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Textile Terminologies
from the Orient
to the Mediterranean
and Europe,
1000 BC to 1000 AD

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The main texts of the Rabbinic literature, the Mishnah and the Talmuds encompass a wide range of textile and clothing terms embedded in everyday situations as well as in ritual contexts. A great deal of intertextuality shared both by the Mishnah and the Talmuds as well as by other exegetic works like the Tosefta and the early Midrash – not to mention the Bible – makes these texts a valuable source for the investigation of cultural history and language change and contact, even in micro-contexts, in adherence to the traditions and heuristics of historical comparative linguistics, concerning etymology, language change and contact linguistics. The first attempt for a systematic presentation of the terminology according to the semantic fields of clothing, textile production and other relevant topics pertaining to fashion goes back to Rosenzweig's study from the year 1905. The progress in history, archaeology, comparative philology, linguistics and lexicography provides us with a comprehensive overview of the material.[2]

Brief introduction to the major texts of the Rabbinic literature and their language

The Mishnah represents the earliest Rabbinic text, the *Oral Tora*, as opposed to the *Written Tora*, the Hebrew Bible, compiled in the early 3rd century (a generally accepted date is 200 AD). It consists of 63 tractates on a variety of topics grouped together into six divisions. Each division, a *seder*, discusses a different topic, and deals with oral laws, everyday life and traditional wisdom. The language of the Mishnah is a form of Post-Biblical Hebrew (PBH), also called *Mishnaic Hebrew*, and it is also the language of related writings such as the *Tosefta*.[3] It was the language used at Qumran and also during the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 AD). In the current state of research, we have considerably more knowledge about the vocabulary of the Mishnah than about any other Rabbinic Hebrew composition. The Mishnah contains many elements from the Bible – mainly in quotes or pseudo-quotes from the Bible, while Biblical phrases occur

2. Onomasiology or "the study of designations" is a branch of semantics. The goal in onomasiology is to identify the linguistic forms, or the words, that can stand for a given concept/idea/object. The establishment of semantic fields contributes to the systematization of the designations and to a clearer understanding of gradual meaning changes.
3. 'supplement, addition' (of the *Mishnah*).

in the Mishnah more frequently than Biblical *simplicia*.[4] As expected, beside words that are common to both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew we also find novel vocabulary.

The Palestinian Talmud, also known as the Jerusalem Talmud or the *Yerushalmi*, is usually dated between the late 4th century and the first half of the 5th century. The *Yerushalmi* is organized in accordance to the tractates of the Mishnah. After citing each Mishnah tractate a series of interpretations, called the *gemara*, follows. The language of the Aramaic *gemara* of the Palestinian Talmud is Palestinian Aramaic (JPA), which is also used in the Palestinian *Targumim* ('translations' in Aramaic). The central corpus in Rabbinic Judaism is the Babylonian Talmud, completed at the beginning of the 7th century. It is also known as the *Bavli.* It is based on similar Palestinian traditions like those of the *Yerushalmi*,[5] but it introduces much of its own exegesis. The *Bavli* is also organised according to the Mishnah, consecutively alternating between the Mishnah and the interpretation of the *gemara*. Like the Jerusalem Talmud, the Babylonian Talmud deals only with some of the Mishnah's divisions. It is composed in Hebrew in the first place, but contains a significant number of passages in Aramaic—more than the *Yerushalmi*. The Aramaic used is an eastern dialect known as Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA). It is a commonplace that the Babylonian Talmud reflects Jewish life in Babylonia, rather than in Palestine. The last of these major texts, the Babylonian Talmud, in turn became the most influential religious text for Medieval Judaism.

Continuity and innovation

Continuity of older (mainly Biblical) terminology

The importance and high esteem of clothing and textile production is evident in Jewish culture and religion through time, as exemplified by the well-known shaʿaṭnez "the prohibition of wearing wool and linen fabrics in one garment',[6] *tallit* 'prayer shawl', *tzitzit* 'tassels of the prayer shawl', but also proverbs involving clothing as a central concept throughout the Rabbinic tradition are frequently attested. Of course, within the Jewish tradition, we have to deal with fine grained semantics of most important lexemes in the field, pertaining to textiles, like *byssos*, *sakkos* or *sadin*.[7] Other words, although rarely attested, still live on in the Jewish tradition, *e.g. karpas*, a Biblical *hapax legomenon*, which is attested in the Book of Esther, meaning 'cotton (or wool)' *ḥūr karpā̄s u- təḵēlɛṯ*[8] 'white, wool (or cotton), and blue' (Est. 1:6). The Septuagint (*LXX*) translates with καρπάσινος, "made of κάρπασος, exact fibre type of which is uncertain, probably a kind of fine flax, cotton",[9] Lat. *carbasinus*.[10] The Greek and Latin connections of the word have led to an interpretation as a Mediterranean term, while other scholars see a connection with Sanskrit *karpāsa-* 'cotton shrub, cotton'.[11] Within the Jewish tradition the same term is mentioned again in the Medieval *Passover Haggada*, in connection with the benediction over vegetables.[12]

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4. Bar-Asher 2009, 302-305.

5. The redaction and connection between the two *Talmudim* has been a central issue of the study of the Rabbinic literature, where scholars have been unable to reach a consensus. For further discussion, see the summaries in Stemberger 2011, 221.

6. See also Shamir´s paper in the present volume.

7. The lexical (and not always semantic!) correspondences for *byssu*s in Hebrew is *būṣ* 'fine white valuable web'; Akkadian *saddinu* 'tunic (of linen)' ~ Hebrew *sādīn* 'undercloth, wrapper' (~ Gr. sindṓn 'very fine cloth/fabric'); Akkadian *saqqu* 'sack (cloth)', 'cloth of goat-hair, sack', Hebrew *saq* 'sack (cloth)', Aramaic *š-q.* (~ Gr. *sákkos* 'cloth of goat-hair, sack'). See also F. Maeder´s paper in the present volume.

8. The transcription follows the common scholarly transcription rules for Biblical Hebrew, PBH and Aramaic. In several cases, where the reading is dubious the lexemes remain unvocalised, in order to avoid biased interpretations. For the same reason, transliterations by other authors are cited as such (in general).

9. Cf. Beekes 2009 s.v.

10. Also, occurs as *carbasus lina*, as a mixture of linen and cotton, Pliny*, NH* 19.6.23.

11. Cf. EWAia s.v.

12. Cf. Eisenberg 2004, 278 and Krupp 2006, 14-15.

Innovations in Terminology

Innovations involving language change from Biblical to Post Biblical Hebrew or from Hebrew to Aramaic

All languages are dynamic systems that are constantly in the process of changing. Thus, it is not a rare phenomenon that the redactors of the Mishnah changed a Biblical lexeme into a PBH or Aramaic corresponding term, and in that way they managed to actualise the content and "update" it, where necessary, *e.g.* Aramaic *gunḵa* in the *Targ. 2 Kings* 8:15 is replacing the expression of the Hebrew text: *maḵbēr/ maḵbā̆r* 'something woven, cover or mat'.[13] The Aramaic word *gunḵa* 'thick cloth', of Iranian origin, is well attested as a loanword in many languages and dialects of the Mediterranean.[14] Its Hebrew correspondence must have been somewhat opaque already during the period of the translation of the Septuagint (ca. 250 BC-100 AD), since in the Greek text it is rendered as μαχμα, which is actually a transliteration of the Hebrew word, lacking further attestations in the history of Greek. The term might have been familiar among the Greek speaking Jews of that time, but it seems that it became marginal in the subsequent centuries.

Innovations and differences concerning dialectal or geographic distribution

The monumental multi-volume work by Samuel Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* 1910-12, can still serve as the basis for the investigation of this subject, although it is a commonplace that Krauss' studies suffer from methodological deficits, which are, however, due to the stage of research at his time: the historical-critical paradigm of investigating Rabbinic sources had not yet been established, and archaeology in Israel has since then made immense contributions to the growth of our knowledge. Krauss does mention many types of clothing, referred to in both Palestinian and Babylonian, early and late Rabbinic sources, but he does not provide a comprehensive analysis and discussion of the material.[15] Several studies since Krauss' time have focused on the Jewish clothing and textile production traditions, but the study of possible differences due to regional factors has been played down by generalizing conclusions, stating that Jewish people would more or less share the same 'basics' with other inhabitants of the Roman Empire, based on the fact that many Graeco-Roman garment names occur in the texts.[16]

Let us have a closer look at a representative example from the Rabbinic narrative about clothing vocabulary, namely the passage concerning the 18 garments, which may be carried out of a burning house on the Shabbat.[17] Here, we have a special situation, where the Mishnah just mentions 18 garments without explicitly referring to the items involved:

(1) *mShab*16:4
"Thither a man may take out all his utensils, and he may put on him all the clothes that he can put on and wrap himself with whatsoever he can wrap himself. *R. Jose says: [He may put on only] eighteen things,* but he may return and put on others

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13. Koehler & Baumgartner 2001 s.v.; *maḵbā̆r* is attested in Ex. 27,4 with the meaning 'grid', the LXX translates with εσχαρα 'grating'.

14. According to Schmitt 1971, 102-105, **gaunaka-* 'hairy; coloured' is derived from Iran. **gauna-*, 'hair, colour' - following patterns common to Iranian -, and is deeply rooted in the whole Iranian area: Avest. *gaona-* 'hair'; Middle Persian *gônak*, Armenian (loanword from Parthian) *goyn*, Soghd. *ywn-*, Modern Persian *gûn*, all denoting 'colour'; the Greek form γαυνάκης, καυνάκης, attested since Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 11, 37; 49, as καυνάκη explicitly refers to 'a woollen Persian mantle', and is also found in the Egyptian Papyri (in derivations and compounds); Lat. *gaunaca* since Varro; Babylonian and Aramaic (also Syriac *gaunîçâ*) have also moved eastwards to (Middle Indoiranian) Pâli and to Chinese: Pâli *gonaka* 'woollen blanket'; Chinese *hu-na* (?).

15. Shlezinger-Katsman 2010, 362-365 summarizes the state of the art since Krauss' works: despite the important works that have been published since then, almost every author mentions -like Krauss- many of the terms used for clothes in Rabbinic writings, but the lacking distinction between Jews who lived in Babylonia and those in the Roman Empire is evident. At this point, we should take into consideration that very remarkable lexicographical work has been accomplished by Sokoloff (1992, 2002) in the Dictionaries on the Palestinian and Babylonian Aramaic respectively, enabling us to differentiate between the two Talmudic traditions.

16. Cf. *a.o.* Roussin 1994, reaches the following conclusion pertaining to "… the basic items of clothing worn by Jews: they did not differ significantly from those worn by other inhabitants of the Graeco-Roman world. Indeed, almost all of the Hebrew words for the clothing mentioned here are transliterations of Greek and Latin words" (Roussin 1994, 183).

17. Also discussed by Roussin 1994.

and take them out, and he may return and put on others and take them out, and he may say to others, 'Come and help me to save them'." (translation: Danby 1933)

(2a) *bTShab* 120a

R. Jose said: [Only] eighteen garments. And these are the eighteen garments: *a cloak, undertunic, hollow belt, linen [sleeveless] tunic, shirt, felt cap, apron, a pair of trousers, a pair of shoes, a pair of socks, a pair of breeches, the girdle round his loins, the hat on his head and the scarf round his neck.* (translation: Epstein 1952)

(2b) *jT Shabbat* 16:5, 15d(22), "Rebbi Yose says, 18 garments. And these are: *The burnus, arm cover,*

and money belt, and felt cap, and a kafia, and a linen tunic, and a woollen shirt, and two felt stockings, two garters, and two breeches, two shoes, and the hat on his head, and the belt on his hips, and shawls on his arms." (translation: Guggenheimer 2012)

Both Talmuds, in (2a) and (2b), offer a list of the garments, but as a matter of fact they employ only 14 terms; the number of 18 pieces can be reached by counting pairs as two single items each. Let us compare the same passage as an interlinear version of the *Bavli* followed by the *Yerushalmi* in the second line.[18] The order varies between the two *Talmudim*; here, the primary numeration follows the listing of *Bavli*:

(3) bT[19]	\<mqtorn\> 1. a cloak (~*amictorium*),	\<wnqli\> 2. an undertunic (*anákōlos*??)	3. (and) a money belt (*funda*),	\<qlbum\> shel pishtan 4. linen tunic (*colobium*)
jT[20]	\<mqtorn\> 1. burnus	\<niqli\>(*angálē*?) 2. armcover	3. money belt	6. felt cap
(4) bT	5. (and a) shirt (*haluq*)	6. a felt cap (*pílion*)	7. *ma'aforet* (and) an apron/ cloak (~ *pallium*),	\<sprqin\> 8. a pair [lit. two] of trousers (*braccae?*)
jT	7. *ma'aforet* kafia	4. *kolbin shel-pishtan* linen tunic	5. *haluk shel-zemer* woollen shirt	10. two felt stockings (*empília*)
(5) bT	9. (and) a pair of shoes	10. (and) a pair of felt slippers (*impilia*)	11. \<prgd\> (and) a pair of breeches	12. (and) the girdle (*gur*) round his loins,
jT	8. two garters \<sbriqin\> (~Gr. *sybrikion*?)	11. two breeches \<abriqin\>	9. two shoes (*min'alin*)	13. the hat (*kov'a*) on his head
(6) bT	13. (and) the hat on his head,	14. and the scarf (*sudarium*) around his neck		
jT	12. the belt on his hips	14. and shawl on his arms		

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18. The phonology of loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew is very problematic: Unlike the Biblical transmission, Rabbinic literature never obtained a canonical form, and each manuscript reveals different versions. Neither the spelling of the loanwords, nor their vocalisation (where occurring), are consistent, so that many equivalents are possible.

19. The translation of the terms additionally follows –apart from Epstein– the translation by Goldschmidt (according to the Venice edition from 1520-23): „Die achtzehn Stücke sind die folgenden: *Obermantel* [1]*, Hemd* [2]*, Hohlgürtel* [3]*, Wams aus Leinen* [4]*, Kamisol aus Wolle* [5]*, Filz* [6]*, Kopfhülle* [7]*, zwei Handschuhe* [8]*, zwei Schuhe* [9]*, zwei Strümpfe* [10]*, zwei Hosen* [11]*, ein Gürtel* [12]*, eine Mütze* [13] *und ein Halssudarium* [14]" (translation: Goldtschmidt 2002)

20. *jT* (ms Leiden), translated by Guggenheimer 2012; cf. also the German translation by Hüttenmeister in Hengel *et al.* 2004: „Rabbi Yose sagt: Achtzehn Kleidungsstücke. Und das sind folgende: *Mantel* [1]*, Unterhemd* [2]*, Geldgürtel* [3]*, Mütze* [4]*, Umhang* [5]*, Leinentunica* [6]*, Wollhemd* [7]*, ein Paar Hausschuhe* [8]*, ein Paar Savriqin* [9]*, ein Paar Kniehosen* [10, \<abriqin\>]*, ein Paar Schuhe* [11]*, ein Hut auf dem Kopf* [12]*, ein Gürtel um die Hüften* [13] *und ein Tuch an den Armen* [14]".

While some terms such as the 3. *punda*, 4. *colobium*, 5. *haluk*, 6. *pilion*, 10. *e/impilia* 'stockings' or 'slippers', 14. *sudarium*, have a widely accepted interpretation, others are translated differently. The pair of *spriqin* under 8. has been interpreted as a term which corresponds to a lexeme *sybrikion* (lat. *subricula*) 'outer veil, cloak', but since it occurs as a pair, an interpretation as 'trousers' or 'garters' seems more plausible. Of special interest are the following expressions: the Babylonian Talmud features *<prgd> pargod*,[21] occurring as a pair, a word of Iranian origin, where the Jerusalem Talmud attests *abriqin*, most probably the *braccae* (cf. nr. 11 under (5) in the table above). In this case, the Talmuds seem to employ rather regional terms to designate 'trousers', an Oriental garment, not popular among Greeks and Romans. The shift of the etymology to a Greek or Latin counterpart does not make things easier. Some of these words are difficult to interpret in the other languages as well. In both cases we find *<mqtorn> /miqtoren/* at the top of our list, the interpretation of which as *amictorium* seems to be a plausible phonetic/phonological solution. The word formation and the semantics of a Lat. word *amictorium* are considered transparent: as a derivation from *amictus* 'thrown (upon)', it can plausibly be interpreted as 'mantle' or 'veil'. The interesting fact in this case is that *amictorium* is rarely attested in the late antiquity, actually only as 'a loose outer garment' (worn by women) (Code of Theodosius 8.5.48.).[22] The *amictorium* replaces *amictus* in Medieval times. So in this case, the *Talmudim* preserve less popular garment names than the *sudarium* and the *pilion*.

The terms *unkli/nikli*, which follow the *amictorium*, are also problematic: Krauss interprets as Gr. *anákōlos* 'undertunic',[23] other scholars as Gr. *angálē* (?) As in the case of the *amictorium*, Gr. ἀνάκωλος, -ον, is attested in an adjectival usage meaning 'short, curtailed' (Diod. 2, 55) and as an attributive adjective to a garment in Plutarch 2, 261 F, describing a χιτωνίσκος (of young women), a term which refers to a short tunic.[24] Gr. *angálē* 'bent arm, arm pit' is also a possible phonological interpretation, which has been followed by other scholars, and would lead to a meaning 'arm cover' (cf. the translation in Guggenheimer under (2b). While the etymology and the semantics of this word are sufficiently motivated, it is noteworthy, that a metonymic use of Gr. *angálē* as a garment in the Greek literature – from the Classical up to the Byzantine period – has not been ensured by now, a fact that allows us to assume that in this case we do not deal with a garment name that had been popular throughout the Roman Empire. If the suggested interpretations are correct, then we should keep in mind that they belong to the earliest attestations of these terms or they indicate dialectal usage.

Examples of semantic change and cognitive universals connected with textiles: the colour terms

The number of Hebrew colour words has increased with the passage of time, following the order of increasing number of colour terms as arranged by the non random sequence proposed by Berlin and Kay

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21. Cf. Schmitt 1971, 107-110: Against older proposals, which explained the word as a loanword from the Targumic Aramaic without consideration of the chronological details, Schmitt convincingly argues for an Old Persian **pari-gauda-*, a compound with the prefix *pariy-* 'around' + Old Persian root *gaud-* = avest. *gaoz-* (= Old Indian *guh-*) 'to hide, cover', Parthian *<brywd>* = /barayôd/ 'curtain, veil' borrowed into Greek in the regular, expected form παραγαύδης, Ioan. Laurentius Lydus (6th c. AD); also attested as παραγαῦδιν, 'a garment with purple border', *Edict Diocl.* (19,29), on an inscription from Dura-Europos and in the Byzantine *Chronicon Paschale*; παραγαύδιον (*POxy.*, 1026,12, 5th c. AD; Ioan. Malalas, 6th c. AD und Konst. Porphyr., 10. c. AD); probably in Hesychius: παραγώδας (Codex: -γώγας): χιτών παρά Πάρθων; Gr. παραγαύδης ~ Lat. *paragauda*. Syr. *pargaudīn*, Armenian *paregawt* 'χιτῶν' (in Bible translations), Coptic *paraka[u]dion.* We have to keep in mind that the core meaning of the Iranian word 'wrapped around, covering' had been subjected to various semantic narrowings and specialised usages in different languages. We find *pargod* as a rendering for the *paroket* '(sacred) screen, veil' in the Jewish Aramaic tradition (*Targ. Yer.* to *Ex.* 26:31, 33, 35) as well.

22. Cod. Theod. 48.5.48. IDEM AAA. CYNEGIO P(RAEFECTO) P(RAETORI)O. Lineae vel *amictoria*, quibus hactenus onerari raedae solebant, nec ulterius raedis, sed angariis vel navibus dirigantur et si alicubi repertae fuerint huiusmodi species, thensauris eius urbis, in qua deprehensae fuerint, deputentur, per angarias, ubi facultas fuerit, destinandae; reliquae vero delicatae vestes, sed et linteamen *amictorum* nostrorum usibus necessarium raedis sub mille librarum ponderatione mittantur.

23. Krauss 1899, 23, 363; Krauss 1911, 165.

24. It is noteworthy that ancient lexicographers use this term to explain the *<zeirai>*, *<zirai>* 'tunics worn by the Thracians", cf. Photius, Z 52.1-3, Hesychius Z. 162.1.

(1969) for the languages of the world.[25] The colour terms for red show the widest differentiation in BH, with *ʾā̌ḏōm* 'red, blood coloured, reddish(-brown)' being the archilexeme in this group.[26] The red-coloured fabrics are denoted by the words *šā̌nī* 'crimson', 'crimson thread' (Gen. 38:28,30), *tōlā̌ʿ* 'crimson; *Kermes* worm' (*Isa*.1:18), and *ʾargā̌mā̌n* 'purple' (*Song* 7:6; *Ex.* 25:4; 26:1),[27] *karmīl* 'crimson' (*2 Chron*. 2:7,14; 3:14), *LXX*: κόκκινος 'scarlet, crimson'; *ḥămūṣ* 'crimson dyed' (*Isa.* 63.1), which very likely originate from metonymical uses of the dyed fabric or the organic elements involved in their dyeing procedure, *būṣ wə-ʾargā̌mān* "fine linen and purple" (Est. 1.6); *təḵēlɛṯ wə-argā̌mā̌n* "blue and purple" (*Ez.* 27:7; *LXX*: υακινθον και πορφυρα),[28] and might also represent various hues or different grades of brightness.

A number of new colour words appear in the Rabbinic period, as for instance *kaḥol/koḥal* 'blue' connected with 'stibium, powder used for painting the eyelids', *bTShab* 8:3 (78b) and a novel term *milan* 'black' (cf. Gr. *mélas, melanós*) that denotes the 'black pigment', the 'ink'. The Biblical word *šā̌ḥōr* 'black' occurs in PBH in connection with tar, olives, grapes and pots, while in other cases it has been replaced by novel Aramaic terms, *e.g.* the Mishnah in *Bava Qamma* 9:6, where the restitution in case of wrong dyeing of the wool is discussed:

(6) *jT BQ* 9:6:

[If someone told the dyer]
 "to dye it *red* (*ʾā̌ḏōm*) and he dyed it *black* (*šā̌ḥōr*), *black* and he dyed it *red*, Rebbi Meir says, he gives him the value of his wool". Rebbi Jehudah says, if the increased value is more than the expenses, he gives him his expenses; if the expenses

are more than the increased value he gives him the increased value"

(7) *Gemara*:
"What means 'if the increased value is more than the expenses, he gives him his expenses'? A person gave to another five lots of wool, five portions of dye, and ten minas for his wages. He told him, if you had dyed it *red (sumaq)*, but the other had dyed it *black* (*uḵam*). He told him, if you had dyed it *red*, it would have been worth 25 minas, now that you dyed it *black* it is worth only 20 …" (Guggenheimer 2008)

The Mishnah in (6) employs the Hebrew words *ʾā̌ḏōm* 'red' and *šā̌ḥōr* 'black'. The Jerusalem Talmud in the *gemara* of this Mishnah introduces the Palestinian Aramaic words *uḵam* 'black' and *sumaq* for 'red'. So we learn from the text that these two Aramaic colour names correspond to the "archaic" BH terms in the context of dyeing.

While the two terms from the Mishnah *BQ* must have been semantically transparent for the Rabbis, there are other cases, where the *gemara* tries to disambiguate older, rarely attested colour terms, which had become obsolete, like in the case of the Biblical *taḥaš* in Exodus 25:4-5. Before we come to the Rabbinic exegesis of the term, let us have a closer look at the passage from the book of Exodus, as it appears in the LXX, together with the corresponding BH words in brackets:

(9) *LXX*
Ex 25:4-5 και υακινθον ('blue', ~ *təḵēlɛṯ*) και πορφυραν ('purple' ~ *ʾargā̌mā̌n*) και κοκκινον διπλουν ('double crimson or

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25. Hartley 2011, offers an up-to-date investigation on the Biblical colour lexemes. Biggam 2012, 124 employs a detailed meta-language for explaining the historical colour designations in the languages of the world: "*hue* (red, yellow, green, brown etc.); *saturation* (vivid, mid, dull); *tone* (achromatic): white black, pale grey, mid grey, dark grey, *tone* (chromatic) pale medium, dark; *brightness* light emission; *brightness* reflectivity; *brightness* surface illumination (well-lit, purely lit; *brightness* space illumination (brilliant, dim, unlit); *transparency* (transparent, translucent)". BH *šā̌ḥōr* 'black', and *lā̌ḇā̌n* 'white' are two possible candidates, which in many cases denote achromatic *tone* or a type of *brightness* rather than *hue*.

26. *ʾā̌ḏōm* 'red' refers to animals, cf. the "red heifer" (*Num*. 19.2) and the "red horses" (*Zech*. 1:8; 6.2), *ʾă̌ḏamdā̌m* "dark red or reddish" (*Lev*. 13:19, 14:37); *ʾaḏmōnī* "ruddy" (*Gen*. 25:25).

27. Also as *ʾargā̌wā̌n* "purple" (*2 Chron*. 2.6).

28. In the book of *Ezekiel*, we find several examples of colour terms in the context of fabrics and gemstones, see *Ezek.* 27:24: "… in gorgeous fabrics (*bə-maḵlūlīm bi-ḡlōmē*), in wrappings of blue and richly woven work (*təḵēlɛṯ wə-riqmā̌*), and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords (*ḥăḇūšīm*) and cedar-lined"; also *Ezek.* 27:7 *šēš-bə-riqmā̌* "linen with embroidery".

scarlet' ~ *šānī*) και βυσσον κεκλωσμε-
νην ('spun *byssos*' ~ *šēš*) και τριχας αι-
γειας (goats hair) και δερματα κριων
(rams' skins) ηρυθροδανωμενα (dyed red
~ '*ʾāḏōm*') και δερματα υακινθινα ('blue'
~ *təḥāš*) και ξυλα ασηπτα (incorruptible
wood)

The colours listed in (9) constitute strong evidence
for the occurrence of the 'reds', 'blues' and 'violets'
in BH (and Koine Greek), implying an affinity, or
even a "lexical solidarity" between the terms for the
dyes and the skins. The problematic expression *taḥaš*
refers to skins and has been translated in Greek with
υακινθινα. In the same context, the Jerusalem Talmud
in *Shabbat* 2:4d uses the term *ianthinon* 'violet-blue'
for *taḥaš*, as opposed to *glaukinon* 'bluish-gray':

(8) *jTShab 2:4*

"Rebbi Eleazar asked, may one make the
Tent of leather from an impure animal?
But is it not written, *and taḥaš skins.* Rebbi
Jehudah, Rebbi Nehemiah and the Rabbis.
Rebbi Jehudah says, violet[-blue] (*ian-
thinon*); it was called thus because of its
color. Rebbi Nehemiah said, blue [bluish-
grey] (*glaukinon*)." (translation: Guggen-
heimer 2012)

The violet-blue colours are designated in PBH
not only by *ianthinon* (Gk. *ion* 'violet') but also by
the term *iakinthinon* (Gr. *hyacinthos,* the same as in
LXX, Ex. 25:4-5 above), and later also by <*altinon*>,
in the Midrash *Kohelet Rabba* 1:9,[29] which corre-
sponds to Gr. ἀληθινόν 'true (purple)', cf. also *Edict.
Diocl.* 2.4.6. So we are in a position to trace potential

parallels between the alternation of the dyeing tech-
niques and the corresponding linguistic change.[30]

The loanwords:

Approximately two thousand Greek and Latin loan-
words in Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic can be attrib-
uted to language contact. In many cases, the Latin
items must have entered Hebrew via Greek, since
Greek served as a *lingua franca* in both the Roman
and Byzantine periods[31]. The borrowing process is not
restricted to single nouns, but also encompasses adjec-
tives and verbs *i.e.* word classes that are usually less
easily borrowed: an example is the Hebrew denomina-
tive verb *saḇag* 'absorb' (cf. *u-ḇilḇad šello yispog* "as
long as it does not absorb", *Mishnah Shabbat* 22:1),
nistappag 'to be dried' (*wa-ʿala we-nistappag* "(and
he) ascended and dried himself", *Mishnah Yoma* 3,4)
is of Greek origin, from the Gr. noun σπόγγος, in
the form *seḇog* 'sponge', cf. *Mishnah Kelim* 9,4 "a
sponge that absorbed liquids" and from which the ver-
bal forms were then derived.[32] The vast majority of
them pertain to material rather than spiritual culture.[33]
Words from all stages of Persian and other Iranian lan-
guages have been borrowed into all layers of Hebrew
pertaining to clothing, textiles, and jewellery, testify-
ing to the luxurious Oriental lifestyle (cf. below and
notes 14, 21).

Novel terminology due to new onomasiological needs: new materials, techniques, and trading routes

The weaver's shuttle[34]

In Biblical Hebrew, there are attested terms for
weaver's equipment, as for instance *'ereg* 'weaver's

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29. 6th or 7th c. AD?, cf. Stemberger 2011, 352.

30. Cf. Sukenik *et al.* 2013, about the prestigious textiles from the Roman period dyed with *murex* shellfish, which were found in the
Judaean Desert and the different dyeing techniques according to ancient literary sources, esp. p. 50-51).

31. The phonology of the loanwords often indicate the donor language and, in some cases, the dating of the borrowing, *e.g.* PBH <*vilon*>
'curtain' (from Gr. βῆλον <Lat. *velum* 'sail; sheet, cloth' (Naev.+) show postclassical pronunciation, where /e:/ <η> was raised to
/i:/ in Koine Gr; also Middle Greek as 'curtain' (Pseudo-Sphr. 33018) or a 'piece of cloth' (Ierakos. 3502), cf. Kriaras 2001 s.v.
βήλον; Modern Gr. βέλο, το [vélo] < Ital. *velo* < Lat. *velum*).

32. Bar-Asher 2014.

33. The number of Greek loanwords increases dramatically in the Rabbinic literature of the Roman and Byzantine periods. The stand-
ard Dictionary of Greek loanwords in Rabbinic Hebrew is still the one by Krauss from the year 1899, despite its many shortcom-
ings. The phonology and morphology of Greek loanwords were dealt by Krauss in the first volume of his *Lehnwörter* (1898); it
should be pointed out, however, that the phonological part contains many unacceptable identifications, and should be used with ut-
most care. More recent studies include Sperber (1984; 2012) and Heijmans (2013).

34. See discussion of this term in Flemestad *et al.* in the present volume.

bobbin', cf. Job 7,6: "My days are swifter than a weaver's bobbin,[35] and are spent without hope" and *dallâh* (Is. 38,12) a 'warp', properly something *dangling*, that is, a "loose *thread* or *hair*; figuratively *indigent:* hair, pining sickness, poor (-est sort)".[36] In the Rabbinic literature we find more frequent attestations of the weaver's shuttle than in the Bible, and even loanwords are employed, *e.g. krkd* (*mShab* 8:6; *bTShab*. 8b; *jT Shab*. 10b) ~ Gr. κερκίς, -ίδος 'weaver's shuttle; peg; pin; measuring rod' (Hom.+).

The silk production

As expected, one of the most obvious innovations and differentiations in terminology concerns the emerging silk production in the late antiquity. The *Mishnah Kilaim* 9:2 adds silk to the older rule of the distinction between wool and linen of the Deuteronomy 22:11 (also in Lev 13:19; and Ex 39:27-29) using the terms *shirii* and *kalakh* for two different kinds of silk:

(10a) *mKil* 9:2
> "Silk (*shirii*) and *kalakh*-silk do not come under the law of Diverse Kinds, but they are forbidden for appearance sake"[37]

The term *kalakh* has been associated with the Gr. word κάλχη[38] denoting 'murex; purple flower, *Chrysanthemum coronarium*' (Alcm., Nic., Str.).[39]

The Palestinian Aramaic *gemara* of the tractate *Kilaim* introduces *metakhsa* as an explanation for *shiriin* and at the same time it gives us information about the usage of the term *kalakh*, as *kalka*:

(10b) "Raw silk (*shiriin*) and silk noil (*kalakh*). Raw silk is *metakhsa*. *Kalakh*-silk is imperial *'gbyn*. Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel said, I went around among all sea-faring men and they told me that it was called *kalka*." (translation: Guggenheimer 2001)

While the *Yerushalmi* seems to connect *kalakh* with 'imperial purple'[40] and informs us about 'pure silk tissues', the <*oloserika*> *jTShab*10:8b, which correspond to Gr. τό ὁλοσηρικόν (*Edict. Diocl*. 22:14), the Babylonian Aramaic *gemara*, although it attests the word *metaḵsa*, for example in the tractates Ketubboth and Shabath,[41] it actually uses another term to explain the *metaḵsa*-silk in the *gemara* of *Shab* 20b(31) and differentiates it from the *sirah* (or *shirah*) silk, namely by the term *pranda*-silk (also in *Shab* 20b(33) *Soṭ* 48b(44), which leads us to the Middle Persian *parand*, also known from the Pahlavi *Šāyast-nē-šāyast* (4:1). In Targ. 2 Esth. 5:1; 6:10 we find another silk of Iranian provenience, the *p'rangan* (*pranigan*) silk, probably connected with a geographical term.[42]

Terminological innovations due to religious and social factors

The *Bavli* addresses the issue of how and when clothes can reveal the origin and social status of the person who wears them, and indicates that Jews who traveled from Palestine to Babylonia were recognised as foreigners by their clothes:

(11) *bTShab*145b
> "Why are the scholars of Babylonia distinguished [in dress]? Because they are not in their [original] homes, as People say, In my own town my name [is sufficient]; away from home, my dress." (translation: Epstein 1952)

High quality and luxury items, like *puzmaq* PBH 'gaiter, fine shoe' and trousers as an Oriental garment, like *sarbal* 'cloak, trousers' are mainly Persian/Iranian lexemes in PBH, mostly via Aramaic mediation.[43] Like the majority of loans, they belong to a very high literary register of language. On the contrary, there is no evidence for a distinctive slave attire: "ordinary slaves seem to have been wearing the

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35. Koehler & Baumgartner 2001 s.v.

36. Koehler & Baumgartner 2001 s.v.

37. Since raw silk looks like flax and *kalakh*-silk like wool, cf. Guggenheimer 2001, 290, n. 29 on the passage. Danby 1933 translates *kalakh* with 'bast-silk', Krupp 2002 translates in German: „Feine (*shiriim*) und grobe Seide (*kalakh*)".

38. Guggenheimer 2001, 290, n. 33 on the passage.

39. Beekes 2009 s.v.

40. Guggenheimer 2012, 291. "The *Bavli* agrees that it is some silk worn by exalted personalities", cf. *ib*. 89.

41. The *Bavli* does not include a *gemara* for the Mishnah tractate *Kilaim*.

42. Sokoloff 1992 s.v.

43. MP *šalwār* 'trousers' reached PBH through Aramaic also as *šarvul* 'leather sleeve', Gindin 2013, cf. also Schmeja 1978.

simple and ragged clothes characteristic of members of the lower strata of society. Others who had higher positions within the servile hierarchy will have resembled wealthier free persons in their outward appearance".[44] An example for upcoming distinctions in late antiquity pertains to the differences between the monks and the Rabbis[45]. Furthermore, a case of ideological differentiation in attire can be traced in the clothing of the inhabitants of Qumran, who must have deliberately abstained from the use of wool as a raw material and the 'luxury' dyed garments (Shamir & Sukenik 2011). Head covering also offers a representative example for regional customs in combination with religious and social 'dictates'. Although the strict rule of head cover for women in Biblical and post Biblical times has been a matter of discussion, the kind of veil or head cover could vary and be replaced according to different periods and geographical regions, *e.g.* there is evidence for local differentiations, cf. *mShab* 6:6:

(12) "One goes out with a tetradrachma on a arthritic foot. Girls go out with threads and even chips in their ears. Arab women go out veiled and Median women pinned,[46] and also everybody, but the Sages spoke about what is."[47]

The term employed here is a participle passive in the fem. pl.: *ra'ulot* 'veiled', a verbal root derived from a noun *ra'alah*, also Arabic *ra'ul* 'veil', which can be interpreted as 'veiled (in Arabian fashion)'.

Apart from 'veils', also hairnets are mentioned in the *Mishnah*, cf. *Kelim* 24:16:[48]

(13) "There are three kinds of hairnet (*svacha*): that of a girl, which is susceptible to uncleanness; that of the old woman, which is susceptible to corpse uncleanness; and that of a harlot, which is not susceptible to any uncleanness"

As in the case of the Arabian fashion, we benefit from other passages about garments not traditionally worn by Jewish people. A more 'exotic' term can be found in the Babylonian Talmud, in the *Berachot* (20a): *karbalta* means a type of a hat, of a certain woman who was wearing a head covering in the street;[49]

(14) "There was the case of R. Adda b. Ahaba who saw a heathen woman wearing a red head-dress (*karbalta*) in the street, and thinking that she was an Israelite woman, he rose and tore it from her. It turned out that she was a heathen woman, and they fined him four hundred zuz" (translation: Epstein 1952)

The word is also attested as 'cock's crest', probably continuing an Akkadian form *karballatu* 'for a piece of linen headgear for soldiers'.[50] In addition to the *head dress* and the *trousers*, which were unpopular or even unacceptable garment pieces for the Graeco-Roman style,[51] another feature of Oriental fashion gradually enters the Rabbinic lexicon, namely the 'long-sleeved tunic/coat, *tunica manicata*', as the term <*krdot*> (*Targ. 1 Sam* 2:28) ~ Gr. χειριδωτός, suggests.[52]

44. Cf. Hezser 2005, 88.
45. Monks, who were strict, took only one tunic (*chiton*). In the Judaean Desert, monks received "a cloak (*pallium, himation*), a cowl (*koukoulion, cuculla*), sandals and a sleeveless (or very short-sleeved) tunic (*kolobion, colobium*) and often a number of regular tunics (*chiton*). A belt (*cingulo, zone*) also seemed to be common", Schwartz 2004, 124.
46. "To make sure that the veil stays in place they tie weights, such as pebbles or walnuts, into both ends of the veil and wear them on their backs", Guggenheimer 2012.
47. "The rules are generally valid but are formulated for Arab and Persian women who by local custom are completely covered up.", Guggenheimer 2012.
48. Parts of braided hairnets were found in the Judaean Desert and at Masada, and perhaps in Wadi Murabba'at, Shlezinger-Katsman 2010, 373-374.
49. „Wie zum Beispiel R. Ada b. Ahaba: er sah einst eine Nichtjüdin auf der Strasse einen Turban tragen, da er glaubte sie sei eine Jisraëlitin. So machte er sich auf und riss ihn ihr ab." (translation: Goldschmidt 1871-1950)
50. Cf. Sokoloff 2002 s.v. and CAD K 215.
51. Emperor Honorius imposed in 397 AD severe penalties for those who wore *braccae* in Rome.
52. Cf. Herodotus 7,61; Strabo 4,4,3; Aullus Gellius 6,12,2.

Conclusion and prospects

On the one hand, the study of language change can be very useful – as supporting evidence to the archaeological findings – for the purpose of reconstructing cultural and technical innovations concerning clothing and textile production. Next to their religious importance, the Rabbinic texts are an invaluable source for the investigation of linguistic and cultural transitions throughout many centuries, pertaining not only to Judaism and Palestine, but to the greater area of the Eastern Mediterranean. On the other hand, the writing system, the transmission of the texts and the various manuscript editions pose numerous problems for the identification and interpretation of specialised vocabulary in the Rabbinic literature, especially of loanwords. Scholars working on Greek loanwords in the Rabbinic literature suggested principles and criteria which can be useful for revising out-of-date etymologies and offering new etymological solutions.[53]

Linguistic analyses on the level of the clothing and textile vocabulary of the Rabbinic literature produce parallel results to the findings of archaeology and ancient history. Further, the linguistic evidence allows us to assume a moderate case of language contact: where the secure terms from the Graeco-Roman world become lesser, the vocabulary from other areas of the Near East increases, revealing new dimensions for our cultural understanding. It is also important, that the differences between the attestations of the Palestinian and Babylonian traditions, respectively, and the vocabulary of Josephus and the Diaspora should not be neglected, in order to highlight the particular linguistic varieties of the texts, which enable us to reconstruct regional and sociolinguistic characteristics of the textile terminologies.[54]

Abbreviations

bT = Babylonian Talmud
BH = Biblical Hebrew
CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary*

EWAia = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*
Gr. = Greek
jT = Jerusalem Talmud
Lat. = Latin
LXX = Septuagint
PBH = Post Biblical Hebrew

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53. Krivoruchko 2010.
54. Edwards 1994.

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