


2017

# Garments, Parts of Garments, and Textile Techniques in the Assyrian Terminology: The Neo-Assyrian Textile Lexicon in the 1st-Millennium BC Linguistic Context

Salvatore Gaspa  
*University of Copenhagen*

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/texterm>

 Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), [Art and Materials Conservation Commons](#), [Classical Archaeology and Art History Commons](#), [Classical Literature and Philology Commons](#), [Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts Commons](#), [Indo-European Linguistics and Philology Commons](#), [Jewish Studies Commons](#), [Museum Studies Commons](#), [Near Eastern Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

---

Gaspa, Salvatore, "Garments, Parts of Garments, and Textile Techniques in the Assyrian Terminology: The Neo-Assyrian Textile Lexicon in the 1st-Millennium BC Linguistic Context" (2017). *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*. 3.  
<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/texterm/3>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Centre for Textile Research at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

# Garments, Parts of Garments, and Textile Techniques in the Assyrian Terminology: The Neo- Assyrian Textile Lexicon in the 1st-Millennium BC Linguistic Context

**Salvatore Gaspa**, University of Copenhagen

In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the  
Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*,  
ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, & Marie-Louise  
Nosch (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), pp. 47-90.

doi:10.13014/K27S7KXZ

Copyright © 2017 Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, &  
Marie-Louise Nosch.

Photographs copyright as noted.



# Garments, Parts of Garments, and Textile Techniques in the Assyrian Terminology: The Neo-Assyrian Textile Lexicon in the 1st-Millennium BC Linguistic Context\*

Salvatore Gaspa

[išp]arākma qê amahhaš ulabbaš ummānamma

[I a]m a weaver and beat up the threads. I clothe the troops.

*Tamarisk and Date Palm* (BWL 156, IM 53975 r.5)

At its political and territorial apex in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, Assyria developed into an imperial society characterised by the co-existence of languages and cultures of various origins. The policy of deporting and resettling conquered peoples across the Empire's territory caused the spread of the Aramaic language and alphabetic script as well as the use of Aramaic as a co-official language alongside Akkadian. The linguistic change caused by these events in the Empire's core territory emerges from the late stage of the Assyrian dialect, which shows the impact of Aramaic on various grammatical and lexical elements of the language. At the same time, Neo-Assyrian maintained continuous contact with the Neo-Babylonian dialect, the language spoken by numerous individuals employed in the state sector as scribes, scholars, and officials.

The study of the lexicon of material culture may reveal how these social and linguistic changes shaped the everyday language that emerges from Neo-Assyrian letters, administrative records, and legal

documents. For the terminology of textiles, it is interesting to observe the coexistence of terms belonging to the common Akkadian textile terminology with designations that are peculiar to the late dialects of Akkadian (1st millennium BC), namely Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian. Other terms, which are genuinely Assyrian, show continuity across the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods. A West Semitic component of the Neo-Assyrian textile terminology is also evident, along with terms possibly belonging to the Hurrian substratum, presumably inherited from the Middle Assyrian dialect, and others of unknown origin.

To judge from the statements in the royal annals of Assyrian kings concerning tribute and booty from the West Semitic sector, textile products from the Syrian region were highly esteemed by Assyrians. For instance, Tukultī-Ninurta II (890-884 BC) records the receipt of woven cloths and dark purple wool from Laqē, while linen garments with multi-coloured trim were a common product acquired by Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) and other kings from these regions,

\* This study is part of a research project on the terminology of textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire carried out by the author at the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen in the period 2013-2015. Financial support for this study has been provided by the Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship within the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Commission for research activities at the University of Copenhagen (ASTEX Project no. 36539). The *Danmarks Grundforskningsfond* / Danish National Research Foundation (DNRF 64) is also acknowledged for this support.

such as Bēt-Zammāni. Red-dyed wool garments with multi-coloured trim were also a major portion of the Western textile products obtained by the Assyrians, as evidenced by those from Sam'al and Damascus, mentioned in the royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) and Adad-nērārī III (810-783 BC) respectively. All of these references demonstrate the value of Western dyed wool and linen products and the Assyrian interest in controlling the rich local textile production.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to surmise that the expertise of deported textile artisans from the West Semitic area was put to use by the Assyrian ruling elite in state-controlled textile workshops, thereby integrating Western traditions of textile manufacture with Assyrian and Mesopotamian traditions.<sup>2</sup> Presumably, these workshops, located in the main royal households of the Assyrian cities, employed artisans of various provenances and cultural backgrounds. In light of the Aramatisation affecting various sectors of Assyrian society and state organisation, which reached its apex in the 7th century BC, it is clear that the languages used in these textile workshops were Assyrian and Aramaic. All of the technical phases of the textile *chaîne opératoire*, from wool sorting to spinning, from weaving to dyeing, were certainly mirrored by a bilingual terminology. Unfortunately, the extant written documents on clay tablets record only a small fraction of the presumably rich bilingual vocabulary used by these artisans. We know that record-keeping in the Empire's *bureaux* during the 8th and 7th centuries makes use not only of Assyrian cuneiform on clay tablets or wooden (or ivory) waxed board-books but also Aramaic script on flexible material, namely scrolls, presumably of leather or papyrus.<sup>3</sup> The textiles produced for internal consumption by the Assyrian ruling elite and state sector as well as those produced for export were regularly recorded in administrative documents by the scribes. However, the parallel administrative records of these textiles on Aramaic scrolls have not survived. Consequently, our

ignorance of the Aramaic component of the aforementioned Assyro-Aramaic textile vocabulary—at least the one that entered the language of the administrators—renders any attempt to reconstruct the textile lexicon of the Neo-Assyrian Empire limited and partial. In addition to the Aramaic component, Assyrian imperial society of the 7th century BC was enriched by other ethnic groups, such as Elamites, Egyptians, Anatolians, Urartians and peoples from the Iranian area, not to mention other Semitic components, such as Levantines and Arabs. We are totally ignorant of the impact that the languages of these groups, which immigrated into the main cities of the Empire, had on the Assyrian terminology of material culture, especially textiles. It is reasonable to assume that special foreign textile products that were peculiar to their regions of origin were named in accordance with their original designations. However, the assimilation of these foreign groups and their backgrounds of technical terms into the Assyro-Aramaic culture of the Empire is another important process that was at work in this period. This process of unification and standardisation is visible in the case of foreign products (acquired by the Assyrians in the form of tribute or booty) that are named using Akkadian terms.

In the present contribution, observations on Neo-Assyrian textile terminology will concern garments and parts of garments.<sup>4</sup> For a limited number of terms, it is possible to identify the textile techniques after which the end products were named, although the available evidence does not enable us to reach definite conclusions regarding this aspect of the textile production.

### Producing and defining garments in Assyria

Garments and other items of clothing were produced in Assyria through the work-assignment system (*iškāru*), namely, through assignment of raw materials from the state to textile artisans, who were obliged

1. Lipiński 2000, 539-540.

2. Among the *sihirti ummānī*, 'all the craftsmen', who were brought out from the enemy's palace and deported to Assyria by the Assyrian kings there were also textile artisans. For references to deported foreign craftsmen in Sennacherib's royal inscriptions see, e.g., RINAP 3/1, 1:33; 17 i 38 and *passim*.

3. The visual evidence of Neo-Assyrian scribes holding scrolls and pens has been recently reviewed in Reade 2012, 702-704, figs. 1, 5-7, 9-11, 15, 16.

4. Terms designating head-gear are not included in this study.

to produce and return a certain quantity of finished products. Other textile end products were imported from abroad through trading by state merchants. Reconstructing the terminology of the weaving process and of tools used in the fabrication of garments is difficult since the majority of textile designations in Neo-Assyrian texts refer to finished products. In terms of weaving tools, the archaeological evidence for spherical clay loom weights and remains of carbonised wood from what had probably been a loom from the Neo-Assyrian site of Khirbet Khatunyeh<sup>5</sup> confirms that warp-weighted vertical looms were in use in Assyria.<sup>6</sup> Among the objects found at this site were also a wooden object, possibly a weaver's 'shuttle'<sup>7</sup> or bobbin and a flat bone spatula, pointed at one end, which has been interpreted as a 'beater-in' by Curtis and Green, although the correct designation would be 'weft-beater'.<sup>8</sup> Other weaving tools comprise clay spindle whorls.<sup>9</sup> Tools related to weaving and dyeing activities, such as loom weights, bone spatulae, and terracotta dyeing vats, were found at Til Barsip (Tell Ahmar).<sup>10</sup> All of these items were common equipment for textile artisans of the Neo-Assyrian period. For a number of these textile tools, it is possible to identify the term used by artisans. The dyeing vat, for instance, was called *našraptu* in Akkadian,<sup>11</sup> but we do

not know what loom weights were called in this language. For other items used by textile artisans, however, some suggestions can be made. Terms for the loom and its parts are not attested in the Neo-Assyrian corpus but only in lexical lists and in other periods of the Akkadian documentation. The translations given in the dictionaries are generic. Terms referring to parts of the loom were also used to designate parts of doors, indirectly confirming the use of vertical looms in Mesopotamia. Identification of different components of the loom is extremely difficult since the occurrences are predominantly attested, if not exclusively limited, to lexical sources (the lexical series HAR-ra = *hubullu*). We may reconsider the Akkadian terminology in light of what is known about the horizontal ground loom and the vertical loom. The *asû*, of which an upper (*elû*) and a lower (*šaplû*) variety are known,<sup>12</sup> probably refers to the heddle-bar and the shed-bar in the vertical loom and to the front and back beams in the horizontal loom.<sup>13</sup> The words *habbiru*, literally 'the noisy one',<sup>14</sup> and *madakku*, literally 'the crushing one',<sup>15</sup> probably refer to the weft beater. The item called *nîru*, literally 'the yoke, crossbeam',<sup>16</sup> could be identified with the shed-bar,<sup>17</sup> while the *nanšû*, could be the heddle-bar.<sup>18</sup> Giving the meaning of *akaiû* as a stick for driving donkeys,<sup>19</sup> it is possible that it refers to the sharp pointed

5. Curtis & Green 1997, 18-19 and fig. 22. The best preserved of these loom weights show considerable variation in diameter (from c. 6.0 to 7.2 cm), height (from c. 4.0 to 6.3 cm), and weight (from c. 126 to 218 g). See also *ibidem* 21 and fig. 25 (nos. 93, 96).

6. Pieces of warp-weighted looms are generally found in the Aegean area, Anatolia and the Levant. On the warp-weighted loom see Ellis 1976, 76; Barber 1991, 99-113; Völling 2008, 126-131; Andersson Strand 2015, 52-54.

7. Curtis & Green 1997, 20 and fig. 23 (no. 76).

8. Curtis & Green 1997, 20 and fig. 23 (no. 77). But note that the authors define the beater-in as a tool used to press down the weft thread after it has been threaded through the warp threads. This is not correct, since on a warp-weighted loom the wefts are passed upwards, not downwards, and the weft is beaten upwards. On the use of weft-beaters see Andersson Strand 2015, 52.

9. Curtis & Green 1997, 21 and fig. 25 (nos. 90-92). For a copper alloy needle from Level 3 see *ibidem* fig. 25 (no. 87).

10. See Bunnens 1997, 21.

11. CAD N/II, 51b s.v. *našraptu* B.

12. CAD A/II, 347b s.v. *asû* B.

13. These parts probably correspond to the *rās en-nōl* and *qā' en-nōl* of the horizontal loom used by Bedouins today. See Staubli 2012, 91 fig. 85.

14. CAD H, 14b translates the term as 'wool-lever'.

15. CAD M/I, 9a s.v. *madakku* 2.

16. CAD N/II, 263b s.v. *nîru* A 3b.

17. In the horizontal loom, still used by nomads in present-day Middle East, the loom's 'yoke' is called *minjar*. See Staubli 2012, 91 fig. 85.

18. The dictionaries suggest that the *nansû* was the 'lever'. See CAD N/I, 261b. For *maššû*, a variant of *nanšû*, see CAD M/I, 390b s.v. *maššû* A 2.

19. CAD K, 42a s.v. *kajû* 1; CDA, 154b.



stick or spatula used by the weaver as a beater. As for *mukānu* (from the verb *kānu*, ‘to be firm’?),<sup>20</sup> it could be another candidate for the shed-bar. Words for ‘shuttle’ or bobbin are *(w)āšītu*, literally ‘that which goes out’,<sup>21</sup> *mušabbītu*,<sup>22</sup> *šīšītu*, of which a large (*rabītu*), a small (*šihirtu*), a *ša paršikti* and a strong (*puggultu*) variety are used,<sup>23</sup> and *ukū*.<sup>24</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that the word *šīšītu* refers to the harness or the heddle of the loom.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know how all of these weaving tools were called in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC since the authors of the written records registering textiles were apparently not interested in the everyday tools used by artisans in the workshops.

Although the terms for textile tools used in Neo-Assyrian workshops remain unknown, we know from the written sources that the Assyrian artisans produced a wide variety of clothing items, such as garments, headdresses, and other textile accessories. Many of these clothes were produced for the palace elite, including royal women. Even if there are few indications of female garments in Neo-Assyrian texts, it is clear that a portion of the palace-controlled textile industry and international trade was determined by the demand for such textiles by women of the royal family. Already in the Middle Assyrian period, we see

that special textiles were produced for palace women, as evidenced by a Tell Ali text mentioning 30 minas of wool for the production of three Cypriot(-like?) *lubēru*-garments for six women.<sup>26</sup> When it comes to designations for garments, we may observe that Neo-Assyrian scribes still use common textile designations such as *labussu* (*lubussu*, *lubultu*, *lubuštu*),<sup>27</sup> *lubāru*,<sup>28</sup> and *šubātu*<sup>29</sup> to refer to garments in general terms. In contrast to CAD,<sup>30</sup> it seems that the last term was also used in Middle Assyrian period as a syllabic writing of the plural logography TÚG.HI.A.<sup>31</sup>

Given that the Ancient Near Eastern costume is, in Durand’s words, an ‘ensemble vestimentaire’,<sup>32</sup> that is, a unity constituted by multiple items of clothing that, presumably, varied across time, region, and social strata, it is possible that the generic term also referred to the main and visually dominant item of clothing worn by a person. In addition to the aforementioned names, terms for specific textile items could also be employed to designate a plurality of garments. Generic terms used to sum up textile products at the end of an enumeration of garments in inventory texts are *mihšu* (logographically written as TÚG.PA), ‘textile, woven fabric’ (from the verb *mahašu*, ‘to beat, weave’),<sup>33</sup> and *kuzippu* or *guzippu* (of unknown origin), probably simply intended as

20. CAD M/II, 183a. The etymology of the word is not indicated in the dictionaries.

21. CAD A/II, 356a s.v. *āšītu* 8. This implement was also called *iš nīri*, see *ibidem* in lexical section.

22. CAD M/II, 240b s.v. *mušabbītu* 1. The terms *āšītu* and *šīšītu* are variants of this word.

23. See CAD S, 214b in lexical section. For the translation of *šīšītu* as ‘shuttle’ see CDA, 339b.

24. CAD U-W, 58a.

25. CAD S, 214b.

26. Ismail & Postgate 2008, 172, no. 22:1-2 30 MA.NA SÍG.MEŠ / *a-na 3 lu-be-ri a-la-zi-a-e / a-na 6 MÍ.MEŠ a-na e-pa-še ta-ad-na*. See also *ibidem* 9 for one talent of wool for other female items of clothing.

27. SAA 2, 2 iv 15; 6:374; SAA 3, 34:30; SAA 7, 63 ii 9, 11; SAA 10, 189:9; 287:4, 6; 356:6; SAA 12, 36:17; SAA 13, 176:9, r.4, 11; 186 r.4; SAA 17, 186:9; Menzel 1981, no. 22 ii 9.

28. SAA 12, 83:13’. For Middle Assyrian attestations, see, e.g., KAJ 256:1, 9; *Iraq* 35 T.13, 1:22 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 85) and discussion in Postgate 2014, 419.

29. SAA 3, 7:13; 35:20; SAA 4, 23 r.3; SAA 8, 38:5; SAA 10, 238:14; SAA 11, 24 r.7; SAA 12, 35:26; 85 r.33; SAA 17, 11 r.5; 34 r.12; 69 r.14; 122:16; SAA 18, 183 r.5; 187 r.13; StAT 3, 1:1, 16; ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X); ND 2687 e.12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII) and *passim*. For Middle Assyrian attestations, see, e.g., MARV X, 6:21’; 36:3; 45:8’; 53:3; 64 r.14’; 79:3; 82:1, 2, r.10 (all texts edited in StAT 5) and Postgate 2014, 423 for discussion.

30. CAD L, 228b.

31. Donbaz 1991, A 1722:1-2. See Postgate 2014, 423.

32. Durand 2009, 12.

33. CTN 2, 1:12’ (*dappastu*, SI.LUH, *kišiptu*, *nahlaptu*, *ša hīli*, *hulsu*, *gulēnu*, and *gammīdu*); Billa 71:7 (JCS 7 [1953], 137. The broken part of the line must be completed as TÚG.mi-[*ih-ši*]; this term is referred to the following textile products: *kusītu*, *ša hīli* and *zārāte*); ND 2672:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387: the term is referred to the textiles called *kitū* and *saddīnu*); SAA 7,

‘garment’ (see below). The beating operation referred to in the root *mḥš* is basically associated with the weaver’s use of weaving tools like the weaving swords and pin-beaters or weft-beaters. These tools, usually made of bone, served to unravel knots or remove impurities, position the weft correctly and tighten some points of the weft.<sup>34</sup> The word *mihšu* is used as a generic term in both Assyrian and Babylonian dialects of the 1st millennium BC.<sup>35</sup> In Assyria, it refers to a wide variety of garments and other finished textile products in texts from Kalhu (Nimrud),<sup>36</sup> Šibaniba (Tell Billa),<sup>37</sup> Nineveh (Kuyunjik),<sup>38</sup> and Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe).<sup>39</sup> This use is already present in Middle Assyrian times, as shown by a document listing amounts of wool and summarising the textile end products as *mihšu*.<sup>40</sup> Instead, at the end of a list from Assur (Qal‘at Šerqāt), we find the word *kuzippu* having the same meaning as *mihšu*. In this case, the generic term refers to elements of clothing and other textiles coming from abroad, namely from the city or the region of Hamath (in present-day central Syria).<sup>41</sup> The semantic value of the word *kuzippu* as a generic textile term has already been

recognised by Radner<sup>42</sup> and Villard.<sup>43</sup> This use of the word *kuzippu* is confirmed by a letter sent by Urad-Gula to the Assyrian king, where different garments, collectively defined as *kuzippu*, is said to have comprised *gulēnus*, *kitûs*, and *maklulu*-garments.<sup>44</sup> In a fragmentary inventory text from Nineveh we find both *mihšu* and *kuzippu* at the end of a list of clothing items; the former is probably used to sum up all the linen garments, while the latter as a generic term for garments in the grand total section of the document.<sup>45</sup> The use of both terms as collective designations for textiles in the same text probably indicates a certain degree of specialization of the words *mihšu* and *kuzippu*, but conclusive observations about this aspect cannot be made in light of the extant Neo-Assyrian sources. In any case, these two terms were the common designations for textiles transported for trade. Usually, textiles were transported as wrapped in rolls with attached clay sealings or labels describing the contents of the shipment.<sup>46</sup> The practice of gathering garments into rolls, called with the Aramaic loanword *kirku*, is documented in dowry lists both in Assyria<sup>47</sup> and in Babylonia.<sup>48</sup>

---

108 r. ii' 1', 2' (various textiles of which only the designation *urnutu* is preserved); ZTT II, 33:8 (*elītu*, *maklulu*, *šupālītu halluptu*, *ša IŠ*, *iahilu*, and *datāiu*). But note that Postgate does not consider *mihšu* to be the Akkadian reading of the logogram PA. See Postgate 1973, 28. See also Postgate 2014, 407, commenting on the handling of felt in Middle Assyrian period, where he interprets the occurrence of this logographic writing as referring to sticks.

34. Peyronel 2004, 66.

35. For the Neo-Babylonian *mihšu* see Beaulieu 2003, 15.

36. CTN 2, 1:12'; ND 2672:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387).

37. Billa 71:7 (JCS 7 [1953], 137).

38. Ki 1904-10-9,154+ r.50 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII).

39. ZTT II, 33:8.

40. Postgate 1979, MAH 15854 A 9' a-na TÚG.mi-ih-ši [x] TA.ÀM up-pu-ša. Another occurrence of this word is in MARV VII, 23:5' i+na mi-ih-š[i'], the meaning of which is, however, obscure.

41. StAT 3, 1 r.35 PAB 3-me 86 ku-zip-pe ša KUR.ha-ma-te (the garments and other textiles in question are *kusītu*, *elītu*, *šupālītu halluptu*, *qarrāru*, *niksu*, *qirmu*, *gammīdu*, *maqatū*, *dappastu*, SI.LUH, *nēbettu*, *nahlaptu*, *sasuppu*, *pariktu*, *ša muhhi šarri*, and *kitū*).

42. Radner 1999, 117.

43. Villard 2010, 389.

44. SAA 10, 289 r.3'-7' [x TÚG]. 'gu'-zip-pi pa-ni-i'-ú'-[te] / [ša UD]-'22'-KÁM ù ša ú-ma-a' e'-[ru-bu-u-ni] / [TÚG]. 'gul'-IGI.2 TÚG'.GADA TÚG.ma-ak-[li-li] / 'x' [x]-šū' am-mar' gab-bu-un-ni / [x x x] i-na-áš-ši, "He is taking [for himself] the prime lot of garments [which came in on the 2]2<sup>nd</sup> day and today, (that is to say) [gu]lēnus, tunics, and mak[lulus], every single one of them".

45. Ki 1904-10-9,154+ r.50-e.51 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) [x x x x] TÚG.PA.MEŠ GADA [x x x] / [PAB' x x x x] ku-zip-pi, "[...] linen fabric [...] Total: [...] garments".

46. See SAA 7, 93-106; SAA 11, 67.

47. ND 2307 e.23 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI). The word *kirku* also occurs in PVA 269 TÚG kir-ku = ki-ir-ku, 'roll of textiles/fabric'.

48. Dar 530:8; Nbk 369:2. See CAD K, 408b s.v. *kirku* B b. On the use of *kirku* in Neo-Babylonian dowry lists, see Roth 1989-90, 30: 'a roll of cloth'.

## Designations for garments

In the observations that follow, the Neo-Assyrian names of garments are discussed. Terms have been classified into three categories: 1) designations belonging to the common textile Akkadian vocabulary, that is to say, terms that are also attested outside the Neo-Assyrian dialect, namely in other dialects and periods (*e.g.*, in Middle Assyrian, Babylonian, *etc.*); 2) designations that are peculiar to 1st-millennium Akkadian dialects (*i.e.*, Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian), including terms of (possible) West Semitic origin; and 3) designations the meaning of which is unclear as well as non-Semitic words.

### *Assyrian designations belonging to the common Akkadian textile vocabulary*

*elītu*. The term seems to denote an upper garment or a (fringed) shawl.<sup>49</sup> Of this textile there were both a red (or purple?)<sup>50</sup> and a black variety.<sup>51</sup> Other qualifications, some of which are very common in Neo-Assyrian lists of textiles, are difficult to explain. We know, for example, that the red variety of the *elītu* could be of the country-/mountain-type (KUR = *mātu*, ‘country’, or *šadū*, ‘mountain’),<sup>52</sup> perhaps to be understood as naturally red, in opposition to other red dye varieties, such as the ‘red

of the port’ or ‘commercial red’ (KAR = *kāru*) and the so-called ‘limestone red’ (*pūlu*).<sup>53</sup> This overgarment seems to have had a red-coloured front-part, as witnessed by a list of commodities from Nimrud.<sup>54</sup>

*hullānu*. This name of a cloak or wool or linen wrap<sup>55</sup> is documented from Middle Babylonian times onwards. This textile was probably a cover or a wrap, to be used for garments and beds.<sup>56</sup> From administrative sources we may see that the *hullānus* could be qualified as *šuppu* (decorated?)<sup>57</sup> and that they were employed for beds,<sup>58</sup> perhaps, as bed-covers. Another list of textiles mentions house-wraps for women.<sup>59</sup> In this case, it is possible that the item was a cover. On the use of this textile by ladies we are informed from a letter of the crown prince Assurbanipal to his father, according to which an Aramaean woman put a *hullānu* on her neck.<sup>60</sup> That the *hullānu* was a sort of garment is also clear from a look at Middle Assyrian documents.<sup>61</sup> In the Middle Assyrian period, the luxury variety of *hullānu* could have cedar-tree decorations and sleeves (*ša ahāte*).<sup>62</sup> A variety with (figures) of (heraldically?) crossed *tešēnu*-animals, without sleeves, is also attested.<sup>63</sup> In Neo-Babylonian times, it constituted a component of wardrobes for statues of both gods and goddesses.<sup>64</sup>

49. CTN 2, 153:5; 155 r. v 10'; 224:1; 253; SAA 7, 102:4'; 103:2'; 105:9'; 112:6'; 127:8'; StAT 3, 1:4; ZTT II, 33:1. See AHw, 202a; CAD E, 98b; CDA, 70a. For the meaning ‘shawl’, see Postgate 2001, 380 and AEAD, 24b.

50. SAA 7, 105:9'.

51. SAA 7, 127:8'.

52. SAA 7, 105:9'.

53. See Fales & Postgate 1992, xxviii.

54. CTN 2, 155 r. v 11'. However, the logographic writing ZAG.MEŠ is interpreted by Postgate as referring to the sleeves, see Postgate 1973, 172.

55. AHw, 354a; CAD H, 229a; CDA, 119b; AEAD, 38b. But see Postgate 2014, 418 for the generic translation: ‘a luxury garment’.

56. CTN 2, 152:1; K 6323+ r. i' 10' (Kwasman 2009, 116); ND 2311:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 235, 236; SAA 7, 96:6'; 107 r.3'; 109 ii 3', iii 2'; SAA 16, 17 r.7'. See AHw, 354a; CDA, 119b. In addition to this meaning, CAD H, 229a also intends this textile as a blanket, while in AEAD, 38b the entry is translated as ‘cloak, wrap, hood’.

57. SAA 7, 96:6'. Postgate 2014, 425 tentatively suggests the translation of *šuppu* as ‘embroidered?’.

58. SAA 7, 109 iii 3'.

59. SAA 7, 107 r.3' [x x (x x) GÚ?].LÁ bēl-te' ša MÍ.MEŠ.

60. SAA 16, 17 r.6'-8'.

61. AfO 19, T.6:1-2, 3-4 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52); MARV III, 71:1.

62. AfO 19, T.6:1-2 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52). See Postgate 2014, 418 for discussion.

63. AfO 19, T.6:3-4 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52). Cf. CAD T, 373b s.v. *tešēnu*: ‘a wild animal’.

64. See Beaulieu 2003, 15.



*kitû*. The term generally designates a linen textile, a cloth and a garment, probably a tunic.<sup>65</sup> In the Middle Assyrian period linen wraps (*nalbētu*)<sup>66</sup> as well as textiles of thick linen (*kitû kabartu*) were produced.<sup>67</sup> A Neo-Assyrian list of textile products from Assur mentions one white (or bleached?) linen garment (*kitû pašiu*).<sup>68</sup> In Assyria, linen cloth was also used to cover beds and chairs.<sup>69</sup>

*kusītu*. This textile designation has been interpreted as referring to a long garment falling straight to the ground, probably a sort of tunic.<sup>70</sup> The term is also attested in West Semitic, as witnessed by Aramaic *ksūṭā*, ‘garment’,<sup>71</sup> and Mandaic *kissūyā*, ‘veil’<sup>72</sup> (<*ksy*, ‘to cover’). From Middle Assyrian documents we see that this garment was made of wool<sup>73</sup> and that multi-coloured cloth (*birmu*) was used by palace weavers to produce the *kusītu*’s hem.<sup>74</sup> Analogous details we gain from Neo-Assyrian labels and accounts of textiles. The 1st-millennium *kusītu* could be red, of the country-type,<sup>75</sup> or multi-coloured.<sup>76</sup> *Kusītus* of various colours also occur among grave gifts in a royal funerary text.<sup>77</sup> White *kusītus* are documented in the Middle

Assyrian period.<sup>78</sup> In 2nd millennium BC Assyria, *kusītus* were produced for export, as witnessed by Bābu-aha-iddina’s archive.<sup>79</sup> It was also fabricated in the textile workshop in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tell Šeh Ḥamad), from which we learn that a quantity of 8 minas of wool served to produce a pair of these garments<sup>80</sup> and that, consequently, the amount needed for one *kusītu* was 4 minas, around 2 kilograms. As it may be observed from a list of textiles from Assur, *kusītus* could be a palm wide (*ša puškāie*).<sup>81</sup> A letter of Nabû-šarru-ušur informs us that some *kusītus*, which had to be delivered to King Esarhaddon (680-669 BC), were fabricated with red wool by the team of the weavers of (the temple household of) Ištar of Arbela<sup>82</sup>. It was especially used as an honorific form of dress; in fact, a letter reporting on Sennacherib’s death mentions eunuchs standing in the presence of the mayor, dressed in *kusītus* and adorned with rings.<sup>83</sup> Various examples of more or less elaborate and fringed long robes are depicted in palace reliefs as worn by the king, high ranking officials, and soldiers. This item of dress could be worn on its own or in

65. KAR 141:21 (Ebeling 1931, 88); ND 2672:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387); ND 2687:3, 4, r.6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5’; 223:33; SAA 5, 152 r.10; 206 r.7’; SAA 7, 109 r. iv 3’; SAA 10, 289 r.5; SAA 11, 26 r.5; 31 r.7; StAT 3, 1 r.32. See AHw, 495b; CAD K, 473a; CDA, 163a; AEAD, 51a.

66. KAV 99:16-17. The masculine form of *nalbētu* is *nalwū*, attested in Mari. See Durand 2009, 178.

67. KAV 100 r.23.

68. StAT 3, 1 r.32.

69. SAA 7, 115 r. ii 5.

70. Billa 71:2 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); K 6323+ iii 23, 27 (Kwasman 2009, 115); PVA 237, 238; SAA 3, 23:4; SAA 7, 99:1; 105:6’, 7’; 112:6’; SAA 16, 84:8; 95:8; SAA 17, 122:7; StAT 3, 1:2, 3, r.22. For Middle Assyrian occurrences, see AfO 19, T.7, 1:3 (Freydank & Saporetto 1989, 53); KAV 200 r.3; MARV III, 5:8’, r.38’. For the word, see AHw, 514b; CAD K, 585b; CDA, 170a. For the meaning ‘toga’, see AEAD, 52b. A discussion on this item of dress is in Postgate 2001, 378-381. In Postgate 2014, 419 the term is translated as ‘robe’. The etymology of *kusītu* is discussed in Michel & Veenhof 2010, 226.

71. DJPA, 265a; DJBA, 590b; Jastrow 1950, 652b; DNWSI, 522.

72. Drower & Macuch 1963, 220.

73. MARV III, 5:8’. For a blue variety of *kusītu*, see MARV X, 3:14 (StAT 5, 3) 1 TÚG.BAR.DUL ZA.G[IN’], “One blu[e] (wool) *kusītu*-garment”.

74. MARV III, 5 r.38’-39’.

75. SAA 7, 105:7’.

76. SAA 7, 99:1; 105:6’.

77. K 6323+ iii 23 (Kwasman 2009, 115).

78. MARV III, 5:8’.

79. Postgate & Collon 1999-2001, text BM 108965:2. See also Postgate 2014, 419.

80. Rölli 2002, text 12.7:8 8 MA.NA 2 TÚG.BAR.DUL.

81. StAT 3, 1 r.22. However, Faist considers the qualification *ša puškāie* as referring to a toponym; accordingly, she translates the occurrence 3 TÚG.BAR.DUL *ša pu-uš-ka-a-a* as “3 puškäische *kusītu*-Gewänder”. For the use of the *pušku*-measure in qualifications of textiles in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts see CAD P, 542b-543a s.v. *pušku* A b.

82. SAA 16, 84:8-r.11.

83. SAA 16, 95:7-9.

association with a fringed shawl or a shirt.<sup>84</sup> The use of the *kusītu* by soldiers is witnessed by a Middle Assyrian document which mentions *kusītus* of the king's troops (*kusītu ša šāb šarri*) among other textiles destined to the army.<sup>85</sup>

*kuzippu*. This name refers to a garment, a cloak or a suit (of clothes).<sup>86</sup> It is possible that the textile designation *kišiptu* is related to *kuzippu* (see below).<sup>87</sup> No etymology is provided by dictionaries. The connection of *kuzippu* to the root *\*kzp/kšp* is doubtful in light of its meaning 'to think, estimate'. Instead, the possibility that *k/guzippu* is a compound name related to the word *qušippu* (also *quzippu*, *qušippatu*),<sup>88</sup> an Akkadian loanword in Sumerian (written as *gu zi.ip.pa.tum/zi.ba.tum/zí.ba.tum*), has never been considered by scholars. The compound word seems to be based on the terms *qū*, 'thread, string', and *šippātu*, a term of unknown meaning probably referring to the material or quality of the thread.<sup>89</sup> If this working hypothesis is valid, the garment designation probably referred to characteristics of the thread used in its manufacture. The *kuzippu*, also attested with voiced plosive [g], *guzippu*,<sup>90</sup> was a wool garment<sup>91</sup> of which both white<sup>92</sup> and red types<sup>93</sup> were

in use in Assyria. A dowry list includes *kuzippus* of commercial red wool ('red wool of the port')<sup>94</sup> as well as white *kuzippu*.<sup>95</sup> Palace weavers in charge of the production of such a garment were able to create very elaborate types of *kuzippu*. A Ninevite textile label mentions a *kuzippu* studded with stones,<sup>96</sup> clearly a textile befitting a member of the Assyrian royal family; an example of such a decorated garment is probably to be recognised in the mineralised textile remains with cornelian beads discovered in the Nimrud royal burial.<sup>97</sup> It is known that the foreign noblemen and messengers who were received by the Assyrian court with great honours were dressed in precious robes: this is the case of the son of a nobleman from an eastern country in the reign of Sargon II (722-705 BC), who received a *kuzippu* and silver bracelets at his arrival.<sup>98</sup> The palace weavers also produced an ordinary and presumably standard variety of this clothing item for the military personnel. An account concerning the consumption of raw materials for textiles records 2 talents of madder for making the clothes of the chariot-fighters and the archers' *kuzippu*.<sup>99</sup> In this connection, it is interesting to note that *kuzippus* were also used

84. Postgate 2001, 379-380.

85. Postgate 2001, 376, text MAH 16086, A ii 11, 13.

86. CTN 2, 152 e.9; Ki 1904-10-9,154+r.36, 51 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152-153, pl. XXVII); ND 2097:6, 7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18-19, pl. IX); ND 2307:14, 17, r.3 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2312:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X); ND 3413:2 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 139, pl. XI); SAA 1, 246:8; SAA 2, 5 iv 16; SAA 3, 34:30; 35:60; SAA 7, 97:13'; 112:3'; 115 ii 20; SAA 10, 87 r.2, 5; 189:10; 226 r.3; 234 r.4; 235:6; 246:8, 11, r.7; 258:2; 264 r.1; 270 r.6; 275 r.4; 289 r.3, 10; 293:28; 294 r.28, 35; 338:13; 339:12; 340:11; 387 r.3; SAA 11, 67:1; 176 r.6; SAA 13, 33 r.9; 37:8; SAA 15, 90:25; 91 r.2; 259 r.8; SAA 16, 5:6; 83 r.3; 159:3; SAA 19, 6 r.14', 16'; StAT 2, 244 s.4; 315 e.10; StAT 3, 1 r.35. See AHw, 519b; CAD K, 615b; CDA, 171b; AEAD, 53b.

87. Faist 2007, 13.

88. CAD Q, 332b: 'a type of thread'. Instead, AHw, 515b and CDA, 170b do not offer any translation of this term, although AHw suggests a possible relation between *kušippu* and *kuzippu*.

89. CAD Q, 332b. We wonder whether the word in question is *šippatu*, 'reed' (CAD Š, 203b). Does this word also mean 'fiber'? On the correspondent Aramaic word *šbt* see DJBA, 951b: 'fiber'.

90. The preference for voiced forms seems to be due to the voiced context or voiced root-context, see Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 15-16.

91. See, e.g., ND 2307:14 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 10, 87 r.2'-3'.

92. ND 2307:17 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 10, 87 r.5'.

93. ND 2307:14 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

94. ND 2307:14 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

95. ND 2307:17 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

96. SAA 7, 97:13'. Garments studded with stones are documented in the written sources of other periods of the Ancient Near Eastern history. See Durand 2009, 72, concerning the item called *nahZaBu*. See also Beaugéard 2010, 288: 'une chemise ornée de pierres précieuses'.

97. Crowfoot 1995, 113.

98. SAA 15, 91 r.1-2. See also SAA 15, 90:25-26.

99. SAA 7, 115 ii 19-20.

as uniforms for soldiers and for the Itu'a troops.<sup>100</sup> Analogous considerations may be made about the use of *kuzippus* by the king's bodyguards.<sup>101</sup> The fact that *kuzippus* as well as other textiles were commodities frequently transferred within the imperial territory is confirmed by a sealing, *i.e.* a circular-shaped piece of clay bearing impressed a stamp seal; this inscribed object accompanied an unspecified number of *kuzippus* and *šipirtu*-textiles.<sup>102</sup> The large circulation of these two items was probably due to the presence of units of the royal army in different area of the imperial territory and to the constant need of provisioning the troops with uniforms and other textiles of everyday use. The sealing operation concerning textiles which had to be delivered from a place to another within the imperial territory is also attested in a letter of Sargon's royal correspondence concerning tunics (*kitû*) stored in Dūr-Šarrukēn (Khorsabad).<sup>103</sup> In Neo-Assyrian letters the term *kuzippu* is also employed to indicate the king's dress<sup>104</sup> and the garments of the statue of the substitute king.<sup>105</sup> From a Marduk-šākin-šumi's letter we also learn that *kuzippus* were used in rituals to be performed in the sacred *qirsu*-place; the king's scholar specifies that the garments had to be used as clothing of skulls.<sup>106</sup> Another garment whose use is connected with the *qirsu*-place is the *pazibdu* (see below). We may also observe that in mourning periods the king was clothed in white robes.<sup>107</sup> In addition, the royal clothes were used as a substitute for the king when he could not participate in the processions of the gods in person.<sup>108</sup> It is also clear that

the term *kuzippu* was used by Assyrian scribes to indicate garments in general (see above). Perhaps this meaning also fits many of the attestations quoted above. This use of the word may be seen, for example, in the end of a textile list from Assur, where all the items are totalled and qualified as *kuzippus* coming from the land of Hamath, as observed above.<sup>109</sup> From the literary text of the *Marduk Ordeal*, it is also clear that the generic semantic value of the word *kuzippu* is different from that of *lubussu*; in fact, *kuzippu* denotes the individual character of the garments in question, not just their being clothing.<sup>110</sup> An administrative document also informs us that a wooden container, called *bēt kuzippī*, was used to store such textiles. This object must have been a characteristic piece of furniture in the royal palace, given the importance, the richness, and the variety of garments that the king and the royal family's members used during private and public occasions.<sup>111</sup> In a marriage contract, different *kuzippus* are listed, among which one pair of *kuzippus* qualified by the obscure designation *magarrūti* occurs.<sup>112</sup> Summing up, the term *kuzippu* appears as a versatile designation for garments, both of luxury (*i.e.*, those of the elite) and ordinary types (*e.g.*, those worn by members of the Assyrian army).

*lamahuššû*. This is a Sumerian loanword in Akkadian and denotes a wool precious garment used for ceremonial purposes.<sup>113</sup> This expensive garment is already attested in Ur III period as well as in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian times. This textile

100. SAA 19, 6 r.14'.

101. Ki 1904-10-9, 154+ r.36 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152, pl. XXVII) [x+]6 T[ÚG.k]u-zip-pi [ša'] LÚ.qur-bu-te.

102. SAA 11, 67:1.

103. SAA 5, 206 r.6'-8'.

104. SAA 10, 234 r.4-6; 235:6-15; 339:12; 340:11-12; SAA 13, 37:8.

105. SAA 10, 189:10-11.

106. SAA 10, 264 6-r.2.

107. SAA 10, 234 r.4-6; 235:6-15.

108. SAA 10, 339:12-13; 340:9-12. See also SAA 10, 338:13. On the king's clothes in the city of Arbela see SAA 10, 287:3-6.

109. StAT 3, 1 r.35.

110. SAA 3, 34:30 *la-bu-su-šu ša a-na* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN—UNUG.KI *ú-še-bal-u-ni ku-zip-pi-šu šu-nu*, "His clothing which they send to the Lady of Uruk is his robes."

111. SAA 7, 119 i 19', ii 14'.

112. ND 2307 r.3 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

113. AHw, 532a; CAD L, 58b; CDA, 176b; AEAD, 54a.

name was also known with variants with initial *n*, like, for instance, *namaššuhum* (Old Assyrian) and *namanšu 'um* (Old Babylonian).<sup>114</sup> In Mari it indicated both a luxury garment and a precious fabric for furniture.<sup>115</sup> The *lamahuššû* was an integral part of the wardrobe of the statue of the goddess in Neo-Babylonian times.<sup>116</sup>

*maklulu* or *muklālu* (*muqlālu*). This term, derived from the verb *qalālu*, ‘to be light, weak’, seems to denote a wool shawl or a cape.<sup>117</sup> In a Middle Assyrian text wool garments (*lubēru*) with their *maklalu* are listed.<sup>118</sup> The textiles in question are qualified as garments *ša šēri*, ‘of the steppe/countryside’, perhaps, to be intended as garments with capes which were used for travel or which were characteristic of the nomads’ dress. Postgate suggests the translation ‘hood’.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, it seems that in 2nd-millennium BC Assyria also *maklulus* for work (*ša šipri/KIN*) were in use.<sup>120</sup> The Neo-Assyrian *maklulu* came in two varieties: one with sleeves and one without sleeves.<sup>121</sup> Administrative texts dealing with textiles tell us that the *muklālu* could be made of *biršu*, and that it could have a red coloured front-piece and (precious) stones sewn onto it,<sup>122</sup> perhaps along the border. Another document specifies that the colour used for the front-part of the *muklālu* was the commercial red.<sup>123</sup>

*nahlaptu*. This name of textile, which is already attested at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC,<sup>124</sup> derives from the verb *halāpu* I, ‘to cover, clothe (with)’, probably refers to a wrap and to a coat or armour<sup>125</sup> used by Assyrian soldiers. This designation was also certainly used to indicate the metal scale armours imitating the homonymous wool coats. In fact, a record of copper items mentions a light bronze *nahlaptu* to be polished,<sup>126</sup> in all likelihood a soldier’s coat of mail. Assyrian troops dressed in such armours are mentioned in the correspondence of Esarhaddon.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, the characteristic scale texture of the Assyrian armours is intended in the curse section of two Neo-Assyrian treaties, where we find a simile equating leprosy with the *nahlaptu*-garment.<sup>128</sup> An alternative logographic form of the word was TÚG.DÙL (= *šulūlu*, literally, ‘shelter, protection’), attested in a document from Tušhan (Ziyaret Tepe) concerning a set of clothing for soldiers.<sup>129</sup> As clearly shown by two Middle Assyrian documents concerning textiles, it seems that the production and the supply of *nahlaptus* as well as other textile products to the army was a concern of the Assyrian central administration. We are informed about the centralised production of this item of dress in Assyria

114. See Michel & Veenhof 2010, 229, 237.

115. See Durand 2009, 57, suggesting that it could “servir de toile à matelas, donc pour installer une couche d’apparat”.

116. See TCL 13, 233:4 (cited in CAD L, 59a).

117. CTN 2, 152:2, 6, r.11; 224:2; ND 2311:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 250; SAA 10, 289 r.5; ZTT II, 33:2. See AHw, 590a; CAD M/I, 137b; CDA, 192a. For the meaning ‘cape’, see AEAD, 59a.

118. KAV 99:15-16.

119. Postgate 2014, 420.

120. MARV I, 24:7' 1 TÚG.ma-ak-lu-lu ša KIN šī-pár x[x x x]. The same qualification also applied to *šubātus* in KAV 99:15; MARV I, 24:6; MARV III, 5:28'. One wonders whether the qualification *ša UD.MEŠ* (Postgate 1979, 7; see Postgate 2014, 425: ‘for everyday (use)?’) was an alternative way to indicate clothing for work in Assyria.

121. CTN 2, 224:2-3.

122. SAA 7, 96:7'.

123. SAA 7, 105:8'.

124. See, e.g., the occurrences of the term in Mari and Old Assyrian texts. See, respectively, Durand 2009, 67-72 and Michel & Veenhof 2010, 236-237.

125. AfO 8 (1932-33), 178:17; CTN 2, 1:10'; KAR 141:17 (Ebeling 1931, 88); PVA 221; SAA 3, 17:32; 32 r.10; SAA 7, 89 r.8; SAA 10, 238:15; 345 r.9; SAA 16, 95 r.9'; Sg 8 411; StAT 3, 1 r.26, 33; ZTT I, 8:3. For Middle Assyrian attestations see, e.g., Billa 61 r.19 (JCS 7 [1953], 135); KAJ 231:1, 6; 256:7; 279:6; KAV 200 r.3; MARV III, 5:9', 10', 16', 18', 20', e.26'; 71:2, 3,5; MARV VIII, 73:1; 97:5. See AHw, 715a; CAD N/I, 138a; CDA, 232a; AEAD, 71b; Postgate 2014, 421.

126. SAA 7, 89 r.8-9 GÚ.È URUDU Q[ÁL]-tú / ša ka-pa-a-ri, “a bronze armour, *l[igh]t*, to be polished”.

127. SAA 16, 95 r.8'-9'.

128. SAA 2, 2 r. iv 4-5; 11 r.10'-11'.

129. ZTT I, 8:3. The term is translated by Parpola as ‘coat of mail’. See Parpola 2008, 57 for discussion.



since the 2nd millennium BC. Two Middle Assyrian documents reflecting the management of the palace-oriented textile production are particularly interesting: one of them is a list of finished textiles which had to be supplied by a number of contributors; among the listed textiles there are finely executed and decorated(?) coats for battles (*nahlaptu ša dīkāti ša 'uptu qatattu*).<sup>130</sup> In contrast, no explicit reference to military use is made concerning the wool *nahlaptus* recorded in a Middle Assyrian account of work quotas of palace weavers,<sup>131</sup> although the reference to leggings and chariots in the text supports this hypothesis.<sup>132</sup> That the *nahlaptu* constituted a characteristic element of the military uniforms also in the 1st millennium BC is confirmed by the mention of *nahlaptus* (written as *nahhaptu*)<sup>133</sup> of the military unit of the Qurraeans in two Neo-Assyrian lists from Nineveh.<sup>134</sup> In the Middle Assyrian period varieties of *nahlaptu* of red,<sup>135</sup> red-purple,<sup>136</sup> blue,<sup>137</sup> blue-black (or blue-purple),<sup>138</sup> white,<sup>139</sup> and multi-coloured wool<sup>140</sup> were produced. The

2nd-millennium *nahlaptu* could be provided with sleeves (Ā.MEŠ) and breast-pieces (GAB.MEŠ) of red wool.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, the fact that a *nahlaptu* occurs in a document listing what seem to be royal gifts for a woman<sup>142</sup> shows that the designation also applied to a wrap or coat used by ladies. In this connection, we may note that ordinary coats occur in a Neo-Assyrian dowry list of a marriage contract from Kalhu.<sup>143</sup> With the same textile designation a wrap for beds was also intended.<sup>144</sup> As far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, we may see that in the 1st millennium BC too the *nahlaptu* comes in several varieties. The *Practical Vocabulary of Assur* lists multi-coloured,<sup>145</sup> red,<sup>146</sup> red-purple,<sup>147</sup> blue-black (or blue-purple),<sup>148</sup> scarlet,<sup>149</sup> and *huhhurāti*-dyed<sup>150</sup> types of *nahlaptu*, as well as a house-quality,<sup>151</sup> a variety used for the breast (or, perhaps, a variety with breast-piece?),<sup>152</sup> and one to be used in association with the obscure *kirnāiu*-garment.<sup>153</sup> The list also includes *nahlaptus* with designs (*uṣurtu*)<sup>154</sup> and a linen-variety.<sup>155</sup> Of other

130. Postgate 2001, 376, text MAH 16086; Postgate 2014, 425.

131. MARV III, 5:9', 10', 16', 18', 20', e.26'.

132. Gaspa 2013, 231.

133. For the variant *nahhaptu*, which is already attested in the Middle Assyrian period, see KAJ 77:9 (Postgate 1988, text no. 53) 1 TÚG.na-ha-ap-ta.

134. SAA 7, 112 r.1-2; 115 ii 18.

135. MARV III, 71:2 (StAT 5, 92:2); MARV X, 8:1 (StAT 5, 8); 35:1 (StAT 5, 35).

136. MARV III, 5:10', 16', 18'; MARV X, 40:5-6, e.7-r.9 (StAT 5, 40). Note that in this text the amounts of red purple wool (ZA.GÌN.MI) are summarised in the total as *šerpu*, 'red (wool)'. See *ibidem* r.13.

137. MARV X, 77:1 (StAT 5, 77).

138. MARV III, 71:3 (StAT 5, 92); MARV VIII, 97:4; MARV X, 40:1-3 (StAT 5, 40); 64 r.14 (StAT 5, 64).

139. MARV III, 5:20'; MARV X, 8:2 (StAT 5, 8); 36:1 (StAT 5, 36); 59 r.10 (StAT 5, 59); 77:2 (StAT 5, 77).

140. MARV III, 71:5 (StAT 5, 92); MARV VIII, 97:5.

141. MARV III, 5:17'. *Nahlaptu*-garments with sleeves and breast-pieces are also attested in MARV I, 24:13'.

142. MARV VIII, 73:1.

143. CTN 2, 1:10' 6 TÚG.'GÚ'.È.MEŠ *sad-ra-te*.

144. SAA 7, 109 iii 2'-3' G[Ú].LÁ] / NÁ [0].

145. PVA 222.

146. PVA 229.

147. PVA 227.

148. PVA 228.

149. PVA 230.

150. PVA 226.

151. PVA 223.

152. PVA 224.

153. PVA 233. 154. PVA 225.

155. PVA 234.

156. PVA 232. For the reconstruction of the line, see Postgate 1973, 28 and CAD P, 543a.



two varieties mentioned in this lexical list, one is qualified with the palm-measure (*pušku*),<sup>156</sup> but the use of this unit of measure in connection with textiles escapes us. The same measure also characterises scraps of textiles in a marriage transaction document from Nimrud<sup>157</sup> and *kusītus* in a list of textiles from Assur.<sup>158</sup> In addition to the above-mentioned types, a white variety was also produced in the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>159</sup> Concerning ritual use, we see that a wool white *nahlaptu* was used in a ritual for the Daughter-of-the-River.<sup>160</sup> Assyrian weavers produced both long and short *nahlaptus*; a short variety is documented in the above-cited list of garments from Assur.<sup>161</sup> Another use of this textile was to cover chariot parts. In fact, in a document from Middle Assyrian Assur a *nahlaptu* is associated with the dust guard of the king's chariot.<sup>162</sup>

*nēbuhu*. This is a designation for a band, belt or sash,<sup>163</sup> derived from the verb *ebēhu*, 'to gird, belt up'.<sup>164</sup> From Middle Assyrian documents we see that *nēbuhus* of both red<sup>165</sup> and white wool<sup>166</sup> were produced. Another text specifies the different purposes for which this item of clothing was fabricated in the state textile workshops:<sup>167</sup> the text only refers to the female weavers of Nineveh, whose

work assignments are constituted by the textiles listed in this document. The mention of the god Bēl-šarru is probably an indication that these textiles were destined for the wardrobe of this deity. We know that Ištar's statue was clothed with this item of dress in 1st-millennium BC Babylonia.<sup>168</sup> *niksu*. The word literally means 'cut, piece' (from *nakāsu*, 'to cut'); it probably designated a standard piece of cloth used as wrap,<sup>169</sup> although Middle Assyrian attestations seem to confirm that it was a specific kind of garment. *Niksus* are listed in a document along with amounts of coloured wool and garments, suggesting that they were specific clothing items.<sup>170</sup> In the Neo-Assyrian period, this garment is attested in a legal document listing materials to be used for the king's *sasuppu*-napkin. The text mentions a depot of four unknown items (textiles?) and four *niksus*, fine work belonging to a god and at disposal of a chief weaver.<sup>171</sup> In a document from Ziyaret Tepe, two *niksus* occur in the context of clothes for soldiers.<sup>172</sup> Details on *niksus* are provided by a list from Assur, from which we learn that this kind of wrap could be white<sup>173</sup> with red sides and front-part (UŠ ZAG SA<sub>5</sub>).<sup>174</sup> The same text also mentions a Babylonian variety,<sup>175</sup> but no indications are given about what

157. CTN 2, 1:5'.

158. StAT 3, 1 r.22.

159. StAT 3, 1 r.26.

160. KAR 141:17 (Ebeling 1931, 88).

161. StAT 3, 1 r.33 68 TÚG.GÚ.È *kūr-ri*.

162. MARV X, 5:1-2 (StAT 5, 5) [x x x x] ME 5 'ŠU'.SI GÚ.È / [x x x x GI]Š. 'sa'-har-ge-e GIŠ.GIGIR 'ša' 'GİR' MA[N].

163. ND 3407:3 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. XI); PVA 243; SAA 7, 115 ii 16. See AHw, 773b; CAD N/II, 143a; CDA, 248b; AEAD, 76a; Postgate 2014, 421.

164. CDA, 64b.

165. MARV X, 3:14 (StAT 5, 3).

166. MARV X, 3:14 (StAT 5, 3).

167. MARV X, 69:4-5 (StAT 5, 69) 6+x' TÚG.ÍB.LÁ 'ša' na[m]-hi-ri / 35' TÚG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ / ša lu-uš-me. The meaning of the terms *namhiru* and *lušmu* is unclear.

168. Beaulieu 2003, 15.

169. See AHw, 789b; CAD N/II, 231b; CDA, 253b; AEAD, 77a.

170. MARV I, 24:2, 3, 14. *Niksus* and other textiles are summarised as TÚG.lu-bul-tu SIG<sub>5</sub>-tu, 'good-quality clothing', in *ibidem* 12. See Postgate 2014, 422 for discussion. For other attestations of this textile in Middle Assyrian texts, see Faist 2001, 6 (Two *niksus* [and/or?] one Assyrian *lubēru*); Radner 2004, 82, no. 4:30-31; MARV X, 10:1 (StAT 5, 10).

171. SAA 6, 190:2.

172. ZTT I, 8:3.

173. StAT 3, 1:10.

174. StAT 3, 1:11. Faist tentatively suggests the translation of 'mit roter Borte' for the qualification UŠ ZAG SA<sub>5</sub>.

175. StAT 3, 1:r.31 1 TÚG.nik-su KUR URI.KI'. Literally, '(of) the Land of Akkad'.

176. See AHw, 1003a s.v. *sāgu* I: 'ein Arbeitsschurz?'; CAD S, 27b s.v. *sāgu*: 'a piece of clothing'; CDA, 310b s.v. *sāgu* I: 'a skirt,

differentiates the Babylonian *niksu* from the Assyrian counterpart.

*sāgu*. This term has been interpreted as a name for ‘sack’ and for a garment.<sup>176</sup> In Neo-Assyrian texts<sup>177</sup> it probably represents the Assyrian counterpart of the Neo-Babylonian *saqqu*,<sup>178</sup> a designation for a sack and a garment, and the Aramaic *saq*, *saqqā*, analogously meaning ‘sack’ and ‘sackcloth’.<sup>179</sup> In light of the meaning of the word, it is clear that this garment was made with the coarse cloth of sacks. In Assyria, the occupation dealing with the production or trade of these garments was called *ša sāgātēšu*.<sup>180</sup> In light of a letter dealing with Aramean troops going on a campaign, it seems that *sāgus* were a component of travel equipment along with leather bags, sandals, food and oil.<sup>181</sup> The word has long been considered a 1st-millennium textile term in the Assyrian dialect. However, the fact that the same word also occurs in Middle Assyrian administrative documents from Assur<sup>182</sup> demonstrates that it was already known in the 2nd millennium BC. On von Soden’s authority, Prechel and Freydank tentatively translate the Middle Assyrian word as ‘Arbeitsschürze’.<sup>183</sup>

*sunābu* (or *sunāpu*). The term seems to be derived from *sanāpu*, ‘to tie on’, and designates a bandage or loincloth.<sup>184</sup> The translation of the word as ‘sanitary towel’ is suggested in CDA.<sup>185</sup> This textile is only mentioned in PVA. Durand states that this term is *hapax* in Akkadian.<sup>186</sup> However, another attestation may be found in a Middle Assyrian text from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (Tulūl al-‘Aqir).<sup>187</sup> According to Durand, the word may be explained as an Akkadianisation of Hurrian *\*suni-we*, meaning ‘habit à *sūnu*’ (see below).<sup>188</sup> If this interpretation is valid, the term *sunābu* does not derive from the verb *sanāpu*.<sup>189</sup>

*šaddīnu*. The form *šaddīnu*, with initial <š>, is a peculiarity of the Neo-Assyrian dialect.<sup>190</sup> In the Western Semitic area the same word has initial <s>, as shown by Hebrew *sādīn* and Aramaic *sedīnā*. The 2nd-millennium attestations show that the form was originally *sadinnu*.<sup>191</sup> Its early attestations in texts from Mittanni and the doubled consonant in the ending (-*innu*) point to a non-Semitic word which, according to Kaufman, could be of Anatolian origin.<sup>192</sup> The Aramaic *sdyn*, *sdyn*, ‘sheet’, refers to a textile usually made of

kilt’; AEAD, 96b: ‘sackcloth’. See Fales 1983, 68 for the interpretation of *sāgu* as a name for garment. However, the term is usually translated as ‘sash’ by many scholars, see, e.g., Fales & Postgate 1992, 221b; Fales & Postgate 1995, 167a; Luukko & Van Buylaere 2002, 192a.

177. ABL 75:7 (LAS 37); ND 2311:10 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); ND 2424:1, 4, r.11 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 24, pl. XII); ND 3467 r.5 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 146, pl. XIII); RINAP 1, 48:5’; SAA 3, 23:4; SAA 7, 125:7; SAA 11, 28:14; 36 ii 14; SAA 16, 20 r.7’; SAA 19, 17 r.1; TH 48:12; TH 52:11.

178. Postgate 2001, 384. See CAD S, 168b.

179. LS, 493b; Sokoloff 2009, 1036b; DJBA, 828b; Jastrow 1950, 1019a; DNWSI, 1186.

180. NATAPA 2, 67:2.

181. SAA 19, 17 e.12-r.4.

182. MARV X, 3 r.36’, 37’ (StAT 5, 3); 15:1, e.4 (StAT 5, 15).

183. See StAT 5, 17, 34, 132b.

184. AHW, 1058b; CAD S, 383b; AEAD, 101a.

185. CDA, 328a.

186. Durand 2009, 95 fn. 133.

187. MARV IV, 89 ii 51’.

188. Durand 2009, 95 fn. 133.

189. The connection of the word *sunābu* with the verb *sanāpu* is given in the dictionaries. See AHW, 1058b; CAD S, 383b; CDA, 328a.

190. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 9-10; Lipiński 1997, 123 § 14.2.

191. See CAD S, 17a.

192. See Kaufman 1974, 94, fn. 324 and Mankowski 2000, 110 for further literature.

193. DJBA, 788a; Jastrow 1950, 957a.

fine linen.<sup>193</sup> This West Semitic form is probably at the basis of Greek σινδών.<sup>194</sup> According to Herodotus, it was used to wrap mummies and wounds received in battle.<sup>195</sup> The context where this textile appears in the Assyrian texts witnesses to the precious nature of this item of clothing.<sup>196</sup> This garment, interpreted by some scholars as ‘toga’,<sup>197</sup> was made of linen.<sup>198</sup> A letter by Crown Prince Sennacherib to King Sargon lists luxury garments and other commodities coming from Western countries as tribute and audience gifts for the palace personnel. Among the various goods there are also *šaddīnu*, a number of which are said to be made of *būšu*.<sup>199</sup> The correlation of *šaddīnu* and *būšu* is significant, since it reminds us of the analogous correlation between σινδών and byssus in Herodotus’ work. In fact, the Greek historian specifies that the σινδών was made of linen (βυσσίνη).<sup>200</sup> Also from Esarhaddon’s royal inscription at Nahr el-Kelb (in Lebanon) we learn that *šaddīnu*-garments were made of byssus;<sup>201</sup> in this case, the *šaddīnu* is one of the valuable objects taken from the treasury of Taharqa’s palace during the Assyrian looting of Memphis. Although it is clear that this is one of the rare attestations in Akkadian of the word ‘byssus’ (Greek βύσσος), it is not clear, however, what kind of fibre was designated with this word. In the light of the studies of Maeder, who carefully reviewed the incongruences of the modern translations of the ancient

term byssus, it seems reasonable to think that the material called *būšu* had nothing to do with the fibers of *Pinna nobilis*, but indicated, instead, a variety of linen.<sup>202</sup> What is evident from Sennacherib’s letter is that the word refers to a textile material used in the Western Semitic region, presumably in the Phoenician coastal area. This also suggests that this luxury material was imported in the Levant from Egypt. The West Semitic word *bš*, probably referring to fine Egyptian linen, occurs in the Phoenician version of the bilingual inscription of Karatepe, where the king of Zincirli/Sam’al (830-825 BC), Kilamuwa, mentions both linen (*ktn*), presumably of the ordinary type, and byssus (*bš*).<sup>203</sup> The origin of this West Semitic word is still disputed and an Egyptian textile designation has been considered by scholars as a possible candidate.<sup>204</sup> The Egyptian word *bd3*, meaning ‘pleated stuff’, could be at the basis of the West Semitic form; Lipiński observes that clothing of pleated fabric occurs in Pharaonic art as elite dresses.<sup>205</sup> Accordingly, the Semitic term *bš/būšu*, which was borrowed by Greek, was probably used to indicate a valuable textile material. In all probability, the West Semitic term entered the Assyrian language in Shalmaneser III’s reign (858-824 BC), since this king states to have received byssus along with multi-coloured clothing and linen as a tribute from Marduk-apla-ušur, king of Suhi, in the Euphrates region.<sup>206</sup> This textile material was highly

194. Chantraine 1968, 1005b.

195. Herodotus, *Historiae*, II.86; VII.181.

196. CTN 2, 155 r. v 13’; ND 2307 r.2 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2672:6, 12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387); RINAP 4, 103:21; SAA 1, 34:9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, r.3, 5, 6, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; 176:8; SAA 11, 26 r.8.

197. Parpola 1987, 227a; Fales & Postgate 1995, 168a. The dictionaries present very different translations. See AHW, 1001b: ‘ein Hemd?’; CAD S, 17a: ‘a cloth and a garment’; CDA, 310a: ‘a tunic?’; AEAD, 107b: ‘satin, silk, sheet, wrapper’.

198. CTN 2, 155 r. v 13’; ND 2307 r.2 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 11, 26 r.8.

199. SAA 1, 34:11 4 TÚG.šad-din bu-ši.

200. Herodotus, *Historiae*, II.86.

201. RINAP 4, 103:21.

202. See Maeder in the present volume.

203. Hallo & Younger 2000, 148: “And whoever from his childhood had never seen linen, now in my days wore byssos.”

204. See DNSWI, 185 s.v. *bš*. However, Lipiński observes that ‘fine white Egyptian linen’ was called *šš/šs*. See Lipiński 2000, 542, fn. 178.

205. Lipiński 2000, 542.

206. RIMA 3, 90.

207. SAA 7, 62 r. iii 3’ 1 TÚG.šad-din bu-ši’. Byssus is also attested in line r. ii 5’ [x x x]x bu-šu.

appreciated in imperial Assyria, as confirmed by another attestation of the word *būšu* in an administrative text from Nineveh. In this inventory text, which enumerates precious items probably donated to the gods, *šaddīnu*-garments of byssus occur among other valuable commodities;<sup>207</sup> in all likelihood, they were used to clothe statues of divinities. This is also suggested by the fact that in the same text dark fine garments of linen (*qatattu adirtu kitê*) are mentioned in connection with the gods Marduk and Mullissu.<sup>208</sup> Other occurrences of the word *būšu* may be found in the Neo-Babylonian documentation. A text concerning vestments for the statue of Šamaš includes yarn of byssus.<sup>209</sup> Another Neo-Babylonian text shows that this material was categorised as linen (GADA.bu-šu);<sup>210</sup> the use of the semantic classifier GADA for byssus may also be seen in an inventory of linen fabrics for gods' statues from Seleucid Uruk.<sup>211</sup> Consequently, it is tempting to identify this material with a very fine variety of linen. Was the transparency of the fabric the main characteristic of the material called *būšu*? In one of the drawings of palace reliefs from Nimrud published in Layard's work there is a scene with two tributaries from Que, who bring provisions and vessels to the Assyrian king's banquet; interestingly, both individuals wear a fringed outer garment made of a transparent fabric, perhaps a very fine variety of linen.<sup>212</sup>

*šahartu*. The etymology of the word is not given in the dictionaries, but it may be connected to Akkadian *šaharru* (a Sumerian loanword), denoting a net.<sup>213</sup> Accordingly, the Assyrian form would represent a feminine nominal form whose meaning probably refer to the net-like structure of the weave. The word is attested in the plural form *šaharrāti*<sup>214</sup> and refers to leggings or socks,<sup>215</sup> especially used by soldiers and envoys. This item of clothing often comes in pairs. It is interesting to observe that representations of leggings worn by soldiers show a net-like appearance given by the leggings' strings.<sup>216</sup> The 'Middle Assyrian Harem Edicts' mention *šaharrātu* along with boots (*šuhuppāte*).<sup>217</sup> From another text of the same period we learn about leggings or socks destined to the king's feet.<sup>218</sup> Quantitative data about the manufacture of these leggings may only be found in the 2nd millennium. One text from Assur specifies that one mina of wool was needed to produce three pairs of white leggings.<sup>219</sup> A Neo-Assyrian document lists leggings among other items of clothing (*i.e.*, reinforced undergarments, sandals, upper garments, and waist-belts) for Urartian envoys.<sup>220</sup> Reinforced undergarments (*šupālītu hal-luptu*) and waist-belts (*šipirtu*) accompany this item also in another text from the central administration and in an affidavit document from Ziyaret Tepe concerning military garments.<sup>221</sup> Details on these leggings may be found only in two

208. SAA 7, 62 ii 15', iv 8' (of linen).

209. Zawadzki 2013, 162, no. 175:12-16.

210. See Quillien 2014, 289 about the text NCBT 597.

211. See Beaulieu 1989, 69-74 on the text NCBT 1244.

212. Layard 1849-53, I, pl. 62.

213. CAD Š/I, 80b.

214. K 6323+ r. i' 6', 16' (Kwasman 2009, 116); SAA 7, 96:9'; 124:11'; 127:4'; ZTT I, 8:2.

215. CDA, 346b; AEAD, 108a. Instead, the word is generically translated as 'garment' in AHw, 1129a; CAD S/I, 81b. See Postgate 2014, 424 for discussion.

216. See, *e.g.*, Fales & Postgate 1992, 124, fig. 30.

217. Weidner 1954-56, 274:43.

218. Postgate 1979, 6.

219. MARV III, 5:32'.

220. SAA 7, 127:4'.

221. SAA 7, 124:11'; ZTT I, 8:2.

222. K 6323+ r. i' 16' (Kwasman 2009, 116); SAA 7, 96:9'.



texts, which mention red-coloured *šaharrāti*.<sup>222</sup> Instead, a white variety is attested in a Middle Assyrian text from Assur.<sup>223</sup>

*šiknu*. This name of textile occurs among various articles of clothing (*i.e.*, mitres, leggings, and sleeves) in a Neo-Assyrian text concerning a royal funeral,<sup>224</sup> but the nature of the textile in question is not clear (a specific item of clothing or a different textile product?). The *šiknu* is attested in connection with garments (*kusītum*) in an Old Assyrian text,<sup>225</sup> while its association with bedclothes is documented in Mari.<sup>226</sup>

*šuhattu*. Apparently, a nominal form from *šahātu*, ‘to wash, rinse, wipe down’, although the etymology is not expressed in the dictionaries. CAD distinguishes two *šuhattu*-textiles: a textile used to wipe clean objects, and a luxury piece of apparel when referred to royal dressing.<sup>227</sup> In Middle Assyrian perfume-making, *šuhattu*-textiles were used to clean cooking pots.<sup>228</sup> The Akkadian reading of the logographic writing TÚG.KUR.RA as *šuhattu* is uncertain.<sup>229</sup> The KUR.RA-textile occurs in a Neo-Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence, where it refers to a cloak.<sup>230</sup> From another Middle Assyrian text from Assur it seems that *šuhattu*-textiles were connected to the activity of felt-makers,<sup>231</sup> but conclusive observations on this regard cannot be made in light of the limited evidence.

### *Names of garments in 1st-millennium BC Akkadian dialects (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian)*

The textile vocabulary of the Neo-Assyrian period comprises names of garments that are peculiar to the Akkadian dialects of the 1st millennium BC. Some of these designations are common to both Assyrian and Babylonian, others are exclusively attested in only one of these dialects. Some of these 1st-millennium terms may be understood as the development of previous designations based on the same lexical root. In other cases, instead, there are textile designations that are new entries in the late dialects of Akkadian.

*harīru*. The term is a designation for a type of garment or cloth.<sup>232</sup> Only CDA proposes the translation ‘bedspread’.<sup>233</sup> In texts from Mari a textile called *harrurum/hurrurum* is attested. According to Durand, it is possible that this word is related to the Neo-Assyrian form *harīru*.<sup>234</sup> It is not clear whether the Neo-Assyrian term has also some connection with the Old Assyrian *hirurum*.<sup>235</sup> Durand also suggests that the Mari term could have designated a garment with a surface very razed like velvet. The few data about the Assyrian *harīru* does not enable us to confirm this interpretation. The *harīru* occurs in administrative lists from Nineveh<sup>236</sup> among various *maqattu*- and *urnutu*-garments as well as after reinforced undergarments. From another list we learn that *harīrus* could be made of multi-coloured cloth (*birmu*).<sup>237</sup>

223. MARV III, 5 r.32’.

224. K 6323+ r. i’ 5’, 18’ (Kwasman 2009, 116).

225. StOr 46, 198:63 (Hecker *et al.* 1998, no. 429). See CAD Š/II, 439a and Michel & Veenhof 2010, 242.

226. RA 64, 33, no. 25:1. See CAD Š/II, 439a. See also Durand 2009, 39-40.

227. CAD Š/III, 205b.

228. Ebeling 1952, 18, i 18, 19, ii 16, 20-21, ii 3, 20.

229. Reynolds 2003, 197b. The possible readings of the word TÚG.KUR.RA have been discussed by Malatucca in this volume.

230. SAA 18, 100:11 ‘i’-na TÚG.KUR.RA-šú pa-ni-šú ‘i’-[ter-mu], ‘Th[ey covered] his face with his cloak.’

231. MARV X, 81:1-4 (StAT 5, 81).

232. AHw, 326a; CAD H, 102b; AEAD, 35b.

233. CDA, 108b.

234. Durand 2009, 41. See also CAD H, 102b, 121a.

235. Michel & Veenhof 2010, 233.

236. SAA 7, 97 r.4; 108 r. ii’ 5’; 109 r. iv 6’.

237. SAA 7, 109 r. iv 6’.

238. AHw, 679a; CAD M/II, 242a; CDA, 220a; AEAD, 68a.



*muṣiptu*. The word, a nominal formation possibly based on the verb *šuppu* II, ‘to decorate, overlay, rub down’, occurs in Neo-Babylonian, where it indicates a (standard) piece of clothing;<sup>238</sup> it was used as a generic term for clothing.<sup>239</sup> In a Neo-Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence, the term is employed to designate garments from Tukriš.<sup>240</sup> These garments are qualified as *karkēti*. This term may be interpreted as the adjective *karku*, ‘amassed, gathered, twined’<sup>241</sup> or as the substantive *karkītu*, ‘threaded work’, which is not included in dictionaries.<sup>242</sup> Both these nominal forms derive from the verb *karāku*, ‘to gather, wrap, twine’. From the same root also derives the word *karikku*, attested in Mari and translated by Durand as ‘chaussette, bas’.<sup>243</sup> Concerning the place name Tukriš,<sup>244</sup> it is worth noting that wool and textiles from this place are mentioned in Middle Babylonian texts,<sup>245</sup> confirming the importance of the local textile manufacture already in the 2nd millennium BC.

*naṣbutu*. This item was probably a coat or a sash holder.<sup>246</sup> To judge from the administrative sources, this item of apparel was made of *biršu*-

fabric<sup>247</sup> and it had an edging that could be commercial red-coloured.<sup>248</sup> Of the same colour was also the front-piece of this textile.<sup>249</sup> As to function, we may observe that this textile appear in dowry lists; probably, it was an ordinary piece of clothing to wear at home. In a marriage contract from Assur it occurs after the *urnutu*- and the *maqāṭṭutu*-garments.<sup>250</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian period it is attested in Amat-Nanā’s dowry list among other items of apparel.<sup>251</sup> On the contrary, nothing can be said about the *naṣbutu* mentioned in a Babylonian letter among amounts of wool, a hat, and other commodities.<sup>252</sup> In Neo-Babylonian times, *naṣbatu*-garments were used to cover the statues of the gods Nanāya, Uṣur-amāssu and Nabû.<sup>253</sup>

*nēbettu*. This word designates a girdle or sash.<sup>254</sup> The nominal form derives from the verb *ebētu*, ‘to bind?’.<sup>255</sup> The dictionaries only list Neo-Babylonian attestations. Texts from Nimrud<sup>256</sup> and Assur<sup>257</sup> record a multi-coloured variety of this item of clothing, while another document from Nimrud mentions a red type.<sup>258</sup>

239. Roth 1989-90, 29; Joannès 2010, 406.

240. SAA 17, 122:8 TÚG.mu-ši-pe-ti / kar-ke-e-ti šá Tuk-riš.

241. CAD K, 217b.

242. Dietrich 2003, 180a.

243. Durand 2009, 50.

244. Groneberg 1980, 239. According to Groneberg, this place is to be identified with the region of Luristan.

245. See references quoted in CAD T, 460a s.v. *tukrišû* b.

246. K 6323+ iii 26 (Kwasman 2009, 115); ND 3407:2 [*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. XI]; SAA 7, 96:11', r.1; 97:6', 11'; 102:1'; 119 r. ii' 2'; SAA 18, 19:4', 9'; StAT 2, 164:13. See AHw, 756b: ‘ein Mantel’; CDA, 244b: ‘a coat’. For the translation ‘sash holder’, see AEAD, 75a and Kwasman 2009, 115. Instead, a generic meaning is given in CAD N/II, 47b.

247. SAA 7, 96:11', r.1; 97:6', 11'; 119 r. ii' 2'.

248. SAA 7, 96:11', r.1; 97:11'. See also SAA 7, 102:1'.

249. SAA 7, 96 r.1.

250. StAT 2, 164:13.

251. Roth 1989-90, 31, text CT 49, 165:11.

252. SAA 18, 19:4', 9'.

253. Beaulieu 2003, 15.

254. AHw, 774a; CAD N/II, 201b; CDA, 248b; AEAD, 76a.

255. CDA, 65a s.v. *ebētu* II.

256. CTN 2, 153:4.

257. StAT 3, 1 r.25.

258. CTN 2, 153:6.

259. AHw, 908a; CAD Q, 173b; CDA, 286b; AEAD, 87b.

*qatattu*. The name of this fine garment is the feminine adjectival form from *qatnu*, ‘thin’.<sup>259</sup> This adjective qualifies TÚG.HI.A<sup>260</sup> and *nahlaptu*-textiles<sup>261</sup> in Middle Assyrian texts. In the 1st millennium it is used to indicate a specific item of clothing. Dark (*adirtu*) *qatattu*-garments of linen are listed in a Neo-Assyrian inventory text from Nineveh.<sup>262</sup>

*qirmu* (or *qermu*, *qeremu*). The term, derived from the verb *qarāmu*, ‘to cover’, seems to designate an overcoat or mantle, if we follow AEAD’s interpretation.<sup>263</sup> Aramaic *qrām*, *qrāmā* means ‘covering’.<sup>264</sup> *Qirmu*-garments could have a red-coloured front-part;<sup>265</sup> the red dye could be of the commercial type (‘red of the port’)<sup>266</sup> or of the country-type.<sup>267</sup> Other attestations show that both red and black wool were used to fabricate *qirmus*.<sup>268</sup> This is confirmed by a document from Assur, where one clean (or bright?) black *qirmu* is recorded.<sup>269</sup> In the same text also the multi-coloured variety is

listed.<sup>270</sup> In Neo-Babylonian documents it occurs as one component of female wardrobes.<sup>271</sup>

*ša hīli*. This term, which is not listed in the dictionaries,<sup>272</sup> is based on the word *hīlu/hillu*,<sup>273</sup> ‘covering, wrapping’.<sup>274</sup> In Assyria the *hillu* was used as wrapping or cover for *nēbuhu*-sashes<sup>275</sup> and constituted an accessory element of *ša Iš* garments.<sup>276</sup> The *ša hīli* is attested both in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian.<sup>277</sup> It was made of red wool<sup>278</sup> and accompanied *kusītu*-garments, as may be observed in the description of the clothes of Abu-erība, a relative of the Assyrian king,<sup>279</sup> as well as in a list of garments from Tell Billa.<sup>280</sup>

*ša hurdati*. The translation of the word as ‘petticoat, sanitary napkin’ is suggested by AEAD on the basis of the term *hurdatu*, ‘female genitals’.<sup>281</sup> The term only occurs in the lexical list PVA.<sup>282</sup>

*ša Iš*. Fales and Postgate tentatively suggest the translation ‘dust garment’ on the basis of the word

260. AfO 19, T.6:7-9 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52).

261. Postgate 1979, 6.

262. SAA 7, 62 iv 8’ 1’ TÚG<sup>1</sup>.*qat*<sup>1</sup>-*a*<sup>1</sup>-*tú* *a*<sup>1</sup>-*dir*-*tú* GADA. See also *ibidem* ii 15’.

263. AEAD, 88b. Note that the other dictionaries simply give generic translations, see AHW, 918a; CAD Q, 268b; CDA, 288b.

264. LS, 696b; Sokoloff 2009, 1412a; DJBA, 1043b; Jastrow 1950, 1421b.

265. SAA 7, 97:7’; 98:9’, 10’.

266. SAA 7, 98:9’.

267. SAA 7, 98:10’.

268. SAA 7, 110:7-9 2 ½ MA.NA SÍG.HE.MED<sup>1</sup> [0] / 2 ½ MA.NA SÍG.GI<sub>6</sub> [0] / *a-na* TÚG.*qir-mu* [0].

269. StAT 3, 1:12.

270. StAT 3, 1 r.23. For other attestations of the term, see CTN 2, 152:7, 8, 10; ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 3407:4 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. IX); PVA 270; SAA 7, 94:3; 104:7; 117 r.3; 122 i 4’. Another occurrence is in SAA 7, 122 i 4’ TÚG.*qi-ir-mu* (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author).

271. Roth 1989-90, 31, texts Nbn 258:10; BM 76968/72:13.

272. CDA, 347a and AEAD, 108b list the word in the form *šahīlu*.

273. According to AHW, 345b s.v. *hillu* and CAD Š/I, 97a s.v. *šāhīlu*.

274. For the word *hillu* see SAA 7, 115 ii 16; SAA 18, 129:5.

275. SAA 7, 115 ii 16.

276. ZTT II, 33:4.

277. Billa 71:2, 3 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); CTN 2, 1:6’, 10’; ND 267 (*Iraq* 12 [1950], 195, tablet not copied); PVA 240; SAA 17, 122:8 (written as TÚG.*šā—hī-il*).

278. CTN 2, 1:6’.

279. SAA 17, 122:7-8.

280. Billa 71:2 (JCS 7 [1953], 137).

281. AEAD, 106a.

282. PVA 283.

283. Fales & Postgate 1992, xxix.

*eperu* (IŠ/SAHAR).<sup>283</sup> This garment<sup>284</sup> could also be accompanied by one *sūnu*-piece (see below).<sup>285</sup> Another variant of this item is provided by a document from Ziyaret Tepe, which mentions one *ša* IŠ with wrappings(?) (*ša hillānu*).<sup>286</sup> Seven large multi-coloured *ša* IŠ garments are listed in an administrative document along with *kusītu*-garments.<sup>287</sup> The same text tells us that this textile could also be red-coloured.<sup>288</sup> Its front-part could be commercial red<sup>289</sup> or black.<sup>290</sup>

*ša KĀR*. The word is attested in the logographic writing TÚG.KĀR in a fragmentary document from Assur listing iron objects and textiles.<sup>291</sup> This is one of the compound names of the type *ša* X which are very common in the Neo-Assyrian dialect (see also below). These compounds are formed by the determinative pronoun *ša* and a noun in the genitive.<sup>292</sup> In the case of the logographic writing TÚG.KĀR, the sign TÚG is probably used for the determinative pronoun *ša*. The syllabic reading of the logogram KĀR is unknown.

*ša muhhi*. This textile designation, which is not attested in the dictionaries, occurs among other textile designations in a text from Assur. This text mentions an old white *ša muhhi* of the king.<sup>293</sup> It was an integral part of the royal attire, perhaps

corresponding to an overgarment. It is also possible that the item in question corresponds to the Middle Assyrian felt TÚG.UGU, possibly designating a garment or a headdress.<sup>294</sup>

*ša qabli*. This compound name has been interpreted as a designation for loincloth on the basis of the word *qablu*, ‘middle, middle parts, loins’.<sup>295</sup> The term only occurs in PVA and in an inventory list of various objects.<sup>296</sup> Perhaps a similar item of clothing was the one worn by King Assurnasirpal II in various palace reliefs in Kalhu: the item represented in these scenes is constituted by a short cloth girded around the loins and decorated by tassels.<sup>297</sup>

*ša taluk širri*. This unusual textile designation is only attested in PVA<sup>298</sup> and in a fragmentary list of textiles from Nineveh, where only the last part of the compound name can be read.<sup>299</sup> The latter attestation has never been recognised and mentioned by scholars. Its meaning, ‘moving like a snake’, seems to refer to a peculiarity of long and large undulating garments’ border. This compound is listed in CAD, but no translation is given there.<sup>300</sup>

*šer ’ītu*. The word designates a garment for the gods’ statues in Neo-Assyrian<sup>301</sup> and Neo-Babylonian texts.<sup>302</sup> Neo-Assyrian theological commentaries specify that the *šer ’ītu*-garment was worn by

284. CTN 2, 153, 2, 3; SAA 7, 105:6’, 7’; 119 r. i’ 10’, 11’; 127:9’; ZTT II, 33:4.

285. CTN 2, 153:2. But see in the same text also a variety of *ša* IŠ without the *sūnu*-element. See *ibidem* 3.

286. ZTT II, 33:4 1 TÚG.ša<sup>1</sup>—IŠ *ša hi-l[a]’-nu*.

287. SAA 7, 105:6’.

288. SAA 7, 105:7’.

289. SAA 7, 119 r. i’ 10’.

290. SAA 7, 119 r. i’ 11’.

291. StAT 2, 128:7’ [x x x x] TÚG.KĀR.MEŠ.

292. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 80.

293. StAT 3, 1 r.30 1 TÚG.ša—UGU LUGAL BABBAR SUMUN.

294. Jakob 2003, 435. One *lubulta ša muhhi šarri* is mentioned in KAV 99 r.37.

295. AEAD, 106b.

296. PVA 277; SAA 7, 85 r. ii 6’.

297. Layard 1849-53, I, pls. 12, 17, 20, 23, 31.

298. PVA 284.

299. SAA 7, 120 i’ 2 [x TÚG.ša—*ta-lu*]-*uk*—MUŠ, “[...] ‘mov]ing-like-a-snake’-garment(s)” (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

300. CAD T, 107a s.v. *tālu*.

301. SAA 3, 34:32, 53; 35:21, 44.

302. BBSt 36 v 44, 52, 54, vi 3. See CAD Š/II, 316a.

303. SAA 3, 34:32, 53; 35:21.

Bēl,<sup>303</sup> while Neo-Babylonian texts associate this article of clothing to the gods Šamaš, Aya, and Bunene.<sup>304</sup> The *Marduk Ordeal* shows that this vestment was stored in the temple's storeroom (*kadammu*).<sup>305</sup> In the same text, Bēl's outfit is compared to the primeval water "which was over (the god) Aššur".<sup>306</sup> I wonder whether the textile term has something to do with the word *šur ʾtu*, attested in PVA and denoting a kind of wool.<sup>307</sup> This is the feminine form of the adjective *šūru*, used to qualify textile products in Old Assyrian, Nuzi and Standard Babylonian texts.<sup>308</sup> It is worth noting that *šūru*-textiles were donated to the goddess Ištar in Old Assyrian times.<sup>309</sup>

*šupālītu halluptu*. This item of clothing is usually defined with these two words;<sup>310</sup> only in few texts we find a *šupālītu* without any other qualification.<sup>311</sup> The adjective *šupālū* means 'lower',<sup>312</sup> while the D-stem feminine nominal form *halluptu* is translated as 'armour' (from *hallupu*, 'to overlay,

cover').<sup>313</sup> AEAD interprets the *šupālītu* as a lower garment, shirt or underwear,<sup>314</sup> while the *šupālītu halluptu* was a reinforced or armoured undergarment.<sup>315</sup> The nature of this article is not clear, and suggestions have been made about the possibility that it was a sort of felt armour.<sup>316</sup> In Assyria, it was produced or traded by the professional called *ša halluptēšu*.<sup>317</sup> Texts from the central administration in Nineveh clearly show that it was made of linen<sup>318</sup> as well as of *biršu*.<sup>319</sup> Different varieties of such a garment were in use; a Phrygian variety is mentioned in a record which enumerates precious commodities, some of which of foreign origin, in connection with state officials.<sup>320</sup> Of the *šupālītu*-garment, black<sup>321</sup> and white<sup>322</sup> types were known. In addition, this garment could be associated with straps or girdles: one text mentions one *šupālītu halluptu* with straps or a girdle (*šibbu*), probably to be identified with the shirts with crossed straps and waist-belt worn by Assyrian soldiers.<sup>323</sup> In

304. BBS 36 v 44, 52, 54, vi 3.

305. SAA 3, 34:32; 35:21.

306. SAA 3, 34:53, 55. See also SAA 3, 35:44-45.

307. PVA 216.

308. CAD Š/III, 367b. This adjective is used in Old Assyrian texts. See Michel & Veenhof 2010, 244-245.

309. BIN 6, 186:18. According to the same text, Aššur receives *kutānu*-textiles. See CAD S/III, 368a.

310. CTN 2, 153:7; K 6323+ iii 25, r. i' 12', 14' (Kwasman 2009, 115); ND 2097:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18-19, pl. IX); SAA 7, 97:4', 5', r.7; 102:6'; 104:5'; 105:9', 10'; 108 r. ii' 5'; 109 r. ii 3', 5'; 119 r. i' 12', ii' 5'; 124:9'; 126:4; 127:3', 9'; SAA 11, 28:11; StAT 3, 1:6, 13, r.27; ZTT I, 8:1; ZTT II, 33:3. Another occurrence is in ND 2687 r.9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII) 3 TUG.KI—*hal-pat* (Reconstruction by the author).

311. KAN 1, 45:1, 6; KAN 2, 12 (= StAT 1, 12); NATAPA 1, 45A:3'; 45B:1, 6; SAA 7, 94:1.

312. CAD Š/III, 316b.

313. AEAD, 33b.

314. AEAD, 119a.

315. AEAD, 33b: 'felt armor, armored undergarment, mail shirt'.

316. AEAD, 33b.

317. SAA 7, 115 r. i 8; SAA 12, 83 r.14.

318. SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 5'. We may observe that Parpola's interpretation of the *šupālītu halluptu* as a felt armour is based on the assumption that it was exclusively made of felt. The attestation about the linen variety is not taken into consideration by the Finnish scholar in his discussion in Parpola 2008, 56.

319. SAA 7, 97:4', 5'; 105:10'.

320. SAA 7, 126:4-5 2 TUG.KI.TA—*hal'-lu'-pat mu'-us-ki* / *'ab-di—mil'-ki LÚ\**. GAL—*ka'-sir*, "Two Phrygian reinforced undergarments – Abdi-milki, the chief tailor".

321. SAA 7, 127:9'.

322. SAA 7, 94:1 (only designated as *šupālītu*).

323. Postgate 2001, 382, 386 and fig. 9; Faist 2007, 14.

324. SAA 7, 127:8'-10' 2 AN.TA.MEŠ GI<sub>6</sub> / 2 *ša*—IŠ 2 KI—*hal'*.MEŠ GI<sub>6</sub> / 2 *šip-rat*, "Two black upper garments, two *ša* IŠ garments,

light of the set of clothing articles which formed the equipment of envoys in a document from Nineveh, we may suggest that a *šupālītu halluptu* was usually worn in association with a waist-belt (*šipirtu*), an upper garment (*elītu*), and a *ša IŠ* garment.<sup>324</sup> This ‘ensemble vestimentaire’, whose basic components were the *šupālītu halluptu* and the *šipirtu*,<sup>325</sup> could be enriched by the presence of *maklulus*.<sup>326</sup> In addition, the *šupālītu halluptu* was characterised by the presence of *nītu*-elements<sup>327</sup> and edging (NIGÍN).<sup>328</sup>

*urnutu*. This term has not been explained by scholars as regards its etymology and the dictionaries do not offer any indication about its origin. According to von Soden, the origin of the term is unknown. Morphologically, it appears as a feminine nominal formation possibly to be connected to *urnatu*, ‘strong, manly’, a synonym for male only attested in lexical lists.<sup>329</sup> We cannot exclude

a West Semitic provenance. In Syriac, the adjective based on the root ‘*rn*’ means ‘hard, harsh’.<sup>330</sup> This is a textile product which frequently occurs in Neo-Assyrian texts.<sup>331</sup> The materials used for this garment were wool,<sup>332</sup> linen,<sup>333</sup> and *biršu*.<sup>334</sup> The wool variety is only attested in a document from Nimrud and in a marriage contract from Assur; it probably represented a common variety of this item of dress. Details on colours and peculiarities of the *urnutu* are also documented. We know that *urnutus* could be multi-coloured,<sup>335</sup> red,<sup>336</sup> violet,<sup>337</sup> black,<sup>338</sup> and with a red front-piece.<sup>339</sup> The red front-part is sometimes specified as ‘red of the country’<sup>340</sup> or ‘red of the port’.<sup>341</sup> This garment also had an edging,<sup>342</sup> often red-coloured.<sup>343</sup> Also the red-coloured edging could come in two varieties: the country-type<sup>344</sup> and the port-type.<sup>345</sup> A Nimrud document lists a densely-woven(?) or a good(-quality) *urnutu* (KAL/*dannu* or SIG<sub>15</sub>/

two black reinforced undergarments (with) two waist-belts”.

325. See ZTT I, 8:1 3 TÚG.KI.TA—*hal-’pa-te* TÚG’ *ši-pi-tú*, “Three reinforced undergarments, one waist-belt”.

326. ZTT II, 33:1-4 7 TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ / 4 TÚG.*ma-ak-l[ul.MEŠ]* / 2 TÚG.KI.TA—*’hal-lu-pat’* / 1 TÚG.*ša’*—IŠ *ša hi-[l]a<sup>2</sup>-nu*, “Seven upper garments, four shaw[ls], two reinforced undergarments, one dust garment with wrappings”. Perhaps, the first two items are also attested in the fragmentary text ZTT II, 36:1-2 [x] TÚG.AN.[TA.MEŠ?] / [x] TÚG.*ma-[ak-lul.MEŠ?]* (Reconstruction by the author).

327. ND 2687 r.10 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII).

328. SAA 7, 105:9’, 10’.

329. See AHw, 1431b; CAD U-W, 233b.

330. Sokoloff 2009, 1140b.

331. NATAPA 2, 100:3; ND 2307:15, 16, 18, r.4 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); SAA 7, 94:5; 95:3, 4, 5; 96 r.2, 3; 97:3’, 10’, 12’, r. 2, 6, 9, 10; 98:5’; 99:3, 4, 5; 101:2’; 102:2’; 103 r.1’; 104 r.2’; 107 r.2’; 108 ii’ 6’, r. ii’ 4’; 109 ii 2’, r. iii 4’, 9’; 112 e.11’; 115 ii 10; SAA 11, 28:13; StAT 2, 164:10, 11.

332. ND 2307:15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); StAT 2, 164:11.

333. ND 2307:16, 18 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 7, 96 r.3; 97 r.2, 6; StAT 2, 164:10.

334. SAA 7, 95:3, 4, 5; 96 r.2; 97:10’, 12; 98:5’, 6’, 7’; 99:4; 109 r. iii 9’.

335. SAA 7, 97 r.6.

336. SAA 7, 109 ii 6’, 7’.

337. ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).

338. SAA 7, 109 r. iii 11’.

339. SAA 7, 95:3, 4, 5; 97:10’; 98:5’, 6’, 7’; 109 r. iii 9’. See also SAA 7, 94:5. For the *urnutu*’s front-part see also SAA 7, 109 ii 3’.

340. SAA 7, 94:5.

341. SAA 7, 97 r.2.

342. SAA 7, 102:2’; 109 ii 2’.

343. SAA 7, 96 r.2; 97:12’.

344. SAA 7, 98:7’; 109 r. iii 10’.

345. SAA 7, 96 r.2; 97:10’; 98:6’; 109 r. iii 9’.

346. ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).



*damqu*).<sup>346</sup> The Assyrian elite also imported *urnutus* from the Levantine coast; a number of *urnutus* from Byblos are recorded in an administrative list from Nineveh.<sup>347</sup> Decoration in form of animals adorned this garment; in fact, decorations representing bulls<sup>348</sup> and goats<sup>349</sup> are mentioned in a textile list. In another text, *urnutu*-garments are qualified by the word *šippu*,<sup>350</sup> not translated by Fales and Postgate.<sup>351</sup> If this is a designation for a vegetal element,<sup>352</sup> we may conclude that these *urnutus* were probably decorated with vegetal motifs similar to those adorning the king's dress represented in palace reliefs.<sup>353</sup> The mention of one *urnutu* 'covering the entire figure' (*ša muhhi lāni*)<sup>354</sup> could be referring to a feet-length variety. This means that a shorter variety of *urnutu* was also known. Also for the *urnutu* we see that a 'house-variety', i.e., a type of *urnutu* probably to wear at home, was in use in Assyria;<sup>355</sup> the same qualification occurs for the textiles called *gulēnu*, *hullānu*, *maqaṭṭu* and *nah-laptu*. The use of *bētu* as a qualification for clothes

is already attested in the Middle Assyrian period, as witnessed by a reference to *lippu*-garments É.HI.A, 'of the house', in a text from Assur.<sup>356</sup> Presumably, it was an ordinary type to be worn at home. In a number of Neo-Assyrian attestations the *urnutu*-garment is also qualified with the term *sāiu*.<sup>357</sup> It seems that this technical detail also referred to the *urnutu*'s fringe.<sup>358</sup> In one case, this *urnutu* was associated with a *sūnu*-textile.<sup>359</sup>

To come back to the Neo-Assyrian term *sāiu*, we may observe that it is always attested in the plural form *sāiāte*<sup>360</sup> and in connection to *urnutu*-garments.<sup>361</sup> However, *urnutus* could also be defined as 'not *sāiu*' (NU *sa-a*).<sup>362</sup> It is clear that in all the attestations, the garments were of wool. There is only one attestation in which *sāiu* qualifies linen garments of unknown nature.<sup>363</sup> Fales and Postgate prefer translating this term as meaning 'knotted'.<sup>364</sup> Villard follows this interpretation and suggests the translation 'à point noué'.<sup>365</sup> But this is far from certain. Another

347. SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 4' [x+]2 *ur-nat Gu-ub-li*. For textiles imported from Byblos in the documentary evidence from Mari see Durand 2009, 100.

348. SAA 7, 109 ii' 3'. See also *ibidem* r. iv' 4'.

349. SAA 7, 109 ii' 5'.

350. SAA 7, 96 r.3 3 TÚG.*ur-nat GADA šip-pi*.

351. Fales & Postgate 1992, 110, 223a.

352. See CDA, 339a. The word is probably at the basis of the term *šippatu* (a vegetable).

353. On vegetal motifs in the Assyrian royal dress of the 9th century BC see Layard 1849-53, I, pls. 6-9. For similar decorative elements in the 7th-century variety of royal garment see, for instance, the breast-piece of Assurbanipal's dress in the relief BM 124867, reproduced in detail in Fales & Postgate 1992, 116, fig. 27.

354. SAA 7, 112 e.11'.

355. StAT 2, 164:11.

356. Postgate 1979, 5. But see Postgate 2014, 424, who does not connect the Middle Assyrian attestations of textile-related word *bētu* with the Neo-Assyrian ones.

357. SAA 7, 97:12'; 108 ii' 7'; 109 ii' 3', 5', 6', 7'.

358. SAA 7, 109 ii' 4' 2 : : NIGIN :. KA 'MA *sa'-a*.

359. SAA 7, 109 ii' 5' 1 : : NIGIN<sup>III</sup> MÁŠ *sa'-a' su'-nī'*.

360. E.g., *sa-a* SAA 7, 97:12'; 109 i' 5', 7', 8', ii' 3', 4', 5', 6', r. iii' 8', iv' 3'; *sa-a-te* SAA 7, 108 i' 4'; *sa-a-a* SAA 7, 109 i' 3', 4'; *sa-a-a-te* SAA 7, 108 i' 6', 7', 9'; *sa-a-[a-te]* SAA 7, 108 ii' 7'. See also [*sa-a*]-*a'-te*' SAA 7, 109 ii' 7' (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author). Other attestations of the (same?) word occur in lists of wine and foodstuffs, but the context is not clear. See SAA 7, 140 r.3 and 141:3 (not translated by Fales and Postgate).

361. SAA 7, 97:12'; 108 i' 4', 6', 7', 9', ii' 7'; 109 i' 3', 4', 5', 7', 8', ii' 3', 4', 5', 6', r. iii' 8', iv' 3'; 140 r.3; 141:3'.

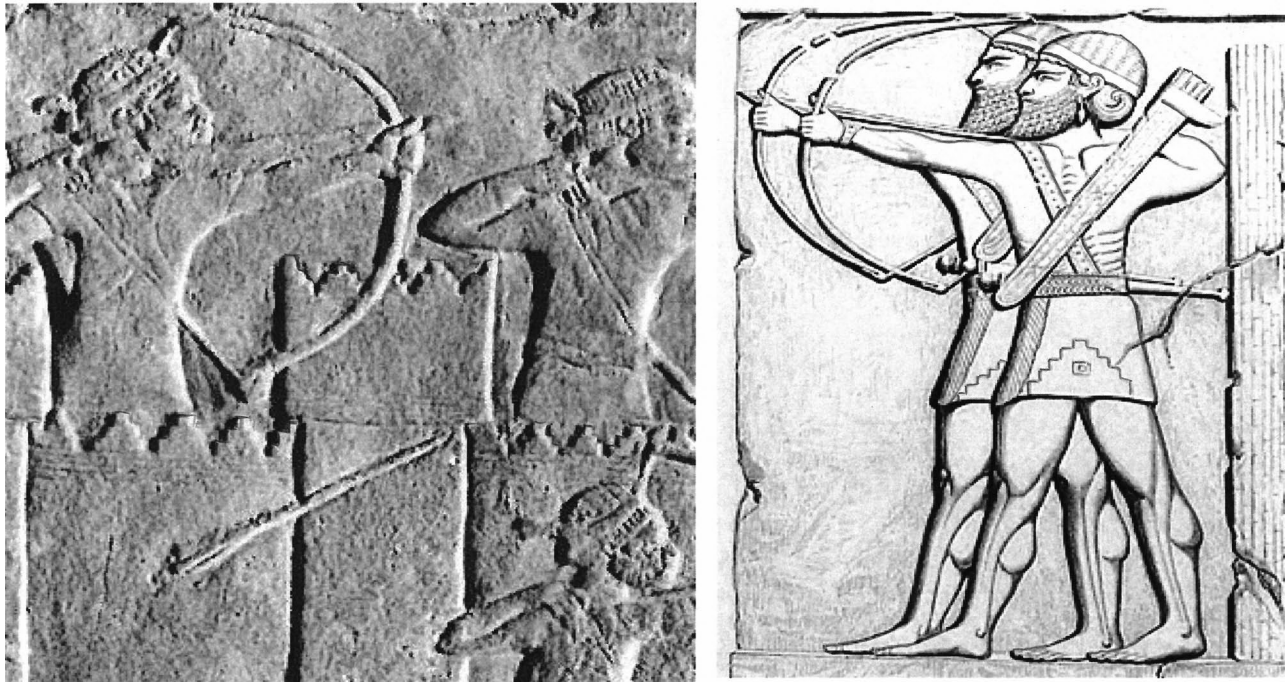
362. SAA 7, 109 r. iii' 7'-8'.

363. SAA 7, 109 r. iv' 3' [x TÚG].*GADA sa-a*.

364. Fales & Postgate 1992, 221b. The same meaning is also given in AEAD, 97a.

365. Villard 2010, 395.

366. CAD S, 117a.



**Figure 1:** Mural crenellation from a siege scene from Assurbanipal's palace in Nineveh (left, from Barnett 1976, pl. 17, detail) and stepped motif in Assyrian military kilts from Sargon II's palace in Dūr-Šarrukēn (right, from Botta & Flandin 1849-50, pl. 86, detail).

possibility is considering the form *sāiu* as a variant for *samītu*, a word related to an architectural element.<sup>366</sup> The form *sāiu* as referred to architectures is attested in Neo-Assyrian texts dealing with building activities; as an architectural term, it is translated by Fales and Postgate as 'scaffold'.<sup>367</sup> In fact, in CAD it is suggested that the Neo-Assyrian plural form *sa-a-te*, attested in connection to textiles, could be a rendering of the word *samītu*, 'battlement parapet', or (*a*)*sa'ittu*, 'tower'.<sup>368</sup> In addition, we cannot rule out that the singular form was *sa'ittu*, not *sāiu*. In light of the possible semantic connection with the architectural terminology, it is tempting to identify these *sa'ittu*-elements in wool and linen garments (Fig. 1) with towers or crenellated structures, an ubiquitous motif in Neo-Assyrian art.

Crenellated elements decorated the whole surface of male and female garments<sup>369</sup> as well as their border and tassels.<sup>370</sup> This characteristic element of Neo-Assyrian art had great success and continuity in Central Asia in subsequent centuries, as witnessed by the archers' garments of the Achaemenid palace's glazed-brick walls<sup>371</sup> and the Pazyryk *shabrak* of the 4th century BC discovered in Siberia.<sup>372</sup>

### *Designations for Neo-Assyrian garments of West Semitic origin*

A number of garment designations in Akkadian dialects of the 1st millennium BC are understood by scholars as West Semitic loanwords. In the following list, Neo-Assyrian names of garments of possible

367. SAA 11, 15 r. i 2, 7, 8, r. ii 7'; 21:9.

368. CAD S, 117b.

369. See, e.g., Layard 1849-53, I, pl. 20; Fales & Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27.

370. For this decorative element on tassels, see Crowfoot 1995, 115 fig. 4.

371. Muscarella *et al.* 1992, 226.

372. Details of these decorative elements may be observed in the coloured photograph published in Cardon 2007, 572 fig. 20.

373. CTN 2, 1:12'; K 6323+r. i' 13' (Kwasman 2009, 116); ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2687:1, r.7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961],

West Semitic origin, namely Aramaic, are included. *gammīdu* (and *gammīdutu*). This textile is generically intended as a kind of garment.<sup>373</sup> The term, which Kaufman considered as a possible old Aramaic loanword in Akkadian,<sup>374</sup> probably derived from the Aramaic passive participle *gammīd*, has also been interpreted as meaning ‘mangled garment’<sup>375</sup> and ‘smooth gown or cloak’.<sup>376</sup> In fact, Syriac *gmd* means ‘to mangle, smooth’, and refers to linen.<sup>377</sup> The verb is listed in Sokoloff’s Syriac dictionary as meaning ‘to press’ and refers to the fulling process which follows washing.<sup>378</sup> In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic the adjective *gmd*, ‘shrunk’, qualifies felt.<sup>379</sup> From the same root derives the word *gmydh*, indicating a type of garment.<sup>380</sup> Another possibility is that we have here a type of rug or blanket, thus not properly a garment.<sup>381</sup> It seems that the *gammīdu* was made of linen.<sup>382</sup> It is not clear whether the grammatical differentiation of the masculine form (*gammīdu*) and the feminine form (*gammīdutu*), an aspect which also characterises the word *maqatṭu/maqatṭutu* (see below), bears witness to different varieties of the same item of clothing, perhaps based on a variation of size. An account of wool and flax records

an amount of 2 minas of linen for the hind-part (*aqqābu*) of one *gammīdu*.<sup>383</sup> From a Neo-Babylonian text concerning manufacture of garments for the Babylonian gods we learn that 10 shekels of red wool, 25 shekels of blue-purple wool, half a mina of alum and, perhaps, also half a mina of apple-colour dye were needed to produce one *gammīdatu*-garment.<sup>384</sup>

*gulēnu*. Of this textile designation no etymology is given in the dictionaries. CAD suggests a possible West Semitic origin, connecting the term to Hebrew *gelōm* and Aramaic *gelīma*, *gelaimā* (*glym*, *glym*).<sup>385</sup> This term designates a coverlet, mantle, or cloak, in any case a sleeveless item of clothing.<sup>386</sup> The change of <*m*> into <*n*> is a phenomenon occurring in Akkadian, Aramaic and Hebrew also in final position.<sup>387</sup> Another possibility is that the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian form derive from another West Semitic textile designation. In Syriac we find the words *gallōn*, *gallōnā* (*glwn*, *glwn*), which are usually translated as meaning ‘garment’.<sup>388</sup> These terms are connected to the basic word *gall*, *gallā* (*gl*, *gl*), which means ‘covering, cloak, horse-blanket, and saddle’ in Syriac.<sup>389</sup> The Assyrian term is tentatively translated

43, pl. XXIII); PVA 248; SAA 7, 97 r.8; 104:6; 115 r. ii 18; StAT 3, 1:14; VAT 8659:2-5 (unpubl., but cited in Parpola 2008, 57). See AHw, 279b; CAD G, 36b; CDA, 89b.

374. Kaufman 1974, 51.

375. AEAD, 29b.

376. Parpola 2008, 57.

377. Parpola 2008, 57.

378. Sokoloff 2009, 239b-240a. The author quotes the attestation taken from G. Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana syriace tradidit* (1880), 159:22: “After (the garment) is washed, the fuller presses it, and removes the rumples”.

379. DJBA, 289a.

380. Porten & Yardeni 1986, B3.8 r.7; D2.19 r.2.

381. Fales & Postgate 1992, xxix.

382. SAA 7, 97 r.8; 115 r. ii 17-18.

383. SAA 7, 115 r. ii 18.

384. Zawadzki 2013, 419, no. 453:1-6 ‘1/3’ MA.NA SÍG.ta-bar-ri / 5/6 MA.NA SÍG.ta-kil-tu<sub>4</sub> / ‘1’ MA.NA NA<sub>4</sub>.gab-bu-ú / [1 MA.] NA GIŠ.HAŠHUR a-na / [šī]-bu-tu<sub>4</sub> šá 2-[ta] / [TÚG.g]a-mi-da-‘tu<sub>4</sub>’.

385. CAD G, 127b.

386. LS, 118b; Sokoloff 2009, 237b; DJPA, 130b; DJBA, 287b; Jastrow 1950, 249a (also quoting the Talmudic passage: “it is called *g.* because one looks in it like a shapeless body”).

387. Lipiński 1997, 112 § 11.7.

388. LS, 115a; Sokoloff 2009, 233b.

389. LS, 114b-115a; Sokoloff 2009, 231b-232a.

as referring to a cloak, coat, or tunic.<sup>390</sup> Another candidate for this designation could also be ‘shirt’.<sup>391</sup> The *gulēnu* was a linen garment<sup>392</sup> characterised by a red front-piece,<sup>393</sup> which could be of the country-<sup>394</sup> or of the port-type.<sup>395</sup> Neo-Babylonian documents show that this item of clothing could be made of wool or *biršu*-material.<sup>396</sup> *Gulēnus* were an important component of dowries in Babylonia.<sup>397</sup> From a Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence we also learn that there was another category of such a textile, known as *gulēnu* ‘of the house’ (É).<sup>398</sup> This textile often occurs as a standard item of apparel in documents concerning uniforms to be supplied to troops and clothes to palace personnel,<sup>399</sup> but it also constituted a common garment for both men and women, as witnessed by its presence among other marriage gifts in a contract from Nimrud.<sup>400</sup>

*maqattu* (and *maqattutu*). The Assyrian form derives from the Pa“el participle present from *qt* ‘to cut short’.<sup>401</sup> The form *muqattutu*<sup>402</sup> shows that it was understood in Assyrian as a D-stem participle. This garment has been interpreted as a sort of gown, perhaps a short-cut gown.<sup>403</sup> The item is also known with the variant *maqattutu*,<sup>404</sup> also spelled as *muqattutu*,<sup>405</sup> and it is tempting to see in this feminine designation a variety of the basic *maqattu*. Of this textile, both a linen<sup>406</sup> and a *biršu*-variety are known.<sup>407</sup> The former is qualified as having a red coloured front-piece,<sup>408</sup> in one case specified as commercial red.<sup>409</sup> Linen *maqattus* could also be multi-coloured.<sup>410</sup> The variety made with *biršu* could have a black<sup>411</sup> or red<sup>412</sup> front-part. The material called *biršu* (see also above) was probably a course fabric,<sup>413</sup> but some authors think it has to be understood

390. CTN 2, 1:11’; 154 r.2’; ND 267 (*Iraq* 12 [1950], 195, tablet not copied); ND 2097:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 19, pl. IX); ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2691:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 44, pl. XXIII); PVA 246; SAA 1, 193:4’, r.2, 6; SAA 7, 94:2; 96:2, 4, 5; 98:8, 12; 105:2; 107 r.8; 113:1, 4; 117 r.4; SAA 10, 289 r.5; SAA 11, 28:11; 36 ii 13; SAA 17, 69 r.21; TH 48:10; TH 52 r.13; TH 63:7. See AHw, 296b; CAD G, 127a; CDA, 96a; AEAD, 31b.

391. See Postgate 2001, 385.

392. ND 2097:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 19, pl. IX).

393. PVA 247; SAA 7, 96:5’; 98:8’; 107 r.8’.

394. SAA 7, 96:5’.

395. SAA 7, 107 r.8’.

396. See CAD G, 127b s.v. *gulēnu* b.

397. Roth 1989-90, 30, texts Nbn 990:12; TuM 2-3, 2:27; VAS 6, 275:3.

398. SAA 17, 69 r.21.

399. SAA 1, 193:4’, r.2, 6; SAA 11, 36 ii 13; TH 48:10; TH 63:7.

400. ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

401. DJBA, 1007b; LS, 660a.

402. StAT 2, 164:12; 255:6’; VAT 8659:2 (quoted in Parpola 2008, 57).

403. ND 2687:3 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); ND 3407:5 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. XI); SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4; 95:1, 2, 6; 97 r.1, 3, 5, r.2; 98:4’; 104:1’, 2’, 3’, 4’; 107 r.9’; 108 r. ii’ 3’; 109 iii 2’, r. ii 2, 4, 6; 111:1; 112:10’; 115 ii 9; StAT 3, 1:15. See AHw, 607b; CAD M/I, 251a; CDA, 196b. AEAD, 60a distinguishes two lemmata, *maqattu*, ‘(short) gown’, and *maqattutu*, ‘(short) felt-gown’. A discussion on these terms is in Parpola 2008, 56-57.

404. ND 2311:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 249; ZTT I, 8:2.

405. StAT 2, 164:12; 255:6’; VAT 8659:2 (quoted in Parpola 2008, 57).

406. SAA 7, 97 r.1, 5; 108 r. ii’ 3’; 109 iii 2; 112:10’.

407. SAA 7, 95:1, 2; 97 r.3; 98:4’.

408. SAA 7, 97 r.1; 108 r. ii’ 3’. *Maqattus* with a front-piece are also mentioned in SAA 7, 103 r.3’; 104:3’; 109 iii 2’, r. ii 7.

409. SAA 7, 97 r.1.

410. SAA 7, 97 r.5.

411. SAA 7, 95:1; 98:4’. Another *maqattu*-garment with black front-part is mentioned in StAT 3, 1:15, although Faist prefers to translate the occurrence as meaning “*maqātu*-Gewänder (mit) schwarzer Breitseite”.

412. SAA 7, 95:2; 97 r.3.

413. See Postgate 2001, 386. In Villard 2010, 395 the term *biršu* is translated as ‘de texture grossière’ and, alternatively, ‘feutré’.



as felt.<sup>414</sup> However, the term for felt in Assyrian seems to be *tahapšu*.<sup>415</sup> According to CAD, the word indicates a ‘woolen fabric with raised nap’.<sup>416</sup> Villard observes that the word *biršu* referred to wool products and that it probably indicated a finishing process which was executed on textiles of ordinary type.<sup>417</sup> With this coarse cloth other kinds of garments were produced in the Neo-Assyrian period, such as the *muklālu*, the *našbutu*, the *šupālītu halluptu*, and the *urnutu*.<sup>418</sup> A group of textile labels from Nineveh also documents the existence of a ‘*maqattu* of the house’,<sup>419</sup> perhaps an ordinary variety of this textile to be used indoors;<sup>420</sup> it could be red<sup>421</sup> with a (commercial) red-coloured front-part.<sup>422</sup> Interestingly, three exemplars of this piece of apparel occur in a marriage contract from the archive of the Egyptians of Assur (Archive N31); among the garments which Pabba’u gives to his daughter Mullissu-hammat as dowry there are also one house-quality *muqattutu*, one clean *muqattutu*, and a third-one of good-quality.<sup>423</sup> This shows that this garment was used by ladies. In another administrative document from Nineveh we may see that this textile could also be fabricated without front-piece; in this case, the *maqattu* was probably untailored and consisting in the cloth for the rear part of the garment.<sup>424</sup> Alternatively, it is also possible that the front-part of the *maqattu*

in question was not red-coloured and this indication could have been omitted by the scribe. The production of this textile constituted an important activity of the palace-oriented textile industry of the later Assyrian Empire. According to an account of raw materials made by the central administration, 20 talents of madder were issued by the Palace to produce 600 coloured *maqattus* and 600 *urnutus*.<sup>425</sup> Although the text does not give us any piece of information about the recipients and the final destination of these garments, it is clear that the palace dyers used the issued *Rubia tinctorum* as a colorant to dye the textiles in question. As to their destination, it is possible that they were distributed to palace officials and personnel. In a badly preserved memorandum about clothing, a certain Šamaš-iddin, perhaps a government official, is mentioned as the recipient of a *maqattu* and an *urnutu*.<sup>426</sup> The same text also mentions officials who were expected to provide garments to the central administration<sup>427</sup> and were in connection with a *rab hanšê*, ‘commander-of-fifty’.<sup>428</sup> Finely woven *maqattus* produced by the Assyrian palace weavers were also destined to be distributed as luxury goods to foreign leaders, as seems to be suggested by an amount of 2 minas of red wool for the production of gowns for some sheikhs in a short record of wool and flax from Nineveh.<sup>429</sup>

414. See, e.g., Parpola 2008, 56.

415. On *tahapšu* as felt, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999; Postgate 2000, 213-217; Postgate 2014, 406-407. On felting in the Ancient Near East see Völling 2008, 150.

416. CAD B, 261a s.v. *biršu* 2.

417. Villard 2010, 395. There is only one occurrence of the term *biršu* in the Middle Assyrian text corpus. See KAV 99:18-19, concerning a yellow and decorated *biršu*-textile. See Postgate 2014, 418 for the translation of *biršu* as ‘rug’.

418. On the use of this material, see SAA 7, 95:1, 2; 96:7’, 11’, r.1, 2; 97:4’, 10’; 98:4’, 5’; 99:4; 100:3’; 102:2’; 105:10’; 107 r.4’; 109 r. iii 9’; 119 r. ii’ 3’.

419. SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4; 99:2; 104:2’.

420. See Fales & Postgate 1992, xxvii.

421. SAA 7, 99:2.

422. SAA 7, 93:1-2; 94:4.

423. StAT 2, 164:12-13.

424. SAA 7, 107 r.9’ [x x (x x) *ma-qa*]-*ṭṭ*’ NU ZAG.

425. SAA 7, 115 ii 9-10.

426. SAA 7, 112:10’-e.12’.

427. SAA 7, 112:3’-7’, r.1-5.

428. SAA 7, 112 s.1-3.

429. SAA 7, 111:1-2.



***Other Neo-Assyrian terms for items of clothing of unclear meaning and of non-Semitic origin***

The Neo-Assyrian textile terminology includes garment designations whose etymology has not been elucidated by the scholars. Apart from West Semitic loanwords, the nomenclature of garments in Assyria is characterised by the presence of non-Semitic terms.

*hulsu*. The term only occurs in the lexical list PVA<sup>430</sup> and in a document from Nimrud.<sup>431</sup> No etymology is proposed in the dictionaries, which translate the term as ‘a type of garment’.<sup>432</sup> The term is omitted in CAD and AEAD. In Syriac, the word *helsā* (*hls*, *hls*’) designates a horse-cloth or saddle.<sup>433</sup>

*huzīqutu*. The word is attested in the form *hazīqatu* only in Akkadian lexical lists as a designation for a head covering.<sup>434</sup> The same form is also documented in Mari.<sup>435</sup> In an administrative text from Nineveh it is attested in the form *huzīqutu*.<sup>436</sup> In this document the term occurs among *šipirtu*-textiles and head-cloths. It has been tentatively interpreted as a nominal form derived from the verb *hazāqu*, whose meaning, however, is unknown.<sup>437</sup> As a working hypothesis, we may suppose that this verb also had the

meaning ‘to gird’, as in Aramaic.<sup>438</sup> A textile designation based on this root is attested in Syriac in the form *hṣāq*, *hṣāqā* (*hṣq*, *hṣq*’), which means ‘belt, bond’.<sup>439</sup>

*huzūnu*. The Neo-Assyrian term occurs in a lexical list and in various administrative and legal documents.<sup>440</sup> The word presents a plural *huzunāte*, also attested in the form *huzu’āte*,<sup>441</sup> with disappearance of [n] in intervocalic position.<sup>442</sup> CDA connects the term to the word *hušannu*, ‘sash, belt’, attested in Neo-Babylonian.<sup>443</sup> In Aramaic, the verb *hṣn* (<*hzn*) means ‘to be strong’.<sup>444</sup> We may then suppose that this designation probably refers to an operation of strengthening of the fabric within or following the weaving process. In an administrative document from Nineveh it is mentioned along with *qirmus*, veils, and *gulēnus*,<sup>445</sup> while in another document which originates from the same bureaucratic context it occurs between *urnutus* and *elītu*-garments.<sup>446</sup> In a marriage contract from the archive of the Egyptians of Assur the *huzūnu* follows *muqaṭṭutus* and *našbutu*-garments.<sup>447</sup> Neo-Babylonian texts show that it was a component of wardrobes of statues of divinities and other divine beings.<sup>448</sup>

430. PVA 242.

431. CTN 2, 1:11’.

432. AHW, 354b; CDA, 119b.

433. LS, 235a; Sokoloff 2009, 458a.

434. CAD H, 166a.

435. Durand 2009, 44.

436. SAA 7, 120 ii’ 15.

437. CDA, 113b.

438. See DJPA, 194: ‘to wrap around’; Sokoloff 2009, 440a: ‘to gird’.

439. LS, 225a; Sokoloff 2009, 440b.

440. ND 2307:17, 19, r.5 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 281; SAA 7, 98:13’; 102:3’; StAT 2, 164:14.

441. ND 2307:17 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

442. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 24.

443. CDA, 123b s.v. *huzūnu* II and 122b s.v. *hušannu*.

444. LS, 247b; Sokoloff 2009, 478b; ‘to be strong’; DJPA, 211a: ‘to become strong’; DJBA, 475a: ‘powerful’; Jastrow 1950, 488b; Drower & Macuch 1963, 151a; DNWSI, 391.

445. SAA 7, 98:13’.

446. SAA 7, 102:3’.

447. StAT 2, 164:14.

448. Beaulieu 2003, 15.

*iarītu*. The term, which is attested in documents from the Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud,<sup>449</sup> is only listed in CDA and AEAD.<sup>450</sup> In CDA it is tentatively interpreted as a feminine nominal form from the word *aiaru*, ‘rosette(-shaped ornament)’, and, consequently, as meaning ‘rosette(-ornamented clothing?)’.<sup>451</sup> Golden *aiaru*-ornaments are documented in the administrative texts from Nineveh in connection with garments.<sup>452</sup> In addition, hundreds of rosette-shaped appliques were found in the Nimrud tombs; they served to decorate the garments of the buried Assyrian queens.<sup>453</sup> Possibly, rosette-covered garments were referred to as *iarītus* in Assyrian. An alternative hypothesis is that the Neo-Assyrian form is a loanword from West Semitic. The Hebrew word *yerī‘āh* refers to a (tent-)curtain made of goat’s hair.<sup>454</sup> This term is also attested in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac.<sup>455</sup> The fact that *iarītu*-textiles also occur in a document from Nimrud dealing with provision of amounts of goat-hair<sup>456</sup> argues against the hypothesis that the *iarītu* was a finely decorated garment.

*išhu*. This word is interpreted as a designation for a cloth or a leather item.<sup>457</sup> CAD only mentions the Neo-Babylonian occurrences, where the word is preceded by the determinative for leather objects

(KUŠ).<sup>458</sup> It may be suggested that the Hurrian textile designation *išhenabe*, which is attested in Middle Assyrian texts,<sup>459</sup> and in Neo-Babylonian texts,<sup>460</sup> is probably based on the same lexical theme with the addition of Hurrian morphemes. Differently from the Neo-Babylonian counterpart, the Neo-Assyrian *išhu* is preceded by the determinative for textiles (TÚG). In addition, this textile is mentioned in an administrative list among other items of clothing (*maqattu*, *urnutu*, *hīlu*, and *nahhaptu*).<sup>461</sup>

*kandiršu*. This item of apparel is listed in dictionaries in different forms, *i.e.*, as *kundirāšu*/*kundirāšu*, *kundirašši*, *kandiršu*, and *kandirši*.<sup>462</sup> The origin of this textile designation, only attested in Neo-Assyrian documents, is unknown.<sup>463</sup> Apparently, the ending in *-(a)šše* seems to point at Hurrian as the language of derivation.<sup>464</sup> Another plausible hypothesis is that the term entered Assyrian via another language. In Middle Assyrian a textile designation *kuddilu* is attested.<sup>465</sup> Perhaps, this term re-entered Akkadian through the mediation of a Hurrian form with *<r>* and ending in *-(a)šše*. Instead, the word *kandarasānu*,<sup>466</sup> attested in Neo-Babylonian, has nothing to do with *kandiršu*. Neo-Babylonian texts document linen

449. CTN 3, 4 r.10; 5 e.10, r.16; 6:1.

450. CDA, 440b; AEAD, 39b.

451. CDA, 440b.

452. See, *e.g.*, SAA 7, 60 i 5-6.

453. Collon 2008, 105-118.

454. See Postgate 1973, 53 citing a Kwasman’s suggestion.

455. DJPA, 245b; Sokoloff 2009, 584b.

456. CTN 3, 4:7-r.10.

457. AHw, 394b; CAD I-J, 242a; CDA, 133b; AEAD, 42b.

458. CAD I-J, 242a: ‘a leather object’.

459. See CAD I-J, 241a s.v. *išhanabe* a and Postgate 2014, 418.

460. See Beaulieu 2003, 15, concerning clothes for the statues of goddesses.

461. SAA 7, 115 ii 15.

462. AHw, 1569b; CDA, 167a; AEAD, 46a (*kandirši*) and 51b (*kundirašši*). The distinction of two different words in AEAD is probably due to a mistake of the authors of this dictionary. Note that the two forms are included under the same entry in Fales & Postgate 1992, 214a.

463. AHw, 1569b. Note that CAD only lists the Neo-Babylonian attestations.

464. Wegner 2000, 49.

465. KAV 103:9; 200 r.2, 3; KAJ 136:3; 310:34, 35. A large variety of *kuddilu*-textile is attested in KAV 200 r.3. See CAD K, 492b.

466. CAD K, 148b.

*g/kandarasānu*<sup>467</sup> probably coming from *Gandar/Kandara(š)*, a north-eastern region of the Iranian Plateau.<sup>468</sup> The Neo-Assyrian attestations of the term *kandiršu* are limited to three administrative documents from Nineveh<sup>469</sup> and a marriage contract from Assur.<sup>470</sup> In an inventory text listing various objects, especially metal vessels, a section, unfortunately in fragmentary conditions, is devoted to textile products. The preserved lines include names for items of clothing, among which a number of *kundirašši*-garments.<sup>471</sup> Moreover, this item occurs as one of the commodities probably received by the governor of Bēt-nayalāni, among animals, wine and other precious items of clothing of possibly foreign origin: apart from one *kundiraššu* or *kundirašši*, the list of textile products includes four *šaddīnu*-garments and one head-cloth.<sup>472</sup> The second Ninevite inventory list seems to connect this item of clothing to a cultic milieu.<sup>473</sup> In fact, all the listed objects and food-stuffs were used in the Aššur Temple cultic rituals. The mention of a tuft of red wool in the same passage<sup>474</sup> confirms the use of all the listed textiles for ritual purposes, in all likelihood for royal rituals to be celebrated in the main Assyrian temple. It is also worth noting the association of the

*kandiršu*-garment with the *sasuppu*, a textile used in royal rituals<sup>475</sup> as well as in ceremonial banquets.<sup>476</sup> The *sasuppu* and the *kandiršu*-garment occur together also in the *Practical Vocabulary of Assur*;<sup>477</sup> this suggests that these items of clothing were probably complementary. This item of attire was also a component of female wardrobes. In fact, a marriage contract from the Archive N31 of Assur shows that *kundiršu*-garments (written as pl. *kundaraššāni*)<sup>478</sup> occur as a precious item of clothing among various types of garments belonging to the woman Mullissu-hammat. The fact that this woman was the daughter of the horse keeper of the goddess Ištar of Arbela corroborates the connection of this garment with the cultic sphere.

*kindabasi*.<sup>479</sup> This Middle and Neo-Assyrian word derives from Hurrian *kindabašše*.<sup>480</sup> The 1st-millennium form in Assyrian is *kindabasi*, while the Middle Assyrian shows the forms *kindabaše*<sup>481</sup> and *kiddapaše* (with assimilation *nd>dd*).<sup>482</sup> The latter can be compared with the Ugaritic textile designation *kdwt*, which has been explained as an assimilated variant of *kndpnt* (/kiddawaṭ(t)-/ < /kindapant-/).<sup>483</sup> The change <š> to <s> from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian may be explained in light of the treatment of sibilants in

467. GCCI 2, 361:8 GADA.gan-da-ra-sa-nu; YOS 3, 145:14 GADA.ka-an-da-ra.

468. Zadok 1985, 138; Vallat 1993, 125.

469. Ki 1904-10-9,154+r.48 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII); SAA 7, 121 i 6'; 174:5'.

470. StAT 2, 164:10.

471. Ki 1904-10-9,154+r.48 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) 40' TÚG.kun-dir-a-[še] (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author).

472. SAA 7, 121 i 4'-6' 4 TÚG.šad-din / 1 TÚG.kar-ZI.MEŠ / 1 kun-dir-a-še.

473. SAA 7, 174:5' TÚG.sa-su-up-pu' TÚG.kan'-dir'-še'.

474. SAA 7, 174:6' ni-ip-šú SÍG.HÉ.MED'.

475. See Menzel 1981, nos. 24 i 16; 28:10; 30:6; 31 i 12.

476. Müller 1937, 62, line ii 17.

477. PVA 286-288 TÚG.sa-su-pu / TÚG.: ša TÚG.GADA / TÚG.kun-dar-a-ši.

478. StAT 2, 164:10-11 TÚG.ur-na-te GADA 4 TÚG.kun-dar-a-šá-ni / 1 TÚG.ur-nu-tu SÍG. It is interesting to observe that the material of the four *kandiršu*-garments is not indicated in the document. Perhaps, *kandiršu*-garments were not made with linen or wool.

479. Note that the term is recorded as *kindabassu* in AEAD, 50a, although the singular form is actually *kindabasi*, as witnessed by the attestation given in PVA 245 (TÚG.kin-da-ba-'si').

480. Watson 2007, 88.

481. AfO 19 T.6:5 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52) 1 TÚG.HI.A [ki]-in-da-ba-š[e]. See also Postgate 1979, 5 and Postgate 2014, 418.

482. *Iraq* 35, T.13, 1:1 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 84) ki-da-pa-še (with assimilation *nd>dd*).

483. Del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996, 211b s.v. *kdwt*, *ibidem* 220a s.v. *kndpnt*. This textile has been interpreted as 'una prenda de vestir (¿prenda íntima femenina?)'. See also Vita 2010, 329.

the Neo-Assyrian dialect. I wonder whether the term *kindabasi* has something to do with the word *kamdu/kindu*, attested in Akkadian<sup>484</sup> and Ugaritic<sup>485</sup> as a designation derived from the verb *kamādu*, ‘to weave in a specific way’, and possibly referring to a cloth woven according to a special technique. From the ‘Middle Assyrian Harem Edicts’ it seems that it was a woman’s undergarment.<sup>486</sup> This interpretation is also followed by Postgate, who translates the Middle Assyrian term as ‘loincloth’.<sup>487</sup> Neo-Assyrian occurrences are in PVA and in two administrative documents.<sup>488</sup> One of these texts deals with the consignment of an unspecified number of *kindabasi*-garments,<sup>489</sup> presumably for internal palace distribution, while the second document states that this item of apparel was presented as offering material for the gods.<sup>490</sup> In that case, it is reasonable to think that this garment served to clothe the statue of the god.

*kirbīnu*. This term is only attested in PVA. No etymology is proposed in the dictionaries. Aramaic *krbn* is a variant of the verb *kbn*, ‘to gird (garment)’.<sup>491</sup>

*pazibdu*. This term for garment is only attested in a document from Assur<sup>492</sup> and in an inventory text from Nineveh.<sup>493</sup> The word is not included in the dictionaries. While the term is preceded by the determinative for linen items (GADA) in the Assur text, in the Nineveh text it is qualified as a garment

(TÚG). Moreover, in this administrative document it is described as a textile for the bathroom (*bēt ramāki*) and the *qirsu*-place.<sup>494</sup>

*pītu*. This term, which is not included in the dictionaries, occurs in a letter of the royal correspondence, in which Šumu-iddina informs the king about a statue of Bēl in the Esagil temple in Babylon. According to the words of Esarhaddon’s servant, the statue was short one-half of a TÚG.*pi-i*-DA. Cole and Machinist read the occurrence as *pītu* and interpret it as a name for a garment,<sup>495</sup> but the reading is far from certain.

*sibrītu*. The term *sibrītu* or *siprītu* occurs in a document from Kalhu,<sup>496</sup> where it is mentioned in the context of garments and other commodities. CDA tentatively connects the word to the textile designation *šipirtu*, indicating a kind of waist-belt or similar item of clothing (see below).<sup>497</sup>

*šipirtu*. The word is also attested in Neo-Assyrian in the form *šipittu*,<sup>498</sup> resulting from the assimilation *rt>tt*. No etymology is given in the dictionaries. In CAD, which explains the term as possibly designating a special weaving technique or treatment, a connection with the verb *šepēru*, ‘to strand (hair or linen), trim, decorate’, is suggested.<sup>499</sup> Instead, a possible Aramaic origin is tentatively proposed in CDA,<sup>500</sup> probably on the authority of von Soden,

484. The dictionaries do not treat the forms *kamdu* and *kimdu* as variants of the same term. See, e.g., CAD K, 121a s.v. *kamdu*, 372a s.v. *kimdu*.

485. Del Olmo Lete & Sanmartín 1996, 220a s.v. *knd*.

486. AfO 17, 287:105. See CAD K, 384b.

487. Postgate 2014, 418.

488. PVA 245; SAA 7, 166:2; 176 r.5’. Another occurrence is possibly in Ki 1904-10-9,154+ r.49 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) [x TÚG.kin-da-b]a<sup>7</sup>-si GADA (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author).

489. SAA 7, 166:2 ša’-az-bu-su / ša TÚG.kin-da-ba-si, ‘A consignment of *kindabasi*-garments.’

490. SAA 7, 176 r.5’-7’.

491. LS, 316a; Sokoloff 2009, 596b; Jastrow 1950, 609a.

492. StAT 2, 164:14 1 GADA.pa-zi-ib-du.

493. SAA 7, 120 ii’ 1 1 TÚG.pa-zi<sup>2</sup>-[ib-du] (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author). The second sign of the word may be read as ZI.

494. SAA 7, 120 ii’ 2-3.

495. SAA 13, 181:7.

496. ND 2311:3 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).

497. CDA, 324b.

498. ZTT I, 8:1 ‘TÚG’ .ši-pi-tú.

499. CAD Š, 201b.

500. CDA, 339a.



who suggested a possible derivation from Aramaic *špr*, ‘flechten’.<sup>501</sup> This West Semitic form has also been related to Arabic *dfr*, ‘to weave, braid, twist’.<sup>502</sup> However, the Aramaic-oriented etymology of the Akkadian word has recently been rejected in light of the fact that a root \**špr* is not attested in Jewish Aramaic.<sup>503</sup> The reference to linen and especially to trimming in the verb *šepēru* could explain the Assyrian word as a designation for a trimmed textile. The term has been understood as referring to a scarf, (woven) girdle, sash, or waist-belt.<sup>504</sup> Given its attestation in the context of textiles for the personnel of the Assyrian royal army, it has been suggested that the *šipirtu* was the well-known broad waist-belt of the Assyrian soldiers.<sup>505</sup> In many pictorial representations of such waist-belts, the textiles in question are characterised by trims bordering them.<sup>506</sup> A red-coloured variety ‘of the port’ is attested in a label from Nineveh,<sup>507</sup> while a Nimrud label shows that also a white variety of *šipirtu* was in use.<sup>508</sup> This term also designated a drape used to cover chairs, probably characterised by the same kind of trim decorating the above-mentioned waist-belts. In an administrative text, an unspecified number of commercial-red

coloured *šiprāt(e)* is listed in connection with a chair.<sup>509</sup> This recalls the issues of wool for stuffing stools of the royal palace in a document from the archive of Tell Ali,<sup>510</sup> although in this case, the Middle Assyrian text does not specify the type of textile. In this Middle Assyrian archive we find another attestation concerning the use of *šipirtu* for furniture; in this case, a number of these textile products appear in association with beds of the royal palace furniture.<sup>511</sup> The same use of *šipirtu* continues in Babylonia in later times, as shown by a Neo-Babylonian contract mentioning a linen *šipirtu* related to a bed.<sup>512</sup> Among the coloured textiles represented in the wall paintings of the Assyrian palace at Til Barsip, in Room 47 we may see a drape with a checkerboard pattern covering the back of the royal throne where the Assyrian king is seated.<sup>513</sup> For this second usage of the *šipirtu*-textile, Postgate suggested the translation ‘rug, blanket’.<sup>514</sup> In Assyria, this textile was produced by a specialised weaver, called *ušpār šiprāti*.<sup>515</sup>

Other terms of the Neo-Assyrian terminology of garments remain obscure. These are *datāiu* (perhaps, formed with a toponym and the nisbe *-āiu*),<sup>516</sup>

501. von Soden 1977, 195. See also AHW, 1103b s.v. *šipirtu* III; DNWSI, 973 s.v. *šprh<sub>2</sub>*; Jastrow 1950, 1249b.

502. See AHW, 1103b.

503. Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 51, no. 225.

504. K 6323+ r. i’ 8’ (Kwasman 2009, 116); PVA 244; SAA 7, 96:8’; 120 ii’ 14, ii’ 12; 124:10’; 127:10’; SAA 11, 28:12; 42 r. i 4’; 67:1; 202 ii 17’; SAA 19, 14:12, r.1, 4; ZTT I, 8:1. The word also occurs in the unpublished text VAT 8659 (quoted in Parpola 2008, 57).

505. Postgate 2001, 385.

506. See, e.g., Fales & Postgate 1992, 124 fig. 30.

507. SAA 7, 96:8’.

508. ND 2086 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18).

509. SAA 7, 120 ii’ 12-14. See *ibidem* i’ 14 for another occurrence of *šipirtu*-textiles.

510. Ismail & Postgate 2008, 173, no. 23 e.12-r.15 10 MA.NA SÍG.MEŠ / a-na GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ *šap-pa-la-te* / ša É.GAL-*lim a-na še-a-’i* / ta-ad-na.

511. Ismail & Postgate 2008, 172, no. 22 e.5-6 [TÚG].*ši-ip-ra-te* / ša GIŠ.NÁ.MEŠ ša É.GAL-*lim*.

512. Roth 1989, text no. 38:13. See also Joannès 2014, 460, quoting the Neo-Babylonian contract. Joannès suggests that the *šipirtu* for beds was probably a sort of tapestry fabric.

513. Albenda 2005, 63, fig. 23.

514. Postgate 2014, 423.

515. CTN 3, 145 r. ii 14; SAA 6, 301:4; SAA 7, 115 r. i 7; SAA 12, 83 r.8; SAA 16, 55:2. See also the list of professions Sultantepe 52/8 ii 11 (cited in CAD S, 201b).

516. ZTT II, 33:6 4 TÚG.*da-ta-’-a-a*, ‘Four datean garments.’ This textile name is not explained by MacGinnis and Willis Monroe. Perhaps, this textile designation may be compared with two non-Assyrian personal names, namely *Datā* and *Dātāna* (with shortened form *Dātā*). See PNA I/II, 381b-382a.

*iamnuqu*,<sup>517</sup> *iahilu*,<sup>518</sup> *kirnāiu* (perhaps yet another word formed by a toponym and the nisbe *-āiu*; it has been compared to Eblaic *kirnānu*, a name for a linen textile),<sup>519</sup> *nimrā'u* (a nominal form in *-ānu* from *namāru*, 'to be bright', or a foreign word? Cf. the Neo-Babylonian textile term *guzguzu*, of which the word *nimrā'u* was probably a synonym),<sup>520</sup> *supāqu* (from the verb *sapāqu*, 'to be sufficient?'),<sup>521</sup> [...] *rakkatum* (the occurrence is broken in the tablet, but it refers to a linen textile, perhaps *\*aparakkatu*?),<sup>522</sup> *zanu*[...] (perhaps, to be connected to the verb *zānu*, 'to stud [garments] with precious stones?'),<sup>523</sup> and *zazabtu*<sup>524</sup> (a variant form with allophone [z] from *\*zabzabtu/sabsabtu*? Cf. Middle Assyrian *sapsapu*, 'fringe of a garment').<sup>525</sup>

### Designations for parts of garments

The Neo-Assyrian textile terminology concerning parts of garments is very limited. From the extant attestations of these terms it seems that the interest of Assyrian administrators focused on a very limited set of parts of clothing items, presumably the ones that were considered as the most characteristic features of

certain garments, such as fringes, edging, and decoration. However, the meaning of some of these terms remains unclear.

*ahāte*. The plural term refers to sleeves of garments.

Pieces of clothing for arms were also called by the compound word *bēt ahi* (TÚG.É—Á.MEŠ) in the Neo-Assyrian dialect.<sup>526</sup> Only in a text from Ziyaret Tepe we find the logographic singular form Á. The qualification *ša ahāte* refers to *hullānu*.<sup>527</sup> The word *ahāte* was also used in the Middle Assyrian period as an abbreviated form to indicate 'garments with sleeves'.<sup>528</sup> Sleeves are treated as a separate item of clothing not only in 1st-millennium Assyria, but also in other regions of the Ancient Near East, as witnessed, for instance, by a 2nd-millennium document from Mari.<sup>529</sup> From a look at Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs it is clear that short sleeves characterised royal and, in general, male dresses,<sup>530</sup> while long sleeves were a characteristic of queens' garments.<sup>531</sup>

*appu*, 'fringe'.<sup>532</sup> This term is usually written with the logogram KA, followed by the obscure sign MA,<sup>533</sup> probably an abbreviation for a word indicating a special feature of the fringe. It seems that

517. PVA 241. See CAD I-J, 322a.

518. PVA 268; ZTT II, 33:5. See CAD I-J, 321a.

519. PVA 233. See CAD K, 408b. For the Eblaic *kirnānu* see Pasquali 2010, 180.

520. PVA 255. See CAD N/II, 234b s.v. *nimra'u*. The adjective *namru*, 'bright(ly coloured)', is used as name of a garment in the 2nd millennium BC. See CAD N/I, 241a s.v. *namru* 1 a 4'. The word *nimra'u* could be tentatively explained as a form affected by a change of the [n] of the adjectival ending *-ānu* into ['] for the intervocalic position of the nasal. See von Soden 1995, 42; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 24. However, the fact that the word is written as *nim-ra-ah* in the tablet could indicate that the term is *nimrah*. Akkadian terms ending in *-ah* like *dardarah* (an ornament), *pirizah* (a plant), and *sirnah* (a garment), are Kassite loanwords. On the *guzguzu*-textile in Neo-Babylonian texts see Quillien 2013, 21-25.

521. PVA 279. See CAD S, 392a.

522. STAT 2, 164:16 [x x x x]-*ra-ka-tum* GADA. The feminine form *\*aparakkatu* is not attested in Akkadian. For the Neo-Assyrian headdress *aparakku*, attested in PVA 276, see CAD A/II, 166b.

523. SAA 7, 124:8'. See CAD Z, 47a.

524. SAA 7, 172 r.9. This term is not included in CAD. See CDA, 446a and AEAD, 133b.

525. MARV I, 24:11 ½ MA.NA SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>3</sub> *a-na sa-ap-si-pi* TÚG.lu-bul-tu.

526. K 6323+ r. i' 7' (Kwasman 2009, 116); PVA 282; SAA 7, 120 i' 6 (not translated by Fales and Postgate). Note that in ZTT I, 8:3 this part of garment is indicated logographically as Á. See AEAD, 5a: 'arm piece'.

527. AfO 19, T.6:1-2 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52).

528. KAV 105 r.24 TÚG.a-ha-te, '(garments with) sleeves'.

529. Durand 2009, 29. The French scholar translates the term *ahatum* as 'manche amovible'.

530. See, e.g., Barnett 1976, pls. 49-53.

531. Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

532. SAA 7, 108 i' 5'; 109 i 3', 5', ii 4', iii 4'.

533. SAA 7, 109 i 5', ii 4'.

*appus* were characteristic elements of *urnutu*-garments<sup>534</sup> and linen *maqattu*-garments.<sup>535</sup> Another word for fringe was *sissiqtu* (see below). Representations of fringed garments are ubiquitous in Neo-Assyrian visual art.<sup>536</sup> From the colourful wall paintings of Tiglath-pileser III's palace at Til Barsip we see that fringes of garments could be of different colours in alternation.<sup>537</sup>

*aqqābu*, 'hind-part'.<sup>538</sup> This textile component occurs in association with *gammīdu*-garments.<sup>539</sup> Perhaps, another occurrence of the word may be found in a list of textiles.<sup>540</sup> Von Soden connects this Assyrian word to Jewish Aramaic '*aqqābā*, which he translates as 'Überbleibsel'.<sup>541</sup> However, as pointed out by Abraham and Sokoloff, no such word with such a meaning exists in Aramaic.<sup>542</sup>

*betātu*, 'strings(?)'.<sup>543</sup> This item is interpreted by CAD as a decoration used on garments and leather objects.<sup>544</sup> It is worth noting that this textile term occurs in connection with *nahlaptus*. In fact, PVA also lists a *nahlaptu ša betāti* among different types of *nahlaptu*.<sup>545</sup> The interpretation by MacGinnis and Willis Monroe that the *betātus* mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian document from Ziyaret Tepe refer

to 'slippers'<sup>546</sup> is only based on El-Amarna attestations concerning leather objects.<sup>547</sup> The editors do not consider that the word is also used in Middle Assyrian times in connection with leather containers and, as far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, for qualifying cloaks. Instead of 'decoration' or 'slippers', it is possible that shoelaces and purse strings were named with this term. In the case of *nahlaptus*, it is possible that the *betātus* were strings used to tie the cloaks. In fact, from the Ziyaret Tepe tablet we learn that *betātus* were associated with various items of clothing.<sup>548</sup>

*birmu*, 'multi-coloured trim/border?'.<sup>549</sup> This word is a nominal form from the verb *barāmu*, 'to be multi-coloured'.<sup>550</sup> The item in question is peculiar to the textiles called *kusītu*, *maqattu*, and *qarrāru*. Postgate supposes that the term *birmu* designated a cloth strip used as an edging for garments, which is, presumably, the same function of the *sūnu*-item (see below), although differences between the two textiles are not known.<sup>551</sup> It is interesting to observe that a Middle Assyrian text mentions a *birmu* for the statue of the king;<sup>552</sup> presumably, it served to embellish the

534. SAA 7, 109 ii 4'.

535. SAA 7, 109 iii 4'.

536. See, e.g., Layard 1849-53, I, pl. 25 and *passim*.

537. Guralnick 2004, 223.

538. In AEAD, 9a the word is treated as a variant of *aqbu* and translated as 'heel, lower part, extremity'. Instead, the other dictionaries distinguish the two terms. See, e.g., CAD A/II, 207a s.v. *aqqabu* (not translated) and CAD E, 248b s.v. *eqbu*: 'heel, hoof'.

539. SAA 7, 115 r. ii 17-18.

540. SAA 7, 109 r. iv 1'-2' [*aq-qa*]-*bi* x x[x x x x] / [x] KUN? GÙN.A KUR?, "[The hind-pa]rt of [...-textile(s)], [...] the rear, multi-coloured, of the country" (Reconstruction of the broken part of the occurrence by the author).

541. von Soden 1966, 6.

542. Abraham & Sokoloff 2011, 26, no. 13.

543. PVA 223; ZTT II, 33:7.

544. CAD B, 214b.

545. PVA 223.

546. MacGinnis & Willis Monroe 2013-2014, 52.

547. EA 22 ii 27, iii 26. See CAD B, 214b.

548. ZTT II, 33:1-7 7 TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ / 4 TÚG.ma-ak-[ul.MEŠ] / 2 TÚG.KI.TA—'hal-lu-pat' / 1 TÚG.ša'—IŠ ša hi-[l]a<sup>2</sup>-nu / 2 TÚG.ia-hi-li / 4 TÚG.da-ta-'a-a / a-na 5-šú TÚG.bet-ta-tu, "Seven upper garments, four shaw[ls], two reinforced undergarments, one dust garment with wrappings, two *iahilus*, four *datean* garments for five pairs of *betātus*."

549. Billa 71:1, 5 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); K 6323+ ii 17' (Kwasman 2009, 114); RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5'; 223:33; SAA 7, 70 i' 2'; 97 r.5; 99:1; 104 r.3'; 105:6', 7'; 108 i' 8'; 109 r. iv 2', 6'; SAA 12, 35:26; 36:17; SAA 16, 84 r.12; StAT 3, 1:9.

550. CAD B, 103a s.v. *barāmu* B.

551. Postgate 2014, 409-410.

552. MARV III, 71:6 (StAT 5, 92) *bir-mu ša ša-lam* LUGAL.

vestments that covered the statue. The *birmu* was produced by a specialised weaver called *ušpār birmi*.<sup>553</sup> Another plausible hypothesis is that *birmu* indicated a multi-coloured breast-piece which was added to vestments. Royal garments are usually represented in palace reliefs as having a finely-executed round- or rectangular-shaped decorative part in the breast-area,<sup>554</sup> although it is not certain whether such breast-pieces were made of fabric or metal plaques.

*kišiptu*, ‘cut-off piece (of a garment)’.<sup>555</sup> This meaning is not included in the dictionaries, which only record the meaning ‘calculation’ (from the verb *kašāpu/kešēpu*, ‘to think, estimate’).<sup>556</sup> However, it is clear that the textile-related meaning of *kišiptu* hardly derives from the verb *kašāpu/kešēpu*,<sup>557</sup> while the best candidate seems to be *kašāpu* (II), which seems to be a Neo-Assyrian form of *kasāpu*, ‘to cut off’.<sup>558</sup>

*libītu*. This term, derived from *labû* (*lamû*, *lawû*), ‘to encircle’, probably designated the rim or border of garments.<sup>559</sup> It is attested in the logographic form NIGÍN in lists of textiles from Nineveh as a descriptive element of *našbutus*,<sup>560</sup> *urnutus*,<sup>561</sup> and *šupālītu halluptu*-garments.<sup>562</sup> In the case of *urnutu*, the border of this garment was also indicated as *sihru* (see below). The word is not a

novelty of the 1st millennium, since the qualification *ša liwītim*, translated as ‘for wrapping’, occurs in Old Assyrian texts in association with textile products.<sup>563</sup> The border of Neo-Assyrian garments could be decorated by a variety of elements (*e.g.*, rosettes, square-shaped ornaments, *etc.*), often in alternation, and the presence of tassels and fringes.<sup>564</sup> The Nimrud textile remains show that tassels were used to embellish the border of one or more garments of the Assyrian queens buried there.<sup>565</sup>

*nītu*. A Nimrud document shows that *nītu*-element(s) characterised the garment called *šupālītu halluptu* in Neo-Assyrian.<sup>566</sup> In a text from Tell Billa this item occurs in association with *nahlaptu*-garments.<sup>567</sup> The meaning of the word *nītu* is not clear: AEAD suggests that it was a precious item,<sup>568</sup> perhaps used as a decoration for this garment. The verb *nētu* means ‘to enclose, surround’ and the idea of enclosure seems to fit well to the function of a metal clasp as well as of a decorative geometrical element, for example, a circle. However, we cannot rule out that it refers to a specific structural element of *šupālītu halluptus* and *nahlaptus*.

*pūtu*, ‘front-part’.<sup>569</sup> This element, which is indicated in the texts with the logogram ZAG, occurs

553. ADW 9:4; SAA 6, 42 r.8; SAA 12, 27:24; 94:5.

554. See, *e.g.*, Layard 1849-53, I, pls. 5-6, 19; Fales & Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27.

555. CTN 2, 1:5’, 7’, 8’. This meaning is not included in AEAD, 50b.

556. CDA, 161b.

557. CAD K, 314a.

558. Postgate 1973, 27 fn. ad 5’.

559. CAD L, 191a.

560. SAA 7, 96:11’; 97:11’; 102:1’.

561. SAA 7, 96 r.2; 102:2’.

562. SAA 7, 105:9’, 10’.

563. Michel & Veenhof 2010, 241.

564. Layard 1849-53, I, pls. 5, 12, and *passim*; Barnett 1976, pls. 40, 49, and *passim*.

565. See Crowfoot 1995, 115 fig. 4.

566. ND 2687 r.10 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII) 1 TÚG.: *ina ni-tú*, ‘One ditto (= reinforced undergarment) with *nītu*-element(s)’ (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

567. Billa 61:19-21 (JCS 7 [1953], 135) [x TÚG.]GÚ.È [x]x x x / [x]x 12 *ni-tu*-[x x x] / [x] *ma-hi-šu*, ‘[... n]ahlaptu-garment(s) [of ..., with] 12 *nītu*-elements(?), [...] the weaver [x x x]’.

568. AEAD, 77b. This meaning is not included in the other dictionaries.

569. SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4; 95:1; 96:5’, 7’, r.1, 2, 4; 97:7’, 10’, r.1, 3; 98:4’, 5’, 8’, 9’; 102:5’; 104:3’; 105:3’, 8’; 107:8’, 9’, 10’; 108:14’, 15’, r. ii’ 3’; 109 r. iii’ 7’, 9’; StAT 3, 1:15.



in descriptions of the items of clothing called *gulēnu*, *maklulu*, *maqaṭtu*, *naṣbutu*, *qirmu*, *rad-didu*, *ša GIL* and *urnutu*, as well as of the *sasuppu*-napkin.<sup>570</sup> It is not clear whether the term *pūtu* indicates the whole surface of the front-part of a garment or a small area of it. In the case of the *nixsu*-textiles mentioned in a list from Assur, the red *pūtu* is associated with red sides (braids?).<sup>571</sup> The *pūtu*-element of Neo-Assyrian garments is usually red, except for some attestations where it is black.<sup>572</sup> These references to coloured front-parts of certain garments suggest that the rear parts had a different colour, probably black in the case of red *pūtus*. On this regard, the literary text of the *Marduk Ordeal* is very informative. In this composition, there is a passage concerning the goddess Ištar, precisely her manifestation in Babylon, who was called ‘The Lady of Babylon’. The text describes the vestment which covered her statue in the temple and uses the word *šīpātu* in metonymical function to indicate her garment. What is worth noting here is that her *garment* (literally, ‘wool’) is said to be black on her back (*ina kutallišāni*) and red on her front (*ina pānišāni*).<sup>573</sup> This description of Ištar’s garment matches the attestations of red *pūtus* given in the Nineveh administrative textile lists. If so, the use of the term *pūtu* in textile qualifications may be considered analogous to that of the word *pānu*. The use of the term *pānum* in descriptions of Mari textiles is possibly referring to

the technique of lining, according to Durand.<sup>574</sup> It is possible that the mention of coloured ‘front-parts’ in Assyria was analogously used to indicate lined textiles.

*sihru*. With this term, derived from the verb *sahāru*, ‘to go around, turn’, the edging or border of garments was probably indicated.<sup>575</sup> In the Neo-Assyrian texts, it is attested in its logographic form NIGÍN in connection with *šaddīnus*<sup>576</sup> and *urnutu*-garments.<sup>577</sup> It is not clear whether *sihru* and *libītu* (see above) were synonyms or whether a certain semantic distinction between the two terms was at work in their use in descriptions of textiles. However, the fact that both terms are used for the same item, namely *urnutu*, seems to suggest a synonymic relationship between the two. The possibility that the logographic form NIGIN is used in alternative to NIGÍN is considered by Fales and Postgate.<sup>578</sup>

*sissiqtu* (also *zizziqtu*), ‘hem, fringe’.<sup>579</sup> The form with emphatic velar is confirmed by a Middle Assyrian attestation<sup>580</sup> and suggests to normalize the Babylonian and Assyrian form as *sissiqtu* (from *\*siq-siqtu*), instead of *sissiktu*.<sup>581</sup> The phonetical rendering *zizziqtu* in a letter of the royal correspondence of Esarhaddon<sup>582</sup> shows that [z] was an allophone for <š>.<sup>583</sup> The *kusītu*’s hem is only attested in Middle Assyrian texts.<sup>584</sup> It seems that hems of garments were managed as separate items by the state administration, as shown by an attestation

570. For the red-coloured front-part of *sasuppu*-napkins, see SAA 7, 120 ii’ 4-6.

571. StAT 3, 1:10-11.

572. See SAA 7, 95:1; 98:4’; 107:10’; 109 r. iii 11’.

573. SAA 3, 34:42-43 [<sup>a</sup>*be-lit*—KÁ.DINGIR].RA.KI *ša SÍG.MI ina ku-tal-li-šá-ni SÍG.tab-ri-bu ina pa-ni-[šá-ni 0] / [x x x ina pa-na-t]u-uš-šá da-mu ša šur-ri ša tab-ku-u-ni [šū-nu]*, “[The Lady of] Babylon who has black wool on her back and red wool on her front [...]: [the red wool] on her [front] is blood of the heart which was shed [...]”.

574. Durand 2009, 78.

575. CAD S, 239a.

576. SAA 7, 96 r.2; 97:12’; 102:2’; 109 ii 2’.

577. SAA 7, 109 ii 4’, 5’, 6’, 7’.

578. Fales & Postgate 1992, xxviii.

579. PVA 299; SAA 3, 11 r.14; SAA 16, 36 r.16.

580. MARV III, 8 r.25’ *zi-zi-qa-tu-šū-n[u]*.

581. See Postgate 2014, 425-426 for discussion and references.

582. SAA 16, 36 r.16 TÚG.*zi-zi-ik-tú*. For the form with <š>, see, e.g., SAA 10, 298:17 TÚG.*ši-ši-ik-ti-sú*.

583. Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 10.

584. MARV III, 5 r.38’-39’.

in a document from the palace administrator's archive in Assur.<sup>585</sup> The hem of a garment played an important role in Mesopotamian legal transactions. Interestingly, the practice of sealing legal documents with the garment's *sissiqtu*<sup>586</sup> seems to be attested also in the Neo-Assyrian period, as witnessed by a clay tablet from Til Barsip, where imprints of two cords ending in a fringe of tiny threads are still visible.<sup>587</sup>

*sūnu*. This term designates a part of a garment. In Mari texts it refers to a textile end product and a type of wool.<sup>588</sup> When related to a textile, Durand translates the word as 'gigot, galon, ourlet'.<sup>589</sup> Also in Nuzi and Kassite Babylonia the *sūnu* was a component of a garment. In Middle Assyrian times, *išhanabe*- and *ašiannu*-garments, as well as *tusahhuri*-wrappings, are mentioned with their own *sūnu*.<sup>590</sup> This cloth-piece could be of *takiltu*-wool, according to Bābu-aha-iddina's archive.<sup>591</sup> In 1st-millennium BC Assyria this textile was associated with other garments. In a document from Kalhu it occurs with a garment called *ša IŠ* (see above).<sup>592</sup> In that case, Postgate translates the term as 'breast-piece'.<sup>593</sup> In an administrative text from Nineveh *sūnu* denotes a part of

an *urnutu*-garment.<sup>594</sup> Dalley's interpretation of the *sūnu* as a 'trimming'<sup>595</sup> seems to accord with the Middle Assyrian attestations.<sup>596</sup> In contrast, in a Neo-Babylonian letter of the royal correspondence *sūnu* is used as a commodity of its own; in fact, the sender of the letter states to have sent one *sūnu* of very good quality,<sup>597</sup> which was probably destined to the gods' statues.<sup>598</sup> In this case, the item in question is understood by Dietrich as a 'sash'.<sup>599</sup> In Neo-Babylonian sources the *sūnu* occurs among the items of dress used to cover the statues of gods Dumuzi, 'IGI.DU, and 'the Goddesses'.<sup>600</sup>

*uṣurtu*. The term indicates the design or pattern of garments. The cloth with designs or patterned fabric, called *ša parāki*(?) (reading uncertain, written as *ša GIL*), occurs as a separate textile item in administrative records;<sup>601</sup> it was probably added to various areas of garments, especially on the chest, the sleeves and the border.<sup>602</sup> We also know that the *nahlaptus* could be enriched by decorative designs.<sup>603</sup> Different elements of the decorative design characterising Assyrian luxury garments are explicitly mentioned in an administrative text from Nineveh: unfortunately, the name of the garment decorated with pomegranates (*nurmū*)

585. MARV X, 54:10 (Stat 5, 54) PAB 5 TÚG.zi-zíq-qa-[te]. But note that Prechel and Freydank transliterate the occurrence as TÚG. si-sik-k[a<sup>n</sup>-tu].

586. CAD S, 323a s.v. *sissiktu* b.

587. Bunnens 2012, 79 and fig. 13.

588. Durand 2009, 93-95, 149.

589. Durand 2009, 94.

590. Donbaz 1991, 77, A 70:1-2 1 TÚG.iš-ha-na-be / ša ÚR BABBAR. See also Postgate 1979, 7.

591. Donbaz 1991, 74-75, A 1722:1-2; AfO 19, T.6:9-10 (Freydank & Saporetti 1989, 52).

592. CTN 2, 153:2. In the same text, *ša IŠ* garments without breast-piece occur. See *ibidem* 3.

593. Postgate 1973, 166.

594. SAA 7, 109 ii 5'. The term is not translated by Fales and Postgate.

595. Dalley 1980, 72-73.

596. Postgate 2014, 422-423.

597. SAA 17, 77 r.15' 1'-en' TÚG.ÚR bab-ba-nu-ú.

598. See SAA 17, 77 r.18e TÚG.ÚR' šá [x] DINGIR.MEŠ.

599. Dietrich 2003, 71.

600. Beaulieu 2003, 15.

601. SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 6' [x x š]a<sup>2</sup>—GIL' GIŠ.HUR.MEŠ, "[... c]loth (with) designs." See also SAA 7, 117 s.1 1 TÚG.šá—GIL 'GIŠ'.H[UR.MEŠ'] (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author). The *ša parāki*(?) also occurs in SAA 7, 63 iii 20' [x x] šá<sup>2</sup>—GIL.MEŠ x[x x x]; SAA 7, 96 r.4 9 TÚG.šá—GIL ZAG' [x x (x x)].

602. See Guralnick 2004, 231 for the hypothesis that some borders of patterned fabric were separately woven and attached.

603. See PVA 225 TÚG : ša 'GIŠ.HUR'.MEŠ.

is not preserved in the document,<sup>604</sup> while a bull (*alpu*)<sup>605</sup> and a goat (*šibtu*)<sup>606</sup> are mentioned as decorative elements of *urnutus*. These decorative elements may be identified, for instance, with the bulls, goats and pomegranates represented on Assurnāširpal II's garments.<sup>607</sup> It seems that fabrics decorated with mythological beings and religious scenes were limited to the reign periods of Assurnāširpal II (883-859 BC) and Assurbanipal (668-631? BC).<sup>608</sup> As regards vegetal motifs, petals and leaves have been detected on the tiny fragments of patterned textiles found in the Tomb 1 at Nimrud.<sup>609</sup>

*zibbutu*, 'tail, tail-end'. This term, logographically written as KUN,<sup>610</sup> is interpreted as referring to the rear part of garments.<sup>611</sup> From the extant attestations in the Nineveh administrative text corpus, it seems that the *zibbutu*-element characterised red garments.<sup>612</sup> In one case, both the front-part (*pūtu*) and the rear part of a garment are mentioned.<sup>613</sup> We also know that garments with a *zibbutu*-element also had fringes.<sup>614</sup> It is also possible that this designation indicated the lower part of garments ending in a sort of 'pointed tail'. The lower part of a variety of male garment of the 7th century BC seems to be the best candidate of the *zibbutu* mentioned in texts. Assurbanipal is depicted in his reliefs from Nineveh<sup>615</sup> as wearing an asymmetrical skirt; in other words, a skirt which is short in front and long in back and ending with a 'pointed tail' in the rear part.

### Textile techniques from garment designations

If we consider the Neo-Assyrian vocabulary of genuine Assyrian descent, apart from the general idea of covering, which inspired the designations of many Assyrian garments (*lubuštu*, *kusītu*, *nahlaptu*, *qirmu*, and *ša hīli*) or of binding, girdling, or tying (*kirbīnu?*, *nēbettu*, *nēbuhu*, and *sunābu*), which confirm the idea that most items of clothing were untailored and in form of wrap-cloths, a number of terms are based on the idea of holding, seizing (see *našbutu*, but *šubātu* is problematic<sup>616</sup>). Others, however, refer to the position of the textile on the body and/or are in association with other items of clothing (*elītu*, *ša muhhi*, *ša qabli*, and *šupālītu*). Others may possibly be connected to their workmanship (*maklulu*, 'the light one?'). Some visual characteristics of the end product, such as the *ša taluk širri*, probably indicate the use of a finely-woven fabric, which generated an undulating movement when its wearer walked.

Some Neo-Assyrian terms for garments may be connected to specific textile techniques (see also Table 1), such as rubbing down (*mušiptu*, if this word derives from *šuppu* II, 'to decorate, overlay, rub down'. See also *gammīdu*, 'smooth cloak'); washing or rinsing (*šuhattu*); reinforcing or strengthening (*halluptu*, perhaps also *huzūnu?*); trimming (*šipirtu?*), and cutting (*maqaṭtu*, *niksu*). Perhaps, the operation of rubbing down (*mušiptu*) can be identified with the action of smoothing, which was executed on a textile's surface to make it shining and smooth, especially in

604. SAA 7, 109 i 2'.

605. SAA 7, 109 ii 3'.

606. SAA 7, 109 ii 5'.

607. See Layard 1849-53, I, pl. 5 and pls. 8 and 9 for details. See also *ibidem* pls. 43-50 for other attestations of bulls and goats as decorative elements of dresses. For pomegranates, see *ibid.* pl. 48 no. 3.

608. Guralnick 2004, 231.

609. Crowfoot 1995, 114, 117.

610. SAA 7, 106:2, 4; 107:2'; 108 i' 5'; 109 r. iv 2'.

611. See CAD Z, 102a s.v. *zibbatu* 2; Fales & Postgate 1992, 114 and *passim*.

612. SAA 7, 106:2, 4.

613. SAA 7, 107:2'.

614. SAA 7, 108 i' 5'.

615. See, e.g., Barnett 1976, pls. 50, 51, 52.

616. A derivation from the verb *šabātu* is rejected in Kaufman 1974, 95, where the scholar underlines the connection with the Neo-Babylonian garment name *šibtu*.

1. Basic meanings	Textile terms	No textile techniques detectable
Covering	<i>labussu, kusītu, nahlaptu, qirmu, ša hīli</i>	--
Binding, girdling, tying	<i>nēbettu, nēbuhu, sunābu</i>	--
2. Meanings indicating specific operations	Textile terms	Textile techniques detectable(?)
Rubbing down	<i>mušiptu</i>	Smoothing linen?
Washing	<i>šuhattu</i>	Washing/rinsing
Reinforcing, strengthening	<i>halluptu</i>	Reinforcing through fulling or smoothing?
Cutting	<i>maqaṭṭu, niksu</i>	(As part of finishing procedures?)
Trimming	<i>šipirtu</i>	(As part of finishing procedures?)

**Table 1:** Neo-Assyrian garment designations and textile techniques.

case of linen.<sup>617</sup> Washing, also an integral part of the textile production cycle, was done after the fabrics were woven. Other names for garments are based on the concept of reinforcing or strengthening. Here, different explanations may be proposed. A dense and coarse weave, namely a weave with closely packed threads, was probably the main characteristic of clothing items used as outer garments<sup>618</sup> for different functions. Coarse garments could be used as protection during the cold season but also as working clothes for menial activities or, just as importantly, as the standard dress for soldiers of the royal army. It is also possible that the reinforcing of fabric could be achieved through a fulling or smoothing process. Fulling the textile made it denser,<sup>619</sup> and kneading and stomping the fabric in wet and warm conditions thickened the fabric and closed its gaps.<sup>620</sup> In this way, textiles were made more waterproof<sup>621</sup> and thus more suitable for indoor and/or working use. Cutting and trimming actions could refer to operations executed after the cloth came off the loom, namely in the phase of manufacturing the item of clothing through the

tailor's work. There are also words possibly related to the quality of the fabric (*qatattu, harīru?*) and others based on qualifications of wool varieties (see, e.g., *šer 'ītu*), as suggested above. Lower quality fabrics were probably referred to by those qualifications of garments based on the word *bētu*, 'house'. House-garments were probably made of coarse fabric, more suitable for everyday domestic activities. The opposite of the indoor or house-garment was the ceremonial vestment, made of fine fabric and for use on important public occasions outside the domestic milieu. In the case of garments explicitly related to women (*ša issi*), it is possible that their sizes differed from their male counterparts.<sup>622</sup> As regards internal differences within the same category of garment, it is unclear whether feminine forms of the same garment name were used to designate specific items of clothing (a small-sized variant of the same garment?) or whether both masculine and feminine forms were used to indicate the same vestment. We cannot rule out that these forms reflect local differences within the Neo-Assyrian textile vocabulary.

617. Andersson Strand 2010, 21.

618. Andersson Strand 2010, 16-17.

619. Völling 2008, 150.

620. On fulling, see Barber 1991, 216; Völling 2008, 149-150.

621. Andersson Strand 2010, 20-21.

622. See Durand 2009, 12 for analogous observations on male and female clothes in Mari.



More specific structural elements of Neo-Assyrian garments cannot be detected on the basis of the designations analysed in this study, but the archaeological evidence grants us a clearer idea of some material characteristics of the Neo-Assyrian clothes. As regards the weave of Neo-Assyrian garments used by urban social elites, for example, the few textile remains found in Assur and Nimrud demonstrate that rep weave and tabby weave characterised the dresses fabricated in Assyria during the 9th and 7th centuries BC respectively.<sup>623</sup>

### Conclusions

This study has shown that the Assyrian textile lexicon is characterised by a substantial continuity from the Middle Assyrian to the Neo-Assyrian dialects for a number of designations of garments. Other terms belong to the common 1st-millennium BC textile vocabulary, characterised by compound names with *ša* and West Semitic loanwords. A peculiar trait of the Neo-Assyrian vocabulary is vowel harmony, inherited from earlier stages of the dialect (e.g., Neo-Assyrian *nēbuhu* vs. Neo-Babylonian *nēbehu*; NA *našbutu* vs. NB *našbatu*; NA *gammīdutu* vs. NB *gammīdatu*). The mutual influence between Assyrian and Babylonian textile terminologies, which disseminated the same designations across both dialects, was probably due both to the Babylonian language's role in various sectors of imperial Assyrian society, especially as a scholarly and official language, and to the displacement of Assyrian-speaking groups (e.g., members of the royal army, merchants, and palace envoys) to various regions of the imperial territory, including Babylonia. The spread of Babylonian in the Assyrian state sector probably determined the reduction in the number of Hurrian terms in the written form of the Neo-Assyrian dialect. This may be surmised in light of the greater number of Hurrianisms in the Middle Assyrian dialect. Moreover, both Assyrian and Babylonian were affected by Aramaic

influence in the 1st millennium, as illustrated by the various loanwords present in these late dialects of Akkadian. The limits of the extant written evidence from Neo-Assyrian archives prevent us from reaching a full understanding of the impact of Aramaic in the Assyrian textile terminology, but it is possible that loanwords were also present in those sectors of the Neo-Assyrian textile vocabulary reflecting textile activities predominantly performed by Aramaic-speaking workers. These West Semitic immigrants probably brought their textile know-how and terminology into the Assyrian imperial culture.

The 'new entries' in the Akkadian textile terminology of the 1st millennium are not limited to the nomenclature of end products but also concern the materials used to fabricate garments, such as the precious material called *būšu*. In addition, toponymic cloth designations continued to be used also in the Neo-Assyrian terminology and reflect the interests of the Assyrian ruling elite towards specific areas touched by the Empire's military and commercial expansion. References to *kuzippus* from Hamath, *urnutus* from Byblos, and Phrygian reinforced undergarments attest to the increased demand for special varieties of clothes for the needs of the palace sector and the royal army in 1st-millennium Assyria, two important factors for the development of the textile trade and production in the Empire's economy. Renowned textiles from the Levant were imported in Assyria<sup>624</sup> and, thanks to the vast trade network of the Empire, became an important part of the urban elites' wardrobes. Perhaps, these exotic textiles also contributed to the spread of 'royal fashions' in various Near Eastern areas. The strengthening of trade contacts with Anatolia in the Sargonid Age in the field of imported textiles is also confirmed by a Sennacherib's letter mentioning wool from the land of Kummuh, corresponding to Classical Commagene.<sup>625</sup>

Another important point concerns the legacy of the textile terminology of the language (or languages) spoken in the Assyrian Empire. After the collapse of the first world empire (612 BC), the Akkadian dialect

623. Völling 2008, 124, table 2, 211.

624. The import of linen and multi-coloured garments from the Levant, a well-known *topos* in descriptions of booty of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, is also present in the Old Testament. See, e.g., Ezekiel's description of choice fabrics, textiles with multi-coloured trim and fine linen as characteristic goods produced in Tyre and Aram and exchanged with foreign merchants. See Ezek. 27:16, 22, 23.

625. SAA 1, 33:19-r.3.

used by the Assyrians disappeared from the written documentation. However, it is reasonable to assume that Neo-Assyrian textile terms continued to be used by the Assyro-Aramaic population under the Chaldean dominion of Mesopotamia as well even though Aramaic progressively became the most diffused spoken language for large social strata of Assyrian society in post-Assyrian times. In addition, many 1st-millennium terms, some of which are of Aramaic origin, continued to be used in the Neo- and Late Babylonian dialects, as evidenced by the use of *gammīdatus*, *gulēnus*, and *qirmus* in Babylonia even during the Hellenistic period.<sup>626</sup> As far as the nomenclature of garments is concerned, we may observe that borrowings from the Assyrian dialect in Babylonian are very rare. A typical Neo-Assyrian term entering the Neo-Babylonian textile vocabulary is the word *šipirtu*, which appears in the domestic textile terminology of Babylonia in the Hellenistic period as a qualification limited to furniture.<sup>627</sup>

Former and recent Neo-Assyrian studies have elucidated a number of grammatical and lexical elements of the language spoken by the Assyrians in the 1st millennium BC. Various sectors of the Assyrian vocabulary of material culture remain unexplored however. It is hoped that this study, as well as contributions by other colleagues concerning Middle and Neo-Assyrian textiles that have appeared in recent years,<sup>628</sup> mark another step toward understanding the Assyrian *realia*. Further studies on the Neo- and Late Babylonian textile vocabulary will certainly complete our knowledge of 1st-millennium Akkadian terminology of garments and their parts, thereby contributing to a more in-depth understanding of the Assyrian legacy (or its absence) in the textile vocabulary of the late centuries of the cuneiform world in the Land of the Two Rivers. The memory of the luxury clothes that characterised the imperial *dolce vita* of the Assyrian elite and of the importance of textile production for court life in Nineveh seems in any case to have reached the Classical world. This may be recognised, for instance, in Diodorus' disparaging depiction

of King Sardanapalus, who is described as wearing a female robe and as being primarily occupied in dealing with purple garments and wool.<sup>629</sup>

## Acknowledgments

I wish to thank Marie-Louise Nosch and Cécile Michel for fruitful discussions on different aspects about textile production and terminology in the framework of the research activities of the Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship Programme (2013-2015) and of the French-Danish scholarly cooperation (Research Programmes *TexOrMed* 2012-2014 and *ATOM* 2015-2018).

## Abbreviations

- ADW = A. Y. Ahmad & J. N. Postgate, *Archives from the Domestic Wing of the North-West Palace at Kalhu/Nimrud*. Edubba 10. London 2007.
- AEAD = S. Parpola & R. M. Whiting, *Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary*, Helsinki-Winona Lake 2007.
- AHw = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, I-III. Wiesbaden 1958-81.
- BWL = W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford 1960 (Reprint 1996).
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago 1956-2010.
- CDA = J. Black, A. George & N. Postgate, *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 5. Wiesbaden 2000 (Second corrected printing).
- CTN 2 = J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2. London 1973.
- CTN 3 = S. Dalley & J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 3. London 1984.
- DJBA = M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 3. Ramat-Gan 2002.
- DJPA = M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum 2. Ramat-Gan 2002 (Second edition).

626. See Joannès 2014, 459.

627. See Joannès 2014, 460.

628. See Villard 2010; Postgate 2001; Postgate 2014.

629. Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History*, II.23, 1. The Greek author also mentions the rich wardrobe of this king, see *ibidem* II.27, 2.

- DNWSI = J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, I-II. Handbuch der Orientalistik 21. Leiden 1995.
- KAJ = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 50. Leipzig 1927.
- KAN 1 = L. Jakob-Rost & F. M. Fales, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, I. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 94. Berlin 1996.
- KAN 2 = L. Jakob-Rost, K. Radner, & V. Donbaz, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, II. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 98. Saarbrücken 2000.
- KAR = E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, I-II. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 28/34. Leipzig 1919/22.
- KAV = O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 35. Leipzig 1920.
- LAS = S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part I: Texts*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 5/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970.
- LS = K. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle 1928.
- MARV = H. Freydank *et al.*, *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte*, I-X. Berlin/Saarbrücken/Saarwellingen/Wiesbaden 1976-2011.
- NATAPA 1 = F. M. Fales & L. Jakob-Rost, Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part I, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 5 (1991).
- NATAPA 2 = K. Deller, F. M. Fales & L. Jakob-Rost, Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part II, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 9 (1995).
- ND = *siglum* of the texts from Nimrud (Kalhu).
- PNA 1/II = K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 1, Part II: B-G*, Helsinki 1999.
- PVA = B. Landsberger & O. R. Gurney, The Practical Vocabulary of Assur, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 (1957-58), 328-341.
- RINAP 1 = H. Tadmor & Sh. Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 1. Winona Lake 2011.
- RINAP 3/2 = A. K. Grayson & J. R. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 2*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/2. Winona Lake 2014.
- RINAP 4 = E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4. Winona Lake 2011.
- SAA = State Archives of Assyria, 1-19. Helsinki 1987-.
- Stat 1 = K. Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 1. Saarbrücken 1999.
- Stat 2 = V. Donbaz & S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2. Saarbrücken 2001.
- Stat 3 = B. Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 3. Wiesbaden 2007.
- Stat 5 = D. Prechel & H. Freydank, *Urkunden der königlichen Palastverwalter vom Ende des 2. Jt. v. Chr. Das „Archiv“ Assur 21101 (M7 F)*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 5. Wiesbaden 2014.
- TCAE = J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 3. Roma 1974.
- TH = J. Friedrich *et al.*, *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt*. Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 6. Berlin 1940 (Reprint 1967).
- VAT = *siglum* of the texts in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.
- ZTT I = *siglum* of the texts nos. 1-28 from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), for which see Parpola 2008.
- ZTT II = *siglum* of the texts nos. 29-36 from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), for which see MacGinnis & Willis Monroe 2013-2014.

## Bibliography

- Abraham, K. & M. Sokoloff (2011) Aramaic Loanwords in Akkadian – A Reassessment of the Proposal, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 52, 22-76.
- Albenda, P. (2005) *Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire*. Cuneiform Monographs 28. Leiden-Boston.
- Andersson Strand, E. (2010) The Basic of Textile Tools and Textile Technology: From Fibre to Fabric. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 10-22. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Andersson Strand, E. (2015) The Basic of Textile Tools and Textile Technology – From Fibre to Fabric. In



- Andersson Strand, E. & M.-L. Nosch (eds.) *Tools, Textiles and Contexts. Textile Production in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Bronze Age*, 40-60. Ancient Textiles Series 21. Oxford-Philadelphia.
- Barber, E. J. W. (1991) *Prehistoric Textiles. The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton-Oxford (Third printing of 1940 edition).
- Barnett, R. D. (1976) *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 BC)*. London.
- Beaugéard, A.-C. (2010) Les textiles du Moyen-Euphrate à l'époque paléo-babylonienne d'après un ouvrage récent. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, 283-289. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. (1989) Textes administratifs inédits d'époque hellénistique provenant des archives du Bīt Rēš, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 83, 53-80.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. (2003) *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Cuneiform Monographs 23. Leiden-Boston.
- Botta, P. E. & E. Flandin (1849-50) *Monuments de Ninive, découvert et décrit par M. P. E. Botta, mesuré et dessiné par M. E. Flandin*, I-V. Paris.
- Bunnens, G. (1997) Til Barsip under Assyrian Domination: A Brief Account of the Melbourne University Excavations at Tell Ahmar. In S. Parpola & R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project*, 17-28. Helsinki.
- Bunnens, G. (2012) Sealing Practices at Neo-Assyrian Til Barsip: Cylinders – Stamps – *Sissiktu* – Seal Box. In T. Boiy et al. (eds.), *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, 75-89. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 220. Leuven.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E. (1999) <sup>10</sup>*sāpi 'u/sēpû*. Eine akkadische Berufszeichnung aus dem Bereich der Textilerstellung. In B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, & T. Richter (eds.), *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, 79-93. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 267. Münster.
- Cardon, D. (2007) *Natural Dyes. Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science*. London (English translation of *Le monde des teintures naturelles*. Paris 2003).
- Chantraine, P. (1968) *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*. Paris.
- Collon, D. (ed.) (2008) Nimrud Treasures: Panel Discussion. In J. E. Curtis et al. (eds.), *New Light on Nimrud. Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> March 2002*, 105-118. London.
- Crowfoot, E. (1995) Textiles from Recent Excavations at Nimrud, *Iraq* 57, 113-118.
- Curtis, J. & A. Green (1997) *Excavations at Khirbet Khartuniyeh*. Saddam Dam Report 11. London.
- Dalley, S. (1980) Old Babylonian Dowries, *Iraq* 42, 53-74.
- Del Olmo Lete, G. & J. Sanmartín (1996) *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*, I-II. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 7. Sabadell-Barcelona.
- Dietrich, M. (2003) *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*. State Archives of Assyria 17. Helsinki.
- Diodorus of Sicily *Library of History, Book II*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, vol. I. Cambridge 1946.
- Donbaz, V. (1991) The Date of the Eponym Nabû-bēla-ušur. In D. Charpin & F. Joannès (eds.), *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs. Études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, 73-80. Paris.
- Drower, E. S. & R. Macuch (1963) *A Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford.
- Durand, J.-M. (2009) *La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*. Archives royales de Mari 30: Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris, I. Paris.
- Ebeling, E. (1931) *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*. Leipzig.
- Ebeling, E. (1952) *Parfümrezepte und kultische Texte aus Assur*. Roma.
- Ellis, R. S. (1976) Mesopotamian Crafts in Modern and Ancient Times: Ancient Near Eastern Weaving, *American Journal of Archaeology* 80, 76-77.
- Faist, B. (2001) *Der Fernhandel des assyrischen Reiches zwischen dem 14. und 11 Jh. v. Chr. Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 265. Münster.
- Faist, B. (2007) *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 3. Wiesbaden.
- Fales, F. M. (1983) *Cento lettere neo-assire, traslitterazione e traduzione, commento e note. Parte I: nn. 1-45*. Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Università degli studi di Venezia 17. Venezia.
- Fales, F. M. & J. N. Postgate (1992) *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 7. Helsinki.
- Fales, F. M. & J. N. Postgate (1995) *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 11. Helsinki.
- Freydank, H. & C. Saporetti (1989) *Bābu-aha-iddina: Die Texte*. Corpus Medio-Assiro 2. Roma.



- Gaspa, S. (2013) Textile Production and Consumption in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In E. Andersson Strand, H. Koefoed & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, 224-247. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford.
- Groneberg, B. (1980) *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altbabylonischen Zeit*. Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 3. Wiesbaden.
- Guralnick, E. (2004) Neo-Assyrian Patterned Fabrics, *Iraq* 66, 221-232.
- Hallo, W. W. & K. L. Younger (eds.) (2000) *The Context of Scripture, vol. II: Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*. Leiden-Boston-Köln.
- Hämeen-Anttila, J. (2000) *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 13. Helsinki.
- Hecker, K. et al. (1998) *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*. Praha.
- Herodotus *Historiae, Books I-II*, transl. A. D. Godley. London 1920 (Reprint 1999).
- Herodotus *Historiae, Books V-VII*, transl. A. D. Godley. London 1922 (Reprint 1998).
- Ismail, B. Kh. & J. N. Postgate (2008) A Middle Assyrian Flock-Master's Archive from Tell Ali, *Iraq* 70, 147-178.
- Jakob, S. (2003) *Mittelassyrische Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur*. Cuneiform Monographs 23. Leiden-Boston.
- Jastrow, M. (1950) *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature*. London-New York.
- Joannès, F. (2010) Textile Terminology in the Neo-Babylonian Documentation. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 401-408. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Joannès, F. (2014) Fabrics and Clothes from Mesopotamia During the Achaemenid and Seleucid Periods: The Textual References. In C. Breniquet & C. Michel (eds.), *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean. From the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textile Industry*, 452-463. Ancient Textiles Series 17. Oxford-Philadelphia.
- Kaufman, S. A. (1974) *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Assyriological Studies 19. Chicago.
- Kwasman, Th. (2009) A Neo-Assyrian Royal Funerary Text. In M. Luukko, S. Svärd, & R. Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, 111-125. Studia Orientalia 106. Helsinki.
- Layard, A. H. (1849-53) *The Monuments of Nineveh*, I-II. London.
- Lipiński, E. (1997) *Semitic Languages – Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 80. Leuven.
- Lipiński, E. (2000) *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 100. Leuven.
- Luukko, M. & G. Van Buylaere (2002) *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. State Archives of Assyria 16. Helsinki.
- MacGinnis, J. & M. Willis Monroe (2013-2014) Recent Texts from Ziyaret Tepe, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 20, 47-56.
- Mankowski, S. J. (2000) *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. Harvard Semitic Studies 47. Winona Lake.
- Menzel, B. (1981) *Assyrische Tempel*, I-II. Studia Pohl: Series Maior 10. Roma.
- Michel, C. & K. R. Veenhof (2010) The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia (19<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC). In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 210-271. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Müller, K. F. (1937) *Das assyrische Ritual, Teil I: Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 41/3. Leipzig.
- Muscarella, O. W., A. Caubet & F. Tallon (1992) Achaemenid Brick Decoration. In P. O. Harper, J. Aruz & F. Tallon (eds.), *The Royal City of Susa. Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*, 215-241. New York.
- Parpola, S. (1987) *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*. State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki.
- Parpola, S. (2008) Cuneiform Texts from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), 2002-2003, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 17, 1-113.
- Pasquali, J. (2010) Les noms sémitiques des tissus dans les textes d'Ebla. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 173-185. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Peyronel, L. (2004) *Gli strumenti di tessitura dall'Età del Bronzo all'Epoca persiana*. Materiali e studi archeologici di Ebla 4. Roma.
- Porten, B. & A. Yardeni (1986) *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. Winona Lake.
- Postgate, J. N. (1973) *The Governor's Palace Archive*. Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2. London.
- Postgate, J. N. (1979) Assyrian Documents in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, *Assur* 2/iv, 1-15.
- Postgate, J. N. (1988) *The Archive of Urad-Šerūa and His Family. A Middle Assyrian Household in Government*

- Service*. Corpus Medio Assiro 1. Roma.
- Postgate, J. N. (2000) Assyrian Felt. In P. Negri Scafa & P. Gentili (eds.), *Donum natalicium: Studi in onore di Claudio Saporetti in occasione del suo 60° compleanno*, 213-217. Roma.
- Postgate, J. N. (2001) Assyrian Uniforms. In W. H. van Soldt *et al.* (eds.), *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, 373-388. Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 89. Leiden.
- Postgate, J. N. (2014) Wool, Hair and Textiles in Assyria. In C. Breniquet & C. Michel (eds.), *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean. From the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textile Industry*, 399-426. Ancient Textiles Series 17. Oxford-Philadelphia.
- Postgate, J. N & D. Collon (1999-2001) More Stray Assur Tablets, *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 13, 1-16.
- Quillien, L. (2013) Tûg-LUM-LUM = tûg-guz-guz; a new interpretation of the 'guzguzu' garment in first millennium BC Mesopotamia, *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 2013/2014, 21-25.
- Quillien, L. (2014) Flax and Linen in the First Millennium BC Babylonia: The Origins, Craft Industry and Uses of a Remarkable Textile. In M. Harlow, C. Michel, & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, 271-296. Ancient Textiles Series 18. Oxford-Philadelphia.
- Radner, K. (1999) *Ein neuassyrisches Privatsarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Aššur*. Studien zu den Assur-Texten 1. Saarbrücken.
- Radner, K. (2004) *Das mittelassyrische Tontafelarchiv von Giricano/Dunnu-ša-Uzibi*. Subartu 14. Turnhout.
- Reade, J. (2012) Visual Evidence for the Status and Activities of Assyrian Scribes. In G. B. Lanfranchi *et al.* (eds.), *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, 699-717. Leipziger Altorientalische Studien 2. Wiesbaden.
- Reynolds, F. (2003) *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Šin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*. State Archives of Assyria 18. Helsinki.
- Röllig, W. (2002) Aus der Kleiderkammer einer mittelassyrischen Palastverwaltung *mašhuru*-Kleider. In O. Loretz, K. A. Metzler & H. Schaudig (eds.), *Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux. Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich*, 581-594. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 281. Münster.
- Roth, M. (1989) *Babylonian Marriage Agreements 7th-3rd Centuries BC*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 222. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Roth, M. (1989-90) The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 36/37, 1-55.
- von Soden, W. (1966) Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. I (*agâ* - \**mūš*), *Orientalia Nova Series* 35, 1-20.
- von Soden, W. (1977) Aramäische Wörter in neuassyrischen und neu- und spätbabylonischen Texten. Ein Vorbericht. III, *Orientalia Nova Series* 46, 183-197.
- von Soden, W. (1995) *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. Analecta Orientalia 35. Roma.
- Sokoloff, M. (2009) *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum*. Winona Lake-Piscataway.
- Staubli, Th. (2012) *Kleider in biblischer Zeit*. Freiburg.
- Vallat, F. (1993) *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites*. Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 11. Wiesbaden.
- Villard, P. (2010) Les textiles néo-assyriens et leur couleurs. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, 388-399. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Vita, J.-P. (2010) Textile Terminology in the Ugaritic Texts. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, 323-337. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Völling, E. (2008) *Textiltechnik im Alten Orient. Rohstoffe und Herstellung*. Würzburg.
- Watson, W. G. E. (2007) *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic*. Sabadell-Barcelona.
- Wegner, I. (2000) *Hurritisch: Eine Einführung*. Wiesbaden.
- Weidner, E. F. (1954-56) Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige aus den 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17, 257-293.
- Zadok, R. (1985) *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*. Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 8. Wiesbaden.
- Zawadzki, S. (2013) *Garments of the Gods, vol. 2: Texts*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 260. Fribourg-Göttingen.