.AN.NA ^{meš}AŠ IG[I] ^mMU-^rd+EN^r (4) A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-GI A ^ma-hu-APIN^{eš} AŠ MU.AN.NA (5) AŠ UGU^{hi} ^{udu}U₈ UDU^{hi.a} -a₄ .50. a-lit-tu₄(6)

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10 TUR^{meš} i-nam-din a-na ^{udu}im-mer-tu₄ (7) 1 MA.NA SÍG^{hi.a} i-nam-din
šib-tu₄ (8) ^mMU-^d+EN i-nam-din e-lat ú-ìl-tì (lo.e. 9) šá 3 GU₄^{meš} ù 9
GU₄ bur-tu₄ (10) šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-SUR a-na GIŠ.BAR (11) AŠ UGU^{hi}
^mMU-^d+EN (r. 12) ^{lú}mu-kin₁-nu ^{md}+AG-TIN-su-E A-šú šá (13) ^{md}+AG-
G[I] ṛA ^mSÛ-ú-a ^mDU₁₀.GA-iá A-šú šá (14) ^{md}+AG-₁DU₁-NUMUN A
^rki-din-^dna¹-na-a (15) ^mMU-^d+AG A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-it-tan₁-nu A
^mDINGIR-ta-DÛ (16) ^{md}+AG-ÛRU-šú A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-NU[MU]N-MU
A ₁^mMU-^dU.GUR (17) ^mKI-^d+AG-TIN A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-MU-MU¹ A
^{lú}NAGAR (18) ^{lú}UMBISAG ^ms[i?]-ṛlim? ₁-^dA[MAR.UTU?] A-šú [šá]
^mMU-^d+AG (19) A ^mDINGIR-iá b[ar-sip^{kli} ^{itir}KIN¹ (?) U₄. 27(!).KAM
(20) MU.1.KAM ^{hi}hi-ši-ia-ar-ši (u.e. 21) LUGAL E^{ki} LUGAL
KUR.KUR (le.e.) 2 lines deliberately erased

Remark

6. TUR: ṛ for progeny LB has *mi-il-du* < *wildu* (*ildu*, see CAD I/J, 71).

1.2.5.2. Horseherds (sg. *rē ʔ sīsē*, 1)

Iddina-Nabû ^{lú}SIPA ANŠE.KUR.RA(?)^{meš} received silver and straw in
21 <Nbk. II or Dar. I> = 584/3 or 501/0 BCE according to a balanced
account of silver, barley, straw and *šibtu*-bread of the *takkasû*-offering
(BM 94686, archive of Nūr-Papsukkal):

(1) KÛ.BABBAR šá i-na ^{ití}IZ[I ṛMU¹.21.K[A]M (2) ^mMU-^d+AG
^{lú}SIPA ANŠE.KUR.RA(?)^{meš} (3) e-lat ti-ib-ni šá ^{ití}IZI MU(?).21
[KAM] (4) iš-šu-ú 1/3 (MA.NA) MAŠ GÍN KÛ.BABBAR <<DÛ>>
(partially erased) (5: indented). AŠ ŠU^{II} ^mla-ba-ši A ^mZÁLAG-^dpap-
sukkal (6) 5 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR šá 10 šib-tu₄ šá ta-₁ak-<ka>-s[u-ú] (7) 2
GÍN šá 4 BÁN ŠE.BAR AŠ ^{ití}x₁ [(x)](8) [8 GÍN¹ KÛ.BABBAR šá 8
šib-tu₄] (lo.e. 9) [šá ta]-ak-su-ú x₁ [...] (r. 10) T[A](?) ^{ití}? ₁DU₆
MU.20[+1 KAM] (11) a-di U₄.16.KAM šá ^{ití}[x] (12) PAP 14 MAŠ GÍN
KÛ.BABBAR (followed by erasure) (13) 3 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR šá ti-ib-
ni ṛx₁-₁ni (14) šá ^{ití}DU₆ <u> ^{ití}APIN MU.21 (15) i-na pa-ni-ia (followed
by an erasure) (16) 3 GÍN i-di ṛ^é ṣu-tùm-mu (u.e. 17) ^{ití}DU₆
U₄.10+[x].KAM (18, centred) NÍG.ŠI[D D]Û^{u[š]}.

Superscription: silver which was brought in V?.21 - Iddina-Nabû,
horseherd, apart from the straw brought in V.21?

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- (a) 20.5 shekels of silver (received) from Lā-abâši/Nūr-Papsukkal;
 - (b) five shekels of silver for ten loaves of *šibtu*-bread of the *takkasû*-offering;
 - (c) two shekels <of silver> (and) 0;2.4 kor of barley in MN;
 - (d) [eight] shekels of silver for eight loaves of *šibtu*-bread [of the] *takkasû*-offering;
- Interim periodization:** from VII.21 to 16.MN.[year];total: 14.5 shekels of silver;
- (e) three shekels of silver for straw x for VII and VIII.21 at my disposal;
 - (f) three shekels <of silver> the wages of the warehouse; date; balanced account. The surname *Rē²-sīsē* is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

2. Status (classes)

2.1. Temple enterers (sg. *ērib bīti*, see Doty 1978, 77, n. 22; Da Riva 2002, 332f.)

39 temple enterers of the Ezida complex are mentioned (the earliest occurrence is on 12.III.753/2 BCE). Temple enterers were governors and temple administrators (Waerzeggers 2010, 65ff.; Zadok forthcoming A, 1, 8, 14, 15, 35; B, 1, 2, 5, 7, 11, 18).

(a) of Nabû (30)

1. Nabû-šuma-imbi//Ēda-ēṭir, governor of Borsippa;
2. Nabû-ēṭir/Arad-Ēa, *šatam ekurrāti* (= *šatammu* of Ezida);
3. Nabû-ušabši//Ēda-ēṭir;
4. Nādinu//Arkât-ilī-damqā;
6. Nabû-ahhē-erība//Ahiya²ūtu;
7. Marduk-šuma-ukīn//Ilūta-bani;
8. Nabû-zēra-iddina//Ilu-bani (the clans of 7 and 8 were related according to the later documentation);
9. Nabû-šuma-iškun//Ēda-ēṭir;
10. Zērīya//Kidīn-Nanā.

Thureau-Dangin 1919 is a transcription and commentary of VS 1, 36 (see Brinkman 1968, 225f.), a *kudurru* from 12.III.8 Nabû-šuma-iškun =

753/2 BCE. It records the reception of a certain Nabû-mutakkil//Ēda-ēṭir to the ranks of temple enterers of Ezida (papah Nabû). This deed is witnessed by 18 prominent temple enterers (1-4, 6-11 of Nabû, 12-14 of Nanâ, 15 of Mār-bīti and 16 of Sutītu; no less than four of them [1,3, 5, 9] belonged to Nabû-mutakkil's clan):

16. Nabû-šuma-iškun//Arkât-ilī-damqā;

17. Pir²u//Kidin-Sîn, overseer (^{lu}PA = *šāpiru*) of the bakers;

18. Nabû-lē²i//Ilšu-abūšu, overseer of the brewers.

They are followed by Nabû-lē²i//Iddina-Papsukkal, priest of Sutītu, lamentation priest (*kalû*) of Nabû, scribe of Ezida. Lambert 1968, 126, ii, 22 is about the reception of a certain **11**. Nabû-šuma-iddina//Aqar-Nabû to the ranks of the temple enterers. All the temple enterers (*ērib bīti šeher u rabi*) formed the assembly (*kiništu*) of Ezida.

23. [xxx]/Nādinu^{lu} KU₄.É šá [^d+AG], time of Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal married a daughter of the Gambulean chief Bēl-iqīša/Bunānu (ABL 336 = Reynolds 2003, 56, cf. xxiii).

24. Zēr-Bābili/Šumâ//Ilūta-bani

Recorded between 6.VI.18 Nbk. II = 587/6 and 12.XII.7 Nab. = 549/8 BCE (see Joannès 1989, 37f.). He had a house near the Ninurta temple in Borsippa (see Zadok 2008, 88*f.) and a palm grove on Harru-ša-Apkallu according to YBC 9194 from 26.VI.30[+x?] Nbk. II = 575/4 BCE or slightly later. The Ninurta temple (É^dMAŠ) is also recorded in SC 89 from Borsippa, 13.I.34 Dar. I = 488/7 BCE (archive of Iddina-Nabû/Nabû-iddina; receipt for dates).

25. Nādinu/Nabû-kāšir//Ilūta-bani

BM 22088 - Borsippa, [Cyr./Camb.] 19.XII.0 (539/8 or 530/29 BCE?); archive of Šillāyu (Nabû-uballit/Etellu); promissory note for one mina and ten shekels of silver of Nabû-uballit (from the dowry of his wife, Kabtama-Mulliltu). It is charged against Nādinu with pledge: the debtor's house. This house was adjacent to the houses of the creditor's father and Nabû-ahhē-iddina/Ninurta-šuma-ibni//Ninurta-ušallim as well as to a commemorative stele (or plaque, *ú-sum-tú*, see Zadok 2008, 96*, 5). Is it incidental that a house of a temple enterer is located near a stele?

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The scribe belongs to the creditor's clan. The deed is witnessed by Nergal-iddina/Mār-Esaggila-bani//Gallābu and Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli/Mār-bīti-iqīša//Pūšāyu. It is slightly eroded in certain points and the postscript is severely damaged:

(1) '1' MA.NA '10' GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR ...] (2) šá^{md}+AG-TIN^{ti} A-šú šá^{me}-tel-lu [A^mGISSU-A+A] (3) AŠ UGU^mna-din A-šú šá^{md}+AG-KÁD A^mDINGIR-t[a-DÙ] (4) ^{lu}KU₄.É^d+AG É šá^mna-din A-šú šá^{md}+AG-^rK[Á]D' (5) A^mDINGIR-ta-DÙ šá DA É^{me}-tel-lu (6) A-šú šá^mšu-la-a A^mGISSU-A+A u DA (7) É^{md}+AG-PAP^{me}-MU A-šú šá^{md}MAŠ-MU-DÙ (8) A^{md}nin.urta-GI ù DA ú-sum-tú (9) maš-ka-nu šá^{md}+AG-TIN^{ti} A-šú šá (10) ^{me}-tel-lu A^mGISSU-A+A i-di É (11) ia-a-nu ù UR₅.RA KÙ.BABBAR ia-a-n[u] (r. 12) a-di KÙ.BABBAR-a₄ 1 MA.NA 10 [GÍN] (13) in-né-ṭe-ru ^{lu}TUK-ú šá-[nam-ma] (14) AŠ UGU^{hi} É ul i-šal-laṭ KÙ.BABBAR' nu-d[un-nu-ú] (15) šá^fkab-ta-ma-^dNIN.LÍL DAM šá^{rmd}+^r[AG-TIN^{ti}] (16) A-šú šá^{me}-tel-lu A^mGISSU-A+A ^{lu}mu-ki[n-nu] (17) ^{md}U+GUR-MU A-šú šá^mDUMU-é-sag-gil-la-DÙ [A] (18) ^{lu}ŠU.I ^{md}+AG-DU-A A-šú šá^{md}DUMU.É-BA šá <A?> ^{lu}TÚG.BABBAR (19) ^{lu}UMBISAG ^{md}+AG-DÙ-NUMUN A-šú šá^mšil-la-a A^mGISSU-A+A (20) bar-sip^{ki} ^{iti}ŠE U₄.20 1 LÁ.KAM (21) MU. .SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA ^m.x₁ [xx(x)] (x₁ku?-raš₁? or kam?-bu?-zi?-iá?) (u.e. 22) x (trace) [...] x (trace) [...] (23) .x^r (trace) [...] (24) šá^m[...]

26. Tabnē'a/Nabû-šuma-iddina//Ilu-bani

BM 82783 Borsippa, 11.II.5 Cyr.= 534/3 BCE; archive of Naggāru (debtor); receipt

(1) [4^r (?) [M]A^r. [N]A^r KÙ.BABBAR a-na UGU^{hi} (2) ^{md}+AG-MU-GI.NA DUMU-šú šá (3) ^{md}+AG-MU-MU A^{lu}NAGAR (4) AŠ ŠU^{II} ^mtab-né-e-a DUMU-šú šá (5) ^{md}+AG-MU-MU ^{lu}KU₄.É^d+AG (6) ^mŠEŠ-GI.NA DUMU-šú šá (lo.e. 7) ^{md}+UTU-ib-ni ma-hir (r. 8) ^{lu}mu-kin-nu ^{md}+AG-IBILA-SUM^{na} (9) DUMU-šú šá^{md}+AG-DU-NUMUN A^mMU-^dpap-sukkal (10) ^mMU-^d+AG DUMU-šú šá^mre-mut-^d+AG (11) DUMU (very long on purpose to fill the whole line!) ^mDA-^dAMAR.UTU (12) ^{lu}UMBISAG ^{md}+AG-BA šá <<DUB.SAR>> DUMU-šú šá (13) [^{md}+A]G-MU-ŠEŠ A^{lu}SIPA GU₄ (14) [b]ár-sipa^{ki} ^{iti}GU₄ U₄.11.KAM (u.e. 15)

[MU].5.KAM ^mkur-ra-áš LUGAL E^[ki] (16: indented). LUGAL KUR.KUR^{meš}

Translation: Four (?) minas of silver charged against Nabû-šumakīn/Nabû-šuma-iddina [or -nādin-šumi]/Naggāru were received by Aha-ukīn/Šamaš-ibni from Tabnē²a/Nabû-šuma-iddina, a temple enterer of Nabû. Witnesses: Nabû-apla-iddina/Nabû-(mu)kīn-zēri/Iddina-Papsukkal and Iddina-Nabû/Rēmūt-Nabû//Ile²i-Marduk; scribe: Nabû-iqīša/Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi)//Rē²i-alpē. Borsippa, month II, day ten, year five of Cyrus King of Babylon, King of (all) lands. The recipient presumably acted as the debtor's proxy. Tabnē²a has the same given and paternal names as a coeval descendant of Ilu-bani, who is recorded twelve years earlier (BM 25840 from Kār-Nabû, 3[+x?].VIb.10 Nab. = 546/5 BCE).

27. Šumâ//Tabnē²a//Ilu-bani

Possibly the son of the preceding. BM 17713 - 12.XI.25 Dar. I = 498/7 BCE; archive of Šumâ (text BA-ba/ma-a)//Ilu-bani (temple enterer of Ezida). Deed issued in the presence of two witnesses (Iddina-Bēl/Nabû-uballit and Libluṭ//Kidin-Sîn) for Nidintu/Rēmūt-Nabû//Kidin-Nanâ (kidin]-^dna-na-a) about wages in silver (presumably based on a work contract); a cashbox (*arānu*) is mentioned in a damaged context, possibly implying an institutional (temple?) connection. He is recorded as early as 16? Dar. I = perhaps 506/5 BCE (see Waerzeggers 2010, 75).

28. Nabû-šumu-līšir (see Zadok forthcoming, B, 24)

BM 28913 Borsippa, 24.XII.24 Dar. I = 499/8 BCE; Nanâ-damqat file; debtor: Ana-muhhi-Nabû-āmur slave (*qallu*) of Nabû-šumu-līšir the governor of Borsippa.

29. Nabû-šuma-ušur/Nabû-eṭīr-napšāti//Arkât-ilī-damqā and

30. Bēl-uballit/Ēdu-eṭīr are mentioned in BM 28877 from 8.II.1 Xer. = 485/4 BCE, archive of Bēliya²u (Šaddinnu/Balāssu, see Jursa 2010, 234). The contract is sealed by them (see below). They are listed before the witnesses (presumably preceded by [*ina mahar*]), like many such lists from the earlier period where the witnesses are preceded by the names of the governor of Borsippa and the chief temple administrator of

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Ezida (the former is sometimes a temple enterer and the latter is always such). This is a sale of a slave (Nabû-lū-šulum) by Lā-abāši-Marduk/Nādinu//Arkât-ilī-damqā to Šaddinnu for 132 shekels of white silver, of which 1/8 is alloy and 4.5 shekels, of which 1/8 is alloy, supplement. Lā-abāši-Marduk's name is inscribed on both hands and the left cheek of the slave. The first temple enterer belongs to the seller's clan. The third (preceded by [^{lú}m]u-kin-ni) and sixth witnesses belong to the clan of Ahiya²ūtu, whereas the fifth, seventh and the scribe are of the Kidin-Sîn clan (very probably of the buyer's circle). The eighth (last) witness is a descendant of Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli, possibly related to Šaddinnu. There are captions of seal impressions of the first two witnesses on u.e. and r.e., but no traces of such impressions on the well-preserved u.e. and the preserved section of r.e. Therefore the tablet is probably a copy.

(1) ^{<m>}la-a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU-šú šá ^mna-di-nu DUMU ^már-kát-DINGIR-SIG₅ (2) i-na hu-ud ŠÀ^{b[i]}-šú ^{md}+AG-lu-ú-šu-I[u]m ÍR-šú šá rit-ti-i-ši (3) i-mit-tu₄ ù šu-me-lu ù le-^re-ti [š]u-me-lu (4) [šá p]a-ni-šú a-na MU šá ^mla-a-^rba¹-ši-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU-šú (5) [šá] ^mna-din-nu A ^már-kát-DINGIR-SIG₅^{iq} šaṭ-ṭar-ru-[?] (6) 12 MA.NA 12 GÍN (i.e. 132 shekels) KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá [AŠ] 1 GÍN pit-qa (7) [nu-u]h-hu-tu a-na ši-me gam-ru-tu¹ a-na (8) [^mšad-di]n-nu₁ DUMU-šú šá ^mba-laṭ-su A ^mEN-ia-ú id-din (9) [KÙ.BABBAR-[?] 2/3] MA.NA 12 GÍN BABBAR-ú šá AŠ 1 GÍN pit-qa (10) [xx x]+DIŠ+DIŠ (=atru) ^mla-a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU DUMU šá ^mna-din-nu (11) [A ^már-kát-DIN]GIR-SIG₅ ši-me ^{md}+AG-lu-ú-šu-lum (followed by an erasure) ^{lú}ÍR (12) [KÙ.BABBAR-a]₄(?) i-na qa-ti ^mšad-din -nu A-šú šá ^mTIN-su (lo.e. 13) [A ^mEN-i]a-ú ma-hi-ir e-ṭi-ir AŠ u₄-mu (14) [pa-qa-r]u AŠ UGU^{hi} ^{md}+AG-lu-ú-šu-lum (15) [xx(x) ^mla]- i a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU ^{md}+AG-lu-ú-šu-lum ^{lú}ÍR-šú it-tab-šu-ú (16) [^mla]- i a-ba-ši-^dAMAR.UTU ^{md}+AG-lu-ú-šu-lum (17) [xx(x)] ^{lú}ÍR-ú-tu ú-mar-ra-qa-i-am-ma a-na (r.: small script 18). [^mšad-din]-nu A-šú šá ^mba-l[at-s]u A ^mEN-ia-ú i-na-ad-di-in (19) [(AŠ) IGI] ^{md}+AG-MU-ŠEŠ ^{lú}KU₄.É¹ ^d+AG DUMU-šú šá ^{md}+AG-SUR-ZI^{meš} A (continued on e.) ^mEGIR^{meš}-DINGIR^{meš}-SIG₅^{iq} (20) [(AŠ)

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IGI] ^{md}+EN-TIN^{it} lú¹KU₄.É ^d+AG A ^mAŠ-ŠUR (21) [lú¹m]u-kin-ni ^mmu-
šal-lim-^d+AG DUMU-šú šá ^{md}+AG-₁DU-₁NUMUN (22) A ^mŠEŠ-ia-^rú-
tu₄ ^{md}+AG-ÛRU-šú A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-šá-[kin?-MU?] (not -NUMUN-
SUM^{na}!) (23) ^rA ^{m.lú}EN-ušumgal ^{md}+AG-ú-šib-ši (=ušebši, šib being a
CVC sign) A-šú šá ^m[x x] -₁x(x)-al (24) A ^mki-din-^dXXX ^mba-si-ia A-šú
šá ^{md}+^r[EN/AG-ú-b]al-liṭ (25) A ^mŠEŠ-i]a-ú-tu ^mbul-ṭa-a A-šú šá ^mx-
[x]- ₁x₁ A ^mki-din-^dXXX (26) ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-šub-ši A-šú šá ^mba-lat-su A
^m[^d+AG¹-DU-A

(little space)

(27) ^{md}+EN-KAR^{ir} DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá ^{md}+AG-ta-ri-iṣ (28) A ^mki-
din-^dXXX (29) bár-sipa^{ki} iti^{iti}GU₄ U₄.8.KAM MU.1.KAM (30) ₁ak-ši-ia-
ar-šú LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR^{meš} (u.e. 31) ^{na4}KIŠIB (32)
^{md}+AG-MU-ŠEŠ (33) lú¹KU₄.É ^d+AG (r.e. 34) ^{na4r}KIŠ[IB] (35) ^{md}+EN-
TIN^{it} (36) lú¹KU₄.É₁ [^d+AG]

Most of r.e. is damaged; no traces of a seal impression are visible in the preserved section.

(b) Of Mār-bīti (2)

1. Bēl-ēreš//Naggāru, 15th witness (after temple enterers of Nabû and Nanâ and before a temple enterer of Sutītu) on 12.III.753/2 BCE (VS 1, 36 = Thureau-Dangin 1919, iii, 25).

2. Iddinâ/Lā-abâši received sheep according to BM 82670 from IV and VII (probably 24 Dar. I = 498/7 BCE (see Zadok 2009, 250). Waerzeggers 2010, 76, reads ^dza-ba₄-ba₄ instead of ^dA.É, but Dr. Y. Mitsuma kindly collated the tablet on my behalf and confirmed my reading.

(c) Of Nanâ (4)

1. Ahhē²a//Arkât-ilī-damqā;

2. Dummuqu//Iddina-Papsukkal;

3. Zērūtu//Iddina-Papsukkal;

All are recorded as the 12th-14th witnesses (after temple enterers of Nabû and before a temple enterer of Mār-bīti) on 12.III.753/2 BCE (VS 1, 36 = Thureau-Dangin 1919, iii, 12-14).

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4. Balātu/Nabû-šuma-iškun//Nūr-Papsukkal is the debtor in an unpublished promissory note (SC 45 -beige, horizontally oriented, 36x30x19mm.) from Ālu-ša-Nabû-šuma-ukīn, 10.XII.1 Nab (presumably XIIa as this year has an intercalary Addar = 555/4 BCE). It belongs to the archive of Gallābu (Nabû-šuma-ukīn/Marduk-šuma-ibni, creditor; debtor: Balātu/Nabû-šuma-iškun//Nūr-Papsukkal). The barley is to be delivered in II (i.e. after the harvest, within c. 80 days). The scribe belongs to the clan of the archive holder:

(1) ʾ1 (PI) 4 BĀN ŠE.BAR šá^{md}+AG-MU-DU (2) A-šú šá^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DÛ A^{lú}ŠU.I (3) AŠ UGU^{hi} mba-la-ṭu (4) A-šú šá^{md}+AG-MU-GAR^{un} A^mZĀLAG-^dpap-sukkal (5) AŠ^{iti}GU₄ ŠE.BAR TIL-tú šá la UR₅. ʾR[A] (6) AŠ ma-ši-hu šá^{md}+AG-MU-DU (lo.e. 7) AŠ UGU^{hi} 1+et rit-tu₄ (8) AŠ URU šá^{md}+AG-MU-DU (r. 9: centred). i-nam.-d[in] (10) ^{lú}mu-kin-n[u^{ml}d+EN(?)]-[x A-šú šá]^{md}+AG-NUMUN-DÛ (11) ʾA^mM[U(?)]-^dpap-[sukka]l^{lml}x.-DINGIR¹ (?) (12) ʾA-[šú] ʾšá^mAŠ-SÛH-SUR^{lú}UMBISAG^m[x]-nu (13) A-šú šá^mmu-še-zib-^d+AG A^{lú}ŠU.I (14) URU šá^{md}+AG-MU-DU^{iti}ŠE (15) U₄.10.KAM MU.1.KAM (u.e. 16) ^d+A[G]- ʾI LUGAL TIR.TIR^{ki} (le.e. 17) A-šú šá^{md}+AG-MU-GAR^{un} (18) ^{lú}KU₄. ʾÉ^dna-na-a presumably referring to the debtor Balātu)

Translation: 0;1.4 kor of barley of Nabû-šuma-ukīn//Marduk-šuma-ibni//Gallābu charged against Balātu/Nabû-šuma-iškun//Nūr-Papsukkal. In month II he will deliver the barley in its entirety, without interest, in the measure of Nabû-šuma-ukīn in Ālu-ša-Nabû-šuma-ukīn in one installment. Witnesses:

Bēl(?)-[x]/Nabû-zēra-ibni//Id[dina](?)- Pap[sukkal] and [x]-ilu(?)/Inatēšī-ētir; scribe: [x]-nu/Mušēzib-Nabû//Gallābu; place (named after the creditor, cf. Ālu-šá -Nabû-zēra-ukīn from 544/3 or 543/2 BCE, BM 85580, which is named after his son) and date. Postscript: <Bālātu>/Nabû-šuma-iškun, a temple enterer of Nanā.

(d) of Suṭītu (1)

Nabû-šuma-iškun//Arkât-ilī-damqā, 16th witness (after the temple enterers of Nabû-Nanâ and Mār-bīti) on 12.III.753/2 BCE (VS 1, 36 = Thureau-Dangin 1919, iv, 1).

(e) Unspecified temple enterers of the Ezida complex (2)

Such are also mentioned (the earliest occurrence is on 12.III.753/2 BCE). 1. Iqīšâ/Iddina-Nabû//Ilu-bani, temple enterer of ^d[...] acted as the 1st witness (out of eight) in an unpublished deed (EAH 254, cf. E. Gehlken *apud* Waerzeggers 2010, 76). He is datable sometime between 512 and 503 BCE seeing that the deed belongs to the *upiyati*-dossier of the Rē'i-alpē archive.- 2. Kiribtu/Sîn-šēmi is recorded on 17.III.2 Xer. = 484/3 BCE (Jursa and Weszeli 2004, implicitly from Borsippa; with his nailmark).

2.2. Other prominent Borsippans

Nabû-ēreš brother of Nabû-lē²i together with (anonymous) 15 Borsippan citizens (DUMU^{meš} *bār-sipa*^{ki}) arrived at Sippar en route to Nineveh for a royal audience in the time of Sargon (presumably towards its end, c. 709-705 BCE, Fuchs and Parpola 2001, 226, cf. 228, where a Borsippan is recorded in a broken context, cf. also xxi for the correspondence of Šarru-ēmuranni). Other (free) citizens (*mārē bane* = DUMU^{meš} DÙ^{meš}) from Borsippa are mentioned in the time of Esarhaddon (Cole and Machinist 1998, 60). The Borsippan citizen Bēl-iddina is recorded then in Luukko and Van Buylaere 2002, 21; 153 is a letter from a Borsippan gentlewoman.

2.3. The lowermost echelon

BM 27960 Borsippa, 5.IX.3 Cyr. = 536/5 BCE; archive of Ilīya (Marduk-suma-ibni/Šulâ); hire of the wet-nurse Nanâ-ittīya daughter of Habašīru (her task is described as *mušēniqūtu*):

light brown, horizontally oriented, 38x27x17mm.;

(1) i-di šá mu-še-ni-qu-tu (2) šá ^{fd}na-na-a-it-ti-^fia (3) DUMU.MUNUS-su šá ^mhab-ši-ru ^{lu}ši-rik ^d+AG (4) i-na pa-ni ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A-šú šá ^mšu-la-a A ^mDINGIR-iá (5) [š]á a-di qí-it šá ^{iti}AB (6) ^mhab-ši-ru AD šá ^{fd}na-na-a-KL-iá (lo.e. 7)AŠ ŠU^{II} ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ (8) e-

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ṭi-ir (r. 8) ^{lú}mu-kin-ni ^mmu-še-zib-^d+AG (9) [A-š]ú šá ^mmar-duk A
^{lú}AD.GUB₅

(space)

(10) ^{lú}UMBISAG ^{md}+AG-DA A ^mDINGIR-ía (11) bár-sipa^{ki} ittiGAN U₄
 .5.KAM (12) MU.3.KAM ^mkur-raš LUGAL KUR^{mes}

The payment in silver was received by her father. This conforms to the general practice: a father hires out his daughter, the length of the contract is one year (“until weaning”, cf. BE 8, 47, see San Nicolò 1935, 22f.). According to Roth 1989-90, 36, n. 149, wet-nurses in Mesopotamia during the 1st-millennium BCE generally were of servile status (see also Wunsch 2003-04, 211f.). The father of the wet-nurse Nanâ-ittīya was an oblate of the Ezida temple. The oblates of Ezida included also šušanites, notably Nabû-iši-rēma, who received 1;1 kor of barley and one kor of dates according to BM 102279 (less than the baker and the butcher, cf. above, 1.1.3.1, 1.1.3.4; the two mothers received less than the baker and the butcher but more than the šušanite). At least one of the numerous scribes recorded in 1st millennium Borsippa was an oblate of Ezida (Itti-Nabû-nahiš/Gūzānu, 9.IX.8 Dar I = 514/3 BCE, BM 103592, 21f., where he acts as principal as well; his status is defined in BM 82697 and other documents of the straw dossier of the Rē²i-alpē archive). The surname Širik-Nabû (^{lú}šⁱ-rik^d+AG, e.g. BM 96346, 14) “oblate of Nabû” is recorded in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE.

BM 102318 from Borsippa, 22?.VIII.31 Nbk. II = 574/3 BCE is a promissory note (Ilīya archive) about service in the quay, including supply of bricks. They are charged against Nabû-bēšunu. Cf. Jursa 1999, 100f., where corvee workmen (*urāšu*), performers of bow service are employed in irrigation projects.

Witnesses: Nabû-bān-ahi/Šuma-ukīn//Ea-ibni; Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-ahi)/Nabû-na²id//Ea-imbi; scribe: Nabû-šuma-iškun/Mār-bīti-ahhē-iddina//Ša-rēš-ummāni.

The only prisoner of war (^rlúš^á-al-lu₄¹), who is recorded in Borsippa, is Šamaš-iddina. He belonged to the prominent Borsippan Zēr-Bābili//Ea-

ilūta-bani, who employed him in his palm grove and might have given him a Babylonian name (26.V.1 Nerigl. = 559 BCE, TuM 2/3, 156, 7, see Joannès 1989, 70.212f. *ad loc.*).

A royal slave is the creditor in BM 29238 from Borsippa, 11.X.0 Camb. = 530/29 BCE, archive of Šillāyu (Nabû-uballiṭ/Etellu). It is a promissory note for straw of Nabû-uballiṭ charged against Nabû-šumakīn (?) the royal slave. To be delivered in month III(?, i.e. -if the reading is correct- within over five months) in the creditor's house. Witnessed by Nabû-ēṭir/Esaggil-iddina//E?-x' [...] and Itti-Nabû-balāṭu/Šamaš-ahhē(?)-erība//Rē?i-sīsê; scribe: Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli/Esaggil-zēru//Ēṭeru.

2.4. Age categories

BM 29409 archive of the Borsippan Bēliya²u (Šaddinnu/Balāssu, time of Dar. I): list of personnel. Five individuals (including Šaddinnu) are defined as KAL = *itbāru* “full grown” (cf. Jursa 1995, 36 *ad 8*' and BM 25663), two as three years old, one as a weaned child (*pirsu*, i.e. less than three years old) and one as an old man. Regarding *pirsu*, Radner 1997, 130f. is of the opinion that the definition “weaned” in NA depends on the physical growth and development of the child rather than his age, but according to this muster list, LB *pirsu* applies to children aged less than three years. Children aged three years were defined as *rabû* “growing, adolescent” in NB/LB Uruk (see Kessler 2002; Zadok 2009, 216; Waerzeggers 2010, 516-517:104).

BM 25663 -brown, horizontally oriented, 62x43x20mm.

(1) ^mšad-din-nu A-šú šá ^mba-laṭ-su KAL (2) ^mbul-lu-ṭa-a A-šú KAL (3) ^{md}+AG-MU-DU A ^m[bu]l-[ṭ]a-[a x]-ṛgu? (||29409: *pirsu*) (4) ^mid-di-ia [A-šú šá ^{md}]+ A[G(?)]-ṛxxx (should be -DU-A; but what is preserved at the end of the line looks quite different) (5) ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-n[u] A-šú KAL (||29409: Nabû-ittannu) (6) ^{md}+AG-TIN-su A 3 (lo.e. 7) ^{md}+AG-ṛKAR-ZI^{mes} (r. 8, indented) A ^{md}+AG-DU-IBILA KAL (9) ^mba-si-ia A-šú KAL (10) ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-na A-šú A 3 (lo.e. 8) ^{md}+AG-bul-liṭ-ṭa A-šú A 3 (11) ^{md}+AG-KAR-ZI^{mes} A ^{md}+AG-DU-A A ^mGÌR^{II}-

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DINGIR-i[a KAL] (12) AŠ da-A+A-lu-ú-tu šá ^{md}+EN-_LM[U(?)](xx)
(13) ^mba-si-ia A-šú KAL (14) ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-na A-[š]ú A 3 (13)
PAP 5 KAL[;] 2 A 3 [;] 1 pir- su (text ZU)[;] 1 AB.BA ^{mu}

3. Elementary statistics and some summarizing remarks

Unlike the abundant documentation of the main prebendal occupations, i.e. those of the purveyors (but not all of them: no prebendary oil-presser is mentioned by name), the number of the remaining prebendaries (measurers, gatekeepers, arrangers, goldsmiths, jewellers, sack makers, washermen and barbers) on record is negligible (each is represented by one named individual only). The nine boatmen are very few compared with the hundreds (c. 650) of priests in the purveying professions. Very few reed workers are known by name. The three holders of the fisherman's prebend were not necessarily professional and active fishermen. Moreover, weavers, diviners and cultic performers are anonymous. Altogether one encounters just 20 individuals with prebendal occupations outside the best-represented purveying professions. Non-prebendal craftsmen are poorly represented in Borsippa during the 1st millennium BCE. Only one individual is recorded in the following occupations: guards, master builders, tailors, shepherds, horseherds and merchants (or commercial agents). The remaining occupations were also practised by very few individuals (in ascending order): carpenters (6), smiths (3) and stone cutters (possibly 3). On the whole, among the thousands of individuals recorded in the abundant Borsippian documentation only 16 named non-prebendal craftsmen are recorded. This is because no institutional (temple or palatine), but only private (basically familial) archives were found in Borsippa. As expected members of the Borsippian elite are over-represented whereas dependent classes (notably slaves and oblates) are mostly anonymous. It is odd to find a non-Semitic term applying to a basic (not highly specialized) occupation such as carriers (sg. *atkallušu*, see Jursa and Weszeli 1996; Jursa 1997, 113). Has it anything to do with the hypothetical foreign extraction of carriers in Babylonia? Perhaps a

modern analogy is in place here: in recent times, many carriers in Iraqi urban centres originated from the Zagros.

4. Appendix: More on the topography of Borsippa and its region

Abul gišši (Zadok 2008, 85*, 1-2.9) is recorded (without the ground word *abullu*) in the unpublished administrative receipt SC 52 (beige, horizontally oriented, 29x21x15mm.) from IX.19 Nbk. II = 586/5 BCE. It records the delivery of 1000 kiln-fired bricks by Nabû-ahhē-iddina//Kudurrānu (archive holder) for construction work on the quay located there:

(1) LIM a-gur-rù (2) ^{md}+AG-PAP^{mc}-MU A ^mku-du-ra-nu (3) a-na e-pe-šú šá ka-a-rù (4) šá UGU gi-iš-šú (5) it-ta-din (lo.e. 6) GAN (not preceded by ^{iti}) MU.19.KAM (no day) (r. 7) ^{md}+AG-NÍG.DU-ÛRU (8) LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}; large space left; in about its centre there is a drawing).

Til-la-bu-(ú-)tu₄ is the same place as *Til-būr̄ti* (Til-būri, Zadok 2006, 397-399, 413) with omission of *-r-*.

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