

Salvatore Gaspa

Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire

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Salvatore Gaspa

Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire

A Study of Terminology

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for Silvana

S'òmine ordit e sa fortuna tèssit
(Man warps and Fortune weaves)
Sardinian saying

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Abbreviations

(For other abbreviations not included here see CAD.)

A	<i>Siglum</i> of texts in the Assur collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.
ABL	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> , I-XIV, London-Chicago 1892–1914).
ADW	A. Y. Ahmad, J. N. Postgate, <i>Archives from the Domestic Wing of the North-West Palace at Kalhu/Nimrud</i> (Edubba 10), London 2007.
AEAD	S. Parpola, R. M. Whiting, <i>Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary</i> , Helsinki-Winona Lake 2007.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> —Graz.
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , I-III, Wiesbaden 1958–81.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> —Princeton.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia—Roma.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament—Kevelaer, Münster.
AOS	American Oriental Series—New Haven.
ARM	Archives royales de Mari—Paris.
AS	Assyriological Studies—Chicago, London.
Ass.	Excavation numbers of the German excavations at Qal'at Šerqāt (Assur).
ATS	Ancient Textiles Series—Oxford-Philadelphia.
AuOr Supp	Aula Orientalis Supplementa—Sabadell-Barcelona.
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte—Mainz am Rhein.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports—Oxford.
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> —New Haven.
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dür-Katlimmu—Berlin.
BBR	H. Zimmern, <i>Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion</i> , I-II (Assyriologische Bibliothek 12), Leipzig 1896–1901.
BIWA	R. Borger, <i>Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C, K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften</i> , Wiesbaden 1996.
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
BSA	<i>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</i> —Cambridge.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago 1956–2010.
CDA	J. Black, A. George, N. Postgate, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> (SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 5), Wiesbaden 2000 (Second corrected printing).
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East—Leiden, Boston.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs—Leiden.
CMA	Corpus Medio Assiro—Roma.
CTN 1	J. V. Kinnier Wilson, <i>The Nimrud Wine Lists: A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century BC</i> (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 1), London 1972.
CTN 2	J. N. Postgate, <i>The Governor's Palace Archive</i> (Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 2), London 1973.

XIV — Abbreviations

- 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).
- DNWSI J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, I-II (Handbuch der Orientalistik 21), Leiden 1995.
- DRS D. Cohen *et al.*, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*, Paris 1970–.
- HANEM History of the Ancient Near East, Monographs—Padova.
- HSAO Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient—Heidelberg.
- HSK Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft—Berlin, Boston.
- HSS Harvard Semitic Studies—Winona Lake.
- IM *Siglum* for objects in the collections of the Iraq Museum (Baghdad).
- IrAnt *Iranica Antiqua*—Ghent.
- JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*—New York.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*—New Haven, etc.
- JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*—New Haven, Cambridge, Atlanta.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*—Chicago.
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*—London.
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*—Manchester.
- K Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- KAJ E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 50), Leipzig 1927.
- KAM 11 V. Donbaz, *Middle Assyrian Texts from Assur at the Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 146 / Keilschrifttexte aus mittelassyrischer Zeit 11), Wiesbaden 2016.
- KAN 1 L. Jakob-Rost, F. M. Fales, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, I (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 94 / Keilschrifttexte aus neuassyrischer Zeit 1), Berlin 1996.
- KAN 2 L. Jakob-Rost, K. Radner, V. Donbaz, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, II (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 98 / Keilschrifttexte aus neuassyrischer Zeit 2), Saarbrücken 2000.
- KAN 4 B. I. Faist, *Neuassyrische Rechtsurkunden*, IV (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 132 / Keilschrifttexte aus neuassyrischer Zeit 4), Wiesbaden 2010.
- 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.
- KEF Kärüm—Emporion—Forum. Beiträge zur Wissenschafts-, Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte des östlichen Mittelmeerraums und Altvorderasiens—Münster.
- LAOS Leipziger Altorientalische Studien—Wiesbaden.
- LAPO Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient—Paris.

- 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 I—X H. Freydank et al., *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte*, I-X, Berlin, Saarbrücken, Saarwellingen, Wiesbaden 1976–2011.
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft—Berlin*.
- MSL 12 M. Civil, *The Series lú šá and Related Texts* (Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 12), Roma.
- MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft—Leipzig.
- NABU *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires—Paris*.
- NATAPA 1 F. M. Fales, L. Jakob-Rost, “Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin, Part I”, *SAAB* 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, *SAAB* 9 (1995).
- ND *Siglum* of the tablets excavated at Nimrud (Kalḫu).
- O *Siglum* of texts in the Royal Museum of Art and History, Brussels.
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis—Fribourg, Göttingen.
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta—Leuven.
- PIHANS Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul—Leiden.
- PNA 1/I K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 1, Part I: A*, Helsinki 1998.
- PNA 1/II K. Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 1, Part II: B-G*, Helsinki 1999.
- PNA 2/I Baker, H. D. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 2, Part I: H-K*, Helsinki 2000.
- PNA 2/II Baker, H. D. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 2, Part II: L-N*, Helsinki 2001.
- PNA 3/I Baker, H. D. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part I: P-Ş*, Helsinki 2002.
- PNA 3/II Baker, H. D. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part II: Š-Z*, Helsinki 2011.
- PVA B. Landsberger, O. R. Gurney, “The Practical Vocabulary of Assur”, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 (1957–58), 328–341.
- RA *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale—Paris*.
- RGTC Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes—Wiesbaden.
- RIMA 2 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 2), Toronto 1991.
- RIMA 3 A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858–745 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 3), Toronto 1996.
- 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 3/1 A. K. Grayson, J. R. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1* (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1), Winona Lake 2012.

RINAP 3/2	A. K. Grayson, J. R. Novotny, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 2</i> (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/2), Winona Lake 2014.
RINAP 4	E. Leichty, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)</i> (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4), Winona Lake 2011.
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, 1–14, Berlin, Leipzig 1928–2015.
Rm	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria, 1–20, Helsinki 1987–.
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin—Padova</i> .
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies—Helsinki.
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts—Helsinki.
Sm	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
StAT 1	K. Radner, <i>Ein neuassyrisches Privatarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur</i> (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 1), Saarbrücken 1999.
StAT 2	V. Donbaz, S. Parpola, <i>Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul</i> (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2), Saarbrücken 2001.
StAT 3	B. Faist, <i>Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur</i> (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 3), Wiesbaden 2007.
StAT 5	D. Prechel, H. Freydank, <i>Urkunden der königlichen Palastverwalter vom Ende des 2. Jt. v. Chr. Das “Archiv” Assur 21101 (M7 F)</i> (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 5), Wiesbaden 2014.
StOr	Studia Orientalia—Helsinki.
STT	O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, <i>The Sultantepe Tablets, I</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3), London 1957.
TCAE	J. N. Postgate, <i>Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire</i> (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 3), Roma 1974.
TH	J. Friedrich <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf. Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt</i> (AfO, Beiheft 6), Berlin 1940 (Reprint 1967).
VAT	<i>Siglum</i> of the texts in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.
VO	<i>Vicino Oriente—Roma</i> .
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Berlin, <i>etc.</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie—Berlin</i> .
ZOrA	<i>Zeitschrift für Orient Archäologie—Berlin</i> .
ZTT I	<i>Siglum</i> of the texts nos. 1–28 from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), for which see Parpola 2008.
ZTT II	<i>Siglum</i> of the texts nos. 29–36 from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušhan), for which see MacGinnis, Willis Monroe 2013–2014.

1 Introduction

For many readers familiar with the classics, the description of the Assyrian king Sardanapalus given by Diodorus of Sicily (1st century BC) in his second book of the *Library of History* has been the primary, if not the only, source to know the everyday life in the Assyrian court. The Greek author describes Sardanapalus as wearing a female robe and as being primarily occupied in dealing with purple garments and wool.¹ Through two of the most highly valued goods circulating in the textile trade of the time—purple articles of clothing and (dyed) wool—this deliberately disparaging imagery portrays the Assyrian king as an effeminate man who is devoted to activities more generally ascribed to female interests in the Greek world. To a Greek readership Sardanapalus simultaneously defines the unmatched luxury of the Oriental court life and a negative model of political leadership. But in mentioning lavish garments and wool, this piece of information touches an important aspect of the Assyrian world of which only a brief glimpse reached the Greek world. In fact the manufacturing of textiles is one of the oldest activities emerging from the textual records of ancient Assyria, a region that roughly corresponds to present-day northern Iraq. It is interesting to observe that textile manufacture and trade in textiles have continued to be an important sector of the economy of the city of Mosul until modern times, as witnessed by the spread of the word for muslin in various languages to indicate a lightweight fabric, generally of cotton or wool, used for items of clothing as well as textiles for furniture. The Europeans first encountered this fabric in the northern Iraqi city.² The history of textile manufacture in the region has its roots in the Old Assyrian period, when the first written sources in Assyrian begin to document the activity of the local merchants. According to economic documents of the 19th–18th centuries BC found by the archaeologists in the Assyrian trading colonies in Anatolia, textiles were a fundamental component of the goods exported by the Assyrian merchants to Anatolia, and textile manufacture played

1 Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History*, II, 23.1.

2 The English word *muslin* is a borrowing from French *mousseline*. The Italian word *mussola* and its diminutive variant *mussolina* derived from French *mousseline* (ancient French *mosulin*). The textile designation ultimately derives from Arabic *mawṣīlī*, an adjective based on the city name *Al-Mawṣīl* (Mosul). The first known attestation of the Italian word *mussola* dates to 1819, but the variants *mussolino* and *mussolo* are documented in earlier times, the first half of the 13th century and the second half of the 17th century respectively. See De Mauro 2000, 1601. The forms attested in other modern languages, such as German *Musselin* and Spanish *muselina*, are probably borrowings from French or Italian. See the *Oxford English Dictionary* at <http://www.oed.com> (accessed in October 2016).

a vital role in the socio-economic development of the city of Assur and the surrounding region.³ Old Assyrian letters show that the merchants' female relatives were largely responsible for producing the textiles necessary for trade. We have information about numerous varieties of textiles and the amount of wool needed for textile manufacture, as well as records attesting to the quality, finish and other important details about the end products.⁴ In addition to home-based production, many textiles exported to Anatolia from Assyria probably came from an institutional textile industry,⁵ although this is still disputed.⁶ It has been suggested that this industry, for which records date back to the Middle Assyrian period, probably began during the Old Assyrian period and that the expansion of the sector towards an export-oriented production came about because of the large amount of wool that the city of Assur received from local sheep-farmers. Either way, the local textile industry became an important factor for the economic development of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The wide variety of locally produced textiles destined to meet the needs of the ruling class and the Assyrian state were augmented by textiles imported from abroad which entered Assyria as luxury items. Assyrian expansion during the 1st millennium BC allowed the growing empire to open up new horizons in terms of trade. The circulation of goods (as raw materials as well as finished textile products) and artisans (textile specialists) within the imperial territory was favoured by the establishment of an efficient road system, an infrastructure which linked homeland cities with the provincial centres as well as rural villages of the remote periphery, and by a more widespread control of the administrative apparatus. Unfortunately, an idea of the wealth and the importance of this local textile industry can only be derived from epigraphic sources and visual art: the stone reliefs decorating the royal palaces and monuments as well as various artefacts dating back to the 1st millennium BC show us how the Assyrian garments look like. However, no physical remains of Assyrian textiles survive, except for some textile fragments found in the Neo-Assyrian sites of Nimrud and Assur. Concerning the royal graves of Nim-

³ Dercksen 2004, 14. On the textiles produced in Assur or in its vicinity and exported to Anatolia, see Michel, Veenhof 2010, 210, 218, 219, 222, 225–226.

⁴ Veenhof 1972, 103–123.

⁵ Dercksen 2004, 15–17. We are much more informed of the two political bodies that characterized the political order of the city-state of Assur in the Old Assyrian period, *i. e.*, the City Assembly (*ālum*) and the City Hall (*bīt ālim* or *bīt līmim*). As the highest judicial authority, the former entity took decisions regarding to the protection of textile trade and settlement of commercial outposts in Anatolia, while the latter entity functioned as the main economic and administrative institution in Assur and, as such, sold textile products for export. See Faist 2010, 16.

⁶ Michel 2017, 94.

rud, the fragments found there consist of finely executed and decorated linen fabrics which presumably clothed or shrouded the buried bodies or may have just been placed on top of them.⁷ These remnants were characterized by embroidered tassels and decorative elements (gold rosettes, stars, circles, triangles, carnelian beads) which had been sewn onto the garments.

This study aims to analyse the textiles documented in the written sources of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Textiles represent an important sector of the *realia* of ancient Mesopotamia, and their study may offer interesting insights into various aspects of its economy, society, labour organization, political imagery, religious ideas and ritual practices. In more fortunate cases, studies on textiles may rely on a variety of sources, combining data from cuneiform texts with details of material culture attested in archaeological evidence and iconography. Once confined to a few isolated studies conducted by female scholars, the research field of textile studies has now burgeoned into a challenging interdisciplinary sector in which new knowledge is created through a fruitful dialogue between historians, archaeologists and experts in textile techniques. This is confirmed by the increasing number of books and conference papers that have appeared in the field in the last decade, some of which specifically focus on the textiles documented in written and archaeological/iconographic evidence from the Ancient Near East.⁸ For the investigation of the Mesopotamian textiles important studies have been devoted in the past to the topic. In addition to single entries concerning specific aspects of textiles in the Ancient Near Eastern texts and material evidence appeared in encyclopaedias and lexica,⁹ a number of monographical works have been published. Important studies have been devoted to the terminology of the Mesopotamian textiles and their role in the economy

⁷ Crowfoot 1995, 113.

⁸ See, e.g., Durand 2009; Michel, Nosch 2010; Andersson Strand, Koefoed, and Nosch 2013; Breniquet, Michel 2014b; Harlow, Michel, and Nosch 2014.

⁹ For general overviews on textiles in the Ancient Near East see Bier 1995, 1567–1588, Waetzoldt 2011–13, 617b–624a (texts) and Völling 2011–13, 624a–629b (archaeological evidence). On fibres see Waetzoldt 1980–83, 583a–594a (linen). Specific processes of textile manufacture have also been studied by scholars. On spinning see Waetzoldt 2011–13, 1a–3a (texts) and Völling 2011–13, 3b–5a (archaeological evidence). For weaving, see Joannès 2001e, 854–856. Dyeing substances are briefly treated in Ebeling 1957–71, 26a–27a. On dyeing see most recently Joannès 2001d, 836–838. For introductory observations on Mesopotamian clothing see Joannès 2001b, 357–360. On clothing items see especially Waetzoldt 1980–83, 18a–31a (texts) and Strommenger 1980–83, 31a–38a (iconographic evidence). Head coverings have been discussed in Waetzoldt 1980–83, 197a–203b (texts) and Boehmer 1980–83, 203b–210a (iconographic evidence). A brief discussion on shawls is in Braun-Holzinger 2009–11, 129b–130b. For carpets see Waetzoldt 2011–13, 591b–592b (texts) and Völling 2011–13, 592b–594b (archaeological evidence).

and society in the light of documentary sectors of various historical periods, such as Waetzoldt's work on the Neo-Sumerian textile industry,¹⁰ the investigation on textiles in Ugarit texts by Ribichini and Xella,¹¹ Durand's study on textiles documented in Mari archives,¹² Veenhof's analysis of the Old Assyrian trade in textiles¹³ and Zawadzki's books on the Ebabbar's archival documents dealing with production of textiles destined for divine statues.¹⁴ Other relevant studies over recent years have updated our knowledge about the textile technology of Ancient Near Eastern societies, such as Breniquet's work on the early stages of textile industry in Mesopotamia¹⁵ and Völling's in-depth investigation of textile techniques and tools in the light of present-day archaeological knowledge about the Ancient Near East textile manufacture.¹⁶ Today, textiles—whether attested in written sources, visual art or in archaeological evidence in the form of textile remains or imprints on various objects—have become another important source for the understanding of past civilizations under different viewpoints of historical research.

The main problem associated with understanding textile terms in ancient cuneiform sources is that these designations have been studied solely within the context of textual evidence, with no attempt to combine the data with other information from contemporary archaeological and iconographic evidence. The reason for this is that archaeological remains of textiles as well as any textile tools in perishable materials are too scanty, if not completely absent, in the Ancient Near East material evidence to confirm conclusions reached in philological and linguistic fields. In addition, philologists' lack of basic knowledge about textile techniques, tools and materials, as well as the methodological difficulties in identifying textile terms with given items or technical procedures on the basis of etymology, represent an obstacle to the development of knowledge about this sector of Mesopotamian material culture.¹⁷ On the other hand, the application of observations pertaining to experimental archaeology in respect of ancient textile technologies or ethnographic research concerning present-day Near Eastern textile manufacture may inspire scholars of ancient textiles to formulate new interpretations about how textiles were made and treated in ancient societies.

10 Waetzoldt 1972.

11 Ribichini, Xella 1985.

12 Durand 2009.

13 Veenhof 1972.

14 Zawadzki 2006; 2013.

15 Breniquet 2008.

16 Völling 2008.

17 See Michel, Nosch 2010, xiii.

However, the lack of tangible remains prevents us from reaching any conclusive statement on the topic.

With these remarks in mind, the research presented in this book does not aim to discuss all aspects of the rich textile industry that flourished during the Neo-Assyrian Empire between the 9th and the 7th centuries BC exhaustively. Such comprehensive knowledge can only result from long-term and in-depth research on the topic. For the present, it is useful to equip scholars of Mesopotamian material culture with a study that touches the most significant aspects related to textiles in 1st-millennium BC Assyria, namely their management by the Empire's central administration, the system of production and work organization in the Neo-Assyrian textile industry, the circulation of textiles in trade, the peculiarities relating to articles of clothing worn by the Assyrian elite and the royal army as well as those adorning the statues of the gods and their cult places. Such a study could also take advantage of a comparison with much richer data from 1st-millennium documents stemming from the Babylonian archives. The lexicon of the textile end products from Neo-Assyrian texts is also included in this study. All these topics will be covered in the following chapters by an in-depth analysis of written sources from the Neo-Assyrian period, and when possible with reference to archaeological and iconographic evidence about textiles. A thorough analysis of textiles in the visual art of palace reliefs and monuments of the Neo-Assyrian period is beyond the scope of the present book, but some observations expressed in this study may enrich the current discussion on the topic. Tables at the end of the book focus on specific data about administrative management of fibres and dyes, qualifications used in everyday bureaucratic language of Neo-Assyrian scribes and textiles in dowry lists. In another table the dress ornaments from the Nimrud queens' tombs are described. In addition, a glossary of all the Neo-Assyrian textile terms and a re-edition of some of the Neo-Assyrian administrative texts dealing with textiles are given at the end of the book. The glossary contains not only terms in Neo-Assyrian dialect, but also Standard Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian terms that are documented in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and Babylonian letters of the Assyrian kings' correspondence.

This project on Neo-Assyrian textiles is timely in the light of the progress made in the publication of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian text corpus over recent decades.¹⁸ Although this study focuses on the evidence of 1st-millennium Assyrian

18 See, above all, the Middle Assyrian texts edited in cuneiform copy in the series *Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte* (1976–2011), and the editions of Neo-Assyrian texts in the series *State Archives of Assyria* (1987–2017). Both Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts have been edited in the series *Studien zu den Assur-Texten* (1999–2014).

ian textiles, the rich documentation available from Middle Assyrian archives cannot be ignored. The cultural continuity in terms of language and material culture in Assyria from the Middle to the Neo-Assyrian time becomes apparent if one looks at the lexicon of *realia* and techniques. Many designations for textile products and technical terms in use in the Neo-Assyrian period have been inherited from the 2nd millennium BC. In addition, a comparative study of data on textiles attested in the written sources from the Neo-Babylonian archives is crucial in many cases to obtain a more complete picture of production and use of 1st-millennium textiles in Assyria.

As far as ancient textiles are concerned, the statement made by Barber, the most eminent textile scholar—that words survive better than textiles—is substantially valid.¹⁹ This conclusion applies also to the Middle and Neo-Assyrian evidence, since we possess a great number of textile terms from cuneiform texts, but insufficient archaeological evidence about textiles and related techniques in Assyria for the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. This is due to the poor preservation conditions for textiles in the Mesopotamian region, which makes the recovery of textiles in archaeological contexts a rare event.²⁰ But this situation is also determined by the fact that only in recent times has the high informational value of textile evidence (remains in the form of mineralised textiles as well as textile impressions on clay or other soft materials) been recognized as crucial to archaeological investigations.

In addition, since the large majority of textile-related 1st-millennium Assyrian texts originate from state archives, it is clear that the items in question represent only a small fraction of the textiles produced and circulating within Neo-Assyrian society. The textiles documented in the texts are generally luxurious textiles consumed by the palace elite or destined for cultic use in temples and

19 Barber 1991, 260.

20 Barber 1991, 164; Breniquet 2008, 53–62. Currently, textile remains—including textile impressions—have been discovered in various regions of the Near East, namely Iraq (Qal’at Ğarmō, Telul eth-Thalathat, Eridu, Tell el-Queili, Tell Karrana, Ur, Ğafāĝi, Tellō, Nuzi, Uruk, Assur, Nimrud, Babylon, At-Tar Caves), Iran (Susa, Tepe Langar, Šahr-i Soĝta, Tepe Hissar, Tepe Sialk, Marlik Tepe, Arĝān, Hasanlu), Syria (El Kowm, Ğamā, Tell Brāk, Terqa, Mari, Tall Šēĝ Ğamad), Israel and Jordan (Ohalo, Basta, Wādī Murabba’āt, Netiv Hagdūd, Naĝal Ğēmar Cave, Tulēlat Ğassūl, Northern Judean Desert Caves, Beth Shean, Naĝal Mishmar, Lachish, Bāb eĝ-Ğrā’, Jericho, Tell es-Sa’īdiyeh, Dēr el-Balaĝ, Tell Qasile, Rāmat Maṭrēd, Tell Dēr ‘Allā, Kuntilet ‘Aĝrūd, Hazor, Naĝal Ğever Cave, ‘En Gedi, Wādī Dāliye, Gešer Haziv), Lebanon (Kāmid el-Loz) and Turkey (Çatal Höyük, Gülpınar, Ališar Höyük, Troia, Kültepe, Kaman, Acemhöyük, Gordion, Bin Tepe). For a description of these findings see Völling 2008, 202–245. A survey of the evidence about Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age remains of textiles is given in Skals, Möller-Wiering and Nosch 2015, 61–74.

no hint is made in the written sources about everyday articles of clothing or textiles used outside the socio-economic milieu controlled by the state. This situation (which also characterizes other periods of Mesopotamian history) is inevitably reflected by various studies that have appeared in recent years and which focus on textiles worn by rulers and members of the upper class.²¹

Another problem preventing us from reaching a full understanding of the textiles mentioned in the texts is that the authors of Assyrian texts—like those of any other text written in the ancient world—are upper-class male scribes employed by the state administration.²² To judge from the preserved texts, these scribes, employed in various branches of the state administration, show no interest in the more quotidian activities that textile craftsmen and their assistants performed in workshops for the needs of the ruling class. Their concerns are only for issues of state economy, politics and religion—all aspects that reflect the interests of the upper-class elite that ruled the Empire. This situation has a significant impact on the level of knowledge that we can obtain from the study of ancient textile terminology, since designations of *realia* and the relevant descriptions are made by scribes who presumably had no direct experience of textile craftsmanship and the professional language used by artisans as regards technical procedures involved in their everyday work. Presumably, every professional group within the Assyrian textile industry—spinners, weavers, dressmakers, fullers, dyers, and so on—had its own jargon, as is the situation in present-day crafts. Technical terms characterizing the textile crafts were learned by apprentices during their traineeship in workshops. Rare references in Nuzi and Neo-Babylonian texts witness to the importance of teaching the weaver's craft (*išpārūtu*),²³ an indication that confirms the high value credited to textile work in the Mesopotamian society and economy. According to Neo-Babylonian sources, individuals were given for many years to professional weavers to learn *išpārūtu*²⁴ and it is reasonable to think that mastering the whole craft of weaving could be reached only through a lifelong investment of time and work in the profession.²⁵ Also the art of specialized textile artisans was highly valued. The teaching of the craft to apprentices was considered vital to transmit this practical

21 See Michel, Nosch 2010, xiv.

22 On this aspect, see Wasserman 2013, 257 fn. 26, citing Humphrey's observations about the difficulties of using ancient sources for the interpretation of certain crafts.

23 Regarding teaching *išpārūtu* in Nuzi see JEN 572:7, 16. For Neo-Babylonian texts see BOR 1, 88a:6, 9. See these references in CAD I-J, 257a s.v. *išpārūtu* 2.

24 According to the document BOR 1, 88a:3, a man gave an individual, presumably a boy, to a professional *išpāru* for five years to learn the weaver's craft. See CAD I-J, 257a s.v. *išpārūtu* 2b.

25 On teaching the entire craft of *išpārūtu* see BOR 1, 88a:6 (cited in CAD I-J, 257a).

knowledge to new generations. A Neo-Babylonian text is illuminating on this regard, since it mentions the teaching of the entire craft of *kāširūtu*, “knotting”, to an apprentice.²⁶ The craft of weaving—as well as any other specialized activity of textile craft—was predominantly transmitted from father to son, as shown by Neo-Assyrian references to generations of weavers. In weaving workshops of state-owned households as well as private households there were both expert weavers and people with different degrees of expertise in textile craft. It is reasonable to think that expert weavers had their own staff of apprentices and this enabled inexperienced workers to learn the art from their masters. In this connection, the case of the Neo-Assyrian weavers Na’di-Issār and Aššur-mātka-da’in is interesting. They are the sons of Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the Assyrian queen. Na’di-Issār and Aššur-mātka-da’in are the owners of Šumma-Nabû, who had worked as their servant, presumably in their textile workshop. During his apprenticeship Šumma-Nabû must have specialized in the production of *birmu*-cloths, since in a transaction his two owners sell him to a priest of the temple of Ninurta at Kalḫu.²⁷ Information on textile workers sold or purchased by owners who belong to the same professional field can give us further evidence about people trained in textile craftsmanship. This is probably the case of a slave whose name is not preserved in a contract from Nimrud. In this document, the *kāširu* Ninuāiu sells his slave, who is also a *kāširu*, to a certain Marduk-aplu-ušur.²⁸ As regards textile specialists employed in state households, it is reasonable to think that sons inherited the profession of the father along with the father’s network of contacts with the ruling elite. We can surmise this in the case of craftsmen, the professions of whose fathers or sons are not specified in the texts.²⁹

Unfortunately, the professional jargons of the Mesopotamian and Assyrian artisans are completely lost to modern scholars, who have to rely on texts issued for specific political, literary or administrative purposes. Only from rare didactic literary works are we able to gain a clearer idea about the meaning of certain

26 Camb. 245:7. Cited in CAD K, 266a s.v. *kāširūtu*.

27 See the purchase document SAA 12, 94.

28 CTN 2, 6:2–3.

29 Perhaps, this is the case of the brothers Aššur-lē’i, Mudammiq-Aššur and Šamaš-re’û’a, who are the sons of Šumma-Aššur, *kāširu* of the Aššur Temple. See the inheritance document NATAPA 2, 71:1–3. See also the case of the weaver Aplū’a, whose father, called Iaḫīru, acts as a witness in the above-mentioned inheritance document (*ibidem*, l.e. ii 48). His professional title is broken in the tablet, but he could have been a weaver. It is worth noting that the witnesses belong to professional groups that are linked to the work milieu of Šumma-Aššur, i.e., temple personnel (*ibid.*, r.34, e.37, 39–40) and weavers (*ibid.*, r.e. ii 55–56).

technical terms of the textile craftsmanship, but in this case the chronological distance between texts and cultural milieus—as well as dialectal variations—must be taken into consideration when evaluating possibly outmoded technical terms in relationship to later periods of Mesopotamian history. Additionally, the visual evidence of the items of clothing we find in Assyrian reliefs and monuments cannot be taken as a realistic representation of everyday clothing, since the stylistic choices of the artists could have misrepresented the details and peculiarities of such garments. Palace reliefs and monuments were not intended to transmit technical details about the king's garments to posterity, but to convey certain political messages to palace elites and high-ranking state officials. However, these pieces of evidence represent the only visual sources for the textiles described in the texts, and their examination cannot be excluded when studying textiles mentioned in written sources.

Understanding the textile designations used by the Assyrians during the period of development and consolidation of Assyria's imperial power in the Near East (9th to 7th century BC) is only one of the goals of this study. Many other interesting aspects emerge from the Neo-Assyrian documentation for which no adequate answers exist in the light of the evidence, such as the role textiles played in trade (especially in private trade) as well as the use of certain textile products in the cultic activities performed in Assyrian temples. To sum up, it is the specific practical context of many textiles that is hard to reconstruct, although there are some indications in the texts that enable us to reach some conclusions.

2 The management of textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: sources and administrative practices

2.1 The sources

References to textiles can be found in texts of various kinds: royal inscriptions on monuments and cuneiform clay tablets of different content and purpose (administrative records, royal correspondence, literary compositions, legal documents, texts concerning cultic rituals, *etc.*). These texts stem from the archives of Nineveh (Kuyunjik), Assur (Qal'at Šerqāt), Kalḫu (Nimrud), Gūzāna (Tell Ḥalaf), Šibaniba (Tell Billa) and Tušḫan (Ziyaret Tepe). Most documents that dealt with textiles in the Neo-Assyrian period were issued by the central administration of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian State in the 7th century BC. These are accounting records for textile products in the context of transactions made in the palatine milieu and involving various professionals. These documents include one sealing (SAA 11, 67 = **Text No. 1** in the present book); various labels or docketts, presumably attached to transported textiles (SAA 7, 93–106 = **Texts Nos. 2–15**);¹ memoranda on clothes to be given to the administration and distributed to individuals (SAA 7, 112, 113 = **Texts Nos. 16, 17**). Lists dealing with textiles (SAA 7, 107–111; 114–116 = **Texts Nos. 18–22; 23–25**) were generally of two types: records of amounts of raw materials, namely wool, linen, goat hair and dyestuff (SAA 7, 110, 111, 115, 116 = **Texts Nos. 21, 22, 24, 25**),² and records of finished products, primarily items of clothing (SAA 7, 107–109, 112–114 = **Texts Nos. 18–20, 16, 17, 23**).³ In addition, three lists on regular tablets appears densely inscribed with one or more columns of text (SAA 7, 107–109 = **Texts Nos. 18–20**).⁴ The following chart gives an overview on this administrative text corpus:

1 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxvi. According to Fales and Postgate the fragment SAA 7, 106 could be the top right-hand corner of SAA 7, 97. See *ibidem*, 114 *ad* no. 106.

2 For the documentation from Kalḫu, see CTN 2, 223; 252; 254 (wool and goat hair).

3 Lists of textiles from Kalḫu are CTN 2, 152; 224. Analogous inventory texts with textile products from Assur are KAN 2, 39 (StAT 1, 39), from Archive N33 (private archive of the goldsmiths), and StAT 3, 1, from Archive N1 (archive of the Aššur Temple).

4 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxvii. The editors observed that scribal hand, clay and general appearance of these three lists are very similar. The fragmentary list SAA 7, 107 probably belongs to the right side of SAA 7, 109. See *ibidem*, 114–115 *ad* nos. 107 and 108.

Chart 1: Administrative documents from Nineveh dealing with textiles

Text # (in Appendix)	Sealings	Labels	Memoranda	Lists
1	SAA 11, 67			
2–15		SAA 7, 93–106		
16–17			SAA 7, 112; 113	
18–25				SAA 7, 107–111; 114–116

A different category of administrative texts is specifically devoted to the management of raw textile materials such as wool and flax, as well as madder. These records contain information on the quantities of wool (SAA 7, 110), wool and flax (SAA 7, 111; 115), or wool and madder (SAA 7, 116). The second category is particularly interesting since it provides a number of details about the different uses of raw materials. One of the two records listing flax and wool amounts is divided into four columns (SAA 7, 115): two on the obverse and two on the reverse of the tablet. The account, which was probably written under the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 BC), refers to the consumption of linen, wool, and madder in a specific period of time by a number of cities, palaces and professionals for different purposes. The text is divided into four sections (see **Table 1** of table section of the present study): the first and the fourth sections are dedicated to linen fibre, the second to madder and the third to red wool. Quantities of the listed items are expressed in Assyrian weight units, *i. e.* talents and minas.⁵ Although the actual period of the expenditure of flax, wool, and madder is not specified in the headings of any of the four text sections, it most likely corresponds to a whole year in the light of two references included in the second linen section and in the madder section.⁶ The consumption of textile materials mostly relates to cities in central Assyria, such as Nineveh, Kalḫu, Assur, Adian, and Kilizi, but in the first linen section mention is also made of Našibina, a town in the Ḫābūr basin. The raw materials were mainly used by high-ranking state officials and palace-linked professionals, as well as individuals whose occupation is unknown. As for the destination of the textile materials, finished products are not always recorded, and the attestations regarding end products do not specify the place (city, household or palace unit) or the professional or individual in-

⁵ One talent was c. 60.6 kg or 30.3 kg, while one mina was c. 1.01 kg or 0.505 kg. On the heavy and light norms of the Assyrian weight system, see Postgate 1976, 64–66.

⁶ SAA 7, 115 r. i 2, ii 6.

volved. However, it is clear that the accounting statements mostly concern textiles used in palaces and temples.

None of these textile texts is dated, if we exclude the two labels which bear a date and refer to the first half of the 7th century BC, more precisely to the reigns of Sennacherib (705–681 BC) and Assurbanipal (668–631/627? BC).⁷ These texts are part of the internal documentation of the Empire's administration in Nineveh, which could explain the lack of details about the provenance and destination of the products listed in the documents as well as the telegraphic style and the technical terminology used by administrative scribes in the description of items they checked and recorded. All these documents come from the palace mound of Kuyunjik and were brought by Sir Austen Henry Layard and his successors to the British Museum. It is therefore difficult to know the exact place of provenance of the texts, although for a number of them, such as those classified with the collection *siglum* 83–1–18, an attribution to the archives of the South-West Palace in Nineveh has been suggested.⁸ These tablets were mostly found in the area of Room LIV,⁹ an area located in the southern part of the palace¹⁰ and identified as the place of the archive "Nineveh 3". As clearly stated by Fales and Postgate, who edited the administrative text corpus from Nineveh in two volumes of the *State Archives of Assyria* series,¹¹ the fragmentary condition of these administrative tablets largely prevents us from a complete understanding of the scope of the single document and the destination of the items listed in these texts. Generally, the top and bottom ends of administrative tablets contain headings or introductory notes as well as total sections which summarise information about the items listed. Consequently, the fact that these parts are not preserved in the tablets sets a serious limitation on our understanding of the *Sitz im Leben* of the individual texts and of the administrative corpus as a whole.

Notwithstanding these limitations, the administrative text corpus from Nineveh represents a fundamental source for understanding the management and organizational aspects of the Empire's machinery. The content of these texts is significant for the reconstruction of the textile industry of the Neo-Assyrian state, and furthermore the formats of the tablets and the technical terminology used

7 SAA 7, 93; 94. According to Fales and Postgate, the label SAA 7, 94 belongs to the reign of Esarhaddon. As correctly observed by Radner (2012, 690), the label does not fall in the reign of Esarhaddon. Instead, it is dated a few weeks before the murder of Sennacherib, which took place on the 20th day of the 10th month.

8 See Parpola's conclusions cited in Fales, Postgate 1992, xv.

9 See Reade's observations cited in Fales, Postgate 1992, xv.

10 This is the area identified as that of the archive "Nineveh 3". See Pedersén 1998, 163.

11 Fales, Postgate 1992; 1995.

by the accountants offer interesting insights about how textile production and consumption in Assyria were organized, directed and monitored by the state. The format of the tablets, their layouts and the selection of sets of data help shed some light on the accountant's work and the bureaucratic conventions followed in his administrative office. Secondly, the selection of specific descriptive details found in these texts concerning the textiles circulating within the state sector shows us the "internal point of view"—the criteria followed by administrators to classify the textiles. The selection of information about textiles that emerges from the scribes' telegraphic style also reflects the material peculiarities of the textiles that were presumably taken into careful consideration in everyday commercial transactions and whose quality differentiated ordinary from luxurious articles.

It is clear that the administrative texts dealing with textiles represent only a small fraction of the documentation issued by the central administration as regards textiles produced and consumed in Neo-Assyrian palace households and those used by the imperial army. In all likelihood, during the period in which these Ninevite administrative textile texts were issued by the central administration, other documents concerning textiles were regularly written by scribes onto perishable materials, namely waxed wooden writing boards in cuneiform Assyrian as well as leather or papyrus in alphabetic Aramaic.¹² In the light of the fact that textiles are one of the most important documented topics of the Ninevite administration, it is tempting to conclude that what we have here is what remains of a "textile archive", a collection of texts issued from one or more administrative units of the central administration that bear witness to a series of accounts dealing with textiles, primarily items of clothing for the government class and members of the imperial army. Analogous considerations have been put forward as regards the large number of documents dealing with wool and textiles from Mari, precisely from the royal archives of the first half of Zimri-Lim's reign (1780–1758 BC). As observed by Michel, these textile lists probably originated from a "wool office", an administrative unit of the palatine system in Mari where the accountants, under the control of high officials, were in charge of various aspects of the state management of textiles, from the supervision of the supply in raw materials to the palace to the distribution of wool to textile artisans, from the control of the stocks to the distribution of finished products to recipients.¹³

¹² See Fales, Postgate 1992, xiii.

¹³ Michel 2014a, 246.

Texts dealing with textiles issued by the central administration in Nineveh are presented in the Appendix of this book in transliteration and translation. The edition is based on the work of Fales and Postgate, although it has been possible to add some improvements in the reading of certain lines and in translations. The author's intention is to equip the reader with a tool for the study of textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. To this aim, no investigation on the topic would have been complete without a re-edition of the small collection of textile-related administrative documents from the Empire's capital. In addition, the book also presents for the first time a selection of colour photographs of some of these tablets. Some of the photographs have already been included in the previous edition by Fales and Postgate,¹⁴ although the pictures were in black and white and some of the tablets were not so easily readable. This book also presents photographs that were not included in the aforementioned edition (see Figs. 1–22).

Further light on the textiles produced and consumed in imperial Assyria is shed by texts stemming from other archives of the Neo-Assyrian period. As far as the documentation stemming from the archives of Kalḫu (Nimrud)—the former capital of the Assyrian State in 9th and 8th centuries BC—is concerned, a number of administrative documents dealing with textiles were found in the Governor's Palace.¹⁵ They were discovered in the so-called B 50 building that possibly housed a branch of the administration,¹⁶ and in the North-West Palace.¹⁷ Documents from the *rab ēkalli*'s archive in the Review Palace in Kalḫu which have been dated to the late 7th century BC include no administrative texts related to the management of textiles, although some letters and one legal document dated to the period following the reign of Assurbanipal do contain textile-related information.¹⁸ Administrative documents that shed light on the management of textiles were also issued from the administrative branch of the Assyrian provincial palace in Gūzāna (Tell Ḥalaf), a city situated in the upper Ḥābūr area. These texts form part of the archive of Mannu-kī-Aššur, the official who served as the Assyrian governor in the city during the first quarter of the 8th century BC.¹⁹ To the above-mentioned evidence we can also add the few administrative texts that stem from the archives of Assur (Qal'at Šerqāt), Šibaniba (Tell Billa) and Tušḫan (Ziyaret Tepe). Only one undated administrative

¹⁴ Fales, Postgate 1992, Pls. V–VII.

¹⁵ CTN 2, 152 and 153 (from Rooms C and K).

¹⁶ CTN 2, 223 and 224 (from Room vii of the B 50 building).

¹⁷ CTN 2, 252–254 (from Room HH). Documents from this room date to 719–715 BC.

¹⁸ CTN 3, 4–6 (from Room SE 1 and SE 8).

¹⁹ TH 48; 52; 54; 62–64. On this archive see Pedersén 1998, 172–173.

record concerning textiles from Archive N1 of the Aššur Temple is known at present.²⁰ It is hard to believe that the management of textiles for the needs of the principal temple of Assyria and its cultic staff did not required regular record-keeping. Information on textiles consumed in the city of Assur can be integrated with data provided by documents from the archives of private houses in Assur, all of which date to the last century of the Assyrian Empire.²¹ Among the documents that formed the administrative archive of Šibaniba, a city in central Assyria, there is a text dealing specifically with textiles.²² The majority of texts from this archive date to 853–826 BC.²³ Textiles are also documented in the administrative records from the provincial capital of Tušhan, in southeastern Turkey, although this archive is mainly concerned with grain.²⁴

The main problem about the aforementioned texts dealing with textiles is reconstructing the specific accounting occasion for which they were issued, their connections with other texts and their purpose within the context of the management of these goods.

2.2 Administrative practices concerning textiles

In the light of the administrative sources from Nineveh described above, questions arise as to the real possibility of reconstructing and understanding how specific economic sectors such as textile production were managed by the Neo-Assyrian Empire's central administration. The management of textiles for the needs of the palace elite and the royal army, as well as for the temples, represents an interesting case-study which may help us understand the administrative activities and procedures in record-keeping and accounting, although many gaps will remain in the resulting picture. The management of textile manufacture and its products, both in form of raw materials and end products, was an important concern of the state administration and its different branches. From what we read in Nineveh's administrative documents, it seems that the administrators' interest was particularly focused on the textile end products exchanged within the palace and the "government sector" (to use Postgate's terminology), while we

²⁰ StAT 3, 1.

²¹ KAN 2, 39 (StAT 1, 39); StAT 2, 163; 164; 243; 244; 255; 310; 315. See Pedersén 1998, 136–137.

²² Billa 71 (JCS 7 [1953], 137).

²³ See Pedersén 1998, 169.

²⁴ ZTT I, 8; 22; ZTT II, 33. The administrative tablets from this archive date to both before and after the fall of Nineveh (612 BC). See Parpola 2008, 12–14. As regards the text ZTT II, 33, it probably belongs to the early 8th century BC. See MacGinnis, Willis Monroe 2013–2014, 52.

can find only scanty data about other important stages of the textile *chaîne opératoire* in Assyria such as the gathering and processing of raw materials and the activity of textile artisans. To reconstruct the textile production chain and understand how it was managed by central administration we have to rely on the following text materials: flock counts, inventory texts, distribution documents, labels and sealings. Of the administrative text corpus concerning provincial and military matters, a number of texts are devoted to the management of sheep and goats.²⁵ The terminology of these animals does not contain any clear link to the use of wool and hair in textile manufacture, although it is obvious that wool was the most important material in textile production along with flax, while goat hair was destined for the production of more utilitarian goods—in all likelihood rugs, mats, saddlebags, tents and ropes.²⁶ Sheep were counted for the production of wool and meat; the former was necessary in the production of clothing and other textile products and the latter constituted a fundamental element of food consumption in royal banquets and temple cult ceremonies. As far as the Nineveh texts are concerned, we can see that these are simply records of flocks (or “flock counts”) listed with the name of their respective owner—the shepherd—who was presumably responsible for the organization of the plucking or shearing as well as the provision of wool and goat hair, or the official in charge of their accounting. The plucking or shearing process is not described; these operations were certainly yearly events, presumably taking place during spring.²⁷ Flocks would have been checked at important occasions, such as plucking²⁸ or shearing. Flock counts make references to the colour of the sheep only in exceptional cases; SAA 11, 76, for instance, mentions “whites” and “blackies”.²⁹ According to the editors of this text, this terminological opposition refers respectively to sheep and goats. Consequently, it cannot be taken as an indication for fleece varieties of sheep and of the administrators’ interest in colours of wool. However, it is clear that scribes did not apply systematically these terms in ac-

²⁵ CTN 2, 256; SAA 11, 76–88; 100–103.

²⁶ CTN 2, 254, a short note from Room HH of the North-West Palace in Kalḫu, lists two large amounts of wool and goat hair, presumably destined to different purposes. For the possibility that goat hair was used for tents, see Postgate 2014, 406. From the records of sheep and goats from Dūr-Katlimmu it is evident that the management of goat hair was of concern to the Middle Assyrian administrators. See Röllig 2008, texts nos. 21 r.13; 30 r.12; 48 r.35; 51:5; 56 r.4'. On the use of goat hair for the production of ropes see Lion, Michel 2001, 181.

²⁷ The issue of herding contracts at the beginning of the year supports this hypothesis. See Postgate, Payne 1975, 4; van Driel 1993, 228–229. Analogous conclusions have been reached by ethno-archaeological investigations in Iraq. See Ochsenschlager 1993, 36.

²⁸ For this assumption, see Postgate 2013, 305.

²⁹ SAA 11, 76:5, 9, r.3, 6.

counting of ovids, as may be observed in another flock list, where UDU.BAB-BAR.MEŠ, “white sheep” are followed by the common name for goats, UDU.ÛZ.MEŠ.³⁰ An inventory from Kalḫu which records a number of unshorned rams (*labšūte*),³¹ also mentions varieties of sheep called *šu’ubtu* (a sheep with a white curly fleece?)³² and UDU.SI.LUḪ,³³ a wool qualification which is also found in the name of the textile TÚG.SI.LUḪ.³⁴ A fragmentary note from Nineveh lists four sheep of the Temanaean type (a sheep with special fleece, perhaps) belonging to a cohort commander,³⁵ but there is no evidence about the use of Temanaean wool by the weavers operating in the Assyrian textile workshops. Analogously, no hint is made in the administrative texts to the cultivation and processing of flax, another important raw material in Assyrian textile manufacture. As a raw material, flax occurs in large quantities in records from Nineveh dealing with both assignments and consumption.³⁶ **Text No. 22** lists quantities of dyed wool and flax, and the fact that this material is mentioned alongside processed wool leads us to suppose that the flax had also been processed, that is to say it had already been retted, combed and sorted. If so, the flax in question probably consisted of quantities of sorted fibres to be spun.

The amount of wool that was collected emerges on the occasion of its distribution to members of the government for different purposes, as well as in the phases of monitoring the consumption by various households. Inventory texts from Nineveh listing amounts of wool were intended for internal use; in other words, they result from periodic operations that monitored the quantities of raw materials received by or disbursed from a given administrative unit or consumed in textile production of given households. Two preserved tablets illustrate this. The first, SAA 7, 111 (**Text No. 22**), is a list of quantities of dyed wool and flax. The few details about these materials concern the colour of wool (red

30 SAA 11, 78 r.2–3. Interestingly, also in a Middle Assyrian account from Dūr-Katlimmu the qualification *pašiu*, “white”, is used in the total-section concerning sheep, see Röllig 2008, text no. 4 r.27–30. However, the subsequent part, concerning goats (ll. r.32–e.37), does not use the word *šalmu*, “black”, to refer to goats, but simply the word *šēnu*, “sheep”.

31 ND 2311:13 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).

32 SAA 5, 256:12. This qualification for fleece of sheep (*šuppu/šu’bu*) is already attested in Old Assyrian texts. See CAD Š, 249a s.v. *šuppu* A; Michel, Veenhof 2010, 240, 244.

33 SAA 12, 73:3’.

34 CTN 2, 1:4’; PVA 256; SAA 7, 96:10’; 97:2’; 105:5; 117 r.5; StAT 3, 1 r.3, 7.

35 SAA 11, 85:1–3. But note that the professional title of the owner of the sheep is intended as *rab kāširi* in PNA 1/I, 185a s.v. *Aššur-ētir* 6.

36 See SAA 7, 111:7, r.2’, 4’, where the quantities of flax follow those of dyed wool. Flax consumption is registered in SAA 7, 115 i 1, ii 5, 23e, r. ii 3, 13, 15.

and black),³⁷ the provenance of certain quantities (such as the “house”, the “Palace”)³⁸ and the destination of the wool (an unspecified number of *maqattu*-garments of unknown sheikhs).³⁹ The individuals mentioned (Šābu-damqu and Issār-riši-rēmi) occur as the recipients of wool and flax,⁴⁰ but more specific details about these assignments are not given in this short record. Perhaps they were in charge of spinning the yarn from the amounts of wool and flax received. The second document is SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**), assigned to the late Neo-Assyrian period. It is a large and detailed account of flax and wool quantities consumed in a number of households, presumably in the production of various textile products. This is a multi-column tablet whose numerical and text entries are organized into sections with headings and subsidiary columns. The text records the consumption of linen (SÍG.GADA), ordinary madder (GIŠ.ḪAB) and red wool (SÍG.ḪÉ.MED), as shown in the column headings.⁴¹ The different purposes for the disbursement of flax, all of which qualified as *akiltu*, “consumption”, concern the production of linen blankets,⁴² the provision of the *kāširu*’s “House”,⁴³ the boats (perhaps as linen for the sails or to be transported by boatmen for trade)⁴⁴ and occasional needs⁴⁵ which are not specified but which were probably self-evident to the Assyrian scribe who wrote this account. As for madder, this is perhaps the sole indication about dyeing in the administrative contexts; in this text the consumption of *Rubia tinctorum* is connected to different recipients, destinations, and final products. Madder is also listed in an inventory of household goods after articles of clothing and in association with a plant, perhaps to be used in dyeing.⁴⁶ The consumption of madder is already attested in 2nd-millennium Assyria, where it had a purpose in both the leather and the textile industry.⁴⁷ An administrative document from the Middle Assyrian archive Ass 13058 shows that the state administration was in charge of receiving amounts of madder from various contributors in the framework of the work-assignment sys-

37 SAA 7, 111:1–6.

38 SAA 7, 111:3, 4.

39 SAA 7, 111:1–2.

40 SAA 7, 111 r.1’–3’.

41 SAA 7, 115 i 1, ii 6, r. i 10, ii 3.

42 SAA 7, 115 i 11.

43 SAA 7, 115 i 13, r. ii 7.

44 SAA 7, 115 ii 3.

45 SAA 7, 115 ii 2.

46 Ki 1904–10–9,154 e.53 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) ‘x’ G[Ú.U]N GIŠ.ḪAB 1 GÚ.UN Ú.ku²-nu-x [(x)].

47 Madder (*hūrutu*) is documented in DeZ 2207:2 (Jakob 2003, 437); KAJ 130:3; 310:39.

tem, under the responsibility of state officials.⁴⁸ A large number of *maqattus* and an equivalent number of *urnutu*-garments, evidently both used by the same military unit, are mentioned in **Text No. 24**.⁴⁹ Mention is also made of *nahhabtu*-uniforms for the Qurrean military unit⁵⁰ and uniforms for charioteers and archers.⁵¹ The context is that of items of clothing supplied to the army, evidently representing an important part of the Empire's textile economy. In this section of the text, the quantity of scarlet dye needed to colour specific amounts of wool is given: 22 talents of *huḥḥurāti*-dye were needed for seven talents and ten minas of red wool, while 30 talents and 20 minas of dye were needed for 15 talents and ten minas.⁵² In short, 22 talents of red wool could be produced using 53 talents of this type of dye.⁵³ Unlike the picture provided by the consumption of linen and wool, we can find more details on the textiles produced by using madder. This type of colorant was used for dyeing garments and other textile products. The text enumerates gowns, tunics and other clothing items for military units, as well as *iṣḥu*-textiles,⁵⁴ wrappings for sashes⁵⁵ and an unspecified amount of linen twine.⁵⁶ The document also records a quantity of dyestuff assigned "for the boats" (*ana šapīnāte*), for which the city of Aliḥu was probably a centre of speciality that was expected to return finished textiles under a work-assignment basis.⁵⁷ In this connection, it is interesting to observe that textile manufacture in this city consumed both linen and red dye.⁵⁸ The use of madder for boats is not mentioned; perhaps the listed amounts of linen and madder corresponded to quantities that were transported by boatmen through the waterways of the imperial territory throughout the year for trading purposes. Another quantity of madder is said to have been consumed in the *bēt kāšir(i)*⁵⁹ and a total of five talents

48 KAM 11, 48 r.19–20. The text lists quantities of *ḥūrutu* and individuals. However, only part of the list is preserved (lines 10–r.18). The document also specifies that the work-assignment was due in the eponymy of Sin-apla-iddina and that the quantities were received under the responsibility of Dān-ilāni, the judge.

49 SAA 7, 115 ii 9–10.

50 SAA 7, 115 ii 17–18.

51 SAA 7, 115 ii 19–20.

52 SAA 7, 115 r. i 11–16.

53 SAA 7, 115 r. i 17–19. However, Postgate considers unlikely that *huḥḥurāti* is to be referred to a dye. See Fales, Postgate 1995, 197. See also AEAD, 38a s.v.: "a dye or a kind of wool".

54 SAA 7, 115 ii 15.

55 SAA 7, 115 ii 16.

56 SAA 7, 115 ii 23e.

57 SAA 7, 115 ii 13–14.

58 SAA 7, 115 i 10, ii 13.

59 SAA 7, 115 ii 21.

was destined for dyeing an unspecified amount of linen twine,⁶⁰ probably to be used by the palace weavers in an unknown household. To judge from what we read in this text, the production of thread from flax was highly specialized; the accountant distinguishes amounts of thin linen thread from ordinary linen thread.⁶¹ According to the document, thin linen thread was consumed along with linen twine by the New Palace household.⁶² Telegraphic references to the “gate [and] the entrance” (*bābu [u] nērubu*)⁶³ may refer to drapes, curtains or carpets for palace or temple doorways to be dyed with the *hūrutu*, while the reference to the quantity of three talents assigned to a certain Epā (an official in charge for the dyeing and distribution of the red-dyed garments for these gate guards?) is probably connected to work-garments for the gate-supervisors (*šapān-bābi*).⁶⁴ The *bēt kāšir(i)* designation was in all probability applied to both the administrative department and the workshop for textile manufacture under the responsibility of the *kāširu*. This establishment was initially interpreted by Fales and Postgate as the “house of the tailor(s)”.⁶⁵ However, it seems that the *kāširu* had more to do with specialized weaving operations, as we will see below. The *kāširu*’s workshop must have been an important centre of production in the state-oriented textile manufacture, although no details are given in the extant sources. Here, the chief *kāširu* and his staff received linen, coloured wool and madder, presumably according to the needs of each work-assignment. These materials were processed in the textile workshop. We may wonder why the *kāširu* also received madder, a common dyestuff which could more likely be found in connection with artisans in charge of dyeing. It is possible that the *bēt kāšir(i)* is used here to indicate a household whose premises also comprised dyeing stations for dyers and workrooms for *kāširu*-artisans involved in linen and wool textile manufacture, quite possibly including the repair of old and damaged textile products. This may also be suggested in the light of the activity of the Middle Assyrian *kāširu*, whose responsibilities seem to go beyond the manufacture of carpets.⁶⁶

60 SAA 7, 115 ii 23e.

61 See SAA 7, 115 r. ii 13 40¹ MA *tu-a-nu GADA qa-at-nu 6-su ina 1 GĪN*, “Forty minas, thin linen thread, 1/6 per one shekel”.

62 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 13–16.

63 SAA 7, 117 ii 7–8.

64 SAA 7, 115 ii 11–12.

65 Fales, Postgate 1992, 122–124.

66 Postgate 2014, 407–408.

In **Text No. 24**, the consumption of red wool is qualified as regular (*kaiamā-nū*) by the accountant and as including extra needs (*adi miqtāni*).⁶⁷ The scribe does not limit himself to recording end products and recipients. As described above, he includes calculations concerning the quantity of red wool and the amount of red dye needed to produce the coloured wool. But why is this information considered relevant for the record-keeping operations? Who are the recipients of this piece of information? We know that inventory-type administrative tablets, which are usually limited to figures and entries, often include additional space where the scribe could make further calculations before inserting the resulting numerical data into the “total-section”. A multi-columned record dealing with equids from Fort Shalmaneser shows that an additional right-hand column was left for calculations.⁶⁸ In our case, however, the considerations made by the accountant are explicitly expressed in prosaic form: the scribe writes down the original amounts of product, then registers the quantities resulting from a multiplication by three or two.⁶⁹ The presence of such calculations confirms the internal destination of this account. In addition, in just a few cases the text clarifies that the consumption (of both madder and linen) refers to a time span of one year.⁷⁰ This gives us an indication of the annual consumption patterns monitored by the administrators. Evidently the state administration issued compilation accounts every year to monitor annual production according to various production centres and disbursement of raw materials and dyestuff. We may therefore state that the text is more than a list; it represents a compilation based on previous individual accounts on linen, wool and madder and is concerned with the consumption of single households, professional groups and individuals. Two out of the three individuals, possibly from Kalḫu, are mentioned as consumers of these materials, namely Ḫubtu-Aššur⁷¹ and Šār-Issār.⁷² Their professional roles are not specified: are they officials in charge of the management of the consumption in some state-owned households or possibly owners of private establishments in charge of the production of textiles under the *iškāru*-system?

⁶⁷ SAA 7, 115 r. ii 1–2.

⁶⁸ CTN 3, 98. See also CTN 3, 143 for a third column left blank except for few signs written in isolation.

⁶⁹ SAA 7, 115 r. ii 13, 16.

⁷⁰ SAA 7, 115 r. i 1–2 2 GŪ LŪ.MAŠ[!].MAŠ.MEŠ / *ša kàl MU.AN.NA*, “Two talents, the exorcists, of the whole year”, *ibidem*, ii 4–6 [(x x) a-n]a mal[!]-di-di šá É–[!]15[!] / [(x) x GIŠ.N]Á.MEŠ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ / [0 ša] kàl MU.AN.NA, “[for] the *maldu*-textiles of the temple of Ištar, [for be]ds and chairs [for] the whole year”.

⁷¹ SAA 7, 115 i 21.

⁷² SAA 7, 115 ii 22, r. ii 19.

This text was destined for internal use of the administration, a fact which is made clear at the end of the list, which is not addressed to external parties. Instead, it contains a message for the colleagues of the author of **Text No. 24** which is only relevant in terms of internal use in their administrative unit.⁷³ according to this document, the amounts of products listed—namely raw textile materials and dyestuffs—are not provided by the magnates (they did not contribute them, for example as audience gifts or taxes). Instead they are acquired via other channels, possibly through internal transactions on the basis of work-asignments given by the state or external transactions involving state-directed merchants in different international contexts.⁷⁴ The importance of the latter can also be seen in the Assyrian state's control of those merchants operating in non-state controlled commercial activities when dealing with goods forming part of the palace income.⁷⁵ The final piece of information expressed by the accountant of **Text No. 24** was evidently considered necessary for record-keeping and archival purposes. We may suppose that textile materials originating from contributions by palace and government officials and relevant administrative records were managed and stored in specific places (perhaps in different containers located in a storeroom close to the administrative office) to facilitate record-keeping as well as redistribution of the materials. The magnates also occur in SAA 7, 116 (**Text No. 25**), a tablet ruled into four columns listing amounts of wool and madder relating to cities and provinces of the Assyrian Empire. The headings of the account are not preserved, but they probably refer to *šāptu* and *hūrutu* entries and to names of Assyrian districts. The fragmentary condition of the beginning and end parts of the tablet prevents us from knowing the purpose of the text. However, the reference to the deficit (*muṭē*) which was due to the *rabūti*⁷⁶ confirms the importance of the magnates' contribution to the procurement of textile materials and the autonomous management of this contribution by the administrative unit. It is also important to stress the wide geographical range of places from which wool and madder were acquired for the internal

⁷³ Remarks apparently addressed to recipients of the same organization may be found in Middle Assyrian documents. The formula *ana lā mašā'e šaṭīr*, “written down so as not to forget”, is found in MARV I, 10; MARV III, 34; Donbaz 1976, nos. 51 and 52. See Postgate 2013, 175, 195 for discussion.

⁷⁴ SAA 7, 115 r. ii 21 TA* IGI LÚ*.GAL.MEŠ / *la ni-maḥ-ḥar / ni'-la'-qī' ni'-id'-dan'*, “We are not receiving (it) from the magnates; we buy (what) we give”. But see the editors' alternative reading in Fales, Postgate 1992, 124: “(When) we receive (some), we will give it out”.

⁷⁵ See SAA 11, 26, concerning trading activities in Ḥarrān involving iron, dyed skins, stone, linen garments and dyed wool.

⁷⁶ SAA 7, 115 r.5'.

textile production of Assyria, from the Levantine coast to central Syria and southern Anatolia. Since the roots of the madder plant were probably harvested in the autumn, it is possible that the accounting event—registered on single event records—took place around the time of the harvest. Research on the use of madder in ancient and modern societies has shown that older plants are preferred by producers, since the roots contain a higher quantity of colorant when compared to younger plants.⁷⁷ Details on the madder harvested in Assyria are only attested in a Middle Assyrian text that mentions amounts of this vegetal substance apparently coming from two different parts of the plant, the whole plant (GESTIN.MEŠ) and the roots or inflorescences (*ki-mu-tu*.MEŠ).⁷⁸

The amounts of wool, linen and madder received by the administrators were then assigned by the state to textile artisans involved in different phases of textile production. We wonder why some textile-related activities and tools are not reflected in the administrative documentation, such as, for instance, the sorting of wool qualities (in view of the production of high-/first-, second-, and third-quality textile products),⁷⁹ the procurement of mordants and fulling materials (minerals like alum and natron needed for the dyeing and fulling process),⁸⁰ timber (for heating the water needed for the dyeing process) and work-tools (spindles and spindle-whorls for spinning, looms, loom weights and loom-related tools for weaving, *etc.*). Single records and periodic summaries or compilation accounts were probably written regarding the management of raw materials, operations and relevant personnel. SAA 11, 36 is a three-column document structured into a number of sections by horizontal rulings. The heading of the tablet, probably to be restored as [ḪA.LA *m*]a¹-*da-te*, “[distribution of t]ribute”, shows that the listed goods to be distributed internally to palace employees come from tribute. In this text, twenty minas of red dye and two seahs of wood are mentioned as the assignment of the chief fuller (*rab ašlāki*).⁸¹ The *rab ašlāki* is probably mentioned in this text as the head of department, and as such acts as a representative of both dyers and fullers. Dyestuff and wood were certainly needed in the textile production process: wood was used for heating the water to prepare the dye-bath. It is also possible that the wood in question (*tubāqu*) was a vegetal substance used as dye material for the production of certain

77 Cardon 2007, 109.

78 Donbaz 1988, 73. See the discussion in Postgate 2014, 410.

79 An aspect which is well attested, for instance, in the Old Assyrian evidence, where wool could be defined as good, extra-good, long, soft or thick. See Michel 2014a, 244.

80 For the use of alum and natron in Assyria, see SAA 16, 82 r.5–10 (mentioned in conjunction with twine of linen, red and black wool).

81 SAA 11, 36 ii 19–21.

dark colours;⁸² in fact, parts of various plants containing tannins—especially the bark of the oak—were used in antiquity to obtain dark hues.⁸³ In addition, in an administrative record from Til Barsip we also find alum and madder, a mordant and a red colorant⁸⁴ to be used in leather dyeing. These substances also jointly occur in a Middle Assyrian document from Assur concerning the preparation of hides for repairing a chariot.⁸⁵ In wool dyeing, wool was prepared with alum mordant and immersed in a dye-bath containing madder (possibly in the form of powdered roots), according to a 7th-century Babylonian recipe.⁸⁶

Concerning tools used by textile artisans, the government administration apparently showed no interest in the equipment of textile workers, as the main concern of the administrators was focused on the procurement of wool and finished textile products (garments). This is probably due to the type of working relationship that existed between the state and the craft workers: through the work-assignment system, the state supplied raw materials (*i. e.*, wool, linen, dyestuff and mordant) to the textile artisans, who were expected to carry out their work and return finished items of clothing and other textile products. This work relationship implied that the procurement or fabrication of textile equipment (*i. e.*, spindles and spindle-whorls, looms and loom weights, shuttles or bobbins, needles and so on) was the textile artisans' own duty.

Wool was assigned to dependent personnel, predominantly women, in various government establishments, as shown by a Middle Assyrian tablet from Assur concerning work-assignments in the textile production sector. The list enumerates wool quantities, people (again mostly women) and expected finished wool end products.⁸⁷ The women and the few men listed were weavers in charge of producing specific textile end products in a given time period. Assignments of wools to teams of female weavers was the system used by the state to get specific items of clothing by given deadlines for the needs of the palace elite and the government sector.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, bilateral documentation regulating how this

82 According to CAD T, 445b s.v. *tubāqu* b, the sap or dye from this unknown plant is intended in the above-mentioned Neo-Assyrian occurrence.

83 See Cardon 2007, 410–420 on oak varieties and their parts (bark, galls and acorn cups) used in dyeing.

84 Dalley 1996–97, 79, text T12:11–12 ʾx+12ʾ MA.NA GIŠ.ĤAB.MEŠ / 10 MA.NA NA₄.ga-bi-i.

85 KAJ 130:4–5 5 1/3 ĥu-ru-tu / 2 1/2 MA.NA 5 GÍN ab-na ga-bi-ú. For other attestations about the association of madder and alum in Akkadian texts see CAD H, 247b–248a s.v. *ĥūratu*.

86 Finkel, Granger-Taylor, Cardon 1999–2000, 64–65 (BM 62788+82978).

87 MARV III, 5.

88 See KAM 11, 58 on assignments of amounts of different dyed wools to various women for the production of a number of *namaddu*-textiles and *nahlaptu*-garments. The document is dated to the eponymy Ili-uballissu and stems from the archive 13058. See also MARV X, 40 (StAT 5, 40), a

work had to be performed is absent in the Neo-Assyrian period. Only in Middle Assyrian times do we find memoranda describing work-assignments concerning the production of specific textile products: texts from Bābu-aḥa-iddina's archive (13th century BC), for instance, show that work-assignments were assigned year by year to craft people to secure a regular supply of textile products for his private household. Among these craft workers there were women such as Allanzu, who had to produce *išhanabe*-garments or Ambi[...], whose work-assignment concerned the fabrication of *šubātus* and *naḥlaptus*.⁸⁹ Administrative records from Dūr-Katlimmu complete the picture about the involvement of dependent women in local textile manufacture. Women belonging to the *šiluḥlū*-families are mentioned in association with items of clothing, presumably work garments to be used by *šiluḥlū*-people in everyday menial activities on Dūr-Katlimmu farms. Individuals such as Amat-ili, for example, were qualified as producers of *mašḥuru*-textiles.⁹⁰ The number of garments these female weavers had to deliver at the end of their work-contract could vary from a minimum of two⁹¹ to a maximum of six *mašḥurus*.⁹² According to an account concerning wool distributed as work-assignment to a number of female weavers from Dūr-Katlimmu and Duāra, the amount of wool required for one *mašḥuru* was six minas.⁹³ Similar data on the amount of wool required to produce specific items of clothing can be found in Dūr-Katlimmu records: for instance, four minas of wool were neces-

document dated to the eponymy of Ninū'āyu which lists amounts of dyed wool assigned to two female weavers for the production of *naḥlaptus*. Another document dealing with a work-assignment to female weavers is also MARV X, 69 (StAT 5, 69). The text MARV X, 77 (StAT 5, 77), dated to the eponymy of Šamaš-apla-ēreš, is also about producing *naḥlaptu*-garments under the *iškānu*-system, but it only mentions the "House of B/Puḥunu", not the single weavers. Presumably, with this collective designation the female weavers of the domestic textile workshop of this owner were intended. See also KAM 11, 117b, dealing with the work-assignment of two individuals and related to five *naḥlaptus*. The document KAM 11, 64 is about a work-assignment regarding *ašiannu*-textiles, qualified as (or followed by) *siruributu*. The text only connects the items with the city of Nineveh and specifies that the textiles in question were deposited in the storehouse (*bēt nakkamte*).

⁸⁹ Postgate 2013, 219–220.

⁹⁰ Salah 2014, texts nos. 42:30; 43:5'; 49:19; 50 e.23; 51 r.27; 53 r.28; 54 r.30; 55 r.29; 60 r.29; 61 e.24; 66:19; 67 r.28; 69:15; 70 r.24'.

⁹¹ Salah 2014, text no. 47 r.19, 20.

⁹² Salah 2014, texts nos. 12 r.44; 18 r.36; 20 r.19'; 42:6, 30; 43:5'; 47 e.17, 18; 49:11, 19, r.35; 50:12, e.23, r.42; 51 r.27, 30; 53:14, r.28; 54 e.53a; 55 r.29, 45; 60:3, e.26, r.29; 61:3, e.24; 66:19; 69:15; 70 r.24', 31'.

⁹³ Salah 2014, text no. 47 e.17–r.20. This weight per unit is also attested in one document from Tell Ali. See Ismail, Postgate 2008, 172, text no. 23:6–7.

sary to produce one *kusītu*,⁹⁴ while the weight per unit of one *išhanabe*-garment and one *alazia*-garment were ten minas and twelve minas respectively.⁹⁵

But what about Neo-Assyrian textile production? Were details of these assignments written on perishable materials or were the instructions to the crafts people given orally? Is it possible that record-keeping was limited to the phases of monitoring the work performance and checking the final products? Transactions occurring between the government and individual professionals were recorded in the form of notes or memoranda.⁹⁶ One of these is the Neo-Assyrian text SAA 7, 112 (**Text No. 16**), which lists individuals who are required to provide garments. From the total-section we learn that eleven individuals are involved,⁹⁷ but there is no indication as regards their roles in connection with textiles: are they officials in charge of the provision of textile artisans who were expected to produce these products for the state? In addition, we see that the record is both descriptive and prescriptive;⁹⁸ it mentions not only the contribution in upper garments and robes (*elītu* and *kusītu*-garments) given in the past by an individual called Nabû-šēzibanni, but also the new contribution in textiles (*i.e.*, third-rate *muklalu*-garments) which was expected from him as well as another individual by the administration.⁹⁹ The recipient of Nabû-šēzibanni's old contribution is a certain Šamaš-iddin, an official whose details are not given in the text. Among the other recipients we find, for instance, the military unit of the Qurreans,¹⁰⁰ an indication which sheds light on the military destination of the textiles involved.¹⁰¹ This document includes additional information on the people involved. These details, clearly unrelated to clothing,¹⁰² probably allowed the administrators to identify the people mentioned and monitor their roles and ac-

94 Salah 2014, text no. 47:7.

95 Salah 2014, text no. 47:10–11. Note that two female weavers were involved to produce this item of dress, *i.e.*, Bādūya and Ištar-šarrat.

96 CTN 2, 224; SAA 7, 112; 113. See also the note CTN 2, 253, only recording TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ without specifying their number.

97 SAA 7, 112 s.1.

98 On the categories of “descriptive documents” and “prescriptive documents” as regards the Middle Assyrian texts, see Postgate 2013, 79.

99 SAA 7, 112:3'–4', r.1–3, 4–5.

100 SAA 7, 112 r.2.

101 The high figures of the textiles seem appropriate to military units: SAA 7, 112:3' (400 *kuzīpus*), r.1 (1.500 *naḥḥaptus*), 4 (70 *muklalus*).

102 See the reference to the activity of Nabû-šēzibanni and his wife as organizers of banquets in SAA 7, 112:4'–9', the mention of Nabû-šēzibanni's adjutants in *ibidem*, r.6–8 and the comment about the fact that the men ran away with the commander-of-fifty and came to him in *ibid.*, s.1–3.

tivities. The missing details in this kind of document are certainly due to the fact that the individuals involved in the transaction were well-known to the administrative unit in charge of the management of these textiles. In all likelihood this account is a secondary document which was issued as an internal record for the administrators on the basis of individual memoranda containing details about these work-assignments (e.g., details on the original amount of raw materials assigned to the craft worker, the textile products to be fabricated and the date) and the people involved. Another undated note about garments comes from Nimrud and informs us that the name of the official to whom the items were put at the disposal was a certain Ušammir-akšūdu.¹⁰³

Administrative texts also provide interesting pieces of information on people involved in textile-related craft activities. As far as women are concerned, Parpola suggested that palaces with “harems” were probably centres of production of linen textiles and that women living there were likely involved in less specialized textile activities, such as spinning the yarn, while the actual weaving operations were executed by professional weavers.¹⁰⁴ I am inclined to think that a non-specialized workforce was probably involved in the full range of operations related to fibre extraction (e.g., flax retting and scutching, combing, sorting and spinning the yarn). Regarding weaving operations, the professional category of weavers certainly included women, as witnessed by the title *ušpārtu* in Neo-Assyrian sources. In addition, it appears that female weavers were supervised by senior female *ušpārtus*.¹⁰⁵ This is not surprising, since weavers worked in teams supervised by an overseer (*rab ušpāri*).¹⁰⁶ Foreign women, above all deportees, were certainly employed in the Assyrian households, and it is reasonable to assume that less experienced young women were probably assigned to less specialized tasks (connected to fibre-related operations, such as spinning), while the expertise of high-trained foreign female weavers was put at the service of the palace for the fabrication of luxurious products for the royal family. In this connection, it is interesting to remember the important role played by female weavers in sorting dyed wool of foreign provenance, as witnessed by a letter of Sargon II’s royal correspondence concerning wool from Kummuh.¹⁰⁷ That the central administra-

103 CTN 2, 224 r.10 [(x x x)] IGI ¹ú-ša-mir—ak-šu-ud’.

104 Parpola 2012, 618.

105 SAA 8, 305 r.6–8 MÍ.MEŠ *ana MÍ.dam-qa-a* / [x x x] ṛ x x’-šū it-ta-din um-ma qí-rib’ / [x x x x] *ina pa-ni-ki lim-ḥa-ša*, “The women he gave to Damqā, his [...], saying: ‘... Let them weave [...] under your supervision’.”

106 This is already documented in Middle Assyrian times. An overseer of the weavers is mentioned in Ismail, Postgate 2008, text no. 12 e.6–7.

107 SAA 1, 33:19–r.3.

tion was interested in recruiting female weavers is also documented in a record concerning Egyptian deportees, where the scribe accurately writes down that four of them are weavers.¹⁰⁸ A small “census” of weavers present in some households of the Assyrian Empire—namely those of the provinces of the Chief Cup-bearer and of the Palace Herald, Rašappa, Urzūhina, Māzama, Arrapḫa, Kār-Aššur and Laḫīru—are recorded in a list from Nineveh.¹⁰⁹ Administrators also regularly took note of other textile specialists, as can be seen in a list of people from Kalḫu: six individuals are qualified as *kāširus* in the total-section.¹¹⁰ Such periodic records of weavers and other textile craftsmen working in the major production centres of the country were evidently necessary to plan textile production and provide a regular supply of textiles to royal residences, temples and the royal army; this review of textile workers also served to check their work performance, determine the level of their obligations in finished products, and also plan the recruitment of new workforce.

Textiles consumed in the palace and government sectors are recorded in labels¹¹¹ and inventory lists. Within these two categories, however, there are differences. The only two preserved labels bearing a date were probably attached to bundles with the garments mentioned on the labels themselves; accordingly, SAA 7, 94 (**Text No. 3**), dated to 681 BC, accompanied a suit of clothes constituted by seven undergarments, two *gulēnus*, one *qirmu*, one domestic *muqaṭṭu* and one *urnutu*-garment, while SAA 7, 93 (**Text No. 2**), dated to 658 BC, was attached to a bundle comprising two *muqaṭṭu*-garments of domestic type sent from Ibbiya, in the domestic quarter. Larger labels detailing a remarkable number of textiles (**Texts Nos. 5, 10, 13**)¹¹² were probably attached to sealed rooms of the palace storeroom. Labels bear impressions of a stamp seal.¹¹³ One of them shows three impressions of a stamp seal, presumably the same, on the obverse,¹¹⁴ while two labels bear traces of two seal impressions.¹¹⁵ In textile labels the royal seal was used by the administrators, as witnessed by **Text No. 10**.¹¹⁶ Apart from the royal seal, other seals with different iconographies were in use

108 SAA 11, 169 r.4.

109 SAA 7, 23 r.1–10.

110 ND 2498:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 35, pl. XVIII).

111 SAA 7, 93–106.

112 The label SAA 7, 96 r.6 lists more than 100 garments, while SAA 7, 101 r.1' gives the total of 300(?) garments. The higher number is given in SAA 7, 104 r.5', where the items correspond to 700(?) units.

113 See SAA 7, 93–95; 98; 100–102.

114 SAA 7, 95.

115 SAA 7, 99; 100.

116 SAA 7, 101.

within the Empire's central administration. In particular, a label from Nineveh bears impressions of the same stamp seal both on the obverse and the reverse (**Text No. 3**). The original seals of the textile labels from Nineveh have not been found yet.¹¹⁷ The only exception is represented by a white chalcedony seal—now kept at the British Museum—whose iconographical motif shows the Assyrian king and queen approaching a goddess seated on a lion-supported throne; an eight-legged scorpion is also present in the scene.¹¹⁸ The impression of this seal is visible on **Text No. 3** (see Fig. 3). The seal used for this label was also impressed on two uninscribed clay sealings.¹¹⁹ Tašmētum-šarrat, the queen (*sēgallu*) of Sennacherib, has been identified as the possible owner of the seal.¹²⁰ The dated impression of this scorpion seal on label **Text No. 3**¹²¹ proves that it was used in the weeks preceding Sennacherib's murder (681 BC). The iconography of the scorpion also characterizes the seal impressions of at least four labels from Nineveh (**Texts Nos. 2, 7², 9, 11**).¹²² The scorpion has been interpreted as the Assyrian queen's symbol. Various objects found in Tombs 1 and 2 at Nimrud are decorated with the image of the scorpion, such as the golden stamp seal that belonged to Ḥamâ, queen of Shalmaneser IV (782–773 BC).¹²³ The seal impressions preserved on four inscribed box sealings from the North-West Palace at Nimrud¹²⁴ were made by a seal very similar to that owned by Ḥamâ as well as to the British Museum chalcedony seal. Since the dates on the four Nimrud sealings show that the seal was in use in the years 719 and 716 BC, it is reasonable to assume that it was probably the seal of Ataliâ, queen of Sargon.¹²⁵

117 In all likelihood, stamp seals made of gold or other valuable materials were reused or stolen. See Nadali 2009–10, 215–216 with further references.

118 On this seal (BM 2002–05–15) see Radner 2012, 687–695 and figs. 1–2.

119 BM 84671 and BM 84553. See Radner 2012, 688–689 and figs. 3–4. Of the two sealings, the former has a string hole on both sides, while the latter bears impressions of a coarse textile.

120 Radner 2012, 693–695.

121 SAA 7, 94 r.1 ITL.GAN *lim-me* ¹⁴PA–PAB–KAM-eš, “Month of Kislimu, eponymy of Nabû-ahhê-ereš”.

122 SAA 7, 93; 98; 100; 102. On the obverse of SAA 7, 93 the impression shows a simple scorpion with a rosette inside a guilloche-decorated border. The impression on SAA 7, 98 is not clearly visible. For the identification of this seal impression as a “scorpion seal” see Radner 2012, 693. On the obverse of SAA 7, 102 the right legs and the tail of the scorpion are still visible, as well as part of the guilloche-decorated border. Another possible “scorpion seal” could be that of label SAA 7, 99, although only part of the impression survives. See Radner 2012, 693.

123 Ḥamâ's seal motif represents the Assyrian queen praying the goddess Gula seated on a dog-supported throne and a scorpion. See Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 399; Radner 2012, 691.

124 CTN 2, 257; 260–262. These sealings were probably attached to boxes that contained documents related to sheep. See Radner 2012, 693 for discussion.

125 Radner 2012, 691.

Presumably, some of these labels witness to the arrival of new textiles at the palace and their receipt by the administrators, while the largest ones were compiled to indicate the content of the textile storage room. In the telegraphic style of the textile labels and lists, further simplified by the abundance of ditto-signs, textile qualifications are reduced to a minimum (*i.e.*, material, colour, size, weight, more technical details on manufacture, decoration, parts and provenance). In describing some characteristics of the textiles the scribes generally use the logogram NU, “not”, to indicate the absence of a certain element.¹²⁶ The accountant only rarely records the designated use of the wool or the destination of textiles. This can be seen in connection with blankets for a bed (**Text No. 6**)¹²⁷ and garments to be used indoors (**Texts Nos. 2, 3, 8, 13**),¹²⁸ which in only one case are said to be used by women (**Text No. 18**).¹²⁹ Scorpion seals—both the type showing the king and queen approaching a goddess, with a scorpion hovering the scene, and the ones whose motif is reduced to the simple scorpion—were used in the context of management of textiles produced for and consumed by the Assyrian queen’s household. This means that the textiles listed in these labels belonged to the properties of the *sēgallu*’s household. Accordingly, it is possible that these documents were issued by the administration unit of the household of the king’s wife.

The analysis of large and multi-columned lists raises questions about their relationship with other typologies of lists that originate from specific accounting events. SAA 7, 110 (**Text No. 21**), for instance, is a well-preserved but undated list of dyed wool amounts. After every two amounts there is a line—in two cases including the total—which mentions the purpose of the wool in connection with specific items of clothing.¹³⁰ These sections are not separated by horizontal rulings. The absence of a date and of the names of the personnel in charge of the listed amounts could probably indicate that this is an occasional and informal note on wool quantities received by the administration. In the light of the lack of date and any references to recipients it is hard to believe that such a document could be retained for later consultation by scribes. Instead, it is more likely that

126 CTN 2, 153:3; SAA 7, 100:3’, 4’; 107:6’, r.9’; 108 i’ 13’; 109 r. iii 7’; 119 r. i’ 6’, 10’, ii’ 3’; STAT 3, 1 e.17.

127 SAA 7, 97:9’.

128 This qualification applies to *maqatṭu*-garments, see SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4; 99:2; 104:2. It seems that also *ḥullānu*-textiles could be of the *bētu*-type, see SAA 7, 107 r.3’. For a *sasuppu* of the “house-variety” see *ibid.*, 120 ii’ 5.

129 SAA 7, 107 r.3.

130 SAA 7, 110:3 PAB *a-na TÚG.si-g[u²]*; *ibidem*, 6 PAB *a-na TÚG.qar-[P]A²*; *ibid.*, 9 *a-na TÚG.qir-mu [0’]*; *ibid.*, 12 *a-na T[ÚG.x x x]*.

this document originated from the accounting of a specific amount of wool given to a certain department or household for textile production. In fact, the total amount registered in this text, corresponding to one talent and twenty-two minas,¹³¹ is very close to the quantities listed in the aforementioned account of flax and wool amounts consumed in various establishments of Assyria, SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**). Accordingly, it is possible that the short record SAA 7, 110 (**Text No. 21**) represents the primary source of long lists recording consumption of wool according to various individuals and households. Analogous undated and informal documents detailing the purpose of raw materials (such as wool, linen, madder, *etc.*) must have been issued to note the quantities given to or consumed by the main establishments of the state-directed textile manufacture (including the Central City of Nineveh, the Review Palace of Nineveh, the House of the Queen, the New Palace of Kalḫu and the *kāširu's* workshop). For instance, it is reasonable to assume that the total amount of linen and wool assigned to and consumed by the *kāširu* in a given period of time in his workshop was accurately recorded by the accountants and specified as regards the various end products produced using that amount. Analogous remarks can also be made about the large quantities of raw materials acquired by the Assyrian state from cities and provinces. The four-column tablet SAA 7, 116 (**Text No. 25**) is a summary text listing the amounts of wool and madder delivered from various locations. According to this record, the central administration received wool and madder from different Assyrian provinces and cities. The text is separated into columns and although the top of the tablet with the column headings is broken, we can surmise that the second column was created by the scribe to record quantities of madder. If so, the contribution made by Karke-miš must have consisted of 100 talents of red wool and two talents of *Rubia tinctorum*.¹³² The missing sections at the beginning and at the end of the tablet prevent us from knowing whether the text was an annual and final account, presumably written after consultation of various periodic records concerning contributions from each of the cities listed. What is clear is that these records attest to a regular exploitation of wool and madder from various production centres in the imperial territory. The exploitation of other important types of colorants was probably also managed regularly by the central administration and the amounts that formed the contribution from various centres of production were analogously registered in both single and summary records. In the light

131 SAA 7, 110 r.3 PAB 1 GÚ 22 MA.NA [0]. See SAA 7, 115, listing talent-based quantities ranging from one talent (l. r. i 8, r. ii 19) to fifty talents (l. ii 1).

132 SAA 7, 116:4'. Red wool and possibly madder are also mentioned in *ibidem*, r.4'.

of the long and detailed textile lists such as SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**) and SAA 7, 116 (**Text No. 25**), it is understandable that the whole recording process that ended in the issue of a final account must have involved various accountants both in the central administration and in the centres of manufacture and collection in the provinces, each official taking charge of a specific material (varieties of wool and linen and dyestuffs). These scribes must have been engaged in recording periodic amounts of raw materials and dyes received from the provinces on primary documents (clay tablets or writing-boards).

Unquestionably it is in primary documents which have unfortunately not been preserved that we would have found evidence of the contributive capacity, and therefore the liability, of the production centres providing materials and dyes to the state-run textile industry of Assyria. Moreover, given the relevance of textile manufacture to the needs of the state sector (especially the palace and the royal army) it is also evident that the extant textile lists from Nineveh enumerating garments for consumption in various establishments of the Neo-Assyrian state represent only a small fraction of all the administrative texts generated by the office in charge of textile production and consumption. Clothing for soldiers and high-ranking members of the Assyrian army certainly represented one of the main concerns of the state administration, and it is reasonable to think that the demand for new or even mended uniforms for members of the royal army increased enormously before and during military campaigns. As regards primary sources possibly used for later compilations concerning military textiles, a Middle Assyrian record dealing with clothing destined for a number of members of the army makes an explicit reference to polychromatic garments which accorded with the writing-boards of certain individuals.¹³³ If this 2nd-millennium example can be taken as proof of the Assyrian bureaucratic procedures as regards management of finished textile products and their recipients, it is possible that analogous *lê'us* were also used as short-time archival materials for the preparation of longer multi-column records on clay tablets during the 1st millennium.

Another documentary category witnessing to the movement of commodities within the Empire is represented by sealings or docketts, *i. e.*, sealed clay *bullae* bearing a short inscription about the content of the shipment. One of the sealings from Nineveh dates back to the late 8th–7th century BC and mentions *kuzip-pus* and *šipirtu*-textiles (**Text No. 1**),¹³⁴ two common items of clothing consumed by palace elite and members of the royal army. The inscribed clay *bullae* bears the

¹³³ MAH 16086 (Postgate 1979a, 3–5). See the discussion in Postgate 2013, 64, 415.

¹³⁴ Herbordt 1992, Tab. 2 no. 100; Mitchell, Searight 2008, no. 212.

stamp impression of the royal seal representing the motif of the king killing the lion. The royal stamp seal was also used in a fragmentary label from Nineveh listing a large number of textiles (**Text No. 10**).¹³⁵ This seal was used by the central state administration to check incoming and outgoing commodities, as well as to validate royal decrees and other state official documents.¹³⁶ The sealing (**Text No. 1**) also mentions the name of the palace manager (Mannu-kī-Adad), who was probably in charge of the transfer or receipt of the items of clothing, although this is not certain.¹³⁷ The operation of sealing garments is also witnessed by a Šarru-ēmuranni's letter which deals with linen tunics to be sealed in Dūr-Šarrukēn,¹³⁸ presumably using the state administration seal with the king-and-lion combat motif. It is reasonable to think that once the box with the items of clothing was received by the palace administration, the official in charge checked the type and number of the garments and re-sealed the box with the state seal.¹³⁹ The sealing that accompanied the above-mentioned items of clothing was probably associated with an administrative document written on a clay tablet, parchment scroll or waxed wooden writing-board which replicated the information of the inscribed sealing about the transferred goods. In all likelihood this administrative document must have recorded the precise number of *kuzippus* and *šipirtu*-textiles, the destination of the goods, the name of the official in charge of the transfer and the date. The alternative reading for the end of the first line of the text would corroborate the hypothesis that a one-column tablet (*egirtu*) was associated with the label.¹⁴⁰ Accordingly, the clay sealing only presented a summary of the text given in the administrative document. In addition, we can see that this sealing was attached to another object. Its disc-shaped

135 SAA 7, 101.

136 On the Neo-Assyrian royal seal as state seal see Nadali 2009–2010, 217.

137 SAA 11, 67:1–2 *ku-ziḫ-p[i] x x* ṛ¹*ši-pir-a²-ti / ša* [T]A² ¹*man-nu—ki—IM LÚ.GAL—É.GA[L²] x x*. The sign TA (*issi*, “from”) seems to imply that the textiles were originally at the disposal of the *rab ekalli* and that originated from his department. The broken part at the end of the second line probably included a verbal form or the name of the household. For the suggestion that the last two signs of the second line are to be read ṛ¹GIBIL², “the New (Palace)?”, see PNA 2/II, 683a s.v. *Mannu-kī-Adad*, no. 33.

138 SAA 5, 206 r.3¹–8¹ [*x x x x*] ṛ¹*ú-la-a / UD—29—KAM ṛ¹ša² É¹.GAL¹—ma-šar-ti / né-ep-pa-áš ina re-eh-ti / UD-me-ni a-na URU.BĀD—MAN—GIN / ni-il-lak TUG.GADA.MEŠ / am-ma-ti ni-kan-na-ak*, “Alternatively, we can do the (*inventory*) of the Review Palace on the 29th day (of the month) and go in the remaining days to Dūr-Šarrukēn, to seal those tunics”.

139 On administrative procedures concerning the Nimrud sealings see most recently Nadali 2009–10, 227.

140 SAA 11, 67. The possibility that the last word is *egirtu* is suggested by Fales and Postgate. Perhaps, the line could be read as *ku-ziḫ-p[i² x ša²] ṛ¹e-gir²-ti*, “*kuzippu*-garment[s ... of] the document”.

form is similar to SAA 11, 66, a sealing which accompanied wine jars and which shows a flat wooden surface on the reverse.¹⁴¹ Also the reverse side of **Text No. 1** is flat and bears various impressions of a string with a knot. The object was possibly intended to accompany a wooden writing-board, to which it was bound by a cord; the flat side of the sealing was probably the one in contact with the *lē'u*. Analogous considerations can be made about CTN 2, 256, a flock count from Nimrud that has a flat reverse side with marks of a string and what apparently seems a textile that perhaps covered the wooden-writing board. Another possibility is that the sealing in question (**Text No. 1**) accompanied a wooden box that contained the garments mentioned in the text.¹⁴² Clay sealings functioned as a guarantee of the container where the items of clothing were collected and transported and as a brief summary of the goods that formed the shipment.¹⁴³

Other sealings, for example, SAA 11, 69, concerning deportees, were probably attached to a scroll, since the impressions of a string and of a rounded object are visible on the clay.¹⁴⁴ Dockets with string impressions are also attested in the documentation from Nimrud,¹⁴⁵ some of which come from the royal palace of Marduk-apla-iddina II in Dūr-Yakīn, which was plundered by the Assyrians in 709 BC. These Chaldean docketts are oval-shaped labels,¹⁴⁶ two of which show a perforation for attaching a cord.¹⁴⁷ They mention the names of the textile worker (spinner or weaver) and the head of service. According to two of the labels, the textile worker is a woman,¹⁴⁸ a situation also confirmed by other docketts from the palace of Dūr-Yakīn, where the majority of the workers are women.¹⁴⁹ The period covered by these Chaldean docketts is the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th regnal year of Marduk-apla-iddina II. These bundles of wool probably constituted the annual

141 SAA 11, 66:1–3 DUG.ŠAB.M[ĒŠ x x LÚ].GAL—[x x x] / TA* ŠÀ GEŠ[TIN⁷ x x x] ú-še-[x x] / ša 3 MU.MEŠ, “Jar[s which the c]hief [...]ed from out the wi[ne ...]. For three years.” Other sealings showing a flat impression are SAA 11, 70; 71; 73–75. For a similar sealing with a flat wooden impression from Kalḫu see CTN 2, 172.

142 Fales, Postgate 1995, xxii.

143 Nadali 2009–10, 223.

144 Fales, Postgate 1995, xxii.

145 See CTN 2, 143; CTN 3, 79; 80; 81. Among the epigraphical records from the Assyro-Aramaic archive discovered at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, Syria (7th century BC), some clay *bullae*—in all likelihood used for administrative purposes—bear traces of cord impressions. See Fales, Attardo 2005, 651, 665–666 texts nos. 58–60. In particular, the deep imprint on the written surface of the triangular tag no. 60 shows that the string was added after writing the tag.

146 CTN 3, 79; 80. Instead, CTN 3, 81 is a rounded lump of clay.

147 CTN 3, 80; 81. In the case of CTN 3, 81 the perforation does not penetrate the full thickness of the clay label.

148 CTN 3, 79:1 [MĪ.x x]-sa²-ru²-rat; CTN 3, 80:1 MĪ.i-li-ti.

149 Joannès 2010, 402 (table).

quota of raw material assigned by the Palace to the textile workers to enable them to perform their duties. These workers were then expected to deliver the end products to the Palace within a given period of time.¹⁵⁰

The accounting operation for textiles received by the administration is witnessed by CTN 2, 152, which originates from the Governor's Palace in Kalḫu (Room K). In this text, the scribe also records items which were probably missing from the bundle of textiles that he was inspecting.¹⁵¹ He also writes down the bad condition of some of the garments,¹⁵² probably destined to be repaired by a clothes mender. Repairing of old and torn textiles as well as re-use of textile remnants was an everyday activity in textile manufacture. Interestingly, textile imprints were made on the reverse side of the above-mentioned tablet;¹⁵³ presumably, the imprints belong to the textile that enveloped the bundle of items of clothing received. An analogous inventory of missing and worn textiles comes from Archive N33 of Assur, an archive belonging to a private house. In this unsealed document, the scribe writes down that a number of articles of clothing he probably had to check were new,¹⁵⁴ others were worn,¹⁵⁵ and that all the listed garments were missing.¹⁵⁶ Such kinds of inventory texts were written after the checking operation and were intended to update the former list of incoming textiles, as shown by remarks made about the missing items. Sealing is not systematically used in these documents, probably because of the purpose of the single record. Sealings on administrative texts may be seen on the Ninevite labels SAA 7, 93, 95, 98, 99, and 101 (**Texts Nos. 2, 4, 7, 8, 10**), which record small transactions within the administration. To judge from SAA 7, 93 (**Text No. 2**)—a preserved label bearing one stamp seal impression—these texts witness to transactions between two parties, evidently the person and the department in charge of the provision of textiles and the person and department receiving them. A transaction of *iarītu*-garments is witnessed by two letters and a document of obligation from Kalḫu.¹⁵⁷ The two parties involved are the scribe Šēp-šarri and the palace manager of the Review Palace in Kalḫu, including other creditors who were in all likelihood linked to the *rab ēkalli*. The seal impression shows that

150 Joannès 2010, 403.

151 See CTN 2, 152:5–r.11 for textiles qualified as LĀ-e.

152 CTN 2, 152:3, r.12.

153 Postgate 1973a, 165. However, no drawing of these imprints is shown in *ibidem*, pl. 58.

154 KAN 2, 39:1, 2, 6 (StAT 1, 39).

155 KAN 2, 39:7, r.8 (StAT 1, 39).

156 KAN 2, 39 r.11 (StAT 1, 39) [PA]B *an-ni-u mu-tê-e*.

157 CTN 3, 4; 5; 6.

all these texts were sealed with the same seal, presumably that of the scribe Šēp-šarri himself.¹⁵⁸

Accounts of articles of clothing that were received by the Palace were called *nikkassī ša lubussī*, as shown by the lexical list PVA.¹⁵⁹ The word *nikkassu* (NÍG.ŠID), “account”, is also used to indicate the inventory text itself that scribes of the state administration compiled after the accounting event. From the words of Šēp-šarri—the aforementioned scribe of Kalḫu who had to provide his creditors with a number of *iarītu*-garments—the accounting procedure on the items that he had to deliver could be certified by more than one accountant, in this case the *rab ēkalli* himself and another creditor, Marduk-zēru-ibni.¹⁶⁰ In rare cases, the accountants give us interesting details on the accounting procedure. A total-section of a textile list from Nineveh (**Text No. 19**) shows that the textiles were collected (*šabbušu*).¹⁶¹ Presumably, also in the case of textile accounting the scribes used the formulae *nikkassē epšū*, “accounts made”, or *lā epšū*, “not made”, as we may observe in other administrative records.¹⁶²

The last phase in the textile production chain that we can detect from administrative texts concerns the distribution of finished products. Assemblages of textiles were assigned to certain individuals, as can be seen in CTN 2, 153, a possibly 8th-century text where a number of garments is said to have been at the disposal of Nabû-aplu(?)-ušur,¹⁶³ who was probably an official entrusted with the textile products. An analogous case is shown in an inventory of textile end products that stem from Archive N1 of the city of Assur. The list enumerates various garments and other textiles, many of which are also documented in other texts in connection with palace elite, members of the royal army and temples. The only explicit reference to the use of these garments occurs in line 7 of this text, where nine out of ten *šupālītu ḫalluptus* are connected to chariot drivers (*mukil appāte*).¹⁶⁴ The scribe does not use horizontal rulings to separate sections related to different categories of textiles, but specifies that of the textiles listed, 288 are new (*eššu*),¹⁶⁵ while others are old textiles (*labīru*), amounting to 98

158 Dalley, Postgate 1984, 56.

159 PVA 302 NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ *šá lu-bu-si*.

160 CTN 3, 5 r.12–13 *at-ta šú-tú / is-sa-ḫe-iš* NÍG.ŠID-šú *ku-na*, “You and he together, certify his account.” Another possible reading of the line could be NÍG.ŠID *šú-ku-na*, as pointed out by Dalley and Postgate.

161 SAA 7, 108 r. ii’ 1’ [x]-*me*-42 SÍG.MEŠ *šab-bu-šú*.

162 SAA 7, 118 r. ii 27’ NÍG¹.ŠID *ep¹-šú*; SAA 11, 72 [x x NÍG].ŠID *ep-šu x[x x x]*.

163 CTN 2, 153 r.14 *ina* IGI ^{1d}PA—^rA²—PAP.

164 StAT 3, 1:7.

165 StAT 3, 1 r.21.

pieces.¹⁶⁶ The total number of products, qualified as “garments from Hamath” (*kuzippē ša Ḥamatte*) and which were already disbursed (SUM), corresponds to 386 pieces.¹⁶⁷ In addition, the scribe records a small amount of fifty pieces which constitute the part assigned to the *lahḫinu*,¹⁶⁸ the steward of the Aššur Temple, presumably in view of their use as vestments for cultic statues and temple personnel or for embellishing the temple’s cella. Specific sections for partial totals and the grand total are not given in the document. Two elements are particularly interesting in this inventory text. First, we wonder whether the fifty garments correspond in some way to the sixty items listed in the first part of the text¹⁶⁹ and which are accompanied by the presence of an indented NU.MEŠ, “not (present)”,¹⁷⁰ a mark showing that the checking procedure on the incoming goods had already been made by the accountant before the tablet was written. In that case, the scribe probably made a mistake in reporting the total at the end of the tablet. The second interesting aspect is that all the textiles are said to be *ina qa-bu-te*, while the fifty garments given to the steward are not *ina qa-ZAG*.¹⁷¹ Evidently, the scribe repeated the information about the missing textiles given in lines 16–17.¹⁷² More importantly, if this phrase means “according to the order (received)” (from the verb *qabû*, “to say, order”), as suggested by Radner, the document in question could be interpreted as an administrative record of primary level, since it would be the first written record of the accounting event. Perhaps this formula was analogous to *ina qībi*, “at the instruction of”, which occurs at the end of a record of domestic animals inspected at Dūr-Šarrukēn.¹⁷³ If so, this reference probably shows that the oral instruction received by the accountant was the source of this document. In this connection, one wonders whether these written attestations match the visual evidence about supervisors giving instructions to scribes in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs.¹⁷⁴

Other details on textiles received by palace administrative accountants are not recorded in the preserved texts from the Neo-Assyrian period. The weight

166 StAT 3, 1 r.34.

167 StAT 3, 1 r.35.

168 StAT 3, 1 r.36 50 *šu-pu-uq¹-tú* IGI LÚ.lāḫ-ḫi-ni ‘SUM’.

169 StAT 3, 1:16 60 TÚG *pa-šu-tú*, “Sixty white (garments)”. We cannot rule out that this entry is connected to the mention of *maqatḫus* of the previous line, although the lack of the ditto-sign after TÚG makes this second hypothesis not convincing.

170 Unusually in the plural form.

171 StAT 3, 1 r.36–37.

172 Note also the indentation of the line *ina qa-ZAG la kar^c-ru^c* in StAT 3, 1 r.37.

173 SAA 11, 94 r.5 [*ina*] *qī-bi* ^{1d}ŠŪ–SU², “[At] the instruction of Marduk-erība(?)”. Unfortunately, the last line of the tablet is not readable.

174 See, e.g., Reade 2009, 701–703 and figs. 4, 6.

and prices of textiles circulating within the palace economic system are rarely recorded by the scribes. The few references to the weight of textiles are in an administrative document from Nineveh, where the available data are limited to an item for which different weight varieties were in use, namely of 1 ½ mina, 1 ⅓ mina and 1 ¼ mina (**Text No. 19**).¹⁷⁵ Other textiles show a higher weight value, as was the case of a sort of wool cover weighing half a talent recorded in a document from Kalḫu.¹⁷⁶ Only by looking at the Middle Assyrian attestations can we gain an idea about the weight of certain textile products, although it is reasonable to surmise that varieties with different weights for the same item of clothing were produced in both Middle and Neo-Assyrian workshops.¹⁷⁷ According to MARV III, 5, a multi-columned administrative list from Assur concerning textile products, the weight per unit of a *kubšu*-headgear was 20 shekels¹⁷⁸—the same of a pair of leggings.¹⁷⁹ As regards garments, it seems that the *naḥlaptu*, an article of clothing which is also frequently attested in Assyrian texts of the 1st millennium BC, was much heavier than the *kusitu*: its weight was nine minas.¹⁸⁰ Instead, that of a *ṣubātu ša šipri* was one third of a *naḥlaptu*.¹⁸¹ Analogously, prices are not frequently recorded in archival documents of the 1st millennium. There is evidence of pieces of clothing with prices ranging from a minimum of more than two shekels¹⁸² to a maximum of more than forty shekels of silver,¹⁸³ but the data are too scanty to get a broad picture of the prices of textile products in this period. For weight and price values of textiles, further evidence is needed from both Middle and Neo-Assyrian documentary sources to reach conclusions about the amounts of wool required to fabricate specific items of clothing and the cost of these items in everyday transactions. An in-depth analysis about exchanged textiles and prices in silver in the Neo-Assyrian period will be presented in Chapter Four.

This overview of the bureaucratic tools used by administrative scribes to manage production and consumption of textiles has shown the many obstacles

175 SAA 7, 108 r' 8', 9', 10', 11', 12', 13'.

176 ND 2758:5'–8' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI).

177 See, e.g., the case of the *mašḫuru*-textile, of which two weight varieties are attested in Middle Assyrian texts: the weight per unit of the lighter type of *mašḫuru* was three minas (Röllig 2002, text no. 12:5), the heavier one six minas (Röllig 2002, text no. 12:17–18; Ismail, Postgate 2008, text no. 23:6).

178 MARV III, 5 r.38'.

179 MARV III, 5 r.32'.

180 A *kusitu* of four minas is recorded in Röllig 2002, text no. 12:7.

181 MARV III, 5 r.28'.

182 ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X).

183 SAA 11, 26 r.5–12.

scholars encounter when studying these texts to understand the mechanisms of accountancy in the Assyrian Empire. However, these administrative documents, in all likelihood representing only a very small fraction of all the administrative documents dealing with textiles in the Assyrian Empire and documenting the activity of an administrative unit in charge of textiles consumed by the state, give us interesting insights into the world of Neo-Assyrian textile manufacture and its products; two aspects that will be analysed in depth in the next chapters.

3 Textile production and consumption in the Neo-Assyrian Empire

3.1 The textile industry in the Neo-Assyrian Empire

3.1.1 The fibres

As in other Near Eastern regions, textile workers in Assyria used wool fibres (*šāptu/šipātu*)¹ as well as linen fibres (*kitû*).² Such materials were used by weavers and tailors to produce textiles. Information about the different stages of textile manufacture in the 1st-millennium BC Assyria can be found in the professional titles of the workers involved in the different phases of wool and linen processing, *i. e.* dyeing, fulling and bleaching, weaving, stitching and dress-making, and last but not least cloth-washing. However, documentary sources are silent about the details of the processing phases concerning linen and wool manufacture. Consequently, any investigation of the Neo-Assyrian evidence cannot be attempted without including in the analysis also sources from other periods and current knowledge about Ancient Near Eastern textiles.

The use of the fibre from the flax plant (*Linum usitatissimum*) in the Mesopotamian textile industry precedes that of wool. Flax is one of the oldest plants that were domesticated in Mesopotamia. It grew in northern Iraq before 5000 BC and in southern Iraq between 5000 and 3000 BC.³ One of the earliest examples of cultivated flax comes from Tell Aswad, Syria, and date to the 8th millennium BC. Among the earliest attestations of woven fabrics made of linen we may mention the ones found at Naḥal Ḥēmar, Israel, and Ġarmō, Iraq, dating to the 7th millennium BC.⁴ Some properties of flax explain why it has been one of the most used plant fibres in textile production. Its fibre is a good heat conductor and absorbs moisture very easily. These properties makes linen textiles cool to wear and

1 CTN 2, 254:2; CTN 3, 4 r.9; ND 2311:16 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 213, 215; RIMA 3, A.O.102.6 iii 13; A.O.102.84; SAA 1, 33:19; SAA 3, 10:18; 11:11; 34:42; SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 2'; 109 iii 1'; 166:10; 167:6; SAA 10, 87 r.3; SAA 11, 28:13; 100:3; SAA 12, 68:19; SAA 16, 5:7; SAA 17, 136:9; SAA 18, 19:3; 103:15; SAA 19, 19:14; StAT 2, 163:11; StAT 3, 102:37; TH 62:1, 2, 3, 4.

2 CTN 2, 155 r. v 13'; Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.49, 50 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); PVA 212 (with determinative SĪG), 234; SAA 7, 62 iv 8'; 96 r.3'; 97 r.1; 103:4'; 104 r.2'; 108 r. ii' 3', 5', 7'; 109 iii 2'; 111:7, r.2', 4'; 112:10'; 115 i 1, 11, ii 5, 23, r. ii 3, 13, 15; 128:4; 129:6', 10'; SAA 11, 26 r.8; SAA 16, 82 r.5; StAT 2, 164:10, 16.

3 Barber 1991, 12.

4 Andersson Strand 2012, 24.

suitable for warm weather conditions.⁵ The exploitation of flax required a large investment in work, time and human resources. It not only required various phases of agricultural processing, but also numerous stages of post-harvest processing. Once harvested—an operation performed by hand—the flax had to be pulled, rippled, retted, braked, scutched and hackled.⁶ The flax can be pulled up by the roots at different stages of growth, depending on the quality of fibres needed in textile processing.⁷ The pulling out operation is aimed at preserving the length of fibres, while retting is necessary to free them from the woody part of the stem. One way of doing this is to submerge the flax in rivers or ponds for a few days.⁸ Through pond retting the pectin present in the flax stalks is dissolved.⁹ Although flax could also be retted without deseeding, rippling could be performed before retting.¹⁰ Braking consists of breaking up the woody parts of the stalks, generally using a mallet.¹¹ In the scutching operation, a wooden tool is used to beat the stalks to remove any further woody elements and short fibres.¹² The final operations consist of combing and sorting the fibres according to their quality.¹³ Hackling is aimed at removing the remaining short fibres and shives, and straightening them.¹⁴ After these operations, flax is prepared for spinning. Unfortunately, the above-described processes are not documented in cuneiform sources. Flax is always counted by weight measures in Assyria, as evident from an administrative record from Nineveh that lists large amounts of this fibre.¹⁵ It is not clear whether smaller amounts were counted in handfuls. This is attested only in Babylonia. Neo-Babylonian documents inform us that unwrought flax was collected and counted in handfuls—differently

5 Barber 1991, 12–13; Andersson Strand 2012, 24.

6 Barber 1991, 13–14; McCorriston 1997, 522. For a detailed description of the stages involved in flax processing see Ben-Yehuda 2017, 124–127. For the terminology of flax processing in Talmudic sources see *ibidem*, 131–135.

7 To obtain fine and pale fibre the plant has to be pulled up at a young stage of growth. A coarse and strong fibre may be obtained by pulling up the flax at a old stage of growth. See Barber 1991, 13.

8 Barber 1991, 13.

9 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 125.

10 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 125.

11 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 126.

12 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 126.

13 Quillien 2014, 275.

14 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 126.

15 SAA 7, 115.

from wool, which was always weighed; in Babylonian cities this unit of measure for flax was also used to purchase amounts of this fibre with silver.¹⁶

Sheep wool has been the major animal fibre used in textile production. Some of the earliest wool textiles come from the site of Shahr-i Sokhta, Iran, and date to around 3100–1800 BC.¹⁷ In the course of the 4th millennium BC, the textile industry in Mesopotamia progressively developed into a wool-oriented industry,¹⁸ although linen continued to play an important role as luxury material for the elite. Various factors can explain the success of wool industry in the Mesopotamian society, from the material peculiarities of this fibre in comparison to other fibres to the impact that the whole “wool cycle”—from sheep breeding to wool weaving—had in the development of management solutions by the state as regards the work relationships between the state administration and the professionals involved in the various phases of wool procurement and processing.¹⁹ The domestication and selective breeding of livestock determined the predominant orientation of textile manufacture towards wool instead of flax.²⁰ In all likelihood, the preference of wool to flax by the Mesopotamian urban societies was also determined by economic considerations: flax requires constant water supply and its cultivation tends to impoverish the soil.²¹ This made flax cultivation an activity limited to small irrigated fields or to areas not used for the main crops (barley, sesame), although in later periods of Mesopotamian civilization the cultivation of this plant increased, as may be seen in the case of Babylonia during the Achaemenid period, when local production represented another source for the procurement of this fibre in addition to importation from other countries.²² As regards animal fibres, by the late 3rd millennium BC wool had become the

16 Quillien 2014, 275.

17 Gleba 2014, 125. Among the plant fibres identified in the finds from Shahr-i Sokhta there are hemp and jute. In addition to sheep wool, also camel wool or goat wool were found in textiles from this site. See Skals, Möller-Wiering and Nosch 2015, 63.

18 The adoption of wool as fundamental textile material is to be related to the socio-economic and organizational innovations of the Late Uruk period (3200–3000 BC). See Liverani 1998, 56.

19 On the *ciclo della lana* see the discussion in Liverani 1998, 52–58.

20 Breniquet, Michel 2014a, 2. However, Joannès observes that cultivation of flax was never characterized by an intensive production in Mesopotamia, although it was native to the area and its seeds were used for nutrition and the production of oil. See Joannès 2001c, 472. When wool became the fundamental textile material in Mesopotamia, the cultivation of flax for oil production became less convenient and, consequently, sesame was preferred by Mesopotamians to flax for the production of oil. See Liverani 1998, 57.

21 Joannès 2001c, 472; Quillien 2014, 273.

22 Quillien 2014, 273, 275.

main woven material in the Mesopotamian city economies.²³ This situation is reflected by the archaeological evidence of finds of wool textiles. It has been observed that the use of wool increased during the Bronze Age in comparison to the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods.²⁴ In the wool-oriented textile production of 1st-millennium Assyria, linen appears as a precious textile material for specific and high-quality products. Some properties of wool explain why this fibre was more popular than flax in Mesopotamia and especially in Assyria. The scaly surface of wool fibres facilitate felting. Felt fabrics are excellent as a water- and wind-proof material for clothing. In addition, air pockets produced by the scales and the crimp between the fibres make wool an insulating material. Unlike plant fibres, wool is a very elastic material and is easy to colour. In comparison to flax, wool production does not require prime agricultural land and a large investment in technology or in workforce.²⁵ Since the early phase of Assyrian history, Assyria's central territory offered an excellent environment for the development of textile manufacture. On one side, the fertile "Assyrian triangle" between the Upper Zab and the Tigris and the pastoral lands around the cities favoured a large investment in agricultural activities and sheep-farming. On the other side, the location of the city of Assur in an arid and non-agricultural area along the Tigris favoured the development of textile trade with adjacent regions. River navigation along the Tigris connected the city of Assur with Anatolia and southern Mesopotamia. Following the Wadi Tharthar it was possible for the Assyrian merchants to reach Upper Mesopotamia to the west, while through the Lower Zab River they could reach the Iranian plateau.²⁶ The privileged position of Assur on the western bank of the Tigris River made this place the natural contact point for pastoralists from adjacent regions and gave the inhabitants access to wool, the main raw material needed for the local textile industry. This situation enabled the Assyrian state to interact economically with both transhumant and nomadic shepherds who used the steppe of the Jezirah, the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates, to graze their sheep.²⁷ Moreover, the availability of agricultural land and pastures increased enormously with the colonization of the Ḫābūr basin and the control of the Jezirah in the Middle and in the Neo-Assyrian period. Pastoralism played an important role in the economic systems of cities

²³ Breniquet, Michel 2014a, 2.

²⁴ Skals, Möller-Wiering and Nosch 2015, 63. However, the evidence about wool in textile finds from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic is too scant to draw any conclusive statement about the use of this fibre in these periods.

²⁵ Gleba 2014, 123.

²⁶ Liverani 1997, 352.

²⁷ Radner 2017, 212, 218.

and villages located in marginal positions between different ecological landscapes²⁸ and this certainly had positive effects on the development of textile manufacture in the Assyrian state. The rural pattern of Neo-Assyrian settlement, constituted by a more widespread distribution of small villages,²⁹ is a clear indication of the increased control and exploitation of the countryside by the Assyrian elite in the 1st-millennium. This settlement pattern, combined with a widespread network of roads connecting rural villages, towns and the larger cities of the Empire must have facilitated the procurement of wool from the shepherds. Other important contact points with pastoralists were the cities of Nineveh and Arbela; the former was the terminus of the overland route connecting Assyria's heartland with the southern foothills of the Taurus Mountain range, while the latter connected the core region of the country with the Zagros Mountain region. The meadows of these mountain regions were exploited by transhumant pastoralists who moved their herds from summer to winter pastures on an annual basis.³⁰

The first stage of wool processing was the procurement of fibre. Wool had to be plucked, washed and combed.³¹ Plucking was the most popular way of getting wool from sheep in Mesopotamia during the 3rd and 2nd millennium BC.³² This way of obtaining wool is described by Pliny (1st century AD) as still being used in his days in some areas.³³ The operation of plucking took place once a year, when sheep were moulting.³⁴ The verb for plucking in Akkadian is *baqāmu*, which as far as the Assyrian documentation is concerned is attested in Old and Middle Assyrian times; the verb is also used in Standard Babylonian.³⁵ The variant form *baqānu*³⁶ occurs in a Neo-Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence, but not in the context of plucking wool.³⁷ Interestingly, the verb is also

28 On this aspect see Altaweel 2008, 113.

29 On the Neo-Assyrian settlement pattern see Ur 2017, 20–24 with further literature.

30 Radner 2017, 212, 218.

31 McCorriston 1997, 523.

32 Forbes 1964, 7.

33 Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VIII.73, 191. See Barber 1991, 21.

34 Differences probably existed between the northern and southern areas of the Near East as regards the time of moulting. Generally, primitive sheep moult in late spring or early summer. See Andersson Strand 2012, 30.

35 See CAD B, 97a. The professional qualification *bāqimu* is used in texts from Mari to indicate the “plucker”. See *ibidem*, 100a.

36 The change of the third radical *m* into *n* is well attested in Babylonian. The same phenomenon also occurs in Classical Hebrew, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew. See Lipiński 2001, 118 § 11.7.

37 SAA 17, 105 r.11e.

used to indicate the action of collecting cotton in a passage of a Sennacherib's royal inscription dealing with "wool-bearing" trees.³⁸ In the Middle Assyrian period, wool was also obtained from the skins of dead sheep. The same operation was executed in Sumer in the 3rd millennium BC using knives.³⁹ Wool recovered from skins of dead animals was probably better suited for felt-making than wool from annual plucking.⁴⁰ In 1st-millennium Mesopotamia, wool was sheared from the animal using knives or shears. In Neo-Babylonian documents the word used for "shears", usually made of iron, was *sirpu* (or *sirapu*),⁴¹ while the Neo-Assyrian term was probably *magazzutu*, "clippers, shears",⁴² which can be compared with the word *magzazu*, "shearing blade", only attested in a Standard Babylonian lexical list.⁴³ This does not mean that shearing for wool collection is not attested in early periods of Mesopotamian history: in Ur III texts there is evidence for the use of *arītu*-knives,⁴⁴ but using these tools did not make the shearing any less time-consuming. Presumably the use of shears was systematically applied for wool collection only when iron technology had spread throughout Mesopotamia. The new tool was made of a more flexible material and enabled shearers to free the entire fleece from the sheep.⁴⁵ The term *magazzutu* derives from the verb *gazāzu/kašāšu*, "to shear".⁴⁶ The verb *gazāzu* was not a novelty of the 1st-millennium lexicon, but it seems to have undergone a semantic shift from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC, perhaps from the meaning "to cut hair" to that of "shearing".⁴⁷ In all likelihood, this change in meaning was due to the appearance of iron and the invention of iron shears. It is interesting to observe that in Nuzi texts *gazāzu* is used when the process of collecting concerns goats, while

38 RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64 *iš-šu na-āš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu*.

39 See Waetzoldt 1972, 53–55 on *siki gír-gul*.

40 Postgate 2014, 404.

41 CAD S, 316a. See also van Driel 1993, 228. Another Neo-Babylonian attestation of the iron *sirpu* occurs in Payne 2013, 25, text YBC 3941 r.17.

42 ND 2307 r.10 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, p. VI) *ma-ga-zu²-tú* AN.BAR. This item figures among various copper and iron domestic implements of the dowry of a high-class woman. The occurrence is only partially transliterated by Parker. The term *magazzutu* is included in AEAD, 58a, but is omitted in AHw, CAD and CDA.

43 See AHw, 577b; CAD M/I, 49a; CDA, 189a.

44 Steinkeller 1995, 57.

45 Andersson Strand, Nosch (forthcoming).

46 CAD G, 59b. The verb is widely attested with the same meaning in the Semitic linguistic group. See Ugaritic *gzz*, Aramaic *g^zaz/gaz*, Arabic *ğazza* (Cohen *et al.* 1970–, 110). On the Aramaic forms *gazzāz*, *gazzāzā*, "shearer of sheep", and *gizzūz*, *gizzūzā*, "shearing", see DJPA, 125a and DJBA, 279a respectively.

47 Lassen 2010, 276.

baqānu is connected with sheep.⁴⁸ From the same lexical root of the verb *gazāzu* the Neo-Assyrian professional name of the shearer and the products of this operation are derived: *gāzizu* (or *gazzizu*), “shearer”,⁴⁹ *gizzu*, “shearing, fleece, shorn wool”,⁵⁰ *gizzutu*, “yield of wool, wool clippings”.⁵¹ Shearing certainly had a significant impact in wool processing, since in this way the wool could be obtained as a fleece, in one piece, instead of in tufts.⁵²

In Assyria animal fibres derived not only from sheep fleece, but also from goat hair (*šartu*),⁵³ although in lesser amounts in comparison to wool. Administrative records show that different species of wool-bearing sheep were reared in Assyria for wool production from the 2nd millennium BC: a Middle Assyrian inventory of sheep and goats from Tell Billa includes young sheep from the land of Ḫabḫu (a region to the north of Assyria) as well as other wool-bearing sheep (young Assyrian lambs, tailed sheep and young ewes).⁵⁴ Neo-Assyrian texts show that sheep of different provenances were also reared in the region in the 1st millennium BC: we are informed about Temanaean⁵⁵ and Persian sheep,⁵⁶ as well as the obscure *qusāiu*-sheep.⁵⁷ Evidently, the provenance of sheep was significant in terms of wool qualities. In Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, the mention of large numbers of sheep along with textiles in tribute and booty from various conquered regions is informative as regards the Assyrians’ interest in the acquisition of wool from different sheep breeds for textile production.⁵⁸ Breed, age and sex of sheep are relevant aspects in wool production and determine differences in yield. According to some estimates suggested by scholars, it is possible that the annual wool yield per sheep in Mesopotamia ranged between

48 Abrahams 2014, 287.

49 See CAD G, 60b for the Neo-Babylonian attestations. The Neo-Assyrian form is listed in AEAD, 30b, but it does not seem to be attested in the Neo-Assyrian corpus.

50 BT 131:6 (*Iraq* 25 [1963], 99, pl. XXV); SAA 1, 235:12, 14; SAA 11, 100:3. The term is also attested in the West Semitic group. See, e.g., Hebrew *gēz*, Official Aramaic *gzh*, Syriac *gezzā/gezzā-tā*, Mandaic *gauza*, Arabic *ğazaz* (Cohen *et al.* 1970–, 110).

51 SAA 1, 52 r.5; 236 r.13.

52 Forbes 1964, 8.

53 See CTN 2, 254 e.4; CTN 3, 4 r.9; ND 3467 r.21 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 146, pl. XIII); PVA 215.

54 Billa 36:3–4 (JCS 7 [1953], 131, 160).

55 SAA 11, 85:1.

56 SAA 7, 134:4’.

57 ND 2311:14 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).

58 See, e.g., RIMA 2, A.O.100:5:72, 99–100; A.O.101.1 i 88, 95, ii 79, iii 7, 74, 78; A.O.101.2:50; RIMA 3, A.O.102.2 ii 22–23, 28–29, 40; A.O.102.6 iii 13–14; A.O.102.8:40–41; RINAP 1, 15:6. This interest is also witnessed by the detailed representation of captured sheep and goats from conquered regions in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs. On flocks of sheep and goats from Babylonia and Arab tribes in the reliefs from the Central Palace in Nimrud see Matthiae 1996, figs. 4.4, 4.7.

0.7 kg and 1.12 kg.⁵⁹ Middle Assyrian documents also show that city governors received wool and goat hair directly from the shepherds.⁶⁰ The procurement of goat hair is attested at Tell Ali, Dūr-Katlimmu and Assur,⁶¹ but texts are silent about the processing of this material and its use.⁶² The use of goat hair continued in the 1st millennium: an administrative list from the North-West Palace of Kalḫu records amounts of wool and goat hair⁶³ most likely destined for processing by weavers working at the local palace-linked textile factory. Another administrative text from Kalḫu includes an amount of goat hair among foodstuffs, straw, garments and money received by the charioteers from the palace, perhaps in preparation of a journey.⁶⁴ Goat hair is a coarse material in comparison to sheep wool and it seems that various utilitarian textiles could be fabricated from it in Assyria. According to a note on expenditures for various goods from a private archive of Assur, goat hair was used to produce saddlebags⁶⁵—items that were presumably used by donkey drivers in caravan trade journeys.

Apart from wool and linen, textiles were also made from *būṣu*, “fine linen, byssus”.⁶⁶ It seems that items of clothing made of this material were a western import in Assyria, as witnessed by a letter of Crown Prince Sennacherib listing lavish garments from the Levant for the palace personnel⁶⁷ as well as by Esarhaddon’s royal inscription from Lebanon which mentions a garment of byssus belonging to the royal paraphernalia of King Taharqa.⁶⁸ Attestations of the word “byssus” (Greek *βύσσος*) in Akkadian are rare and it seems reasonable to think that the material called *būṣu* in these texts had nothing to do with the fibres of *Pinna nobilis*,⁶⁹ but instead indicated a fine variety of linen. 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 expensive material was imported to the Levant from Egypt. The

⁵⁹ Waetzoldt 1972; Potts 1997, 92.

⁶⁰ MARV III, 73.

⁶¹ Ismail, Postgate 2008, text no. 2; Röllig 2008, texts nos. 21, 30, 48, 51, 56; MARV III, 73; MARV X, 23 (StAT 5, 23).

⁶² Postgate 2014, 406.

⁶³ CTN 2, 254.

⁶⁴ ND 3467 r.21 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 146, pl. XIII).

⁶⁵ NATAPA 2, 133:2.

⁶⁶ SAA 1, 34:11; SAA 7, 62 r. ii 5, iii 3.

⁶⁷ SAA 1, 34:11.

⁶⁸ RINAP 4, 103:21.

⁶⁹ For a study on the use of the fibres of the *Pinna nobilis* in textile manufacture, with a focus on ethnographic evidence about this textile activity in Sardinia (Sant’Antioco), see Maeder, Hänggi and Wunderlin 2004.

West Semitic word *bš*, probably referring to fine Egyptian linen, occurs in the Phoenician version of the bilingual inscription of Karatepe, where Kilamuwa (830–825 BC), the king of Sam'al (Zincirli), mentions both linen (*ktn*), presumably of the ordinary type, and byssus (*bš*).⁷⁰ The origin of this West Semitic word is still disputed and an Egyptian textile designation has been considered by scholars as a possible candidate.⁷¹ The Egyptian word *bḏ3*, 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.⁷² 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 during Shalmaneser III's reign (858–824 BC), since this king states to have received byssus along with multicoloured clothing and linen as a tribute from Marduk-apla-ušur, king of Suḫi, in the middle Euphrates region.⁷³ This textile material was highly valued in imperial Assyria, as confirmed by another attestation of the word *būšu* in an administrative text from Nineveh.⁷⁴ Other occurrences of the word *būšu* may be found in Neo-Babylonian documentation. A text concerning vestments for the statue of Šamaš, for example, includes mention of the yarn of byssus.⁷⁵ Another Neo-Babylonian text shows that this material was categorised as linen (GADA.*bu-šu*);⁷⁶ the use of the semantic classifier GADA for byssus can also be seen in an inventory of linen fabrics for gods' statues from Seleucid Uruk.⁷⁷ All these data lead us 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 tribute-bearers 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.⁷⁸

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

71 See DNSWI, 185 s.v. *bš*. According to Beekes 2010, I, 249, the Greek word was probably borrowed from an Egyptian term for linen via Semitic. But see Lipiński, who observes that “fine white Egyptian linen” was called *šš/šs*. See Lipiński 2000, 542, fn. 178.

72 Lipiński 2000, 542.

73 RIMA 3, 90.

74 SAA 7, 62 r. iii 3'. Byssus is also attested in line r. ii 5' [x x x]x *bu-šu*.

75 Zawadzki 2013, 162, no. 175:12–16.

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

77 See Beaulieu 1989, 69–74 on the text NCBT 1244.

78 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 62.

We are comparatively ill-informed about other fibres imported to Assyria. As far as other vegetal fibres are concerned, references made by King Sennacherib to “wool-bearing trees” that were planted in his royal garden and the fact that people collected and wove this type of wool into garments⁷⁹ show that cotton was known in this period. This is the first attestation about the use of cotton in Assyrian written sources. It is clear that the *iššū nāš šīpāti*, “trees bearing wool”, were among the trees of exotic origin planted in the royal botanical garden in Nineveh.⁸⁰ According to Sennacherib’s words, the “wool” picked from these trees was woven into clothing (*imḥašū šubātiš*) by the Assyrians.⁸¹ This means that the Assyrians not only cultivated, but also spun and processed cotton fibres into textiles locally. The cotton plants themselves were known to the Assyrian textile craftsmen, as were the fibre-producing properties of the plant and the technique of producing cotton cloth. It is worth noting that the same description of cotton and its exploitation is used by Herodotus in his *Histories*, in which he states that in India there were trees growing wild that produced a variety of wool that surpassed in beauty and excellence that of sheep, and that Indians wore clothing obtained from these trees.⁸²

As known, cotton is a fibre that grows in a protective capsule attached to the seeds of plants of the genus *Gossypium* (above all, the *Gossypium arboreum*, native to India and Pakistan⁸³). The epidermal hairs that cover the seeds can be

⁷⁹ RINAP 3/1, 17 vii 56, viii 64.

⁸⁰ RINAP 3/1, 17 vii 53–57 GIŠ.KIRI₆.MAḤ-ḥu tam-šil KUR.ḥa-ma-nim / ša gi-mir ŠIM.ḪI.A GURUN šī-ip-pa-a-te / GIŠ.MES tuk-lat KUR-i ù KUR.kal-di / a-di GIŠ.MES na-aš SÍG.ḪI.A / qé-reb-šū ḥur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šā az-qu-up, “I planted alongside it (the palace) a botanical garden, a replica of Mount Amanus, which has all kinds of aromatic plants (and) fruit trees, tress that are the mainstay of the mountains and Chaldea, together with trees bearing wool collected inside it.” But note that in AEAD, 42b *iššū nāš šīpāti* is erroneously rendered as “silk tree”.

⁸¹ RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64 *iš-šu na-āš šī-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḥa-šu šu-ba-ti-iš*, “They picked trees bearing wool and wove it into clothing.”

⁸² Herodotus, *Historiae*, III.106. The same description is made by Teophrastus in his *Historia Plantarum*, IV.4, 7–8, in which he also speaks about of cotton-bearing trees in Bahrein and Arabia. Cotton-bearing trees are also described in Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*, XII.38. Interestingly, the idea about “wool-trees” found its way to 14th century Europe, where the myth that cotton came from “vegetal lambs” was spread thanks to the astonishing description made by the English traveller Sir John Mandeville about a mysterious Asian tree seen in his travels (c. 1322–1356) and reported in his *Voyage d’outre mer*. See Hanson 2015, 197 and fig. 13.2.

⁸³ There is no indication that cotton was cultivated in the Near East. Some fibre remains from the Neolithic site of Dhuweila (Jordan) could be identified with cotton, although this is suggested only as a possibility. See Breniquet 2008, 57 and Skals, Möller-Wiering and Nosch 2015, 62. However, according to Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 409, Dhuweila is an area not suitable for cotton cultivation. The earliest evidence for the use of cotton known so far comes from

short or long. It is the latter—called lint—that can be spun for use in textile production.⁸⁴ Harvesting cotton is an operation that was done by hand and this was the operation probably done by the Assyrian harvesters in Sennacherib’s royal garden in Nineveh. To obtain a very fine fibre cotton fibres have to be separated from the seeds by picking the lint off by hand or by using wooden or metal cylindrical rollers.⁸⁵ This cleaning operation is called ginning.⁸⁶ A wooden bow-like tool is used to bat and make rough fibres more flexible.⁸⁷ Cotton fibres differ considerably from bast fibres, since they are shorter and more delicate. Consequently, spinning cotton requires small and light spindles. In addition, cotton dyes more easily than wool and bast fibres.⁸⁸ The fact that no specific word is used for this fibre in Assyrian texts has been taken as an indication that cotton was a comparatively recent import in Assyria.⁸⁹ In Neo-Assyrian lists of textile products from Nineveh we find the word *biršu*, which qualifies a number of garments. This term, usually referred to a coarse cloth and tentatively translated as “felt”,⁹⁰ has also been interpreted by some scholars as referring to “cotton”,⁹¹ although there is nothing to corroborate this assumption. The possibility that the Assyrian terms for thread, *ṭibu* and *ṭuānu* (Bab. *ṭumānu*), were used to indicate cotton and silk respectively has been suggested by Oppenheim in his analysis of overland trade in Mesopotamia, and this interpretation has been followed by other scholars.⁹² However, the attestations of these two terms are too scant to confirm this idea. As far as the archaeological evidence is concerned, it is clear that cotton was in use for the manufacture of garments for the Assyrian palace elite before the 7th century BC, as clearly witnessed by traces of cotton fabric among the garments’ remains in the Assyrian Queens’ Tombs of the 8th century BC at Nim-

the Neolithic site of Mehrgahr in the province of Baluchistan (Pakistan). Other finds in Pakistan confirm that this area had been crucial for the domestication of Asian tree cotton. However, the Indian subcontinent remained the major area of cotton production during the Bronze Age and early historical times. See Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 405–406.

84 Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 407.

85 Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 407.

86 Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 407; Álvarez-Món 2015, 46.

87 Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2011, 408. The vibrating cord of this instrument helps to loosen and separate the cotton fibres. See Fuller 2008, 3.

88 Barber 1991, 33.

89 See Beaulieu 1989, 71 fn. 58.

90 Fales, Postgate 1992, 108 and *passim*. See also CDA, 45b: “felt” and AEAD, 17b: “wool felt, (pressed) felt”.

91 See AEAD, 17b: “cotton wool”. It is not clear to me what the authors of this dictionary mean by this translation.

92 Oppenheim 1967, 248, 252. See also Talon 1986, 77.

rud.⁹³ Although Sennacherib gives us important evidence that cotton was cultivated and used in Assyrian textile manufacture, in all probability this fibre did not become common to the Empire's territory.⁹⁴ This does not exclude the fact that the majority of cotton textiles could have been imported during the Neo-Assyrian period from abroad, perhaps through Babylonia. In Assyria, cotton textiles probably represented a small-scale production for an extremely limited number of individuals of the palace elite, as may be inferred from presence of cotton among the above-mentioned textile fragments found in the Nimrud elite tombs⁹⁵ and from Sennacherib's royal inscription mentioning the cultivation of this fibre in the king's botanical garden. The cotton fragment from Tomb 2 probably belonged to a luxury garment. If the cotton garment worn by one of the queens buried in Tomb 2 belonged to Ataliâ, mother or step-mother of Sennacherib, it means that consumption of cotton textiles was well-established in the Assyrian royal family during the 8th and the 7th centuries BC. Perhaps, Sargon's successor wanted to establish cultivation of this exotic plant in Assyria to limit the import of cotton garments from abroad. The origin of the cotton garment from Tomb 2 is unknown. It could have been produced locally or, as it seems more probable, it was fabricated outside Assyria and acquired through international trade.⁹⁶ Cotton remains have been identified not only in these 8th century Assyrian tombs, but also in burial contexts at Uruk, where various textile fragments were discovered. The Uruk cotton remains can be dated back to the Neo-Babylonian period.⁹⁷ Attestations for cotton in Assyria do not seem to be limited to written sources and a few remains in archaeological evidence. Albenda convincingly suggests that the cotton plant could be one of the plants represented in some wall reliefs of Sennacherib's royal palace in Nineveh.⁹⁸ In addition, the representation of the cotton capsule could be identified with a decorative floral element in a wall painting at Til Barsip.⁹⁹

93 Toray Industries 1996, 199–200 and pls. 2b, 5.

94 Dalley 1991, 121.

95 See Toray Industries 1996, 199–200 and pl. 2b (Specimen no. 4).

96 As observed by Álvarez-Món (Álvarez-Món 2015, 49), it was in the period between the reign of Sennacherib (705–681 BC) and that of the Persian king Xerxes (486–465 BC) that cultivation of cotton spread from India to Bahrein and Egypt.

97 van Ess, Pedde 1992, 257–258 and pl. 146 (no. 1829); Völling 2008, 209 (Tomb 21594).

98 See Albenda 2005, 58 as regards the relief BM 124821.

99 Albenda 2005, 59.

As known, cotton had been used for woven textiles in the Indus valley since the Early Bronze Age.¹⁰⁰ By the early 1st millennium BC the production of cotton may have spread westward,¹⁰¹ although archaeological remains of cotton in Near East and Africa show that this fibre was already known outside its place of origin in earlier periods, presumably thanks to importation from the areas of production via caravan trade networks.¹⁰² It is worth noting that the area of provenance of cotton trees is identified in Sennacherib's inscription with Kaldu, namely Babylonia. This is in line with the hypothesis that consumption of cotton in southern Mesopotamia precedes its discovery in Assyria. The plant probably reached Assyria thanks to overland trade with Elam, perhaps through the mediation of the Babylonian market centered at Nippur.¹⁰³ If we move to the Neo-Babylonian documentation, we can observe with Zawadzki that evidence about cotton in written sources from temple archives in Babylonia is far from certain. A candidate for the word for cotton could be the Babylonian word *kitinnû*,¹⁰⁴ which as far as I know is only attested in the 1st millennium BC. This term has been interpreted as meaning cotton, although this is not certain. From the analysis of the Neo-Babylonian attestations, Zawadzki concludes that the term designated a high quality new material comparable to wool and not a finished linen product.¹⁰⁵ The Neo-

100 Dalley 1991, 120. For cotton fibres found at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, see Barber 1991, 32 with further references. Cotton seems to have reached the northern side of the Mediterranean area only in Classical times, coming perhaps from Egypt. See Barber 1991, 33.

101 Albenda 2005, 57.

102 The earliest known evidence of the use of cotton (seeds and lint from the *Gossypium* plant) in Africa comes from Nubia and dates to the 3rd millennium BC. See Bouchaud, Tenberg and Dal Prà 2001, 406. The recent finds in Bahrein (Qal'at al-Bahrein, mid-6th-late 4th century BC) and Arabian Peninsula (Madâ'in Sâlih, Saudi Arabia, early 1st millennium AD) show that the cultivation of cotton and the use of this fibre in the local textile industry started in the mid-1st millennium BC. In these regions cotton was cultivated in irrigated date palm gardens and processed into end products that were probably exported to other destinations, maybe competing with other sources of cotton textiles in the Near Eastern area. See *ibidem*, 410–416.

103 Cole 1996, 62–67; Albenda 2005, 57. But see Talon 1986, 76 for the hypothesis that the Assyrians discovered cotton in Egypt or through trade connections with India, via Bahrein. The hypothesis that Bahrein, ancient Dilmun, was the place of origin of the cotton found in Nimrud and Arjan burials is suggested in Alvarez-Món 2015, 52 in the light of the trade relationships between Dilmun and Elam that existed before the emergence of the Achaemenid Persian Empire and that were further developed during the Achaemenid period. However, the finds from Bahrein (see previous footnote) date to the period between the mid-6th century and late 4th century BC, while the combined evidence of the cotton fragment from Nimrud and Sennacherib's royal inscription date to the period from the 8th to the 7th century BC.

104 CAD K, 465b.

105 Zawadzki 2006, 25–26. See also the observations in Völling 2008, 66–67.

Babylonian texts from the Ebabbar archive show that *kitinnû*,¹⁰⁶ whose occurrences with the determinative SÍG attest that it was categorized as a “wool-like” material (SÍG.*kitinnû*), was employed for the manufacture of two kinds of divine garments in substitution of wool:¹⁰⁷ *šibtu*¹⁰⁸ and *lubāru*.¹⁰⁹ Another possible candidate for cotton is the Neo-Babylonian term *karpassu*,¹¹⁰ which has been interpreted as a fibre designation of Sanskrit origin (from *karpāsa*, “cotton”)¹¹¹—perhaps an element supporting the provenance of this material from India. Also in Assyria the material called *kitinnû* was used for garments, as seen in a text from Šin-šar-iškun’s reign (623?–612 BC).¹¹² The fact that the term is uniquely attested in this late Neo-Assyrian text confirms that the word belonged to the Neo-Babylonian dialect and that the material the term referred to was not indigenous to Assyria. Summing up, no conclusive observations may be made at present on the terminology used for cotton in the light of the current knowledge about Akkadian textile vocabulary of the 1st millennium BC.

Silk derives from fibre secretions made by silkworms belonging to the moth family of *Bombycidae*,¹¹³ as well as by other species of moth.¹¹⁴ The larvae of these insects produce this secretion to form cocoons. There is no evidence of silk in Assyria and Babylonia, although Oppenheim has suggested that this material, imported from West, was indicated in Akkadian by the term *ṭumānu* and qualified with the logogram for linen (GADA).¹¹⁵ At present, no term for silk is

106 Texts concerning the use of *kitinnû* in the temple-related textile manufacture in Sippar are published in Zawadzki 2013, 475–490. Zawadzki tentatively translates the term as “cotton”.

107 See, e.g., Zawadzki 2013, no. 582:5, where the amount of *kitinnû* is said to have been assigned to Sūqāya “instead of wool” (*ku-mu SÍG.ḪI.A*).

108 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 556:2–3; 561:1–2; 573:1–3; 575 r.1–3; 576:3–4; 581:1–3; 582:3–4.

109 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 558:2–3; 582:1–2; 583a:1–2.

110 AEAD, 47b.

111 Mayrhofer 1992–2001, 317–318. The Sanskrit term for cotton has been interpreted as a non-Indo-European substrate word (Austroasiatic?) belonging to a language spoken in the Indus region during the Harappan civilization. See Fuller 2008, 16. The Sanskrit origin of the Akkadian word is mentioned in CDA, 149b. The word is also attested in other Semitic languages (see above all Biblical Hebrew *karpas*, a *hapax legomenon* attested in the *Book of Esther*, 1,6) as well as in Greek and Latin, see Beaulieu 1989, 71–72 and Katsikadeli 2017, 154 for further discussion and references.

112 Falkner 1952–53, 307, text no. 2:2 38 MA.NA *ki-tin-ni-e ana šib-ba-ta ina* IGI PN.

113 On silk in ancient textile manufacture, see Barber 1991, 30–32. For silk in the Ancient Near East, see the discussion in Völling 2008, 68–69.

114 E.g., the *Pachypasa otus* and the *Saturnia pyri*. See Albenda 2005, 60.

115 Oppenheim 1967, 248. See also Talon 1986, 77 and Good 2007, 146.

attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus.¹¹⁶ However, it is interesting to observe that the detailed description of the worm leaving its cocoon in the curse section of Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty¹¹⁷ bears witness to an in-depth knowledge about the life-cycle of the caterpillar in the 7th century BC.¹¹⁸ This may perhaps be considered as an indication that wild silk production was known to the Assyrians in the late Neo-Assyrian period.¹¹⁹ If so, it is possible that their awareness about silkworms and silk production was fed by contacts with the Aegean region, an area where wild silk production seems to be attested since the 2nd millennium BC.¹²⁰ In any case, there is no indication that sericulture was attested in Mesopotamia, and later findings from Palmyra only confirm the import of this material from abroad.¹²¹

3.1.2 Fibre processing

An interesting sector of textile terminology concerns fibre processing. The terminology surrounding flax and its processing is absent from documents stemming from Neo-Assyrian archives, if we exclude references in administrative texts to the importation of this fibre from abroad and information about management of large quantities of flax by the central administration for the local textile industry. As regards animal fibres, after the collection phase various stages were necessary to prepare wool for spinning. In antiquity, washing could be performed before and after the harvesting phase. However, there is no indication that wool was washed before plucking or shearing in Assyria.¹²² Other processes in-

116 The translation of the textile term *šaddīnu* with “silk” is given by Parpola and Whiting in AEAD, 107b. This meaning, however, is purely conjectural.

117 SAA 2, 6:579–581 *ki-i šá bur-di-šá-ḫi la ta-da-gal-u-ni / a-na bi-iš-ka-ni-šá la ta-sa-ḫar-u-ni ki-i ḫa-an-ni-e at-tu-nu / ina UGU MÍ.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MEŠ-ku-nu DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-ku-nu a-[na] É.MEŠ-ku-nu la ta-sa-aḫ-ḫu-ra*, “As a caterpillar does not see and does not return to its cocoon, so may you not return to your women, your sons, your daughters, and to your houses.”

118 An entomological interest by the author of Esarhaddon's Treaty also emerges from other passages of the text, such as SAA 2, 6:570 (*tūltu*, “worm”); *ibidem*, 572 (*tuissu*, “worm”); *ibid.*, 579 (*burdišahḫu*, “caterpillar”); *ibid.*, 603 (*pispisu*, “bug”).

119 Albenda 2005, 61.

120 See Albenda 2005, 61, commenting on the discovery of a Lepidoptera cocoon in the site of Akrotiri, on the island of Santorini.

121 See Völling 2008, 69. Accordingly, the hypothesis formulated by Oppenheim and subsequently followed by Talon that North Syria was a place of silk production should be rejected.

122 At present, it seems that washing the flocks was an operation performed before harvesting the wool both in Mari and Nuzi. See the text JEN 541 and Durand 1998, 671–674, text no. 852. For discussion on this operation see most recently Abrahams 2014, 288.

volving wool are not documented in textual sources from the Neo-Assyrian period, but they can be surmised in the light of evidence from other periods. In Middle Assyrian times airing is attested, as witnessed by documents from Bābu-aḥa-iddina's archive which mention wool and textile products that were periodically brought out to air (*napāšu*).¹²³ The verb retains the meaning “to pluck” in Neo-Assyrian. It is used in a prophetic text of Assurbanipal's reign period.¹²⁴ In this case, the metaphorical use of this verb¹²⁵ refers to the destruction of enemies. The airing operation was performed both in palace workshops and in private houses and served to facilitate the separation of fibres. The wool was subsequently disentangled and cleaned by hand before being combed and spun into thread.¹²⁶ Cleaning was necessary to remove waste wool and dust; it seems that various techniques were attested, at least in 2nd-millennium Mari.¹²⁷ Presumably, cleaning operations were also performed by Assyrian female textile workers employed in the palace and in private households.

Three terms refer to the tuft of wool in Neo-Assyrian, namely *itqu*,¹²⁸ *nipšu*¹²⁹ and *siggu*.¹³⁰ These words witness to the process of wool collecting, checking and sorting after plucking or shearing. Sporadic references to various qualities of wool in the Neo-Assyrian texts are an indication that textile producers in Assyria were aware of differences in wool fibres and selected them in view of the textiles they wished to produce. The quality of wool fibres depends not only on breeds. It also varies among individuals of the same breed and according to age and sex.¹³¹ Variation in the quality of wool fibres also depends on the part of the sheep from which the wool originates. Wool from the sides and shoulders of a sheep are shorter and finer than that from the thighs. In addition, hair can be spun

123 Postgate 2014, 406. For airing in Mari documents see Michel 2014a, 239.

124 SAA 9, 7 r.1 *ma-a mur-din-nu a-na ni-ip-ši a-nap-pa-áš*, “I will pluck the bramble into a tuft of wool.”

125 CAD N/I, s.v. *napāšu* B. In this dictionary, the verb is only intended as referring to combing and cleaning wool, and plucking. No reference is made to airing. For the Aramaic verb *nps*, “to card wool, to pluck out”, see DJBA, 763a; Sokoloff 2009, 932b. See also the Aramaic word *npās*, *npāsā*, “plucking”, in Sokoloff 2009, 932b.

126 Michel 2014a, 239. Airing was also useful against moths. See Michel 1998, 325–331. The damage caused by insects to articles of clothing is also mentioned in the *Poem of Gilgameš*. See Parpola 1997b, 116, line XII, 94 [*ki-ma lu]-ba-ri la-bi-ri kal-ma-tu ik-kal*, “[like] an old [ga]rment the vermins eat (it).”

127 See Michel 2014a, 239 and fn. 57 for references.

128 PVA 217.

129 SAA 7, 174:6'; SAA 9, 7 r.1; SAA 10, 321 r.8, 14; SAA 20, 20 i 19'; 24:4, r.4; 25:5; 30 r.14'; 31:20'.

130 SAA 3, 14 r.13; SAA 7, 96:9'. Other possible occurrences of the term *siggu* are in SAA 7, 97:8' and 110:3.

131 Andersson Strand 2012, 30.

on its own into a hard yarn or with the under wool, while the under wool fibres, which are thinner and shorter than hair, can be spun separately from it. Yarn from under wool is generally softer than yarn obtained from hair.¹³² Different criteria were probably used in sorting, such as colour, fineness, length and strength.¹³³ Neo-Assyrian texts inform us about wool of first quality¹³⁴ as well as “journey wool”,¹³⁵ namely wool acquired through caravan trade. In all likelihood, when the word *šāptu*/SÍG was not specified in the texts, it meant “(ordinary) wool”.

The checking and sorting of wool were crucial for next step, the preparation of yarn. Combing served to remove dirt and tangles as well as to sort the longer fibres from the shorter ones. In this way, fibres were rendered parallel. There is no evidence of combs in Neo-Assyrian times. Perhaps combs for wool were coarse variants of common combs used in Assyrian houses. Luxury ivory combs from the 2nd millennium BC were discovered in Tomb 45 in Assur;¹³⁶ presumably, wooden variants were used for wool processing in both Middle and Neo-Assyrian homes.¹³⁷ The word for comb in Akkadian is *muštu*, but a *muštu šipāti* (Sum. *giš.ga-ríg*), “wool comb”, is only attested as a lexical entry.¹³⁸ Although combing is already documented in Ur III texts, there are few archaeological finds that can be considered combs for wool.¹³⁹ Combs were also used in weaving, especially for the production of weaves with non-continuous pattern.¹⁴⁰ This function has been suggested for the fragmentary wooden wool comb, dating to the 9th century BC, that was discovered in Gordion, the capital of the Phrygian kingdom.¹⁴¹ In contrast, no archaeological evidence is known regarding Neo-Assyrian wool combs. Teasing, which could be done using a teasel, was another im-

132 Andersson Strand 2012, 30.

133 Andersson Strand 2012, 31.

134 SAA 18, 19:3', 8'.

135 ND 2311:16 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X) SÍG.KASKAL.MEŠ SÍG.MEŠ, “Journey wool and (ordinary) wool.” On “journey wool” see also the text for the *tākultu*-ceremony of Assurbanipal SAA 20, 40 r. iv 29', where the logographic form SÍG.KASKAL.2.MEŠ is used.

136 Feldman 2006, 24–28 and figs. 5, 6, 7, 8.

137 Wooden combs have been found in Fourth Well in Nimrud. See Hussein 2016, pl. 212.

138 See CAD M/II, 290a.

139 Andersson Strand 2014, 45.

140 Andersson Strand 2015, 52.

141 Völling 2008, 278–279. See most recently Burke 2010, 131–132 and fig. 71. The wooden comb was found in the anteroom of Terrace Building 2 in Gordion, a place where weaving activities occurred. Burke (*ibidem*) suggests that this tool was probably used to make small decorated bands.

portant operation aimed at removing short wool fibres and dirt.¹⁴² This operation is probably alluded to by the Assyrian word *gerdu*, “plucked or carded wool”,¹⁴³ commonly used in some Neo-Assyrian contracts, where it is associated with the word *kurru*, the fluid used by tanners in leather processing.¹⁴⁴ The use of thistles in carding and teasing wool in Assyria may be inferred from a Middle Assyrian seal impression of the 13th century BC; the floral element depicted between a goat and a hero armed with mace is probably a thistle or another kind of prickly plant.¹⁴⁵ Concerning verbs related to the operation of combing, we may observe that the verb *mašādu*, “to comb, to brush”, occurs in connection with wool only in literary Babylonian and Old Assyrian, not in Neo-Assyrian.¹⁴⁶ Analogous observations may be made about other verbs regarding teasing cloth in Akkadian, such as *mašāru*, *nešû* and *ḥarāru*,¹⁴⁷ which are not attested with this meaning in the Assyrian language of the 1st millennium BC.¹⁴⁸ The operation of combing concerned not only wool, but also vegetal fibres, which can be concluded from the use of the adjective *ḥalšu*, “combed”, for flax fibres in Neo-Babylonian texts.¹⁴⁹ The verb *ḥalāšu* indicates the action of cleaning by combing.¹⁵⁰ Combed flax (GADA.ḥalšu) occurs in Neo-Babylonian documentation stemming from the Eanna temple in Uruk as the material needed to produce curtains for the cella.¹⁵¹

142 Andersson Strand 2012, 31.

143 SAA 6, 20:3; 96:16; SAA 14, 90:12; 176:5; 204 r.1; 350 r.6; 463 r.3; StAT 2, 243 r.7. See CAD Q, 227b: “plucked wool”; CDA, 91b: “plucked, carded(?) wool”; AEAD, 30b: “plucked wool”.

144 ADW 23 e.12; 28 r.25; 33 r.20; CTN 2, 15 r.28; 17 r.23; 45 e.21; SAA 6, 20:3; 96:16; SAA 14, 90:12; 176:5; 204 r.1; 350 r.6; 463 r.3; StAT 2, 243 r.7. See Radner 1997, 189–192.

145 Liverani 1997, 595 fig. 110.4. On vegetal teasels and their use in wool processing see Soriga 2017, 38–39.

146 See CAD M/I, 352a s.v. *mašādu* 3b; AEAD, 62a.

147 For which see Lackenbacher 1982, 142.

148 For the possible use of the adjective *mašru* to indicate teased textiles in Middle Assyrian see Postgate 2014, 424.

149 See the attestations cited in CAD H, 51b s.v. *ḥalšu* 3.

150 CAD H, 40a. The professional title *ḥālištu*, “female wool-comber”, is derived from this verb and shows that in Mesopotamia women were involved in combing fibres. The title is mentioned in the lexical list Lu III 2 15’ along with the *nāpištu*, female wool-plucker. See CAD H, 43a for references.

151 See the texts PTS 2038:1 and UCP 9/1, 68, cited in Beaulieu 2003, 139.

3.1.3 Spinning

The word for thread in Assyrian is *ṭibu* (Bab. *ṭimu*),¹⁵² a nominal formation from the verb *ṭamû*, “to spin, twist, entwine”,¹⁵³ which also refers to the yarn and twine. The term *ṭibu* was used to designate both wool and linen thread.¹⁵⁴ Less frequent is the use of *qû*, “thread, string”, which only occurs in the scholarly language of the Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁵⁵ In the process of spinning, fibres are intertwined to produce a continuous thread. This rotating action is carried out with the fingers on the thigh or by using a whorl.¹⁵⁶ The whorl gives added torsion and makes the spinning process faster and more efficient.¹⁵⁷ The technique used to spin depended primarily on the nature of fibres. Flax fibres are smooth and do not adhere easily to each other as do wool fibres.¹⁵⁸ Thanks to lanolin, wool fibres can be easily spun,¹⁵⁹ while flax fibres need to be wet in order to be spun. In addition, since flax fibres are longer than wool fibres, flax does not need to be twisted as much as wool when producing the thread.¹⁶⁰ The spinning technique also depended on what kind of yarn was required and on the destination of the resulting textile. Since it has been demonstrated that the use of spindles increases the speed of the spinning operation,¹⁶¹ it is possible that in large establishments producing a high number of textile products every year to cover the needs of the ruling class and the royal army, spinners used tools for this operation. In addition, it is reasonable to assume that different spinning techniques and tools were used in establishments producing a large variety of textile products. Perhaps, in the light of the ethnographic observations made by Crowfoot and of Barber’s conclusions, we may suggest that hand-held spin-

152 SAA 7, 115 ii 23, r. ii 15; SAA 16, 82 r.5. See AHw, 1394a; CAD T, 112a; CDA, 415a; AEAD, 127b.
153 CAD T, 45b. For the Aramaic verb *ṭwy*, “to spin yarn”, see DJBA, 496b; DJPA, 221b; Drower, Macuch 1963, 176b.

154 Zawadzki 2006, 31. For *ṭibu* of linen, see SAA 7, 115 ii 23e.

155 SAA 3, 32 r.23; SAA 8, 308 r.3. In the latter occurrence the word *qû* is used for “flax”. For the use of the term *qû* in literary texts and similes of Assyrian royal inscriptions, see CAD Q, 286b for references.

156 Barber 1991, 41–42; Andersson Strand 2012, 32.

157 Barber 1991, 43.

158 Good 2007, 146.

159 Lanolin allows fibres to adhere to each other during the spinning operation. Generally, when wool is washed, a little fat is added to facilitate spinning. See Andersson Strand 2014, 45. As far as I know, the use of fat or oil in spinning does not seem to be attested in Mesopotamian texts.

160 Good 2007, 146.

161 Andersson Strand 2012, 32.

dles were preferred by Assyrian spinners when processing short fibres such as goat hair, while a supported or suspended spindle would have been more suitable for longer fibres such as sheep's wool.¹⁶² Moreover, the choice of a spindle depended not only on the type of fibres, but also on the thickness of thread that the spinner wished to obtain. Thread thickness is determined by the weight of the spindle, which means that the Assyrian spinners probably had a given set of whorls of different weights at their disposal. To produce a fine thread, a lighter spindle was preferred to a heavier spindle, which would have been more suitable for making a thick and heavy thread.¹⁶³ As regards the spinning technique, scholars have already clarified that Mesopotamian society was familiar to the high-whorl technique, that is to say, the use of spindles in which the whorl is attached to the shaft near to the top.¹⁶⁴

Other Neo-Assyrian words for thread and twine are *ṭimītu* (or *ṭimētu*), only attested in PVA and referring to both wool and linen thread,¹⁶⁵ and *ṭuānu* (Bab. *ṭumānu*), which occurs along with the item *ṭibu* in an administrative document from Nineveh.¹⁶⁶ The former term is already attested in Middle Assyrian texts. In a letter, mention is made of linen yarn referred to as *ṭebētu*.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps the difference between *ṭibu* and *ṭimītu* centres on different methods of preparing the yarn.¹⁶⁸ As far as the term *ṭuānu* (Bab. *ṭumānu*) is concerned, the word could designate a fine quality of thread¹⁶⁹ or, as suggested by Zawadzki as regards Neo-Babylonian attestations, linen thread.¹⁷⁰ Instead of *ṭamû*, which is attested in Middle Assyrian and Standard Babylonian, the action of spinning is indicated in Neo-Assyrian by the verb *ṣabāru*.¹⁷¹ However, in Sargonid royal inscriptions we also find the verb *ṣatû*.¹⁷² The oscillatory movement of the spindle (*pīlaqqu*), expressed with the verb *ṣabāru*, is used in a simile in Esarhaddon's Succession

162 Crowfoot 1931, 14; Barber 1991, 43. See also Andersson Strand 2012, 32.

163 Barber 1991, 43, 52.

164 Barber 1991, 56–59. Instead, evidence for the use of the low-whorl technique comes from regions outside Mesopotamia, such as Bronze Age Anatolia, Cyprus and the Aegean.

165 PVA 218. See AHw, 1392a; CAD Ṭ, 111b; CDA, 415a.

166 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 13.

167 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 7:17' *ṭé-be-ta le-ṭa ša 'GAD.MES'*, 23' *ṭé-be-tu le-ṭa ša GAD*.

168 See Zawadzki 2006, 31.

169 See CAD Ṭ, 125b; AEAD, 127b.

170 Zawadzki 2003, 31.

171 CAD Ṣ, 2b.

172 It is used with reference to a spider's web, see *Iraq* 16 (1954), 192 line vii 65; RINAP 3/1, 18 vi 28"; RINAP 3/2, 223:5; 1025:1'.

Treaty.¹⁷³ Basically, the spindle consists of a shaft and a whorl. In Neo-Assyrian sources, the *pilaqqu*, “spindle”,¹⁷⁴ is usually described as a wooden tool, which explains why the spindle shaft is never attested in the archaeological evidence.¹⁷⁵ The names for the spindle’s parts are documented in lexical lists,¹⁷⁶ such as the spindle-whorl (*qaqqad pilaqqi*, literally, “the head of the spindle”).¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately, we do not know how these parts were called in the Neo-Assyrian spoken language because no text from the extant Neo-Assyrian everyday documentation attests to these terms. Since distaffs of spindles are rarely preserved, finds of spindle-whorls constitute the sole evidence about spinning technology in ancient societies and most of present-day knowledge about spinning in antiquity is based on these objects.¹⁷⁸ Judging by 1st-millennium BC evidence from Assyria, spindle-whorls were commonly made of clay.¹⁷⁹ In all likelihood, various sizes and weights of spindle-whorls were in use in Assyrian textile workshops, depending on the thread the spinners wished to produce. Given the low-value materials—wood and clay—used to make spindles, it is likely that these tools were produced in the Assyrian textile workshops themselves, although a Neo-Babylonian document shows that *pilaqqus* could be purchased for few silver shekels.¹⁸⁰

173 SAA 2, 6:616–617 *ki-i GIŠ.pi-laq-qi lu-šá-aš-bi-ru-ku-nu / ki-i MÍ ina IGI LÚ.KÚR-ku-nu le-pa-šu-ku-nu*, “(May all the gods who are called by name in this treaty tablet) spin you around like a spindle-whorl, may they make you like a woman before your enemy.”

174 SAA 2, 6:616; SAA 10, 92:11. See CAD P, 371b s.v. *pilakku* and Waetzoldt 2011–13, 2a–3a. For the Aramaic term *plak*, *pilkā*, “spindle, distaff”, see DJBA, 900b; DJPA, 436b; DNWSI, 910; Drower, Macuch 1963, 371a. One of the names for spindle in Arabic is *felake* or *filka*, perhaps a loanword from Akkadian. See Staubli 2012, 87 fig. 76 for various types of Arabic spindles (*migzal*, *felake*) from South Palestine.

175 The *GIŠ.pilaqqu* is attested in SAA 3, 4 i 10; 38:28. For spindles made of other materials in the evidence of Mesopotamian texts, see Waetzoldt 2011–13, 3a. Different types of spindles and spindle-whorls are documented in the Ancient Near Eastern archaeological evidence. See Vörling 2008, 96–118, 247–259; 2011–13, 4a–5a.

176 For types of spindles and their parts see Hh VI 20–24 and CAD P, 373a s.v. *pilakku* c.

177 Hh VI 26.

178 Andersson Strand 2012, 32.

179 Curtis, Green 1997, 21 and fig. 25 (nos. 90–92). These objects are two spindle-whorls of baked clay with biconical shape with similar measures as regards diameter (4.9 cm and 4.15 cm), height (2.2 cm and 2.5 cm), and weight (31.0 g and 41.0 g), and a spindle-whorl of unbaked clay showing a conical shape, whose measures are: diameter 5.0 cm, height 2.3 cm, and weight 49.1 g. Note that spindle-whorls of wood and ivory have been found in Fourth Well in Nimrud. See Hussein 2016, pl. 214.

180 CT 56, 454 r.8–9. See Joannès 2010, 403.

Presumably, spinning was an integral part of the work commissioned to weavers and their assistants. The most explicit attestation regarding weavers being involved in spinning comes from Nuzi texts, which show that female weavers were in charge of the preparation of thread.¹⁸¹ In Middle Assyrian times one contract attests that a certain amount of wool had to be spun and delivered to the state by a felt-maker.¹⁸² As regards evidence about spinning with spindles in 1st-millennium visual art, the operation is only attested in a stone relief from Susa (10th–8th century BC) and in stone funerary stelae from Maraş (8th century BC).¹⁸³ These pieces of evidence are not illustrative of the use of spindles and spinning in Assyria, and some of them also raise questions about the possibility that the operation depicted in these reliefs does not represent the everyday activity of spinners, but a gesture connected to rituals or conveying specific symbolic values.¹⁸⁴ There is no archaeological evidence about Neo-Assyrian spindles at present. As regards the direction of fibres, during the action of spinning fibres can be twisted to the left or right, resulting in an S-spun or Z-spun thread.¹⁸⁵ The textile remains from the Nimrud tombs clearly show that the Assyrian spinners opted for the S-spinning,¹⁸⁶ a result presumably based on the natural direction of the flax,¹⁸⁷ but also to the local spinning tradition and the type of spindle in use: normally, if the spinner is right handed, the use of a high-whorl spindle will produce an S-spun thread.¹⁸⁸

3.1.4 Dyeing

Other activities connected to the fibres are documented in more detail in Neo-Assyrian texts, as in the case of dyeing. Although the Assyrian scribes do not describe how dyers did their work, it is known that in antiquity dyeing activity basically consisted of placing the textile materials in a solution of water and natural dyes such as madder, woad and murex snail, along with a mordant to

181 See JEN 507, a record of female workers belonging to Enna-mati's household. See Abrahams 2014, 293 for discussion.

182 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 92–93.

183 Völling 2008, 93–94 figs. 27–29; Bonatz 2000, pl. 21.

184 On this aspect, see Baccelli, Bellucci and Vigo 2014, 117.

185 Barber 1991, 65–68; Andersson Strand 2012, 33.

186 See Crowfoot 1995, 113, 117.

187 Crowfoot 1995, 113. Other factors could have an impact on the direction of spinning, such as tradition and the fact that the spinner is left or right handed. See Barber 1991, 66–67 and Andersson Strand 2012, 33 for discussion.

188 Barber 1991, 65–68; Andersson Strand 2012, 33–34.

set the dyes to the fibres. This was performed by the *šāpiu*, “dyer”,¹⁸⁹ also called *mušappiu*.¹⁹⁰ These professional titles derive from the verb *šapû*.¹⁹¹ Another verb for “dyeing” is *šarāpu*.¹⁹² The latter verb is frequently used by authors of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions in similes referring to dyeing mountains, cities and rivers of the enemy’s land with the blood of the vanquished in the manner of dyeing *napāsu*-wool.¹⁹³ It is worth noting that women were also involved in dyeing in Assyria; the occupation of the *mušappītu*, “female dyer”, is attested in a letter concerning merchants.¹⁹⁴ This missive gives us further interesting insights into the dyeing activity performed by *mušappītus*, since the sender specifies what appears to be the silver wages for four merchants, their wives and a female dyer. According to the accounts made by the anonymous sender, each of these individuals is to receive half a mina of silver, including the *mušappītu*. Two letters from the reign of Sargon attest to the activity of dyers. In the first letter, mention is made of some unidentified minerals that were placed at the disposal of Šarru-ēmuranni and were given to the dyers, presumably to perform their work.¹⁹⁵ In another letter, unfortunately in a fragmentary condition, the sender informs the king that the dyers have begun their work,¹⁹⁶ although the epistle does not specify the products of their activity. In a fragment of a type schedule to a grant of the reign of Assurbanipal, a dependent *mušappiu*, called Tabālāiu, figures among various craftsmen,¹⁹⁷ but no details are given in the text about the location of the estate to which this specialist was attached.

Wool was the preferred fibre in dyeing, since it is easy to colour. On the contrary, linen required extra efforts to get the fibre to hold dyes.¹⁹⁸ The dyeing operation was probably performed on hanks of thread as well as whole cloths, al-

189 SAA 5, 205:8; 296 r.3. For dyers in the Middle Assyrian period, see Whiting 1988, text 100:2 and Jakob 2003, 430. The same professional name is attested in the Aramaic form *šabbā*, “dyer”. See DJBA, 951a; DJPA, 457b; Drower, Macuch 1963, 385a; Sokoloff 2009, 1272b.

190 MSL 12, 238 r. ii 15; SAA 12, 65:4’.

191 SAA 7, 85 i 13’. See CAD Š, 45b; AEAD, 103b.

192 SAA 8, 308:1. See CAD Š, 104a; AEAD, 103b. Cf. Aramaic *šarpūn*, *šarpūna*, “scarlet dye”. See Sokoloff 2009, 1304a.

193 See the references quoted in CAD Š, 104ab s.v. *šarāpu* B 1.

194 SAA 16, 54:10.

195 SAA 5, 205:4–9 *a-du Ê a-x[x x x] / NA₄-mil-ḥu x[x x x] / NA₄-nu-KUR-x[x x x] / ina pa-na-tú-^u’[a] / ina UGU ša-p[i-ú-ti] / uq-ṭa-r[i-bi x x x]*, “While I [was in ...], *milḥu*-stone [...], *nukur* [...] -stone [...] *that were placed* at [my] disposal [...] to the dy[ers] I provided.”

196 SAA 5, 296 r.2’–3’ *ina UGU ši-pi [0] / [iq-ṭ]ar-bu LÚ.ša-pu-u*, “The dyers have [beg]un to dye.”

197 SAA 12, 65:4’.

198 As observed in Barber 1991, 15, linen is difficult to dye well because of the fibre’s hardness, which keeps the colorant from penetrating well into the fibre’s structure.

though documents from other periods show that it was executed only on woven fabrics.¹⁹⁹In fact, a Middle Assyrian document mentions the operation of soaking three *lubēru*-garments to colour them black.²⁰⁰ Items of clothing to be dyed (*ana šarāpi*) are also enumerated in a short administrative text from Middle Assyrian Assur.²⁰¹ Presumably, wool was washed before dyeing in order to enable the dye-stuff to penetrate the fibres.²⁰² This was probably done in the Middle Assyrian period, as may be surmised in the light of a document that mentions dirty garments that were first washed, then dyed and finally deposited.²⁰³ We are informed about “washed wools” by the lexical list PVA;²⁰⁴ the fact that in this vocabulary the adjective *masiu*, “washed”, refers to a variety of wools is probably connected with the washing of the fibres that precedes the various operations involved in processing wool. Washed wool is also attested in a Neo-Assyrian ritual text related to a banquet for a god.²⁰⁵

Part of the basic equipment for the dyeing process was a dyeing vat. This container, called *našraptu* in Akkadian,²⁰⁶ served to soak or boil plants in water. The fibres were immersed in the resulting dye bath in combination with dye fixatives.²⁰⁷ As far as the Neo-Assyrian archaeological evidence is concerned, terracotta dyeing vats were discovered at Til Barsip (Tell Aḫmar) among other tools related to weaving and dyeing activities, such as loom weights and a bone spatula.²⁰⁸ In all likelihood, in addition to vats for the dyeing of textiles, the Assyrian dyer’s equipment would also have included mortars, pestles, grinders and pounders to mash and ground plant and mineral materials for dyeing.²⁰⁹ These tools were essential in the process of dye extraction. A variety of cooking pots and jars were probably used in the extraction process and for the temporary

199 As in the case of the texts from Mari, see Michel 2014a, 239.

200 Frahm 2002, 80, text Ass.2001.D–2219 r.8. Soaking is also attested in the context of medicine. See, e.g., BAM 222:15–16 TÚG *tu-bu-ku-tú ša SÍG ina A.MEŠ ta-ša-bu*, “You soak wool *tub-buku*-textiles in water.” See also CAD Š, 45b–46a s.v. *šabū* 2a.

201 KAM 11, 55:6. The document mentions *ašiannu*-garments, *ia’lu*-bands and other textiles.

202 Andersson Strand 2014, 45.

203 KAV 108:6–9 *ša ma-si-ú-ni i-na pi-it-tu-ka ši-riḫ-ú-ni ša-ak-nu-ú-ni*.

204 PVA 214 SÍG.MEŠ LUḪ.MEŠ (in the section dealing with designations for wool varieties and other fibres).

205 SAA 20, 31:18’.

206 CAD N/II, 51b s.v. *našraptu* B. But note that the Neo-Assyrian occurrences refer to a crucible. See Gaspa 2014, 303–304.

207 Barber 1991, 225; Andersson Strand 2014, 48. The use of the word *bašlu*, “boiled”, is attested in the documentation of Nuzi and shows that hot water was used in dyeing. See Abrahamsi 2014, 297–298.

208 See Bunnens 1997, 21.

209 Cf. Barber 1991, 239.

storage of dye. It is clear that for domestic or small dyeing workshops a medium-large pot would suffice for dyeing fibres, but for larger establishments in charge of the production of textiles for the palace and the royal army very large vats were necessary,²¹⁰ especially if whole cloths had to be dyed. The same can be surmised for airy racks or platforms needed to dry the dyed textiles:²¹¹ presumably, large installations existed near the dyeing workshops.

Dyed wool came in different colours, as seen from the variety of terms attested in the Neo-Assyrian sources, such as *argamannu*, “red-purple wool”,²¹² *ḥašḥūru*, “apple-coloured wool”,²¹³ *ḥašmānu*, “greenish blue wool”,²¹⁴ *ḥinziribu*, “blue-green colour”,²¹⁵ *inzurātu*, “scarlet”,²¹⁶ *napāsu*, “red wool”,²¹⁷ *sāntu*, “red wool”,²¹⁸ *sūntu*, “red, violet wool”,²¹⁹ *šalittu*, “blue-black wool”,²²⁰ *širpu*, “red-dyed wool”,²²¹ *šeburtu* (an unknown colour of wool),²²² *tabribu*, “red wool”,²²³ *takiltu*, “blue-purple wool”,²²⁴ *uqnātu*, “blue wool (lit. wool of lapis lazuli colour)”,²²⁵ *urṭū*, “greenish-blue, light-blue wool”.²²⁶ A generic term indicating col-

210 Cf. Barber 1991, 239.

211 Cf. Barber 1991, 240.

212 Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 407, 449; Prunk. 142, 182; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49'; ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); RINAP 1, 15:3; 27:7; 35 iii 21; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; SAA 10, 182:12, r.5; TH 62:3; Winckler 1893–95, 174, iv 13.

213 PVA 208.

214 PVA 207.

215 PVA 209.

216 PVA 205; SAA 20, 26:19; TH 62:4.

217 BIWA A iii 43; F ii 66; Fuchs 1994, Prunk 130; Zyl 25; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1 iii 12; RINAP 1, 47:48.

218 PVA 210; SAA 11, 26 r.11; SAA 16, 63:29; 82 r.6; 83 r.5; 84 r.1, 6.

219 CTN 2, 1:7', 8'; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 88, 97, iii 68; RIMA 3, A.0.102.1:95'; A.0.102.2 ii 23, 28; RINAP 1, 11:10'; 12:1'; 47 r.12'; PVA 204; TH 62:3.

220 PVA 203, 211; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 88, 97, iii 68; RINAP 1, 12:1'; SAA 3, 35:33; SAA 16, 82 r.7; 216:11; SAA 20, 24:13; 26:19.

221 PVA 220. For Middle Assyrian attestations, see KAV 99:22; 100:14; 105:12, 15.

222 TH 62:1. See CAD Š/II, 256a: “a colour(?) of wool”.

223 CTN 2, 1:6'; Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.37 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); ND 2758:6' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); PVA 206; SAA 3, 14 r.13; 34:15, 42; 35:33; SAA 5, 28:9; SAA 7, 64 r. i' 7'; 66 r. ii' 9'; 96:10'; 105:5', 12'; 110:1, 4, 7, 10, r.1; 115 r. i 10, 13, 16, 17, 19; 116 r.4'; 121 r. i' 5; 174:6'; 176 r.2'; SAA 11, 36 ii 19; StAT 3, 1:8, r.18, 19.

224 Bauer 1933, II, 44:16; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 407, 449; Prunk. 142, 182; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49'; Mayer 1983, line 366; RINAP 1, 15:3; 27:7; 35 iii 21; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; SAA 18, 103:15'; Winckler 1893–95, 174, line iv 13.

225 StAT 3, 1 r.29; TH 62:4.

226 PVA 207; TH 62:2. The Akkadian word *urṭū* is probably at the basis of Ugaritic *rṭ*, presumably designating a kind of wool. See Watson 2007, 54–55. For a connection with Arabic *riṭ*, see Vita 2010, 331.

oured wool is *barruntu*,²²⁷ while *tabrīmu* denotes a polychrome variety.²²⁸ It is hard to identify these shades with our modern colour definitions, since the Akkadian colour vocabulary seems to have been predominantly focused on brightness and saturation.²²⁹ Accordingly, colours were probably defined following a scale of brightness ranging from *pešû*, “bright”, to *šalmu*, “dark”, and a scale of saturation ranging from *arqu*, “pale”, to *sāmu*, “vibrant”.²³⁰

Some dyeing agents appear largely used in Assyria. Madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), identified with the Assyrian word *hūrutu*,²³¹ was used to dye the fibres red. The dye referred to as *huhhurāti* (a scarlet dye?)²³² was also used for this purpose. In fact, two administrative records list the amounts of this dye for the processing of red wool.²³³ It is possible that the latter red colorant was produced from the kermes, an insect belonging to the superfamily *Coccoidea* which lives as a parasite on the kermes oak.²³⁴ Another possibility is that scarlet was obtained from crimson-dyeing scale insects.²³⁵ We cannot rule out that the import of textiles dyed using these Armenian carmine scale insects was favoured by the victorious Eighth Campaign of Sargon in Urartu: the detailed booty list of his account mentions *lubultī tabarri*, “garments of red wool”, among the various goods plundered from the palace of Urzana, ruler of Mušāšir.²³⁶ Here, the author of Sargon’s inscription probably uses the word *tabarru* to indicate crimson-dyed wool.²³⁷ The fact that *huhhurāti* was a colorant produced from an insect is also evident from a text from Nuzi that mentions “*huhhurātu* of worms” (*huruḫurati ša tūlti*) among varieties of dyed wool.²³⁸ Blue and blue-green colours, such as

227 PVA 219. For the form *barrundu* see SAA 20, 24:12; 27:10, 11.

228 SAA 20, 32:12, 16, 21.

229 Thavapalan, Stenger and Snow 2016, 200–201.

230 Thavapalan, Stenger and Snow 2016, 201 fig. A1.

231 SAA 7, 115 ii 6; 116 r.4'. On madder, see Cardon 2007, 108–115.

232 SAA 7, 115 r. i 12, 15, 19; 121 r. i' 5.

233 SAA 7, 115 r. i 12–13, 15–16, 19; 121 r. i' 5.

234 On the dyer’s kermes, see Cardon 2007, 610–619.

235 On the use of scale insects, *Porphyrophora*, in dyeing, see Cardon 2007, 635–656 and Korn, Warning 2017, 178–185.

236 Mayer 1983, line 366 *lu-bul-ti ta-bar-ri ša KUR.ur-ar-ṭi u KUR.ḫab-ḫi* (cf. the parallel text Fuchs 1998, IVb:50'–51'). For the translation, see Foster 2005, 809: “garments of red wool from the lands of Urartu and Habhi”.

237 For the possibility that the Assyrian word *tabarru* indicated kermes, see Dalley 1991, 123. The hypothesis that Sargon’s account refers to crimson is accepted by Cardon. See Cardon 2007, 650–651. Perhaps, the scarlet dye was obtained from the Armenian scale insect *Porphyrophora hamelii*, that in antiquity was widely used for textiles produced in the Iranian cultural area. For a survey on the textile remains dyed with this red dye see Korn, Warning 2017, 181–185.

238 AASOR 16, 77:15. See Abrahami 2014, 295.

those referred to as *uqnātu* and *ḥašmānu* respectively were probably produced by woad dyeing.²³⁹ Other colorants with a vegetal origin were used in Assyria: the dye called *urṭû*, a term possibly of Hurrian origin, was the name for an herbal plant that was also used in medicine.²⁴⁰ One mina of colorant derived from the *urṭû*-plant is recorded in a document from Tell Ḥalaf.²⁴¹ We also know that flowers were used by Assyrian dyers: in his account of the victory over the Urartian king Rusâ and his allies, Sargon said to have stained the lowlands, foothills and ridges with the enemies' blood as if the land was dyed with anemone-flowers (*illûru*).²⁴² This shows that *illûru*-flowers were used in Assyrian dyeing workshops to produce a particular shade of red, presumably a vibrant and saturated visual quality.²⁴³ Dyes can be extracted from various flowers, such as safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), which is native to the area between the Near East and northern India. From the florets of this spiny plant a red dye is produced.²⁴⁴ Flowers or fruits from certain trees were also used in dyeing, as witnessed by the use of the apple tree (*ḥašḥûru*) in Mesopotamia. From this plant a yellow or green dye was extracted.²⁴⁵ Blossom and foliage of the *ḥašḥûru*-plant were used in pharmacopoea. In a medical text blossoms are boiled in water.²⁴⁶ Yellow and green colorants can also be extracted from Persian berries, fruits of a buckthorn plant (*Rhamnus saxatilis* and the close species *Rhamnus tinctoria* and *Rhamnus infectoria*)²⁴⁷ that is indigenous to the Mediterranean area and the Near East. We can speculate that fruits from other plants native to the Near Eastern region were employed in the local textile dyeing. Not all the textiles circulating in Assyria were dyed with vegetal colorants. Imported textiles from the Levant were dyed with a colorant derived from murex varieties. This is documented for the designations *argamannu* and *takiltu*, referring to two differ-

239 On the identification of *uqnātu* with woad and its indigo pigment, see CAD U-W, 195b s.v. On the use of woad in dyeing, see Cardon 2007, 367–371.

240 CAD U-W, 256a s.v. *urṭû* A. The first attestations of this dye designation are in Nuzi texts. See also Postgate 2014, 413 for discussion.

241 TH 62:2.

242 Mayer 1983, line 135. See also the translation given in Foster 2005, 798: “anemone-flowers”. The red colour probably derived from the flower or the fruit of the plant. See CAD I-J, p. 87b s.v. *illûru*.

243 See Thavapalan, Stenger and Snow 2016, 201.

244 Cardon 2007, 54–59.

245 CAD Ḥ, 140b s.v. *ḥašḥûru* 2c.

246 AMT 24, 5:9. See CAD Ḥ, 140a s.v. *ḥašḥûru* 1b.

247 Cardon 2007, 186–191. For the use of Persian berries in dyeing in Medieval Europe, see Edmonds 2003, 44.

ent shades of purple, namely a reddish shade and a blue shade.²⁴⁸ The place of extraction of the purple dye from the mollusc shell was the Levantine coast. Fabrics imported to Assyria were dyed *in loco*, since Neo-Assyrian royal annals dealing with tribute and booty from conquered regions mention imported wool varieties that were already dyed.²⁴⁹

The mordant frequently used by the Assyrian dyers to set the colour was alum (*gabû*). This mineral was largely used in Mesopotamian craftsmanship. Known in Sumerian as the “stone of the mountain” (*na₄.kur-ra*), the mineral has been used from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC. White and black varieties of alum were known to the Mesopotamian artisans.²⁵⁰ The wide use of this mineral explains the importance of occupations specialized in the procurement of this material: interestingly, the *ša-gabêšû*, a worker in charge of collecting or processing the alum²⁵¹ is among the professionals who were transferred from Assur to Kalḫu under the reign of Assurnāširpal II (883–859 BC). His occupation must have been important for the palace-oriented textile manufacture in the new Assyrian capital founded by Assurnāširpal. The procedure followed by dyers in their activity is not explained in Neo-Assyrian texts, but information on the use of mordants and dyes can be found in documents from 2nd-millennium Assur. In one text, 14 minas of madder are to be used in association with 4 2/3 minas of alum to dye a felt cushion.²⁵²

3.1.5 Weaving and knotting

The high value credited by the Mesopotamians to the craft of weaving is witnessed by the Sumerian mythological tradition, according to which the patroness of weaving was the goddess Uttu, the offspring of Enki, the god of wisdom and the patron of the arts and crafts. Sumerian literary works give us interesting insights into this goddess and her domain. In the poem *Enki and Ninḫursaĝa*, Uttu is referred to as “the exalted(?) woman”; she was generated from the sexual

248 See Cardon 2007, 554–555, 571–572.

249 The same situation also characterized Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian period. Given the difficulty of transporting dyes from the Levant to the Babylonian cities, it is possible that imported purple textiles were already dyed in the Levantine production centres. See Graslin-Thomé 2016, 67.

250 Joannès 2001a, 37. In Sumerian, the mineral was also called “the powder of the mountain stone” (*im.saḫar na₄.kur-ra*).

251 SAA 12, 83 r.15. For a discussion on this occupation, see Radner 1999a, 122, 124, 125.

252 Donbaz 1988, 72. See Postgate 2014, 410 for discussion.

encounter of Enki with his granddaughter Ninkurra and her divine domain is vegetation.²⁵³ On the contrary, in the work *Enki and the World Order* Uttu is explicitly connected to the craft of weaving. This art, described as “the task of women”, was perfected by the Lord of the Abzu and it is what makes “the honour of the palace, the dignity of the king”.²⁵⁴ The important role played by weaving and textile manufacture in Mesopotamian society emerges from the *Debate between Grain and Sheep*: the primordial situation of humankind was such that no yarn was still fashioned and no loom was pegged out.²⁵⁵ Consequently, there was no cloth to wear and kings could not wear the insignia of their power.²⁵⁶ This text underlines the significance of the craft of weaving for the enhancement of kingship: the yarns of the goddess of weaving are defined as “the splendour of kingship”.²⁵⁷ This brief survey on the divine protectress of weaving illustrates the Mesopotamian idea that textile manufacture was one of the fundamental traits that distinguished the civilized world—identifiable with the urban societies of the alluvium—from the uncivilized periphery. The motifs of the family connection of Uttu with the god of wisdom and the role of weaving as the privileged means through which kingship manifested its power and dignity probably reflect the positive self-image of palace weavers in the Mesopotamian

253 *Enki and Ninḫursaĝa*, c.1.1.1, lines 117–126, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “In the month of womanhood, like fine(?) oil, like fine(?) oil, like oil of abundance, Ninkurra, like fine(?) oil, like fine(?) oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Uttu, the exalted(?) woman” (accessed in December 2016).

254 *Enki and the World Order*, c.1.1.3, lines 381–385, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “He picked out the tow from the fibres, and set up the loom. Enki greatly perfected the task of women. For Enki, the people ... in ... garments. Enki placed in charge of them the honour of the palace, the dignity of the king—Uttu, the conscientious woman, the silent one” (accessed in December 2016).

255 *The Debate between Grain and Sheep*, c.5.3.2, lines 1–5, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “When, upon the hill of heaven and earth, An spawned the Anuna gods, since he neither spawned nor created grain with them, and since in the Land he neither fashioned the yarn of Uttu nor pegged out the loom for Uttu” (accessed in December 2016).

256 *The Debate between Grain and Sheep*, c.5.3.2, lines 16–17, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “There was no cloth to wear; Uttu had not been born—no royal turban was worn” (accessed in December 2016).

257 *The Debate between Grain and Sheep*, c.5.3.2, lines 92–96, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “Thereupon Sheep answered Grain: ‘My sister, whatever are you saying? An, king of the gods, made me descend from the holy place, my most precious place. All the yarns of Uttu, the splendour of kingship, belong to me’” (accessed in December 2016).

society. These ideas were certainly an integral part of the art of *išpārūtu* that Mesopotamian weavers transmitted from generation to generation.²⁵⁸

With this mythical background in mind, we can now go on to consider the activities of the artisans involved in the manufacturing process. In Assyria, professionals involved in the production of garments and other textile products were principally the *ušpāru*, “weaver”,²⁵⁹ and the *kāširu*, “weaver, knotter(?)”.²⁶⁰ The operation of weaving is expressed by the verb *maḥāšu*, “to beat, weave”.²⁶¹ This meaning is attested in the above-mentioned passage of a royal inscription of Sennacherib regarding the use of cotton.²⁶² The verb is also attested in a letter sent to King Esarhaddon by Aplāya, a priest of Kurba'il, who informs the monarch about the weavers' work. It seems that the craftsmen in question did not do their work according to the deadline established, since the priest states that they did not deliver the expected garments,²⁶³ presumably commissioned by the Palace. The production of these items of clothing had to be done according to the frame-

258 Apart from the art of weaving, it seems that the connection with Enki also concerned other sectors of textile production in Mesopotamia. See, e.g., the Babylonian text *At the Cleaners*, in which the god of wisdom and Apsū is invoked by a fuller: Wasserman 2013, 275, line r.27.

259 ABL 1364 r.3; Billa 86:2 (JCS 7 [1953], 141); CTN 1, 1 ii 6, r. i 27e; CTN 2, 91 r.32, 34, 35; 97 r.2; CTN 3, 145 r. i 16; Jursa, Radner 1995–96, 92, text no. A 3:4; 100, text no. A 9:5'; KAN 2, 30 r.3' (Stat 1, 30); KAN 4, 20:7; MSL 12, 233 ii 10'; 238 r. i 16; NATAPA 1, 35 r.25; NATAPA 2, 71 r.e. ii 5; ND 2306 r.9 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, written syllabically as LÚ.uš-pa-ru); ND 2316:6, r.18 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 40, pl. VII); ND 2803 i 15, 25 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 55–57, pls. XXIX–XXX); ND 3428:2 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 141); ND 5448 r.21 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); O 3705 r.15 (cited in PNA 1/I, 44a s.v. *Adda-atar*); SAA 6, 13 r.2', 3' (written as LÚ.'UŠBAR₅'); 19 r.11; 90 r.11; 91 r.3; 96 r.14; 271 r.10; 294:1; SAA 7, 23 r.10; 172 r.10; SAA 11, 202 ii 17'; 222 r.11; SAA 12, 83 r.7; 94:3; SAA 13, 145:7; 186 r.3, 9; SAA 14, 188 r.8; SAA 16, 83:7; 84 r.8; Stat 3, 2 r.30; ZTT I, 22:12. For male and female weavers in Middle Assyrian texts, see Jakob 2003, 412–420. For the Aramaic professional name *'špr*, “tailor, weaver”, see DJBA, 174a; DNWSI, 125.

260 ADW 51 r.8; CTN 2, 4 r.13; 6:2, 3; KAN 2, 47 ii 8' (Stat 1, 47); KAN 4, 62 r.14; MSL 12, 233 ii 7'; 238 r. i 31; NATAPA 1, 35 r.24; NATAPA 2, 71:3; 75 r.32; ND 2498:7' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 35, pl. XVIII); ND 5448:2 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); O 3695:1; Radner 2002, text no. 13 r.6; RINAP 4, 9 i' 12'; SAA 4, 142:9; 144:9; SAA 5, 215:16; SAA 6, 31 r.23; 81 r.6; 91 r.2; 124 r.7, 8; 312:4; 313:4; SAA 7, 20 r. i 3; 21:8; 22:4; 115 i 13, ii 21, r. ii 7; SAA 10, 294 r.28; SAA 11, 177:6; SAA 14, 186:3; 21 r.8; 202 r.4'; SAA 15, 214 r.1; Stat 2, 169:2; STT 48 r.8'; ZTT I, 22:12. The *kāširu* is already attested in Middle Assyrian documents. See Jakob 2003, 425–428.

261 CAD M/I, 78a s.v. *maḥāšu* 3. For the distinction in Neo-Assyrian between *maḥāšu*, “to strike” (class *a/a*), and *maḥāšu*, “to weave” (class *i/i*), see MacGinnis 1988, 69–70.

262 RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64.

263 SAA 13, 186 r.3'–4' x[x x x LÚ.UŠ].BAR.MEŠ / TÚG.la-b[*u-su la*] *i-di-nu*, “[... the we]avers have [not] given the cloth[ing].”

work of work-quotas assigned by the Palace, as explicitly stated by Aplāya.²⁶⁴ From another letter, we see that the Palace provided the weavers with red wool.²⁶⁵ The verb *maḥāṣu* also occurs in an undated astrological report sent by the Babylonian scholar Zākīru to Esarhaddon;²⁶⁶ the report is about moon omens and private matters concerning weaving activities in Zākīru's own household. The professional name *māḥiṣu*, “weaver”, is at present only attested in the Middle Assyrian documentation.²⁶⁷

It seems that two different weaving techniques are indicated by the verbs *maḥāṣu* and *kaṣāru*, as suggested by the mention of both the operations in the processing of flax in a Middle Assyrian letter from Dūr-Katlimmu.²⁶⁸ It was observed that the occupation of the *kāṣīru* probably concerned knotting operations, presumably for carpet production.²⁶⁹ Nothing can be said instead regarding the professional designation *ḥādīlu*, that is currently attested only in a Neo-Assyrian list of silver sums from Assur.²⁷⁰ Also the *ḥādīlu* had to do with knotting, but indications on his occupation and his connection with the professional milieu of *kāṣīrus* and other textile artisans are absent in the texts. In a fragmen-

264 SAA 13, 186 r.8'–10' É.Š.QAR TA* É.GAL / *i-du-nu* LÚ.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ / DUMU URU.arba-il *i-ma-ḥi-ṣu*, “They used to issue the work-quotas from the Palace, and the weavers from Arbela used to weave them.”

265 SAA 16, 84 r.1–4 SÍG.SA₅ / TA* ŠĀ É.GAL *ni-dan* / *ma-a šū-nu a-na ṭè-mì-šū-nu* / *ep-pu-šú*, “We will supply red wool from the Palace and they will do (their work) as ordered.” On red wool, see also *ibidem*, r.6.

266 SAA 8, 305 r.8 [x x x x] *ina pa-ni-ki lim-ḥa-ša*, “Let them weave [...] under your supervision.”

267 Billa 61:21 (JCS 7 [1953], 135). For the Middle Assyrian *māḥiṣu*, see Jakob 2003, 421 (“Weber”). The professional name *māḥiṣu* is usually referred to archers in the Neo-Assyrian documentation. This assumption that this *nomen professionis* is to be referred to archers is corroborated by the logographic writing of the name as LÚ.GIŠ.BAN.TAG.GA. The logographic form of this occupation is attested in RA 24, 7:5; SAA 14, 168 e.2. For the syllabic form see SAA 5, 263:11'; SAA 6, 258 r.2; SAA 7, 115 ii 20; SAA 8, 287:5; SAA 14, 421 r.3; 425:1, r.17, 22, e.28. See also the list of professions MSL 12, 238 r. i 10 LÚ.ma-ḥi-ša-a-ni following the entry concerning archers (l. r. i 9).

268 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, text no. 6:8'–14'. For comments, see Jakob 2003, 421 and Postgate 2014, 408.

269 Good 2007, 147; Postgate 2014, 407–408. See also Postgate's translation of *bēt kāṣīr(i)* as “House of the Carpet-worker” in Postgate 2007, 356. For a different opinion, see Smith 2013, 172, who interprets the *kāṣīru* as a craftsman specialized in assembling a framework for textiles with various materials.

270 Radner 2016, 112, text no. I.52 r.2 *ḥa-di-li*. For the term *ḥādīlu*, “knotter”, see AHw, 307a; CAD H, 23a; CDA, 100b. The word *ḥādīlu* occurs in Babylonian lexical lists as a name for a species of spider and as a plant(?). In the lexical list CT 18, 9 ii 26 the designation *ḥādīl appi* is a synonym for *bā'uru*, “fisherman”. See CAD H, 23a s.v. *ḥādīl pī* (lexical section) and AHw, 307a s.v. *ḥādīlu/haddīlu* 1. Note that this word is omitted in AEAD, 33a.

tary letter forming part of Esarhaddon's correspondence, the verb *kašāru* is used to indicate a knotting operation that probably involved wool threads of different colours.²⁷¹ References to the work of *ušpārus* and *kāširus* in Middle Assyrian texts support the hypothesis that the latter was a craftsman specialized in working with wool and knotting operations and whose resulting end products were knotted carpets or tapestries.²⁷² What is clear is that *kāširūtu*, “the craft of knotting”, was highly prized in the Mesopotamian society of the 1st-millennium BC: this is confirmed by a Neo-Babylonian text about teaching this art to novices.²⁷³

Knotters were included among the craftsmen of the domestic personnel who followed the troops on the king's military campaigns. In the long list of military units and royal army personnel serving in Māzamia that Adad-issiya sent to the king there are also twelve *kāširus* among lackeys, cupbearers, confectioners, bakers and cooks.²⁷⁴ Their presence was probably necessary to periodically sew and repair textiles used by the king and the military staff during the campaign, and we may surmise that they had to be capable of performing every kind of textile work, not only knotting and weaving, but also mending. A letter sent by Mannu-kī-Libbāli to the treasurer, his superior, mentions knotters among weavers and “those who make the repairs” in a list of military staff and craftsmen that probably formed the local Assyrian military contingent in the city of Tušhan.²⁷⁵ Like many other craftsmen of the Neo-Assyrian period, the *kāširu* also worked for hire. This is evident if we look at a Neo-Assyrian letter whose author has been identified with the unhappy exorcist Urad-Gula. In this missive, the court scholar states that his salary condition prevented him from paying a *kāširu* and from having a spare suit of clothes (*kuzippī*).²⁷⁶

In all likelihood, Assyrian weavers produced textiles with different types of weaves. However, the variety of weave types fabricated in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC or imported into this region from other areas cannot be identified at present for the lack of material evidence about fabrics or their impressions for the period in question. To judge from the few textile remains found in Assur

271 SAA 16, 216:10'–11' *i-ka-šur* [x x x x x x] / SĪG.ZA.GIN.MI [x x x x x x], “they used to knot [...] (threads of) dark-blue wool [...]”.

272 Postgate 2014, 407.

273 Camb. 245:7. Cited in CAD K, 266a s.v. *kāširūtu*.

274 SAA 5, 215:16.

275 ZTT I, 22:12.

276 SAA 10, 294 r. 27–28 *šum-mu am—mar KUŠ.E.SĪR am—mar ig-re ša LÚ.TÚG.KA.KĒŠ ma-aš-ša-ku-ni te-nu-ú ša TÚG.gu-zip-pi-ia i-ba-áš-šú-ni*, “(I swear that) I can afford neither a pair of sandals nor the wages of a *kāširu* (and) I have not got a spare suit of clothes.” On hired labour in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Radner 2007, 185–226.

and Nimrud it is clear that both rep weave and plain weave were known in Assyria during the 9th and 7th centuries BC.²⁷⁷ In the plain or tabby type, namely the weave given by weft threads passing over and under alternate warp threads, the weave can be more open or more dense according to thread diameter and thread count. In the balanced plain weave the number of threads per centimetre in the warp and the weft is generally the same. When the plain weave shows a double warp and weft the weave is called basket weave. In rep weave the thread count of one of the two thread systems (the warp or the weft) generally follows a 2:1 ratio.²⁷⁸ Plain weave is documented in various textile remains from the tombs of the queens at Nimrud, although the thread count is different in the fragments preserved.²⁷⁹ A variant of tabby is also attested in the Nimrud remains: it is a half-basket or extended tabby weave (cannelé), where only one thread system is paired.²⁸⁰ The Nimrud textile remains also document how Assyrian weavers treated the side edges of cloth: one simple and not reinforced selvage was discovered among the fragments of a folded strip from Tomb 1.²⁸¹

Carpets were another important textile produced in Neo-Assyrian textile workshops, and were used to embellish and decorate the Assyrian king's residences.²⁸² This is confirmed by numerous palace relief sculptures from Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Kuyunjik that include representations of woven floor coverings. These stone slabs, that witness to a growing interest to enhance entrances of

277 Völling 2008, 124, table 2, 211. The Nimrud attestations of tabby are in line with the majority of textile remains from the Ancient Near East, characterized by plain weave. The early evidence about plain weave comes from textiles impressions on clay from Ĝarmō, in northeastern Iraq, dated to the early 7th millennium BC. See Barber 1991, 126–127. Imprints of different types of weaves were detected on the Old Assyrian clay *bullae* from Kültepe: balanced tabby and open tabby are visible on some *bullae*, see Andersson Strand, Breniquet, Michel 2017, 94 and figs. 8a–b. Other *bullae* show imprints of reps and gauze-like structures, see *ibidem*, figs. 8c–d. Traces of imprints of woven material have also been found in one of the clay *bullae* in Aramaic alphabetic script discovered at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, but no attempt has been made by scholars to identify the weave of the textile in question. On this Aramaic triangular *bulla* see Fales, Attardo 2005, 664 text no. 56. The texture marks on both the sides of the tag show that it was wrapped in a textile.

278 On weave types, see Barber 1991, 126–214; Völling 2008, 119–124, 287–295.

279 See Crowfoot 1995, 113, 117 (Tombs 1–2).

280 See Crowfoot 1995, 113–114, 117 (Tomb 2, sample c). Basket weave is also well attested in the Ancient Near Eastern textile evidence. The textile impressions on clay from Ĝarmō (c. 7000 BC) also include an impression of a basket weave-based textile.

281 Crowfoot 1995, 113–114 with fig. 2b, 117 (Tomb 1, fragment no. 2a).

282 For an introduction to carpets in the Ancient Near Eastern evidence, see Völling 2008, 173–196 with further literature. See also Völling 2011–13, 592b–594b and Waetzoldt 2011–13, 591b–592b.

royal palaces during the 8th and the 7th centuries BC,²⁸³ clearly show that finely elaborated fringed carpets of various dimensions, characterized by floral and geometrical designs, adorned the entrances and rooms of the royal residences in Assyria.²⁸⁴ It is reasonable to think that the carpets carved in these Neo-Assyrian stone slabs represent the luxury version of common carpets and rugs used in domestic milieus of middle and lower social strata of the Assyrian population. Another piece of evidence is given by wall paintings. One peculiar element of the extant wall paintings from Til Barsip is the organization of the visual space with a central field showing the prominent decorative motifs and decorated borders separated by narrow bands around this area.²⁸⁵ Albenda sees this arrangement of visual space in Til Barsip wall paintings as a characteristic of carpet designs and concludes that analogous designs were used by Neo-Assyrian artisans in contemporary carpets and other textile products.²⁸⁶ As in the past societies of the Near East, carpets and tapestry are polyvalent textiles: they provide warmth and comfort to the environment (walls and floor), making it more pleasant thanks to its colours and patterns.²⁸⁷ Consumption of carpets seems to have concerned both sedentary and nomadic groups, thanks to the availability of the materials used for its production (wool, goat hair) to upper and lower social groups.²⁸⁸ Concerning the use of carpets in 2nd and 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia, the Akkadian terminology on carpet manufacture is not fully understood.²⁸⁹ As previously observed, the *kāširu* was probably one of the specialists involved in knotting or carpet making.²⁹⁰ A Middle Assyrian inventory text from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta (Tulūl al-‘Aqir) mentions decorated *mardutus*, perhaps carpets, tapestries or curtains, as the product of the activity carried out by *ušpārus* and *kāširus*.²⁹¹ That the *kāširu* produced *mardutus* is also evident from a text

283 Albenda 1978, 5. According to Albenda, this interest for carpet-like decorations of doorways grew especially during the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC.

284 On the stone threshold slabs from royal palaces imitating woven floor coverings, see Albenda 1978, 1–34.

285 Another kind of carpet-like decoration from the Neo-Assyrian period comes from Esarhad-don’s throne room in Nimrud. It is characterized by a central area with large circles and incurved squares framed by bands of rosettes and lotus-and-bud garlands. See Albenda 1978, 5 and fig. 3.

286 Albenda 2005, 131.

287 Bier 1995, 1568.

288 Bier 1995, 1569.

289 For introductory remarks on the attestations for carpets and tapestry manufacture in Sumerian and Akkadian written sources, see Waetzoldt 2011–13, 591b–592b.

290 Good 2007, 147. See also Ahmad, Postgate 2007, 67 ad no. 51 r.8: “carpet-maker”.

291 VAT 16462 r. iii 27’, 32’–33’ (AfO 18 [1957–58], 306). See comments in Barrelet 1977, 56–58; Lassen 2010, 278–279; Smith 2013, 169–172; Postgate 2014, 407.

from Assur concerning two such items, which belonged to the temple of Ištar.²⁹² If pile carpets were produced in the Assyrian workshops, it is possible that artisans involved in this activity made large use of knives to cut threads of piled carpet weaves.²⁹³

The carpet weaving activity has been connected by some scholars to a category of Neo-Assyrian craftsmen called *ḥundurāius*,²⁹⁴ although this is still disputed.²⁹⁵ These artisans were based in the *Außenhaken* area of the northwest part of the city of Assur and their place of origin was the land called Ḥundur/Ḥundir, a region populated by Medes in the Zagros area. Once that these people were fully integrated in the society and economy of the city of Assur, the term *ḥundurāiu* started to indicate their occupation. Since the *ḥundurāius* of Assur actively operated in the overland caravan trade, it is possible, although not confirmed, that they were involved in import of textiles from the Zagros area, especially from their homeland, maybe taking advantage of their old family connections.²⁹⁶ Further evidence is needed to identify their professional activity in Assyria. The specialized artisans in charge of producing carpets for palaces and temples of Assyria were not only needed to produce these valuable commodities knot by knot, perhaps using vertical or ground looms,²⁹⁷ but also to repair them. Another Assyrian document of the 2nd millennium BC mentions textiles and carpets belonging to Ištar of Arbela, presumably used to decorate the interior of the local sanctuary, which needed to be repaired.²⁹⁸

From a technical point of view, it is not clear whether the Assyrian carpets were tapestry woven or knotted. Following Postgate's interpretation, the Assyrian carpets or tapestries were knotted or pile textiles, not woven textiles. Instead,

292 MARV III, 8 r.31'–32', 33'–34', 35'. See Postgate 2014, 407 for comments.

293 Bronze and iron knives possibly related to pile carpet manufacture were found in the site of Gordion. See Burke 2010, 120 and fig. 65. However, no such tools for pile carpet making have been discovered in Mesopotamia. See Dalley 1991, 118 for discussion.

294 NATAPA 1, 23:2; 54 e.1'; 35:9; App. 2, Ass. 9573b:2; SAA 13, 41:6; SAA 20, 55:17; StAT 3, 73:9. In some texts, the same profession is known as *ḥarḥarāiu*, "Harharean", see NATAPA 1, 28:3; StAT 3, 73:7. For the *rab ḥundurāiu*, "chief hundurean", see NATAPA 1, 21:2; 22 r.18; 35:8; 39 r.7; 52 r.6; App. 2, Ass. 9573e B:8'.

295 For the interpretation of the *ḥundurāius* as craftsmen specialized in weaving activities, see Fales, Jakob-Rost 1991, 23–24. See, most recently, Radner 2007, 196 for the hypothesis that these craftsmen fabricated carpets.

296 For this opinion, see Radner 2007, 196.

297 Ellis 1976, 76–77.

298 MARV III, 8 r.35'–36'.

woven textiles were the product of the *ušpanu*'s work.²⁹⁹ However, if we look at the extant archaeological evidence, it seems that two tapestries techniques are documented in the Ancient Near East: the *soumak*-technique and the *kilim*-technique.³⁰⁰ The *soumak* is a weft-wrapping technique characterized by the use of a weft that proceeds with a successive forward-backward movement, resulting in a fabric with a supplementary texture in the weave.³⁰¹ The *kilim*, also called flat-weave, is a nonpile woven fabric that is coarser than cloth; it is characterized by a weft-faced plain weave.³⁰² In pile carpets, the foundation is obscured by a raised surface formed by loops of yarn that project from the fabric.³⁰³ Knotting is another important technique employed to fabricate carpets. It consists in manipulating various elements by tying alternate pairs together.³⁰⁴ In knotted-pile carpets the knots are wrapped around the warps between the foundation wefts and cut. The resulting cut ends form the pile and create the carpet's design.³⁰⁵ The types of knots used, the knot density and the pile height are features that affect the structure, design and quality of carpets.³⁰⁶ In light of the extant archaeological evidence, we may state that the *kilim*-technique was known in Syria in the 2nd half of the 2nd millennium BC, as confirmed by the mineralised textile remains discovered in Qatna (Tell Mishrife).³⁰⁷ This technique also characterizes one of the textile fragments found in the Phrygian city of Gordion (10th–9th century BC).³⁰⁸ The attested techniques imply that carpets were produced

299 See Postgate 2014, 407. For the suggestion that the use of pile carpets spurred the interest in representing stone versions of carpets in Assyrian palace reliefs since the second half of the 8th century BC, see Albenda 1978, 1. Doubts on the possibility that pile carpets were known in Mesopotamia were expressed in Dalley 1991, 118.

300 Völling 2011–13, 593ab. The textile fragments discovered at Kaman Kalehöyük (Turkey) are dated to the 19th/18th century BC and represent the earliest attestation of the *soumak*-technique.

301 Barber 1991, 128; Bier 1995, 1573; Völling 2008, 293–294 and figs. 34–35.

302 Bier 1995, 1572; Völling 2008, 292–293 and figs. 29–32.

303 Bier 1995, 1573.

304 Bier 1995, 1572.

305 See Ittig 1990 at iranicaonline.org/articles/carpets-iii (accessed in January 2017).

306 In knotted-pile carpets, the basic types of knots are the symmetrical and the asymmetrical. The symmetrical knot was called “Ghiordes knot” or “Turkish knot” (Turkish: *Gördes düğümü*, Persian: *torkibāf*), while the asymmetrical was known as the “Persian” or “Senna knot” (Persian: *fārsibāf*). On knot types in Persian carpet manufacture, see Ittig 1990. The pile is trimmed both during the fabrication process and at the end of it. In Persian carpet-making, finishers use offset scissors (*qeyčī*) and a sharp trimming knife (*kārdak*) to reduce the pile. See *ibidem*.

307 Matthews *et al.* 2009, 1112–1113 and fig. 3.

308 Mentioned in Völling 2011–13, 593b (Fabric G). The textile fragments discovered in Gordion are discussed in Burke 2010, 153–157. However, “Fabric G” is not qualified as *kilim* by Burke (see *ibidem*, 157), who identifies the weave structure of some of the Gordion remains as *soumak*, not

since the 2nd millennium BC.³⁰⁹ We can therefore conclude that *kilim*-carpets from Syrian and Anatolian regions reached Assyria thanks to political, military and trade contacts with these areas and that Assyrian textile artisans of the 2nd and 1st millennium BC knew this technique. The visual evidence of what can be identified as carpets in Neo-Assyrian art seems to point to a western origin of these textiles,³¹⁰ at least those acquired as tribute or booty, as we will discuss below. But this is probably due to the scarcity of visual and written sources documenting the provenance of the high-quality textiles of foreign origin consumed in Assyria.

In all likelihood, among the luxury artefacts produced in Assyria or in adjacent countries dominated by the Assyrians and that reached the Aegean world during the phase of political dominion of the Neo-Assyrian Empire there were also carpets and other textiles. As already observed by Dalley, certain decorative designs of the Near Eastern textile art, such as lotuses and palmettes, that are widely attested in Neo-Assyrian (stone replicas of contemporary) carpets and that we also find in Greek ceramics, probably inspired Greek artists.³¹¹ The fact that multicoloured and finely-decorated textiles are often referred to as Assyrian or Babylonian in works of Classical authors confirms that the Mesopotamian textile manufacture was highly esteemed in the Western world,³¹² although it is reasonable to think that Classical writers had little or no knowledge at all about the manufacture centres that produced those lavish textiles in the Mesopotamian area; in addition, the two regions were usually confused in the Classical period.³¹³ It is interesting to observe that the Roman poet Publius Papinius Statius (1st century AD) in his work *Thebaid* makes an explicit reference to Assyrian carpets or analogous tapestry products.³¹⁴ This demonstrates that the production of

kilim. According to Burke, examples of *soumak* were only found in the Citadel Mound, not in the burials. See Burke 2010, 154.

309 Völling 2011–13, 593b.

310 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 54 (the land of Suḫi [the middle Euphrates zone]); Tubb 2014, 136 fig. 44a-b (Phoenicia [Lebanon]); Albenda 1978, 2 (Unqi [the Amuq plain in northern Syria]).

311 Dalley 2016, 190.

312 Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, V, 12, 4) mentions the “Assyrian weaving”, while Plinius (*Naturalis Historia*, VIII, 196) observes that weaving with multicoloured threads was peculiar to Babylonia. Babylonian fabrics were renowned in the Roman period, as witnessed by Lucretius in his work (*De rerum natura*, IV, 1029, 1123). See the discussion in Barrelet 1977, 89 and Dalley 2016, 232.

313 See Polinger Foster 2004, 212 with previous literature on the topic.

314 Statius, *Thebaid*, II, 2, 89–92: *Nox ea cum tacita volucer Cyllenius aura regis Echionii stratis adlapsus, ubi ingens fuderat Assyriis extracta tapetibus alto membra toro*, “Era dunque quella la notte in cui il rapido dio di Cillene scivolò dal cielo silenzioso nella camera dove il sovrano di

these luxury textiles in Mesopotamia continued until the Roman Age and that these products were appreciated in the West.

Various specialized weavers operated in the Assyrian textile workshops, one of whom was probably the *mubarrimu*.³¹⁵ This profession has been connected in some dictionaries with the operation of dyeing,³¹⁶ but the derivation of the professional title from the verb *burrumu*, “twine in several colours”,³¹⁷ makes clear that this craftsman probably fabricated woven textiles from threads or cloth parts of different colours. Since the use of threads of different colours was presumably not limited to this specialist weaver, it is reasonable to think that his work had to do with the production of a specific kind of fabric characterized by a multicoloured pattern. In addition to the use of yarns of different colour, it is possible that ornamental patterns for textiles could also be determined by other elements affecting yarn and, consequently, the weave, such as spin directions as well as variations in thickness.

Another profession possibly involved in weaving or in other textile-related operations for the needs of the palace was the *kāmidu*,³¹⁸ a *nomen professionis* intended to refer to knitting and carpet-making in AEAD.³¹⁹ Following CAD, the activity in question has been interpreted as having to do with a special technique of weaving.³²⁰ In Mari, the *ša kimdim* procedure resulted in tightly-woven textiles.³²¹ However, Old Babylonian occurrences of the *kāmidu* indicate that he prepared a special textile which, according to CAD, was possibly a coarsely woven fabric that was teased or matted.³²² In the light of these contradictory interpretations and because of the scanty evidence about this profession, a clear-cut definition of this designation cannot be given here, although a suggestion can be attempted. As far as the Neo-Assyrian evidence is concerned, the verb *kamādu*³²³ is attested in a letter sent by Nabû-bēl-šumāti, an official operating in Babylonia, to King Sargon. Whilst the tablet is fragmentary, it is clear that

Tebe aveva abbandonato il corpo immenso su un alto letto, sprofondato su una montagna di cuscini assiri.” (trans. Micozzi 2010, 51). See Barrelet 1977, 89 for discussion.

315 MSL 12, 238 r. ii 14.

316 CAD M/II, 158b: “dyer”; AEAD, 66a: “polychrome dyer”. But see AHw, 665b: “Buntweber” and CDA, 214a: “worker of coloured textiles”.

317 CAD B, 103b s.v. *barāmu* B 2.

318 MSL 12, 233 ii 14'; 238 r. ii 27.

319 AEAD, 45b. See also Parpola 2008, 92 fn. 166: “carpet-knotter” and Good 2007, 147.

320 In CAD K, 121a the lemma is generically intended as denoting “a craftsman making a special type of woven cloth”.

321 See CAD K, 372a s.v. *kimdu*; Durand 2009, 128.

322 CAD K, 121b.

323 CAD K, 108b.

the sender is informing the king about the progress of work assigned to some specialized textile workers. The qualification of these artisans is not indicated in the text, but their activity is expressed through the verbs *le'û*, “to be able”, and *kamādu*.³²⁴ The subsequent lines in the letter clarify that these specialists treated items of clothing, not carpets.³²⁵ Lackenbacher interprets the activity expressed by the verb *kamādu* not as a weaving technique, but as *foulage à la main*,³²⁶ a suggestion that fits well with the Mari attestations of the qualification *ša kindim* and the hypothesis that the operation in question refers to tightly woven felted textiles used for furniture.³²⁷ We can therefore conclude that the Neo-Assyrian textile artisans mentioned in Nabû-bêl-šumâti's letter were probably in charge of a very specialized finishing operation concerning heavily woven garments that can be explained as some kind of felting; presumably, they matted the surface of the garments in order to make the weave of the fibres denser and stronger.

Material evidence for looms and consequently for textile workshops is scarce in Mesopotamia. It is hard for archaeologists to identify textile weaving installations, since mud brick architectures are generally not sufficiently well preserved to enable them to recognize holes in the ground and on the walls.³²⁸ The horizontal ground loom is considered to be the oldest type of loom and the one commonly used in Mesopotamia,³²⁹ while the warp-weighted loom probably originated in the northern part of the Fertile Crescent.³³⁰ It is not certain when the upright loom was introduced into Mesopotamia, but it may have been in use in the 2nd millennium BC for tapestry weaving.³³¹ In terms of the tools used by the Neo-Assyrian weavers, the archaeological evidence of spherical clay loom weights and the remains of carbonised wood from what had probably

324 SAA 17, 11 r.1–2 [x x i-]e-’u-û-ma / [i-kâ]m¹-ma-du-šû-nu-ti, “[... they will we]ave them competently”.

325 SAA 17, 11 r.3–8 k[i]-i LUGAL be-lî-a ḥa-du-û / liš-pu-ram-ma / šá šu-ba-a-ti / lik¹-mu-du-û-ma / a-na pa-an LUGAL be-lî-ia / liš-šu-û-ni, “If the king, my lord, wishes, let him write to me, so they will weave the garments and bring them to the king, my lord.”

326 Lackenbacher 1982, 141–142.

327 See the discussion in Wasserman 2013, 264–265. See also the Old Babylonian dialogue *At the Cleaners*, where the client demands that his garment be treated in the washing procedure like a heavily woven cloth. See *ibidem*, 274–275, l. 11.

328 On this aspect, see Breniquet 2014, 71–72.

329 Barber 1991, 83, 124; Good 2007, 146.

330 Barber 1991, 91.

331 Good 2007, 147.

been a loom from the Neo-Assyrian site of Khirbet Khatunyah³³² confirms that warp-weighted vertical looms were in use in Assyria.³³³ This type of loom used loom weights to keep the warp threads taut; the knowledge of this technology was probably acquired by the Assyrians during the Bronze Age, when the Assyrian textile trade in Anatolia exposed them to the Anatolian weaving technology. Other remains of looms have been found in the “Red House” of Dūr-Katlimmu, a garrison and agricultural town on the Ḫābūr River. In this case, the remains discovered along the walls of the courtyards of the “Red House” must have belonged to horizontal looms used by textile workers employed in Šulmu-šarri’s household.³³⁴ In the same building the archive of this high-ranking official lived during the reign of Assurbanipal was excavated.³³⁵ The looms were probably used by the numerous female slaves acquired by Šulmu-šarri to meet the internal demand of textiles of his household and perhaps also for export; the wool required for his domestic textile workshop was probably provided by pastoralists who exploited the adjacent area of the Jezirah to graze their flocks.³³⁶

The two different sets of elements involved in weaving are the warp and the weft, namely a static thread system and a movable perpendicular thread system.³³⁷ The basic woven textile is produced by interlacing these thread systems. Warping, an operation that consists of setting up the yarn on the loom, is only documented in lexical lists: the verbs used for this operation are *dēpu*³³⁸ and *šatû*.³³⁹ The evidence about warp and weft in Akkadian is very meagre: words for warp are *dēpu*, attested in ḪAR-ra = *hubullu* XIX,³⁴⁰ and *šutû*, documented in Old Assyrian texts and from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Babylonian period.³⁴¹ Another interesting term is *bittum*, which occurs in association with *šutûm*

332 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).

333 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.

334 Radner 2017, 220.

335 Radner 2017, 220.

336 Radner 2017, 220. As observed by Radner, in a time-span of thirty years Šulmu-šarri bought a huge number of slaves. Legal documents from his archive clearly show that of more than fifty slaves purchased by him two-thirds were women.

337 See Barber 1991, 79.

338 CAD D, 129a s.v.

339 CAD Š/II, 217b s.v. *šatû* B.

340 Hh XIX 225. See CAD D, 129a s.v.

341 CAD Š/III, 408a s.v. *šutû* A.

both in the Old Babylonian text *At the Cleaners* and in a Mari letter. In the literary text dealing with washing, the terms *šutûm* and *bittum* occur in the context of brushing clothes, an operation performed after washing in order to stretch them to their original size, undertaken by carefully brushing the article of clothing horizontally, along the weft.³⁴² In the Mari letter, however, *šutûm* and *bittum* are mentioned as the constituent parts of a high-quality cloth that had to be beautifully woven and knitted by the king's weavers.³⁴³ The word *bittum* was therefore used in Babylonian to indicate the weft.³⁴⁴ The Neo-Assyrian terminology about warp and weft is unknown at present.³⁴⁵ In the light of the poor evidence about Neo-Assyrian weaving tools, it is hard to draw conclusive observations on the end products fabricated by the Assyrian weavers. As regards to warp-weighted loom technology, for example, experimental textile research has shown that the size of the loom weights affects the type of fabric produced with them. As observed by Andersson Strand, thin threads need less warp tension and, consequently, small light loom weights are best suited for producing fabrics with thinner threads. In contrast, larger and heavier loom weights were probably preferred when producing coarser fabrics, since thicker threads require more warp tension.³⁴⁶ The correlation between type of loom weights and type of fibre is another factor to take into consideration in warp-weighted loom weaving. In fact, linen threads require more tension than wool threads, since linen yarn is less elastic than wool yarn.³⁴⁷ Accordingly, we can therefore conclude that with lighter loom weights, such as the ones found at Khirbet Khatunyeh, fine fabrics made of thinner threads were produced by the local weavers. Perhaps, various high-quality textiles mentioned in Neo-Assyrian sources were fabricated—in Assyria as well as in foreign countries—with looms characterized by similar light loom weights. Analogous conclusions can be made as regards small-size types of loom weights discovered in sites of Near Eastern areas that were reached by the Assyrian military expansion and from which textiles were imported into As-

342 Wasserman 2013, 265–266 and 274, l. 12.

343 Durand 1997, 136, 274. For discussion on this letter, see Wasserman 2013, 265.

344 Although CAD B, 282a translates the term as “(wool) left (outdoors) overnight” on the basis of an erroneous etymology. The same etymology is also given in CDA, 46b. But see the remarks given in Wasserman 2013, 265 and fn. 71.

345 In AEAD, 120a the word *šutû*, translated by Parpola and Whiting as “woven material, warp”, is qualified as an obsolete term, not in use in the Neo-Assyrian period. Also note that AEAD, 77b interprets the word *nîru*, “yoke”, also as a designation for weft. However, this meaning is not attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus and is suggested from a comparison with Aramaic.

346 Andersson Strand 2015, 53.

347 Andersson Strand 2015, 53.

syria in the form of tribute or booty. The small-size loom weights found at Tell Tayinat, a site located at the southern edge of Amuq plain and identified with Kunulua, capital of the kingdom of Patina/Unqi, witness to a well-developed local textile manufacture that continued during the phase of Assyrian dominion. High-quality textiles produced in this site, presumably with textile tools analogous to those discovered, contributed to the Assyria's income in textiles during the 9th and 8th centuries BC.³⁴⁸

Among the items found at Khirbet Khatunyah were also a wooden object, possibly a weaver's "shuttle"³⁴⁹ 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".³⁵⁰ We cannot exclude that the operation of untying knots accidentally created in the fabric during weaving could also be performed using bone spatulas.³⁵¹ Other weaving tools from this site comprised clay spindle-whorls³⁵² and a copper alloy needle.³⁵³ In all likelihood, all these items were common equipment for textile artisans of the Neo-Assyrian period also in the textile workshops of the major cities of the Assyrian heartland, but we do not know how Assyrian textile artisans referred to them.³⁵⁴ Two gold needles were also discovered in one of the Nimrud queens'

348 Lumb 2014, 148.

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

350 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.

351 Cf. Doyen 1986, 47–51.

352 Curtis, Green 1997, 21 and fig. 25 (nos. 90–92).

353 Curtis, Green 1997, 21 and fig. 25 (no. 87). The needle, long 7.5 cm with diameter of shank 0.15 cm, has a very fine shank and a small eye. The length of the eye is 0.25 cm.

354 Terms for needle in Akkadian are *pulukku*, *gubru*, *katātu*, *dalū* and the synonym *šillū*. None of these is attested in Neo-Assyrian texts. AEAD, 84b translates the word *pulukku* with "needle", although it more probably indicated a drill. See CAD P, 511a s.v. *pulukku* 3. The term *gubru* denotes both a needle and a spit and occurs in lexical lists, see CAD G, 118b s.v. *gubru* B, while *katātu* is used in a literary text as a synonym of *šillū*. See CAD K, 304a for references. For the word *hiššānu* as a term for needle attested in a lexical list, see CDA, 117b. The words *dalū* and *šillū* are also attested in lexical lists. See CAD D, 56a s.v. *dalū* A and CAD Š, 193b s.v. *sillū* A 2. It is possible that these designations indicated dimensional varieties of needles, to be used for different purposes. The attestations of these terms in Akkadian texts are, however, too scant to reach any conclusive observation about the use of needles in Mesopotamian textile manufacture. The only exception is given by the Old Babylonian literary text *At the Cleaners*, that shows that *šillum* indicated the needle to be used in repairing the damaged fabric of cleaned garments after laundering. See Wasserman 2013, 271, 274 l. 20.

tombs (Tomb 2) among various gold ornaments and grave goods;³⁵⁵ presumably, they were imitations in gold of the copper alloy needles commonly used by the Assyrian textile artisans in the 8th century BC. The presence of needles in female burials is not surprising, since textile tools, above all spindles, are often included among women's grave goods.³⁵⁶

For other tools used by textile workers, however, some suggestions can be made. Terms for the loom and its parts are not attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, but are present in the lexical lists and in other periods of Akkadian documentation. It seems that looms were designated in Akkadian by their material, namely *išu*, “wood”, and that tamarisk wood was the common material used for this purpose.³⁵⁷ 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 the different components of the loom is extremely difficult since the occurrences are predominantly attested in, if not exclusively limited to, lexical sources (above all, the lexical series *ḪAR-ra* = *ḫubullu*) which do not reflect the terminology used in the everyday spoken language. It is in any case worth noting that the authors or compilers of Akkadian lexical lists show a strong interest in designations for parts of doors, while neglecting or only rarely taking into consideration words relating to looms or other textile tools. I wonder whether other Akkadian terms currently interpreted by scholars as designations for doors or door parts are actually terms referring to looms or related tools.

We can reconsider the Akkadian terminology in the light of what we know about the horizontal ground loom and the vertical loom. The *asû* (*esû*), for which an upper (*elû*) and a lower (*šaplû*) variety are known,³⁵⁸ probably refers to the heddle-bar and the shed-bar of the vertical loom and to the front and back beams in the horizontal loom.³⁵⁹ The words *ḫabbiru*, literally “the noisy one” (from the verb *ḫabāru*, “to be noisy”),³⁶⁰ and *madakku*, literally “the crush-

355 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 266; Hussein 2016, 22, 85 and pl. 81e (IM 105918–105919 = ND 1989.64a-b). Of the two needles, one is bent and is long 7.4 cm (IM 105919 = ND 1989.64b). The length of the straight one (IM 105918 = ND 1989.64a) is 6.8 cm. Only the combined weight of the two needles is given in Hussein 2016, 85.

356 See Schneider 1987, 411.

357 Joannès 2001e, 856. The use of tamarisk wood for looms and other weaving tools is suggested by the literary work *Tamarisk and Date Palm*. See Lambert 1960, 156, IM 53975 r.5 and *passim* and CAD B, s.v. *bīnu* A d 2'.

358 CAD A/II, 347b s.v. *asû* B.

359 Probably corresponding to the *rās en-nōl* and *qā' en-nōl* of the horizontal loom used by Bedouins today. See Staubli 2012, 91 fig. 85.

360 CAD Ḫ, 14b translates the term as “wool-lever”.

ing one” (from the verb *dakāku*, “to crush”),³⁶¹ probably refer to the weft-beater. The item referred to as the *nīru*, literally “the yoke, crossbeam”,³⁶² could be identified with the shed-bar,³⁶³ while the *nanšû* (variant *maššû*) could be the heddle-bar.³⁶⁴ Giving the meaning of *akaiû* (*kaiû*) as a stick for driving donkeys,³⁶⁵ it is possible that this term refers to the sharp pointed stick or spatula used by the weaver as a beater. The word *mukānu* (from the verb *kānu*, “to be firm”?)³⁶⁶ could well represent the shed-bar. Words for “shuttle” or bobbin are (*w*)*āšītu*, literally “that which goes out”,³⁶⁷ *mušabbītu*,³⁶⁸ *šīšītu* – of which a large (*rabītu*), a small (*šihirtu*), a *ša paršikti* and a strong (*puggultu*) variety are used³⁶⁹—and *ukû*.³⁷⁰ Alternatively, it is possible that the word *šīšītu* refers to the harness or the heddle of the loom.³⁷¹ Unfortunately, we do not know how all of these weaving tools were termed in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC since the authors of the records registering textiles, namely the scribes employed in the administrative sector of the state, were apparently not interested in the everyday tools used by artisans in the workshops.

The heads of the teams of weavers and knotters working for the Palace were respectively the *rab ušpāri*, “chief weaver”,³⁷² and the *rab kāširi*, which probably meant “chief knitter”.³⁷³ In some cases, the connection of these professionals to

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

362 CAD N/II, 263b s.v. *nīru* A 3b.

363 In Syriac, the word *nirā*, “yoke”, is also used to indicate the weaver’s beam. See Sokoloff 2009, 916a. In the horizontal loom, still used by Arabic-speaking nomads in present-day Middle East, the loom’s “yoke” is called *minjar*. See Staubli 2012, 91 fig. 85.

364 The dictionaries suggest that this loom part was the “lever”. See CAD N/I, 261b. For *maššû* see CAD M/I, 390b s.v. *maššû* A 2.

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

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

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

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

369 See CAD Š, 214b in lexical section. For the translation of *šīšītu* as “shuttle” see CDA, 339b. The choice of the type of shuttle or bobbin was probably determined by the type of thread and the finished textile that had to be produced with it.

370 CAD U-W, 58a. Interestingly, in the literary work *The Exaltation of Inanna* (RA 12, 74:1), a simile compares the “arrow” (*uššu*) which “pierces (*mušaqqir*) heart and lungs” with the “shuttle” or “bobbin” (*ukû*), which “goes back and forth” (*lištaddih*). See *ibidem* (lexical section).

371 CAD Š, 214b.

372 SAA 6, 90 r.10 (LÚ.GAL—UŠ.BAR.ME); 163 r.14'; 190:5. All the chief weavers—Arbailāiu, Zēr-Issār and Urdā—are attested in documents of the first half of the 7th century BC (reign of Senacherib).

373 ABL 571:10; ADW 18:18; CTN 2, 51 r.9; MSL 12, 233 ii 16'; 238 r. i 30, 32; ND 2328 r.20 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 43); ND 2330 r.15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 43); ND 5448 r.29 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); SAA 3,

the palace households is clearly stated in the texts. The household of the Assyrian queen had its own textile workers. In a document regarding the purchase of a weaver to a priest of Ninurta, the owners of the man being sold are two brothers, sons of Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the queen (*ušpāru ša issi ekalli*).³⁷⁴ The *ušpāru* bought by the priest was expected to work for the temple of Ninurta at Kalḫu. The weaver of the queen worked in the textile workshop of the queen's household and probably had his own staff of assistants and apprentices. Another individual of the royal court, called Šamaš-na'id, bears a similar title in a document concerning the survey of a large estate being sold: he is referred to as the weaver of the queen's palace (*ušpāru ša bēt issi ekalli*).³⁷⁵ Textile workers engaged in weaving activity for the Assyrian temples are documented. In a barley loan document from Nimrud a certain Na'dî is attested as *ušpāru* of the Nabû temple at Kalḫu.³⁷⁶ We also know that there were palace weavers working for the magnates of the Assyrian Empire, as witnessed by an epistle regarding wool to be supplied to weavers.³⁷⁷ Furthermore, a weaver belonging to the vizier's household, called Lā-tubāšanni-ilu, is named as a witness in a Ninevite contract.³⁷⁸ Weavers were also employed in the household of the commander-in-chief, as may be seen in the case of Ubru-ilāni and Bēl-issē'a from Kalḫu.³⁷⁹ Palace knotters are mentioned in contracts from Assur³⁸⁰ and Nineveh.³⁸¹ A chief knotter of the king of Babylonia figure in a fragmentary letter sent to Assurbani-pal.³⁸² From a document from Assur we learn that an individual called Šumma-Aššur was linked to the supreme Assyrian god;³⁸³ this means that he worked for the Aššur Temple. The man called Sukkāia is referred to as the *kāširu ša issi*

20 r.4, 6; SAA 5, 91:3; SAA 7, 126:5; SAA 14, 2 r.2'; 229:5'; SAA 16, 63 r.16; 76 r.4; SAA 17, 150:11; SAA 18, 21:12, r.2; 123 r.6, 10, 11; 157:7, 8; 168 r.1; 178:2.

374 SAA 12, 94:3. This document is dated to the 17th(?) day of the month Du'ūzu, in the eponymy of Zabāba-erība (637 BC).

375 SAA 11, 222:11–12. Although the date is lost, the document can be dated to the late 8th century or later, since estates of the time of Tiglath-pileser III are mentioned.

376 ND 5448 r.21 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII). It is possible that he is the same individual who acts as a witness for Iddināia, a priest of Ninurta who buys an *ušpār birmi* for his temple. See SAA 12, 94 s.2 and PNA 2/II, 915a s.v. *Na'dî* 3–4.

377 SAA 16, 83:7–8.

378 SAA 6, 19 r.11'.

379 CTN 2, 91 e.35–36.

380 NATAPA 2, 75 r.32; StAT 2, 169:2 (LÚ.ka-šir ša É.GAL—MAN).

381 SAA 6, 91 r.2'. See also O 3695:1–2 for an individual called Kalḫāiu, *kāširu* of the Palace from the town of Ma'allanate. See PNA 2/I, 599b s.v. *Kalḫāiu* 2.

382 SAA 18, 168 r.1'.

383 NATAPA 2, 71:3 LÚ*.KA.ʾKÉŠ' šá aš-šur.

ēkalli, “knotter of the queen”, in a document from Nimrud dated to 656 BC.³⁸⁴ Other specialists trained in the art of *kāširūtu* were employed in the households of various state officials. For example, the individual called [...]mudammīq was the *kāširu* and servant of the governor of Kalḫu, while the men Gidgiddānu and Sūsī did the same job for the deputy of the governor of Kalḫu.³⁸⁵ This was also the occupation of NA₄.ŠÚ-aḫu-iddina and Ḫuṭusu, who worked for the palace supervisor of the same city.³⁸⁶

In addition, legal documents from private archives show that many weavers were purchased by high state officials and entrepreneurs, and were employed in the households of their masters.³⁸⁷ State-owned weavers did not only perform their work in their workshops, but had to move to other cities whenever their service for the Palace was required. This may be seen in a letter from the reign of Esarhaddon that mentions weavers of Ištar of Arbela, presumably a team of high-specialized *ušpārus*, who had to move to Kurbail to do their work.³⁸⁸ This means that the *iškāru*-system, under which the Palace commissioned the fabrication of textiles to these artisans, required a certain degree of mobility on the part of these people. Only rarely are we informed about the textiles produced by the Assyrian weavers mentioned in the texts, such as in the case of an undated record of various goods from Nineveh, in which three articles of clothing—one *ša-IŠ* garment and two *zazabtu*-textiles—are associated with the name of a certain Ešrāyu, the weaver employed at the royal court in Nineveh who presumably fabricated them.³⁸⁹

We also know that the weaving activity was performed by women, as confirmed by attestations of the professional title *ušpārtu*, “female weaver”.³⁹⁰ In fact, dependent women working for the Palace are documented both in royal letters and in administrative texts. In a letter sent by the crown prince Sennacherib to Sargon, the king’s female weavers (*ušpārāti ša šarri*) are mentioned as being the only ones who can select the wool brought by the envoys of Kummuḫ—a region corresponding to Classical Commagene—to the Assyrian king as a tribute.³⁹¹

384 ND 5448:2 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII) LÚ.KA.KĒŠ ša MÍ—É.GAL.

385 ADW 51 r.8–9; SAA 6, 31 r.23–24.

386 CTN 2, 4 r.12–14.

387 See the purchase documents ADW 9; SAA 6, 301; SAA 12, 94.

388 SAA 16, 84 r.8–11 LÚ*.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ / ša ^d15 ša URU.arba-il / il-la-ku-u-ni / ina URU.kur-ba¹-il ep-pu-šú, “The weavers of Ištar of Arbela will come (and) make (garments) in Kurbail.”

389 SAA 7, 172 r.8–10. See also the preceding lines (*ibidem*, 6–7), where four items of clothing are mentioned in association with another individual, perhaps another weaver(?).

390 SAA 1, 33 e.24; SAA 11, 169 r.4; SAA 12, 63:7'. For Middle Assyrian attestations of female weavers, see, e.g., Billa 61:10 (JCS 7 [1953], 135, 166); MARV III, 5:4'-r.33', 38'-39'.

391 SAA 1, 33:19–r.3.

Evidently the expertise of these royal female weavers regarding wool qualities was not only highly esteemed, but also well known outside Assyria. Another female weaver is mentioned in an Assurbanipal schedule together with other individuals.³⁹² Foreign women also worked as weavers in the palace household. In fact, an administrative document listing Egyptian deportees and their possessions mentions four female weavers,³⁹³ of whom only the name of Eša-rṭeše is preserved.³⁹⁴ Female war captives from regions invaded by the Assyrian army were regularly taken to Assyria. Here they were sold as slaves and in such a role entered the households of members of the Assyrian elite (high-ranking state officials and businessmen), where they were employed in the domestic textile workshop as spinners and weavers.³⁹⁵ Another dependent female weaver, called [...] -Issār, is mentioned in a fragment of schedule to a grant of the reign of Assurbanipal.³⁹⁶ The employment of foreign women in the Assyrian textile manufacture is also documented in texts of the Middle Assyrian period, which show that the palace weavers also included people of Kassite and Hurrian origin, most likely deportees.³⁹⁷ The employment of male and female deportees from various conquered regions in the local textile manufacture characterized the economic systems of other ancient Near Eastern states, for instance the Mari kingdom, where female deportees were assigned to work with wool.³⁹⁸ We also know that weaving activities performed by female weavers in Assyria were supervised by other women. A Neo-Assyrian astrological report informs us that a certain Damqâ was given female weavers to supervise.³⁹⁹ Female supervision of weavers is also attested in the 2nd-millennium BC. In a Middle Assyrian list of textiles and female weavers (detailed below) the groups of women are followed

392 SAA 12, 63:7'.

393 SAA 11, 169 r.1–4.

394 SAA 11, 169 r.3. See PNA 1/II, 407a.

395 This can be surmised in the light of the numerous female slaves mentioned in Neo-Assyrian legal documents. Perhaps, this was also the destiny of female war captives such as the Elamite woman and her young daughter taken from Elam to Assyria presumably after the sack of Susa in 646 BC and mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian sale document from Assur (Faist 2009, 59–69). As many other slaves, also these women were probably employed in the domestic textile workshop of her owner and spent the rest of their lives in spinning and weaving activities. See Radner 2017, 224.

396 SAA 12, 63:7'.

397 Hurrian names are frequent both among weavers and chiefs of weavers, see Jakob 2003, 412–416 and fn. 6 for references. Three Kassite weavers are documented in a list of barley rations, see MARV III, 3 r.59–61. Note that in Jakob 2003, 413 the attestation referring to the third Kassite weaver Ili-Adad has been omitted.

398 Michel 2014a, 244.

399 SAA 8, 305 r.6–8.

by a chief female weaver.⁴⁰⁰ It should be pointed out that the role of women in the textile industry was deeply rooted in social and economic history of Assyria. As already mentioned, in the Old Assyrian period women of the city of Assur were directly involved in producing textiles for export and sale by Assyrian merchants in the Assyrian trade outposts of Anatolia. We are informed of an institutional textile industry managed by the palace's central administration by texts of the Middle Assyrian period. A three-columned list of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1233–1197 BC) from Assur records garments in association with quantities of wool (measured in minas) and weavers, the majority of whom are women (MARV III, 5).⁴⁰¹ This document possibly records the work quotas of textile products that were needed by the central administration.⁴⁰² If so, the amounts of wool listed would have been processed by the weavers to produce the required garments. This list includes various garments and other textile products, some of which were used by the Assyrian army. According to the text the palace weavers, who were organized into nine teams, were in charge of producing a piece of canvas(?),⁴⁰³ perhaps to be used for tents in military camps, various types of tunics and coats,⁴⁰⁴ leggings,⁴⁰⁵ caps,⁴⁰⁶ and other items of clothing.⁴⁰⁷ In addition, an unspecified amount of raw material, namely coloured fabric, was given to two female weavers in order to produce hems for 12 tunics.⁴⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that the weavers' duties also included the production of covers for chariots.⁴⁰⁹ The textile material used for this purpose was probably applied to the inner cover of the vehicle. Other textile materials are used for specific parts of the chariots, referred to as "the necks".⁴¹⁰ As for the composition of the teams of weavers, we can see that the groups of workers comprised a number of wea-

400 MARV III, 5:7' *MÍ.a-ḫu—bal-ti GAL—M[Í.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ]*, *ibidem*, 15' *MÍ.pi-ri-im-du-gi-li GAL—MÍ.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ*, *ibid.*, e.24' *MÍ.ud-ḫ[a-me-ni GAL—MÍ.UŠ.BAR.MEŠ]*, *ibid.*, r.31' *MÍ.š̄-tár-ki-mu-ia GAL—UŠ̄.[BAR.MEŠ]*.

401 MARV III, 5. An Assur list of feminine names of the Middle Assyrian period has been considered as referring to female weavers, see Weidner 1935–36, 42–43, text no. 100 and the comment of Liverani in McCriston 1997, 537.

402 Postgate 2001, 375.

403 MARV III, 5:1' *TÚG.ḫI.A si-ru*. See Jakob 2003, 418: "Zeltdach".

404 Tunics are listed in MARV III, 5:8', 38', 39', while coats of various type occur in *ibidem*, 9', 10', 16', 18', 20', e.26'.

405 MARV III, 5 r.32' *3—š̄u² TÚG.š̄á-ḫar.MEŠ UD.MEŠ*. But see Jakob 2003, 419, where the term is dubitatively referred to the *šahartu/šakintu*-garment.

406 MARV III, 5 r.33'.

407 MARV III, 5 e.25', r.28', 36', 37'.

408 MARV III, 5 r.38'–39'.

409 MARV III, 5 r.34' *ʿ3² [x]—ú²-tu TÚG.na-ak-bu-šu ša GIŠ.GIGIR*.

410 MARV III, 5 r.35' *3 x [x x]x TÚG ša GÚ.MEŠ ša GIŠ.GIGIR*.

vers ranging from a minimum of two to a maximum of seven. Most of the groups mentioned in this document were formed by women, but the inclusion of four men clearly proves that weaving in Assyria was not confined to female world. Within the weaving staff of the Assyrian textile workshops a variable number of specialists operated. In fact, two male weavers mentioned in the document were in charge of working on the chariots,⁴¹¹ while another two men were in charge of producing *lippu*-garments.⁴¹² In another administrative document from 2nd millennium Assur various female weavers are listed by name.⁴¹³ The women receive a given amount of dyed wool each for the production of two kinds of items of clothing (*namaddu* or *naḥlaptu*).⁴¹⁴ The quantities of wool per weaver range from half a mina to half a mina and three shekels, but a quantity of only three shekels is also attested.⁴¹⁵

In the Neo-Assyrian era, palace households in the main cities of Assyria proper and provincial capitals included a large number of palace women. As it has been suggested, it is probable that the *šakintu*, “the harem manageress”, and the palace women living in various central and peripheral palaces of the imperial territory were involved in part of a large-scale textile industry controlled by the central administration.⁴¹⁶ If so, the large amounts of flax and wool recorded in the aforesaid list (**Text No. 24**) were distributed to and consumed by various palace households and cities and were probably processed into finished textile products by the palace women living in the palaces of the cities mentioned in the text. The palace households included royal women and weavers, consisting

411 MARV III, r.34'–35' (Kidin-Gula and Ušur-Bēl-šarra).

412 MARV III, r.36'–37' (Ariberu and Šamaš-dugul).

413 KAM 11, 58. The women are Ištār-[...], daughter of Tappū (lines 3'–4'); Būš (*ibidem*, 6'); Še'ila (*ibid.*, 9'); Sebūtu, daughter of Iqīšanni (*ibid.*, 11') and Mārītu (*ibid.*, 13').

414 KAM 11, 58. *Šalittu*-wool is assigned to two women (lines 2', 5'), while three women receive *tabribu*-wool (*ibidem*, 7'–8', 10', 12'). According to the document, one large *namaddu* has to be woven with half a mina of *šalittu*-wool (*ibid.*, 2') or half a mina three shekels of *tabribu*-wool (*ibid.*, 7'–8'). The small variety of the *namaddu* only required three shekels of the *šalittu*-wool (*ibid.*, 5'). Half a mina three shekels of *tabribu*-wool is also the quantity needed by the weaver to fabricate one *naḥlaptu* (*ibid.*, 10'). While the *naḥlaptu* is frequently attested in Middle Assyrian texts, to my knowledge the *namaddu* only occurs in this document. This word is not included as a textile term in the dictionaries of Akkadian, which only list the entries *namaddu* A, “measuring vessel; measurement”, and *namaddu* B, “favorite”. See CAD N/I, 206b–207a. A word *nam'adu* (derived from the verb *mādu*, “to be numerous”) is attested in Akkadian, but it means “(large) quantity, amount; increase(?)”, see CAD N/I, 207b and CDA, 235a s.v. Donbaz tentatively translates the term *namaddu* as “loincloth” (*ibid.*, p. 6 ad no. 58), but it seems improbable in the light of the amount of wool required to fabricate it.

415 KAM 11, 58:2', 5', 7', 10', 12'.

416 Teppo 2007, 266–268.

of around 50 to 100 royal women and 20 individuals in the case of weavers,⁴¹⁷ as shown by an account of rations from Kalḫu of the reign of Sargon (721–705 BC).⁴¹⁸ In this connection, it is interesting to note that 25 weavers worked in the Review Palace of Kalḫu during the reigns of Adad-nērārī III and Shalmaneser III (c. 792–774 BC).⁴¹⁹ It is evident that the textile professionals working for the Palace came from different regions of the Empire. An administrative document from the royal archive of Nineveh lists 145 weavers from different places of the imperial territory on its reverse side, namely from the province of the Chief Cupbearer, Raṣappa, the province of the Palace Herald, Urzūḫina, Māzama, Arrapḫa, Kār-Aššur and Laḫīru.⁴²⁰ The majority of these places, with the exception of the Syrian city of Raṣappa, are located in the north- and south-eastern regions of the Assyrian Empire. Most of the weavers are located in Kār-Aššur (30 individuals), in the province of the Chief Cupbearer (25), in Arrapḫa (25), in Laḫīru (20), and in Raṣappa (20). We also know that teams of weavers could move from their seat to other cities as requested by the king. This may be seen in a letter concerning the production of tunics for the king. According to the message, a certain Balasī, an official in charge of the wool depots of the Palace, had to supply red wool to the weavers of Iṣtar of Arbela. These weavers were then expected to go to the city of Kurbail to make the textiles.⁴²¹ The possible link between the palace women and textile operations may also be inferred by the archive of Til Barsip (Tell Aḫmar). The archive was located in a building which, at the time of its destruction, served as a workshop for weaving and dyeing activities.⁴²² A document of the reign of Assurbanipal (c. 636 BC) from this small private archive relates to the purchase of a slave by a local *šakintu*.⁴²³ The manageress in question had probably to do with the activities taking place there; the loom weights and terracotta basins which were found in the same building confirm that weaving and dyeing operations were really performed in that place, presumably by women of the local royal “harem”.⁴²⁴

The professional sphere of weavers also includes workers specialized in weaving of the polychrome trim of garments and special textile products widely consumed in Assyria. This is evident by the occupations of the *uṣpār birmi*,

417 Teppo 2007, 267 and fn. 55.

418 ND 2803 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 55–60, pls. XXIX–XXX).

419 Gentili 2002–2005, 109.

420 SAA 7, 23 r.1–10.

421 SAA 16, 84:8–r.11.

422 Teppo 2007, 258–259.

423 Dalley 1997, 82–83, text no. 13.

424 Parpola 2008, 22 and fn. 35.

“weaver of multicoloured trim”,⁴²⁵ and the *ušpār šiprāti*, “scarf weaver”.⁴²⁶ Various specialists of *birnu*-weaving are attested from the major Assyrian cities in the period from the 8th to the 7th century BC: Urdu-Issār,⁴²⁷ Sa[...],⁴²⁸ Bēl-iddina,⁴²⁹ Urdu-Aia,⁴³⁰ Aḥu-lē’i,⁴³¹ Īn-ili⁴³² and Šumma-Nabû.⁴³³ Craftsmen engaged in the production of *šipirtu*-textiles included the following men: Ḥannî, an individual from the area of Ḥarrân who lived in the reign of Sargon,⁴³⁴ and Aḥūšina, documented in the reign of Esarhaddon.⁴³⁵

A document from the archive of the Aššur Temple in Assur, dated to 674 BC, attests the profession of the *rab kitê*, “linen master”.⁴³⁶ This title is borne by a man called Kanūnāiu, who lived during the reign of Esarhaddon. However, it is not certain whether he was an official in charge of flax and the relative phases of storing, distributing, and processing finished products, *i. e.* linen garments, or a craftsman who processed linen. He may have been as a weaver or tailor who only produced linen cloths. The 1st-millennium *rab kitê* has probably a counterpart in the Old Assyrian *rabi kita’āti*, interpreted as an official in charge of linen.⁴³⁷ A linen specialist called LÚ.GADA is attested in Ḥammurabi’s “Code”, but it is interpreted in CAD as a linen weaver.⁴³⁸ Instead, in Neo-Babylonian documents we find the *išpār kitê*, “linen weaver”.⁴³⁹

Apart from the production of wool and linen textiles, there is evidence to show that the processing of felt was also practiced in 1st-millennium BC Assyria. This non-woven coarse and thick fabric derived from the pressing and fulling of

425 ADW 9:4; 27 r.8’; CTN 2, 91:2; SAA 6, 42 r.8; SAA 12, 27:24; 94:5. This profession is intended by Lassen as “tapestry weaver”, see Lassen 2010, 279.

426 CTN 3, 145 r. ii 14; MSL 12, 233 ii 12’; SAA 6, 301:4; SAA 7, 115 r. i 7; SAA 12, 83 r.8; SAA 16, 55:2.

427 CTN 2, 91:1–2.

428 ADW 27 r.8’.

429 ADW 9:4.

430 SAA 6, 42 r.8.

431 SAA 12, 27:24.

432 SAA 12, 27:24.

433 SAA 12, 94:5.

434 SAA 11, 202 ii 16’–17’. According to this census tablet, Ḥannî was a farmer, but he formerly worked as a *ušpār šiprâte*.

435 SAA 6, 301:4–5.

436 StAT 2, 1 r.1.

437 See CAD K, 475b for references.

438 CH § 274:27. See CAD K, 475b.

439 See CAD I–J, 254a. For an analysis about this occupation in Neo-Babylonian texts, see Quilien 2014, 278–279.

carded wool fibres put in horizontal layers, usually in wet conditions,⁴⁴⁰ and was produced by the worker called *sēpiu*, “felt-worker” (Bab. *sēpû*). This profession is attested in legal documents from Kalḫu and Assur, as well as in a lexical list about professions from Sultantepe and in a royal document issued in the 7th century BC.⁴⁴¹ Of these texts, three documents from Kalḫu mentions a *sēpiu* called Kēnu-šallim, lived in the reigns of Adad-nērārī III and Shalmaneser IV.⁴⁴² A dependent felt-worker named Kī-lamši figures among various artisans in a schedule to a grant of the reign of Assurbanipal.⁴⁴³ The work of the *sēpiu* belonged to the broad category of textile-related activities, as confirmed by the inclusion of this occupation into the section of textile workers in the *Practical List* from Sultantepe.⁴⁴⁴ The activity of felt-workers is well documented in Middle Assyrian textual evidence,⁴⁴⁵ which also contains references to hierarchical and internal specialisations within this professional sphere, such as the *rab sāpi’ē*, “chief felt-worker”,⁴⁴⁶ the *sāpi’u ša ḫarrāne*, “felt-worker for the caravan”,⁴⁴⁷ and the *sāpi’u Ḫattāiū*, “felt-worker from the land of Ḫatti”.⁴⁴⁸ The raw materials used by the felt-makers derived from bovine and goat hair remnants from the processing of leather and, as already observed, wool fibres.⁴⁴⁹ In the wet felting process, when layers of animal hairs are compressed in hot water the scales of fibres hook together and produce a single piece of fabric. The combination of factors involved in felt-processing, such as pressure, warmth and moisture⁴⁵⁰ produce felt, a solid, elastic and insulating material that is suitable for a variety of purposes. The Assyrian term for felt is *taḫapšu*,⁴⁵¹ possibly a loanword from Hurrian.⁴⁵² This material was used to produce not only clothing items, such as

440 Barber 1991, 215–217; Andersson Strand 2014, 48; Völling 2008, 150.

441 ADW 11 r.12; 18 r.8; 17 r.10’; MSL 12, 233 ii^a 15’, ii^b 27’; SAA 12, 65:3’; StAT 3, 10 r.28. However, the professional name in Assurbanipal’s type schedule is translated by Kataja and Whiting as “painter”.

442 ADW 11 r.12; 17 r.10’; 18 r.8.

443 SAA 12, 65:3’.

444 MSL 12, 233–234, ll. 7–16. See Postgate 2000, 217.

445 See MARV I, 59 e.6; MARV II, 15 r.4’; MARV III, 53 r.11. For a discussion on this activity, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 79–93, Jakob 2003, 431–435 and Postgate 2014, 406–407.

446 MARV III, 53:6; 57:5; MARV III, 64:15 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 75).

447 MARV III, 7:7–e.8; VAT 19554 r.14 (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 93).

448 MARV III, 53 r.11–12.

449 Jakob 2003, 434–435.

450 Barber 1991, 215.

451 BBR 70:5; PVA 294; SAA 3, 34:15; 35:23. For the interpretation of *taḫapšu* as felt, see Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 85–87; Postgate 2000, 213–217; Postgate 2014, 406–407. On felting in the Ancient Near East see Völling 2008, 150.

452 AHW, 1301a; Postgate 2000, 215.

garments, head-dresses and footwear, but also bags, rugs and tents, as well as horse blankets and saddles, often in conjunction with leather.⁴⁵³ In the Middle Assyrian period, with *taḥapšu* were produced items of clothing called TÚG.UGU⁴⁵⁴ and GIŠ.PA.MEŠ, textiles destined to be used in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta as covering of what seems to be a table.⁴⁵⁵ With this material were also produced boots (*šuhuppātu*) according to the Assyrian style.⁴⁵⁶ No archaeological evidence for felt is known for 1st-millennium Assyria. An example of non-woven but matted fabric (felt?) has been discovered in Gordion, where it was used as padding for stools and perhaps also for wall-hangings and tablecloths.⁴⁵⁷

After weaving, a series of finishing operations could be performed on the woven cloth. Comparative evidence from other historical periods and documentary evidence suggests that a smoother surface and visual sheen of cloth was obtained by beating the fabric with a mallet or analogous tool. A similar operation was done in order to polish the cloth and involved the use of stone or bone implements; this gave smoothness to the fabric. Both the former and latter operation, called beetling and polishing respectively, were performed on linen cloth.⁴⁵⁸ Polishing could also be performed after each laundering.⁴⁵⁹

3.1.6 Bleaching and fulling

Other finishing operations that were executed on textiles were bleaching and fulling. Through bleaching textiles are whitened and cleaned, while fulling is aimed at making textiles denser and waterproof.⁴⁶⁰ Oil, alkali and water were the substances commonly used in bleaching and washing.⁴⁶¹ Oil and alkali were processed into soap.⁴⁶² In Assyria, these operations were executed by a spe-

⁴⁵³ Postgate 2000, 216; Llop 2016, 200.

⁴⁵⁴ MARV III, 12:2, 4; MARV III, 53:1–2.

⁴⁵⁵ See MARV III, 57:1 and comments on p. 12. Perhaps, the logographic writing is an erroneous rendering for TÚG.PA = *miḥṣu*. Other PA.MEŠ of *taḥapšu* for the Palace, to be used for the *Prozessionswagen* of the king, are registered in MARV III, 59:1.

⁴⁵⁶ MARV III, 64:13–14 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 75).

⁴⁵⁷ Burke 2010, 157 (Fabric K).

⁴⁵⁸ Ben-Yehuda 2017, 127.

⁴⁵⁹ Ben-Yehuda 2017, 127.

⁴⁶⁰ Völling 2008, 150–151; Andersson Strand 2014, 48–49.

⁴⁶¹ Völling 2008, 150–151; Waetzoldt 2011–13, 620b–621a.

⁴⁶² Zawadzki 2006, 64. For oil and alkali as substances used in Neo-Babylonian laundering see the texts BM 66160, BM 66847, and especially BM 84054 in Zawadzki 2006, 61–63.

cialist called *ašlāku*,⁴⁶³ usually thought to be a fuller, but possibly involved also in the washing of clothes as well as in other finishing operations.⁴⁶⁴ In fact, we cannot rule out that the logographic name of this occupation, LÚ.TÚG.UD, was actually read *pūšāiu* in Neo-Assyrian.⁴⁶⁵ The fullers were divided into teams under the supervision of the *rab ašlāki*, “chief fuller”.⁴⁶⁶ Presumably, state and private households had their own fullers or washermen. This is confirmed by the professional titles of some individuals. According to a purchase document from Archive N29 of Assur, the man called Urdu-Bêltu worked as an *ašlāku* for an unknown state official from the town of Ṭugarimmu.⁴⁶⁷ Larger state households had teams of fullers headed by a *rab ašlāki*. For instance, Nušku-šarru-ušur is attested as chief fuller of the queen mother (*rab ašlāki ša ummi šarri*) in a list of lodgings for officials from Nineveh.⁴⁶⁸ Other cleansing agents used in Mesopotamia were prepared by using alkali and gypsum, called *uḫūlu* and *gaššu* respectively.⁴⁶⁹ The material called *gaššu* is mentioned in a simile in Aššur-nērārī’s treaty with Mati’-ilu, king of Arpad, where the destruction of the unloyal king and his people are equated to the crushing of gypsum.⁴⁷⁰ In all likelihood, the everyday imagery of the fuller’s assistants crushing this soft stone with mortars and pestles for the production of textile cleansing agents must have captured the attention of the author who wrote this treaty. Among the substances used by fullers was also natron (*nitīnu*), which occurs in a Neo-Assyrian letter in association with alum.⁴⁷¹ These ingredients were reduced into a paste or

463 CTN 1, 35 ii 17; CTN 3, 36 r.16; MSL 12, 233 ii 9’; NATAPA 2, 73 r.36; ND 5447:4 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 127, pl. XXVII); ND 5452 r.5 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 130, pl. XXXII); SAA 12, 63 :2’; SAA 14, 155:6; 161 r.11; StAT 2, 141 r.15; StAT 3, 3 r.28; 34:4, r.13; ZTT I, 6:5; ZTT 7:5. See CAD A/II, 445b: “fuller, washerman”; AEAD, 11a: “bleacher (of garments), washerman, launderer”. On the occupation of the Middle Assyrian *ašlāku*, see Jakob 2003, 428–429.

464 The range of tasks performed by this craftsman also included activities concerning the maintenance of articles of clothing, such as pressing, repairing, and preserving. See Zawadzki 2006, 57 and Wasserman 2013, 256.

465 See Parpola 2008, 50 fn. 100 for this hypothesis.

466 A 2631a r.5; A 2631a* r.4; NATAPA 2, 72:2; SAA 7, 4 r. ii’ 9’; 12:3’; SAA 11, 36 i 17, ii 21; SAA 12, 77 i 4’; SAA 14, 424 r.25; StAT 2, 141 r.15; VS 1, 96 r.13. In the case of the treasurer Aššur-gimillu-têre it is possible that the professional title *rab ašlāki* is a rebus for the title of *masennu*. See Mattila 2000, 17.

467 StAT 2, 141 r.15 LÚ.TÚG.UD šá LÚ.[x].

468 SAA 7, 12:3’–4’ LÚ.GAL–TÚG’.[UD] / [0] ša AM[A–MAN].

469 See CAD G, 55ab; CAD U–W, 49a.

470 SAA 2, 2 i 9’ šu-tú a-dī UN.MEŠ KUR-šú GIM gaš-ši lip-p[ar-ri-ir], “May he, together with the people of his land, be cru[shed] like gypsum”.

471 SAA 16, 82 r.8–9.

powder,⁴⁷² presumably by using mortars, pestles and basins. The above mentioned cleansing materials, like fuller's earth, were also used in more than one stage of the cleaning process, as witnessed by the application of these substances to protect the clean garment in later phases of laundering in the Old Babylonian period.⁴⁷³ An idea about other tools forming the fuller's equipment can be gained from a look at the Old Babylonian laundering evidence. There, it seems that flat stones were used to facilitate the application of cleansing agents on the garments or, in alternative, to press them.⁴⁷⁴ In addition, Babylonian fullers also used wooden sticks to beat the cleaned textiles. In the text *At the Cleaners*, this stick, made of a kind of hard wood, is called *ḥaṭṭu*.⁴⁷⁵ This tool was different from the *mazūru*, the fuller's wringer or mallet, that is uniquely attested in lexical sources,⁴⁷⁶ since the *mazūru* was used for beating the garments during the washing process, while the *ḥaṭṭu* was probably used to remove remains of the cleaning paste and to raise the nap.⁴⁷⁷

Bleaching was especially required for linen in order to eliminate the natural shades of this fibre (yellowish, beige or brown) and make textiles and fabric of this material perfectly white.⁴⁷⁸ Linen clothes were bleached by alkali and oil, although from Rabbinic and Classical sources we learn that bleaching could also be executed by fumigation in sulphur.⁴⁷⁹ Another important textile occupation in the field of cloth cleaning was performed by the *pūšāiu*,⁴⁸⁰ which has been interpreted as referring to a bleacher or a launderer.⁴⁸¹ The work of this specialist is expressed by the verb *puššū*, that refers to the operations of bleaching as well as of laundering.⁴⁸² We cannot exclude that the use of the adjective *pašiu* in Assyrian qualifications of textiles does not refer to items of clothing of white colour, but to items that were bleached.⁴⁸³ In Neo-Assyrian administrative texts

472 Wasserman 2013, 267.

473 Wasserman 2013, 266–267.

474 Wasserman 2013, 267.

475 Wasserman 2013, 269, 274 l. 18.

476 CAD M/I, 440a s.v. *mazūru* A. The word is also attested in Aramaic as *mazūrā*. See Kaufman 1974, 71 and Wasserman 2013, 269 for references.

477 Wasserman 2013, 269.

478 See Völling 2008, 151.

479 Wasserman 2013, 258.

480 ND 5452 r.16 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 130, pl. XXXII); SAA 11, 209 r. iii 29'. In Neo-Babylonian texts we find both the *pūšāia* and the *mupaššū*, both dealing with bleaching. See CAD P, 538a and M/II, 209b, and Quillien 2014, 279 for discussion.

481 CAD P, 538a: "launderer"; AEAD, 85b: "launderer, bleacher".

482 CAD P, 334b; AEAD, 81b. See also Wasserman 2013, 260.

483 See CAD P, 328a s.v. *pešū*.

we find various textiles qualified as *pašiu*.⁴⁸⁴ As regards Middle Assyrian occurrences, Postgate suggests that the adjective was used to indicate undyed sheep's wool or linen.⁴⁸⁵ Perhaps, the distinction between wool garments (*ša šāpti*) and white garments (*pašiu*) that we find in a Neo-Assyrian letter⁴⁸⁶ could be related to the opposition “wool/linen” or to “dyed/undyed”. At present, we can conclude that the adjective *pašiu* had a wide range of meanings in Assyria, from “undyed” to “bleached” and “white-coloured”.⁴⁸⁷

Individuals working as *pūšāiu* are mentioned in a census tablet of the reign of Sargon regarding people from the Ḫarrān region⁴⁸⁸ and, possibly, also in a debt note of the reign of Assurbanipal from Kalḫu.⁴⁸⁹ The census tablet mentions a certain Našuḫ-sagab with sons and a woman, but the broken part that follows in the document prevents us from knowing whether other textile workers were mentioned in this section. Nearly all the attestations of the 1st millennium BC about washermen come from Babylonian archives.⁴⁹⁰ In Babylonia, laundry concerned both the clothes of the gods' statues and those of ordinary people. These artisans were at the service of both the temple and private households. According to the laundry contracts of the Neo-Babylonian period, the launderer working for the private sector undertook to wash the dirty cloths of private clients over a period of time. The launderer was paid in silver, dates, or barley.⁴⁹¹ This

484 See, e.g., STAT 3, 1:5 3 TÚG.ṛx' [x] ṛx'-na pè-šu'-tú (translated by Faist as “3 weiße [...]”, but I wonder whether the line may instead be referred to garments ṛa'-na pè-šu'-tú, “to be bleached?”); *ibidem*, e.16 60 TÚG pa-šu-tú NU.MEŠ, “Sixty white/bleached garments, not (present)”; *ibid.*, r.26 1 TÚG.GŪ.È BABBAR SUMUN, “One old white/bleached *naḫlaptu*”; *ibid.*, r.32 1 TÚG.GA-DA pè-šú, “One white/bleached linen garment.” The adjective is also used by the Assyrian scribes to qualify *šupālitu ḫalluptus* (SAA 7, 94:1); *urnutus* (SAA 7, 104 r.2'); *kubšus* (SAA 7, 105:11'); *šipirtus* (ND 2086 [Iraq 23, 1961, 18]); *kuzippus* (ND 2307:17 [Iraq 16, 1954, 37, pl. VI]); and *maqatḫutus* (ND 2311:5 [Iraq 23, 1961, 20, pl. X]). For other attestations of *pašiu* see SAA 7, 106:10, r.1, 2; 107 r.11'; 111:6; 120 i' 5, 9; SAA 20, 32:17.

485 Postgate 2014, 411, 413.

486 SAA 10, 87 r.2'-6' [lu-bi]l-u-ni ku-ziḫ-[pi] / [š]a SÍG KUŠ.E.[SÍR.MEŠ] / [ú-l]a-a an-na-ka / ku-ziḫ-pi BABBAR.MEŠ / ú-ka-la, “[Let] them [brin]g me wool garments and leather san[dals]; [o]r shall I wear white clothes here?”

487 On the interpretation that in the colour vocabulary of Akkadian—especially in textile designations—*pēšū* was used to indicate lightness see Thavapalan, Stenger and Snow 2016, 200–201.

488 SAA 11, 209 r. iii 29'.

489 ND 5452 r.16 [Iraq 19 [1957], 130, pl. XXXII). However, the title borne by the man called Suk-kāia is broken (“LÚ*ṛ.TÚG.[UD']”). The assumption that it should be read as *pūšāiu* is followed, on the authority of Parker, also in PNA 3/I, 1154b.

490 See the attestations quoted in CAD P, 538.

491 Waerzeggers 2006, 83–91.

activity could be performed by different textile professionals, such as tailors and clothes menders, as clearly shown by two Neo-Babylonian texts.⁴⁹² Evidence regarding this profession is lacking in Neo-Assyrian texts, which makes it hard to verify whether the laundry business also served the private sector. We presume that specialists in cloth-washing were certainly members of palace and temple households in Assyria. Middle Assyrian texts refer to textiles that have been washed (*ša masiūni*)⁴⁹³ and textiles that have not been washed (*lā masiūtu*),⁴⁹⁴ but it is not clear whether they relate to the actual washing of the cloth or the fulling activity.⁴⁹⁵ The adjective *masiu*, “washed, cleaned”, is also attested in the Neo-Assyrian period in the context of fibre terminology, as already observed.⁴⁹⁶ The hypothesis that the washermen were an important and specialized group of professionals in the Neo-Assyrian Empire is suggested by the existence of a village called “Lauderer (or Fuller?) Town” (*Āl pūšāie/ašlākê*),⁴⁹⁷ a possible indication that groups of artisans performing the same activity worked in the same area, probably because the chosen area offered better environmental conditions for this purpose.⁴⁹⁸ Presumably, fulling, bleaching and washing were all executed in places where good water supply was available⁴⁹⁹ and where textiles could be stretched and hung out on frames and dried to the sun. These activities also needed a set of vats for the soaking and rinsing of clothes as well as pots for the preparation of soap and jars for storage and use of detergents. An alternative hypothesis is that fullers and washermen had their workplace in the urban area, not in the countryside. Consequently, *Āl pūšāie/ašlākê* could be interpreted as a rural settlement constituted by land-holdings assigned to fullers by the state for their sustenance.⁵⁰⁰ Final operations on the cleaned articles included brushing,⁵⁰¹ presumably performed by washermen using combs or brushes. In post-

492 Waerzeggers 2006, 85, text no. 3:2; Bongenaar 1997, 313 fn. 296.

493 KAV 108:4–6.

494 KAV 103 r.22–23.

495 In a fragment of the Middle Assyrian Laws the activity of the fuller is expressed by the verb *masā'u*, “to wash”, see Jakob 2003, 429. In the Old Babylonian period, the action of laundering was usually expressed by the verb *ubbubum*. See Wasserman 2013, 260.

496 PVA 214; SAA 20, 31:18'.

497 SAA 14, 161:4 URU.LÚ*.TÚG.JD.MEŠ. Mattila prefers to translate the toponym as “Fuller Town”.

498 Postgate 1987, 268.

499 An environmental condition clearly expressed in the Old Babylonian text *At the Cleaners*. See Wasserman 2013, 274–275, ll. 33–34: “Come upstream of the city, in the environs of the city—let me show you a washing-place!”

500 See Baker 2016, 60–64.

501 Wasserman 2013, 268.

laundry treatment of clothes finishing operations such as polishing could also be performed, in all likelihood using hard implements to give smoothness to the cloth.⁵⁰²

At present, the sole detailed description of the process of washing garments is that given in the Old Babylonian dialogue between a fuller and his client. This literary composition, recently re-edited by Wasserman, gives us interesting insights into the activity of *ašlākus* and we can surmise that the same or analogous stages involved in his work about the treatment of garments were also followed by the *ašlākus* operating in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC. In few words, this text tells us that, after laying out the garment's selvage and stitching its short sides, the garment was cleaned. The cleaning operation comprised wiping the garment's surface with the washing liquid, wiping the hems and the entire article of clothing and brushing it in a special way. After that, a special paste similar to fuller's earth was applied to the garment. Therefore, a paste for protecting the article of clothing was employed by using a flat stone. Finally, laundry marks were taken off, the cloth was combed and patted with a stick, in all likelihood to remove excess paste and to raise the nap.⁵⁰³ As this text shows, post-washing operations were also part of the *ašlāku*'s work: before delivering to its owner, the garment was placed on a stool, its border was repaired and the whole article was dried carefully and placed in a box.⁵⁰⁴

3.1.7 Stitching and sewing

Stitching and sewing were everyday tasks for the weavers, but these activities could be performed also by other textile artisans in different stages of textile manufacture and maintenance. In 1st-millennium Assyria, this operation was performed by a specialist called *mukabbû* (*mugabbû*), a designation that may have been applied to seamsters, stitchers, dressmakers or clothes menders.⁵⁰⁵ The operation of stitching is expressed by the verbs *kabbû* (*gabbû*), “to sew, stitch, mend, patch”,⁵⁰⁶ and *tukkupu*, “to puncture, stitch, sew”.⁵⁰⁷ The Old Bab-

⁵⁰² See Ben-Yehuda 2017, 127 on linen polishing.

⁵⁰³ Also in ancient Greece fullers were engaged not only in finishing operations such as washing clothes with detergents, compacting them and teasing their surface. They also had to raise and trim the nap. See Barber 1991, 274.

⁵⁰⁴ Wasserman 2013, 259.

⁵⁰⁵ MSL 12, 233 ii 8'; 238 r. ii 26; RINAP 4, 9 i' 14'.

⁵⁰⁶ CAD K, 482b; AEAD, 29a.

⁵⁰⁷ CAD T, 69a s.v. *takāpu* 3b; AEAD, 121a.

ylonian text *At the Cleaners*, a dialogue between a fuller and his customer, shows that the operation of stitching was also required when clothes were laundered. In fact, washing as well as bleaching could damage the fabric of a garment. To this aim, the short sides of the garment were stitched one onto the other in order to avoid the risk of cloth's deformation and to preserve the equal width of the upper and lower sides of the garment.⁵⁰⁸ Stitching was performed by means of needles.⁵⁰⁹ Presumably, a set of different needles were at the stitcher's disposal. To judge from the Nuzi attestations of the verb *kubbû*, the sewing or patching operation concerned work on the *birmu* that had to be attached to the main piece of a garment.⁵¹⁰ In addition, the verb *kubbû* also refers to the operation of attaching metal sequins to garments and other textiles. In an inscription of Assurbanipal, golden ornaments (shaped in wavy lines) representing water were sewn on the lower mattress of the divine bed.⁵¹¹ The *mukabbû* also took care of receiving and repairing old and torn textiles. To this aim, he probably re-used pieces of textiles. It seems that shreds of garments were indicated by the word *milûu*.⁵¹² From a short inventory of articles of clothing from Kalûu we see that the adjective *qalpu* (from *qalâpu*, "to peel, strip off") is used to indicate worn textiles.⁵¹³ The same adjective is employed by the scribe who composed a list of garments from Archive N33 of Assur.⁵¹⁴ These remarks on worn garments were probably useful to the administrators to define the work-assignments for the clothes menders in charge for repair. An alternative hypothesis is that the adjective *qalpu* qualified items of clothing from which the bands with fringes and decorative elements were detached for cleaning and repairing operations.⁵¹⁵

508 Wasserman 2013, 262.

509 Wasserman 2013, 275, line 20. The word used for needle in this text is *šillûm*.

510 See the occurrences cited in CAD K, 482b.

511 Streck 1916, 296, line ii 22. But note that the verb is also used in the same text in connection with the word *gissû*, "rung". See *ibidem*, ii 24, 27. In the Neo-Babylonian text GCCI 2, 69:9, the operation expressed by the verb *kubbû* probably refers to the patching or repairing of the golden rosettes and *tenšia*-ornaments. See CAD K, 483a.

512 SAA 3, 37:29'. The translation "shred of garment" is tentatively suggested by Livingstone, for which see *ibidem*, 140b s.v. Literally, the word *milûu* means "extraction, tearing out". See CDA, 210a; AEAD, 64b.

513 CTN 2, 152:3, r.12. For the adjective *qalpu* see CAD Q, 67a s.v. *qalpu* d "threadbare, napless", which lists various Middle and Neo-Babylonian occurrences. See also *ibidem*, 58a s.v. *qalâpu*. On the interpretation that the term *qalpu* is used in Neo-Assyrian texts to indicate threadbare textiles see Villard 2010, 394.

514 KAN 2, 39:7, r.8 (STAT 1, 39).

515 Dalley 1991, 124; Álvarez-Món 2010a, 209.

Other textile-related professions were engaged in the manufacturing of special textile products after which they were commonly named. Thus, the *ša-sāgātēšu* was probably an expert in the production or trade of *sāgu*-garments,⁵¹⁶ a textile product intended as a “sackcloth, tunic”, the *ša-ḥalluptišu* was a maker or dealer of *ḥalluptu*, “harness, armour”,⁵¹⁷ and the *ša-kubšišu* a sort of fez-maker.⁵¹⁸ In any case, it is clear that these professionals were subordinate members of the palace and temple households.⁵¹⁹ They were probably commissioned to produce these three commodities (*sāgu*, *ḥalluptu*, *kubšu*) by the Palace. In fact, *sāgu*-garments were clothes of daily use, as witnessed by their use by soldiers, and the production of harnesses or armours is closely linked to the supply of military equipment to the Assyrian cavalry. Individuals working as *ša-sāgātēšu* were Kūzā, a man from Gūzāna lived in the reign of Sargon,⁵²⁰ and Ilu-dūru-ušur, documented in Assur after the reign of Assurbanipal (620* BC).⁵²¹ A number of individuals of the 8th and 7th centuries BC bear the professional title of *ša-kubšišu*: Samsi-idrī,⁵²² Dādiya,⁵²³ Issār-dūr-qalli,⁵²⁴ [...]aḥu-iddina⁵²⁵ and Uša[...].⁵²⁶

The textile professionals that we have mentioned above are predominantly documented in texts originating from the central administration of Assyria. Consequently, the information we can get reflects their working relationship with the palace and temple. Thus, it is unclear as to whether these artisans were also at the service of the private sector, even if there is no reason to think that this did not happen in Assyria. As to the organization of labour, it is known that since the 8th century palace employees were organized along military lines into cohorts (*kišru*), under the control of a cohort captain (*rab kišri*).⁵²⁷ This is also true for textile workers. From the legal documents of the Nineveh royal archive of the reign of Sennacherib we learn that a certain Nabuṭî acts as a witness for

516 SAA 1, 128:17; NATAPA 2, 67:2.

517 SAA 7, 115 r. i 8; SAA 12, 83 r.14. Note that ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X) mentions one TÚG.šá—ḥal-up-te whose price is 2 1/3 shekels of silver.

518 Radner 2016, texts nos. I.37 e.12'; I.42:15; I.56:7; SAA 6, 342:4'; SAA 11, 213 iii 2'; SAA 12, 63:2'; SAA 14, 155:8; SAA 15, 73 r.11, 12.

519 Radner 1999a, 125.

520 SAA 1, 128:17.

521 NATAPA 2, 67:1–3.

522 SAA 11, 213 iii 2'.

523 Radner 2016, texts nos. I.37 e.12'; I.42:15; I.56:7.

524 SAA 14, 155:8.

525 SAA 12, 63:2'.

526 SAA 6, 342:4.

527 Postgate 1979b, 210–212; 1987, 259.

“harem” women in two contracts relating to the purchase of people and properties. In one text, he is simply qualified as a weaver,⁵²⁸ but in the other, he bears the professional title of *rab kišri ša ušpāri*, “cohort commander of the weavers”.⁵²⁹ Perhaps, another cohort commander of textile workers is Aḫi-pāda, who seems to be attested as a cohort commander of fullers.⁵³⁰ It has been suggested that the organization of crafts and trades through military hierarchies, perhaps introduced by Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and certainly expanded by Esarhaddon, was probably adopted by the palace to organize the civilian personnel within its employ.⁵³¹ Therefore, it is possible that the cohorts of textile artisans, as those of other professionals, were created by the Assyrian government because they were strongly needed for the maintenance of the palace and temple organizations as well as the Assyrian army. It is also possible that the *kišru*-system played a role in the policy of allocating land to specialists who worked for the state and that these assignments were made to craftsmen on a collective basis.⁵³²

3.2 Textile consumption within the palace, the government, and private sectors

The aforementioned list of flax and wool amounts SAA 7, 115 (Text No. 24) shows that some quantities of raw materials, precisely linen and madder, were given to the *kāširus*. In the text, these recipients of raw textile materials are collectively referred to as the *bēt kāšir*, “the house of the *kāširu*(s)”.⁵³³ This designation certainly indicated the workshop where the *kāširus* produced the cloths for mem-

528 SAA 6, 90 r.11 IGI *ḥna-bu-ti-i* LÚ.UŠ.BAR. In this purchase document Nabūfi is mentioned after the chief weaver Zēr-Issār.

529 SAA 6, 91 r.3' IGI *ḥna-bu-ti-i* GAL—*ki-šir šā* UŠ.BAR.MEŠ. In the list of the witnesses he is preceded by Ammi-rāmu, *kāširu* of the palace.

530 Aḫi-pāda is attested in a 7th century BC harvest record from Nebi Yunus and bears the title of LÚ.GAL—*ki-šir* TÚG.ME (SAA 11, 24 r.7). This title is not mentioned in the final section of the tablet (*ibidem*, 8). Fales and Postgate do not offer any translation of the logogram TÚG.ME and prefer to render the professional title as “cohort commander of” Since the logogram TÚG corresponds to the word *šubātu*, but a translation like “cohort commander of cloths” does not make any sense, it is possible that we have here an unusual writing for (LÚ.)TÚG.ME, “fullers”. If so, our Aḫi-pāda was probably a cohort commander of fullers.

531 Postgate 1987, 260.

532 See Baker 2016, 69, citing van Driel’s suggestion about the possible connection of the *ḥadru*-system of late Achaemenid Babylonia with the Neo-Assyrian *kišru*-system.

533 SAA 7, 115 i 13, ii 21, r. ii 7.

bers of the Assyrian royal family and of the ruling elite in the main cities of the Empire. Every central and provincial palace household presumably had its own house of *kāširus*, as well as workshops of other textile specialists. With the wool and linen received by the administration these textile workers produced a great variety of finished products. Garments and other clothing items were the main textiles mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian sources. The texts issued by the central administration document the use of cloaks, tunics, shirts, fringed shawls, wraps for different purposes, gowns, sashes, mantles, different types of coats made of coarse fabric for ordinary use and as standard dress items to be used as uniforms by the soldiers. Other clothing items were footwear, veils, bandages, and loincloths. Head-dresses produced by the textile workers included caps, mitres, turbans, and head scarves. Textile labels from Nineveh show that red and black, followed by white, were the main colours used in the Assyrian garments. This is in line with the recurrent colours used by Assyrian artists, who used a minimal palette including red, black, white and blue for wall painting work in royal palaces.⁵³⁴ It is striking the absence of any mention in Neo-Assyrian administrative documents of other colours that are attested in lexical texts and visual art, such as blue and green. The texts also frequently mention multicoloured textiles.⁵³⁵ Red, in particular, came in different qualities (see **Table 2**). It could be of the country-/mountain-type (KUR = *mātu*, “country” or *šadû*, “mountain”), perhaps to be intended as a natural or locally produced red dye, opposed to other red dye varieties, such as “red of the port” or “commercial red” (KAR = *kāru*) and the so-called “limestone red” (*pūlu*),⁵³⁶ the latter probably being a pale shade of red. Black too could be of the country-/mountain-type.⁵³⁷ Moreover, for a number of garments the texts specify the colour of the front-piece (ZAG = *pūtu*), usually red, and the presence or absence of sleeves. Unfortunately, the evidence about actual coloured textiles is too scanty to confirm the textual data. Physical remains of Assyrian textiles from the Nimrud tombs comprise linen fragments: some of them are apparently tinged with purple and red, others show white,

534 On colours used in Til Barsip wall painting see Albenda 2005, 30–31.

535 For the colours of the Neo-Assyrian textiles see Villard 2010, 397–398.

536 For the KUR-red see CTN 2, 153:1; SAA 7, 94:5; 96:5'; 98:2', 7', 10'; 105:7', 9'; 107:9', r.7'; 108 i' 15'; 109 r. iii 10', iv 2'; 119 r. i' 3', 8'; 120 i' 4, 7, ii' 6, 17; for the KAR-red see ND 2307:14–15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 7, 93:2; 96:8', 11', r.1; 97:10', r.1; 98:6', 9'; 105:3', 8'; 106:7, 8, r.3, 4; 107:6', r.6, 8; 108 i' 13'; 109 r. iii 7', 9'; 119 r. i' 6', 10'; 120 i' 3, ii' 14. The *pūlu*-red variety is attested in SAA 7, 107:8'; 108 i' 14'. On these red varieties, see Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii for discussion.

537 See SAA 16, 82 r.7.

brownish and greenish parts.⁵³⁸ Since no dye was detected in these samples during the dye testing, it is possible that natural shades of linen were used to enhance the decoration of the queens' garments.⁵³⁹ An idea on the colours of the textiles used by the Assyrian ruling class may also be formed on the basis of the traces of colours which are still visible on some palace reliefs and wall paintings: for example, traces of red colour may be observed on the tiara of King Sargon on the relief 19 of the royal palace in Khorsabad (end of the 8th century BC),⁵⁴⁰ while the extant wall paintings of the Assyrian palace at Til Barsip document the use of black, white, red and blue for garments, footwear, throne drapery, and trappings (8th–7th centuries BC).⁵⁴¹ On a 9th-century glazed tile discovered in the North-West Palace at Nimrud, the king is portrayed as wearing a long close-fitting robe of greenish or pale blue colour, decorated by a band with rows of small yellow circles. The tunic ends in a row of yellow and pale blue tassels in alternation. Both the short-sleeved tunic and the fringed shawl are decorated by large six- and seven-petalled rosettes, and a yellow band adorns the collar and the borders.⁵⁴² Analysis on a sculpted gypsum head of a caparisoned horse from the Khorsabad royal palace reliefs revealed traces of red and blue pigments on the tassel and the headstall decoration. The closest parallel of this red-and-blue pattern is a Til Barsip wall painting showing horses with their polychrome trappings.⁵⁴³ Future in-depth investigations on the surviving polychromy of textiles represented in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs can give us further insights into colour schemes used by the Assyrians in contemporary textile manufacture.⁵⁴⁴

Of some garments listed in Neo-Assyrian texts, namely cloaks, tunics, wraps or coats, and short-cut gowns were also produced varieties known as “of the house” (*bētu*), perhaps meant as ordinary varieties to be used indoors.⁵⁴⁵ A

538 Crowfoot 1995, 117–118. See also Villard 2010, 398, who mentions white, red and yellow coloured fragments of decorated textiles discovered in Sultantepe.

539 Crowfoot 1995, 113.

540 Relief 19, courtyard III, façade L (AO. 19873). See the reproduction in Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 12.

541 See, e.g., the scene of the room 47 in Matthiae 1998, 183.

542 Reade 1983, 44 fig. 44.

543 Verri *et al.* 2009, 59–61. The colours of the sculpted horse's head were identified as haematite and Egyptian blue.

544 Results from a recent analysis of pigments and especially of Egyptian blue on a selected number of reliefs from Assurmaširpal II's North-West Palace at Nimrud were presented in Thavapalan, Stenger and Snow 2016, 204–211.

545 See Fales, Postgate 1992, xxvii.

list of textiles mentions house-wraps for women.⁵⁴⁶ Textile products other than garments included bed-clothes and other textiles for decorating and enhancing the royal residences, such as blankets, rugs, bedcovers, bedspreads and pillows. In addition, royal palaces and temples were decorated with drapes, curtains, carpets, and mats of every sort.

Ceremonial occasions such as royal banquets at palace and cult ceremonies in temples also required the use of appropriate textiles, such as napkins, towels and table-cloths. Representations of royal scenes on the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs from Kalḫu, Dūr-Šarrukēn and Nineveh give us further evidence of the richness of the items of clothing used by the king, the members of the royal family, and the officials, of the drapery adorning the throne, as well as of the cushions, napkins and coverings which were used in royal drinking and banqueting occasions, to quote just a few examples.

Given the palace-oriented status of the above-discussed Assyrian textile industry, it is clear that the needs of the palace and the temple, as well as the royal army, absorbed most of the consumption of the produced textiles. The palace sector was composed by several establishments in various cities.⁵⁴⁷ Labels bearing impressions of stamp seals of the queen or of her representatives prove that a number of textiles produced in Assyria in the first half of the 7th century BC were consumed by the Assyrian queen and the staff of her household.⁵⁴⁸ Although many of these labels are fragmentary, it is interesting to observe in these documents the presence of items of clothing that were probably peculiar to female clothing. In fact, some of the textiles listed in these labels are also attested in dowry lists of marriage contracts, such as the *ḫuzūnu*,⁵⁴⁹ *gulēnu*,⁵⁵⁰ *maqatḫu(tu)*⁵⁵¹ and *naṣbutu*.⁵⁵² Within the needs of the palace we have to include textiles which served to the king and the royal family, the court, the high state officials, and the palace personnel in the daily life. In addition to the textiles produced by the palace workshops, the income of textiles for the Palace also included the products, both raw and finished, which reached the Assyrian royal residences in form of booty, tribute and audience gifts from different regions and contributors. Reports on the king's military campaigns in the Neo-Assyrian

546 SAA 7, 107 r.3'.

547 For an overview on the palace sector of the economy of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see Postgate 1979b, 200–202.

548 SAA 7, 93; 94; 98(?); 100; 102.

549 ND 2307:17, 19, r.5 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); StAT 2, 164:14.

550 CTN 2, 1:11'; ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

551 StAT 2, 164:12.

552 StAT 2, 164:13.

royal inscriptions inform us that the textile products which the Assyrians acquired from the conquered territories were usually constituted by standard commodities, namely linen and wool garments. Sometimes, the last item is specified as regards the colour; thus, we know that wool entering the Assyrian booty and tribute could be blue-black, blue, blue-purple, purple, and red.⁵⁵³ Another possible confirmation of textiles imported to Assyria as booty comes from a group of Babylonian cuneiform docketts found in Khorsabad and Kalḫu. These docketts, with the bundles of wool to which they were tied, were carried out to Assyria after the capture and plunder of Dūr-Yakīn, the capital city of the Chaldean king Marduk-apla-iddina II, in 709 BC.⁵⁵⁴ This means that these amounts of wool were probably already at the disposal of the textile workers of the palace of Dūr-Yakīn. Alternatively, it is also possible that these docketts witness to a peaceful trade between Assyria and the Chaldean kingdom.⁵⁵⁵ These docketts were attached to amounts of wool ready to be spun or, as suggested by Joannès, bundles of yarn ready for weaving.⁵⁵⁶

As far as the government sector of the Assyrian Empire is concerned, it is evident that its chief preoccupation was the supply of the army.⁵⁵⁷ Accordingly, a large set of goods of textile nature was supplied to the units of the Assyrian army as military equipment: these goods included uniforms (mail-shirts, short kilts, knee-length tunics, waist-belts, leggings), harnesses, saddlecloths, and other textiles of practical use to transport and store goods and as shelter (bags, sacks, tents, *etc.*).

The management of the cultic affairs in the Assyrian temples, especially in the Temple of the national god Aššur in Assur, also required a large consumption of textile products for the adorning of the statues of the gods and for the dressing of the priestly personnel in various events of the state cult which took place during the Assyrian religious year. According to the list SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**), a certain amount of linen fibre issued by the palace stores was used to fabricate

553 Mayer 1983, line 366; Fuchs 1994, Ann 407, 449; Prunk 181–182; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49'–51'; Levine 1972, ii 18, 38; RIMA 2, A.O.100.5:72, 107; A.O.101.1 i 79, 87, 88, 95, 97, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 67, 71, 74, 78, 87; A.O.101.2:30, 47, 50; A.O.101.17 iii 107, 114; A.O.101.19:89; A.O.101.73; A.O.101.74; A.O.101.76; RIMA 3, A.O.102.1:95'; A.O.102.2 ii 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 40; A.O.102.6 iii 13–14; A.O.102.8:41'; A.O.102.84; A.O.102.90; A.O.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 11:10'; 12:1', 10'; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 21–22; 42:14'; 47:28, r.12'; 49 r.8; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 6 ii' 20'.

554 Joannès 2010, 401–402.

555 Dalley, Postgate 1984, 139.

556 Joannès 2010, 402.

557 On the government sector's role in the economy of the Empire, see Postgate 1979b, 202–205.

maldu-textiles for the temple of Ištar,⁵⁵⁸ while seven talents and ten minas of red wool were employed to dress (divine) statues.⁵⁵⁹ But what about the consumption of textiles in the private sector of the Assyrian society? Information on the textiles exchanged in the private transactions may be found, for example, in three marriage contracts coming from different archives and periods of the 1st millennium BC (see **Table 3**). The items included in the dowry lists of these contracts,⁵⁶⁰ presumably reflecting the social status of the Assyrian upper class living in Assur and Kalḫu, comprise what seem to be bed-clothes and garments. While the Assur text only includes garments, the two contracts from Kalḫu list both bed-clothes and items of clothing. Although the order of the listed commodities change in the two Nimrud texts, some items of the two groups, *i. e.* bedcovers or blankets (*dappastu*) and some types of garments (*gulēnu*, *gammīdu*, *ḫuzūnu*, *urnutu*), appear to have been characteristic components of brides' wardrobes of the 1st millennium BC. That some of the textiles of these dowries must be intended as *éléments de literie* is also evident from an inventory text from Nineveh, which qualifies the textiles *dappastu*, *qirmu*, *gulēnu*, *qarrāru* and SI.LUḪ as pertaining to the bed of the goddess Šērū'a.⁵⁶¹ Finally, it is interesting to note that a number of Assyrian dowry components (*dappastu*, *gulēnu*, *kitū*, *našbutu*, *qirmu*) also characterized the personal accoutrements of Babylonian women in the Late Babylonian period (6th–3rd centuries BC).⁵⁶²

558 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 3–4 [S]G.GAD]A *a-kil-tū* / [(x x) a-n]a *mal¹-di-di šā É—^r15^r*, “[Linen fib]re, consumption: [... talents, fo]r the *curtains* of the temple of Ištar.”

559 SAA 7, 115 r. i 10–11 [S]ÍG¹.ḪÉ.MED¹ *a-kil-tū* / 7 GÚ 10 MA UGU NU, “[R]ed wool, consumption: seven talents and ten minas, (for garments to be put) *upon statues (of the gods)*.”

560 CTN 2, 1:3'–12'; ND 2307:14–19, e.23–r.5 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); StAT 2, 164:10–14, 16.

561 SAA 7, 117 r.3–6. See Villard 2010, 390.

562 See Roth 1989–90, 30–32 for references.

4 Textiles in the trade of the Neo-Assyrian Empire

4.1 Assyrian trade in the 1st-millennium BC context

Textiles consumed in the Neo-Assyrian Empire came not only from the internal textile manufacture. A number of textile materials and end products were produced outside Assyria and were acquired through commercial activities. This leads us to study textiles in the context of trade that developed during the Neo-Assyrian Empire's dominion of the Near East and to analyse the ways textiles were traded and distributed in the economic system of Assyria. Unlike other traded commodities, textiles are generally invisible archaeologically. Only in fortunate cases we can rely on textile remains and combine the information from the material evidence with the huge amount of lexical and historical data that we can find in cuneiform written sources stemming from Mesopotamian archives. Due to their specific properties, textiles have always been a valuable trade good both in short and in long-distance trade. Textiles are lighter than metal objects and pottery, and this aspect has a positive impact on transportation costs. In comparison to foodstuffs, the textile products are not readily perishable. However, textile trade shares many analogies with other sectors of trade, since textiles are generally traded along with other goods in the same trading places and following the same trade routes.¹ Moreover, the fact that textiles come in a variety of colours and qualities make them a special category of commodities: also the complex series of processes required to transform raw materials into textiles played a significant role in textile trade, generating close connections between all the actors involved in this commercial sector.²

As far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, one wonders how textile trade was organized within the economic system controlled by the Empire and what were the textile products exchanged and the ways through which these trade commodities were distributed within the state sector. Understanding trade and distribution of trade goods in Assyria in the 1st millennium BC requires not only investigation of what the two concepts represented in the historical period in question. It also requires the examination of major socio-economic changes that were affecting the Near East as regards trade networks and groups involved in trading activities. Other important aspects in the elucidation of trade

¹ Gleba 2014, 125; Dross-Krüpe, Nosch 2016, 319.

² On this aspect, see Dross-Krüpe, Nosch 2016, 319.

and distribution in Assyria concern the value of the commodities exchanged in trade and the way they entered the palatine and domestic milieus. In the wake of the crisis in the Late Bronze period, one of the major changes in the Near Eastern economy concerned its westernmost region, which roughly extended from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates and consequently affected Anatolia, Syria, Palestine and the Aegean area. Here, the former palace-centered Bronze Age system and its economic activities collapsed. Various factors brought this situation about, including the development of nautical technology and camel caravans, which promoted the growth of trade horizons towards overseas regions in the Mediterranean and into the arid regions of the Arabian Peninsula and the Iranian plateau. The growth of trade in these areas resulted in the development of forms of control of the new routes to resources by new states. In the Iron Age, the development and spread of alphabetic writing was another important factor relating to the development of social groups involved in trade and in creating or strengthening new trade networks. As a consequence, in the Iron Age the political and economic *scenario* of the West was dominated by city-states and ethnic kingdoms, and especially by trade routes whose dimensions were incomparably larger than those of the 2nd millennium BC had been. More importantly, the routes connecting the foci of this new trade organization, represented by harbours and caravan cities, only marginally touched the main “markets” of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. These were the regions that corresponded to old urbanized areas where the main concentrations of population lived.³ Of course, the areas of ancient urbanization in the Upper and Lower Mesopotamia already enjoyed a long tradition in textile trading.

Trade in Assyria involved the exchange of goods against metals, generally silver, according to specific standards of weight. In Assyria during the 1st millennium BC, silver was used as money and its use in transactions was regulated according to three different weight norms.⁴ In the provinces and in the heartland of Assyria palaces were the establishments where income from taxation, trade and gifts was distributed among people belonging to the state sector. Assyria’s distribution system at the time was also characterized by payments of contributions as a commuted version of military and civil service (*ilku*) and by work-assignments to craftsmen (*iškāru*). While the former system served to relieve the state of the burden of distributing goods to various recipients, the latter restrain-

³ Liverani 2003, 130–137.

⁴ For the analysis of trade and money in Assyria see Radner 1999a and 1999b with previous literature.

ed the state's intervention by only allocating materials to specialists and by defining their obligation to supply certain end products.⁵

The mercantile role of the city of Assur in the textile trade with Anatolia is well attested in the early part of the 2nd millennium BC, when the city exported wool textiles produced not only in Assur, but also in southern Mesopotamia.⁶ Documents found in the merchants' archives of the commercial outpost in Kaneš (Kültepe) shed light on the private affairs of Old Assyrian families, whose women produced textiles that were then exported to Anatolia, where they were traded for silver and gold. Many letters from the private correspondence of these merchants' families give us a vivid picture about the active role of the Old Assyrian women living in Assur as producers of textiles and as managers of the home-based textile firm when their husbands were in Anatolia.⁷ It has been estimated that a textile workshop of a wealthy household in Old Assyrian Assur, possibly formed by ten female weavers, was probably able to fabricate around twenty *kutānum*-textiles annually, with a resulting gross income of three and a half minas of silver per year.⁸ Very few textile finds dated to the period of the Old Assyrian colony at Kaneš were discovered in Anatolia and no one of them comes from Kültepe. Among them, the textile remains from the site of Acmhöyük can shed further light on the textiles imported there from abroad, possibly from Egypt or the Levant.⁹ Other fragments have been recovered from Kaman-Kalehöyük, but only one piece of cloth could be interpreted as belonging to the clothing of the local dwellers or to a covering for furnishing.¹⁰ Future research on these and similar textile remnants in the archaeological evidence or

5 On distribution of income in the light of the economy of the Assyrian Empire see Postgate 1979b, 200–207.

6 For the textiles traded by Old Assyrian merchants in Anatolia see Veenhof 1972; Michel, Veenhof 2010, 210–271; Michel 2014a, 240; Michel 2014b, 111–122.

7 See, e.g., the letter that the woman Lamassī sends to her husband, in which she denies producing textiles of low-quality: “Why do you always write to me: ‘The textiles you used to send me are not good!’ Who is the fellow living in your house who is decrying the textiles when they arrive before him? As to me, on my side, I try my best to make and send you textiles in order that from each caravan trip (at least) 10 shekels of silver may accrue to your house.” (quoted from Michel 2014c, 206).

8 Andersson Strand, Breniquet, Michel 2017, 96. According to the estimates, one *kutānu*-textile was c. 2.5 kg in weight and c. 4 by 4.5 m in size.

9 The textile in question must have belonged to a very expensive linen fabric, since on one side a textile fragment is decorated with light and dark blued faience beads sewn on with gold thread. According to Barber, traces of decoration on the fragment comprise stacked chevrons and what seems to be a swastika or a meander. See Barber 1991, 171 and Andersson Strand, Breniquet, Michel 2017, 87. For a photograph of this textile, see Sözen 2000, 166.

10 Andersson Strand, Breniquet, Michel 2017, 87.

on textile imprints on clay *bullae* and tablets can complete our knowledge about the 2nd-millennium textile trade of the Assur merchants in the Anatolian region. Since *bullae* retained the imprints of the materials onto which they were applied, ongoing research on these clay items has identified imprints of different types of weaves. These imprints provide further evidence of the weave types attested in the Ancient Near East and may widen current knowledge about techniques and uses of textiles.

The interest in commercial activities by the people of Assur continued in the 1st millennium BC, when the city's inhabitants were granted exemptions by the state.¹¹ In Assur, private trading ventures are attested dating back to the Neo-Assyrian period. Merchants from Assur were involved in long distance trade involving various goods by river transport and overland journeys. Presumably, in addition to wine dyed wools were imported by these merchants from abroad.¹² The trade in textiles was also well attested in the Middle Assyrian kingdom of the Late Bronze Age. Texts from this period document the existence of an institutional and centralized production of textiles, with private establishments connected to internal production and export. Documents from the archive of Bābu-aḥa-iddina, a high-ranking individual in Assur's state elite during the reigns of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 BC) and Tukultī-Ninurta I (1243–1203 BC), show that his household was extensively involved in textile production. Here, dependent female workers manufactured textiles under work-assignment contracts. Compared to the Old Assyrian period, the Assyrian ruling class of the 2nd millennium BC was not directly involved in trade and got its economic resources from land ownership.¹³ However, trade in textiles played a role also during the Middle Assyrian period, when Assyria became a territorial state under the expansionist policy of energetic rulers. Texts from the aforementioned archive clearly show that the textiles produced by Bābu-aḥa-iddina's artisans were passed to merchants for export. Luxury textiles not available at home were acquired by the palace through engagement of Assyrian and foreign merchants.¹⁴ Textiles resulting from the work-assignment of a woman called Allanzu, for example, were given to a number of merchants for a trading expedition to the land of Canaan, confirming the export-oriented production of some of the textiles produced in

11 Sargon established exemptions to Assur and Ḥarrān, two cities which supported his rise to power. See Liverani 1997, 797.

12 See Postgate 1995, 405 on the possibility of trading in the western desert, which gave the Assyrian merchants access to caravan routes originating from Arabia.

13 Faist 2010, 17.

14 Faist 2010, 20.

Assur.¹⁵ It seems that merchants were regularly engaged in transporting and selling *išhanabe*- and *kusītu*-garments produced by Bābu-aḥa-iddina's household in the Levant. Presumably, these textiles were exchanged *in situ* for products which were available in the Levantine cities such as tin, antimony and ebony.¹⁶ Another text from this archive shows that clothing was also acquired by Bābu-aḥa-iddina through the activity of travelling merchants.¹⁷

From the 9th century to its collapse, at the end of the 7th century BC (612), Assyria developed into an imperial structure, reaching its phase of maximum territorial expansion during the 7th century BC, when the northern Mesopotamian state dominated a vast territory stretching from Egypt to the Zagros and from southern Anatolia to the Persian Gulf. This process of unification in the Near East was in later times also achieved by the Achaemenids and the Macedonians. The acquisition of goods exchanged along the caravan routes was one of the main concerns of the social elite ruling Assyria at the time of its greatest political and economic power in the Near Eastern *scenario*. To implement the acquisition of goods from various regions of the Empire as well as from abroad, the Assyrian kings established an efficient road-system that criss-crossed the imperial territory and connected it to the main caravan routes.¹⁸

4.2 Textile trade and Assyrian merchants

In Assyria, the crown owned and managed the Empire's economic system, directing large-scale investments towards infrastructures. The crown promoted and managed the procurement of goods of every sort both raw and finished, included textiles, and directed the redistribution of these goods within the state system. Exploitation of conquered regions in the adjacent western, northern and eastern areas was made in the form of tribute and booty. This is evident from the linen clothes and wool garments with multicoloured trim, as well as the dyed wool varieties redundantly mentioned among the foreign goods registered in royal inscriptions of Neo-Assyrian kings as tribute or booty. These products had been taken along the major trajectories of the Assyrian military expansionism, from

¹⁵ Postgate 2013, 219 on the text no. 62 of this archive.

¹⁶ Postgate 2013, 220.

¹⁷ Postgate 2013, 218 on the text no. 6.

¹⁸ On the road network of the Assyrian Empire see Astour 1995, 1417. Royal roads, called in Neo-Assyrian *ḥarrān šarri* or *ḥūl šarri*, are primarily documented in written sources, although linear features possibly belonging to some of these roads in the surroundings of Nineveh and Assur have been identified by satellite photograph surveys. See Ur 2017, 26.

the regions in the west (Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Transjordan, Arabia, Egypt), the north (southern Anatolia), the south (Babylonia) and the south-east (the northwestern Iranian area).¹⁹ In visual art, imported textiles occur rarely. In depictions of bearers of tribute and booty, textiles are displayed among other items forcefully acquired by the Assyrians during military campaigns, as can be observed in the Black Obelisk regarding Shalmaneser III's military activities in the Euphrates zone and the receipt of tribute from Marduk-apla-uṣur, a ruler

19 For linen clothes and wool garments with multicoloured trim, see, *e.g.*, Assurnaṣirpal II: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 i 79 (Šadikanni and Qatnu), 95 (Laqû), ii 123 (Bit-Zamāni, see also A.O.101.19:89), iii 55 (Bit-Adini, Til-Abni), 74 (Patinu, see also A.O.101.2:50; A.O.101.73), 78 (Iaḥānu), 87 (Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Maḥallatu, Maizu, Kaizu, Amurru and Arwad, see also A.O.101.2:30); Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.2 ii 22 (Patinu), 25 (Bit-Gabbari), ii 40 (unspecified areas of the seashore and the banks of the Euphrates); A.O.102.60 (Unqi); Adad-nērāri III: RIMA 3, A.O.104.7:7 (Damascus); Tiglath-pileser III: RINAP 1, 12:10' (Unqi); 32:9 (Kummuḥ, Damascus, Sam'ar, Tyre, Byblos, Que, Karkemiš, Hamath, Sam'al, Gurgum, Melid, Kaska, Tabal, Tuna, Tuḥana, Ištunda, Ḥubišna, the Arabs, [...]); 42:14' (Gaza); Sargon: Levine 1972, line ii 18 (Tabal); Esarhaddon: RINAP 4, 1 ii 76 (Sidon, see also 2 i 26; 6 ii' 20'). Esarhaddon also mentions garments of byssus, see RINAP 4, 103:21 (Egypt). Woollen garments with multicoloured trim alone are attested in Assurnaṣirpal II: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 ii 79 (Zamua, see also A.O.101.17 iii 107), ii 81 (Ḥudun, Ḥartišu, Ḥubušku and Gilzānu, see also A.O.101.17 iii 114), iii 7 (Bit-Ḥalupê), iii 47 (Laqû), Tiglath-pileser III: RINAP 1, 47:28 (Bit-Yakin). Only linen garments are attested in Assurnaṣirpal II: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 iii 71 (Patinu, see also A.O.101.2:47); Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.8:41' (Patinu). Interestingly, byssus, clothes with multicoloured trim and linen garments occur in Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.90 (Suḥi). For dyed wool see, *e.g.*, Assurnaṣirpal II: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 i 87–88 (blue-black wool and violet wool: Sūru, city of Bit-Ḥalupê); i 97 (blue-black wool: Ḥindānu); Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.1:95' (violet wool: Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al and Bit-Agūsi); A.O.102.2 ii 23 (violet wool: Patinu); Tiglath-pileser III: RINAP 1, 11:10' (violet wool: Karkemiš, [Gurgum?]). For linen and dyed wool see, *e.g.*, Assurnaṣirpal II: RIMA 2, A.O.101.1 iii 68 (blue-black and violet wool: Ḥatti). For wool clothes with polychromatic trim and linen garments along with dyed wool see, *e.g.*, Tiglath-pileser III: RINAP 1, 12:1' (blue-black and violet wool: various unknown lands, probably in the surroundings of Arpad); 15:3 (blue-purple and red-purple wool: Kaska, Tabal, Tuna, Tuḥana, [Ištunda], Ḥubišna and Arabs); 35 iii 21–22 (blue-purple and red-purple wool: Ḥatti, Aramaeans, Qedarites, Arabs, Kummuḥ, Damascus, Samaria, Tyre, Byblos, Que, Melid, Tabal, Atuna, Tuḥana, Ištunda, Ḥubišna, Kaska, Karkemiš, Sam'al, Gurgum); 47 r.12' (with garments of violet wool: Kummuḥ, Que, [Byblos, Tyre, Karkemiš], Hamath, Sam'al, Gurgum, [Melid, Kaska], Tabal, Tuna, Tuḥana, [Ištunda, Ḥubišna], Arwad, Ammon, Moab, [...], Ashkelon, Judah, Edom, [...], Gaza); Sargon: Mayer 1983, line 366 (blue-purple and unspecified wool varieties with garments of red wool: Urarṭu, Ḥabḥu, see also Fuchs 1998, IVb:49'–51'); Fuchs 1994, Ann. 407, 449 (blue-purple and red-purple wool: Kummuḥ and all the conquered lands, see also Prunk. 181–182); Sennacherib: RINAP 3/1, 4:56 (blue-purple and red-purple wool: Judah). For dyed wool and unspecified textiles see, *e.g.*, Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.2 ii 28–29 (violet wool: Karkemiš). For unspecified (dyed?) wool and linen garments see, *e.g.*, Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.6 iii 13–14 (Patinu). Unspecified wool is also attested in Shalmaneser III: RIMA 3, A.O.102.84 (Tyre, Sidon).

of Suḫi.²⁰ The epigraph illustrating this scene shows that the Assyrian scribe who composed this account was not interested in giving a detailed description of the types of textiles, since the inscription mentions in generic terms byssus (cloth or garments), (wool) clothing with multicoloured trim and linen (garments).²¹ In contrast, in the carved scene the items brought with a long pole by the tribute bearers seem to be two fringed carpets or curtains, presumably a typical luxury textile produced or traded in the land of Suḫi. The same textiles, rolled and suspended from carrying poles, are also depicted on fragments of the bronze bands that decorated the temple gates at Imgur-Enlil (Balawat) as the tribute paid to the Assyrian king by the cities of Tyre and Sidon.²² Tubb interprets the items as “skeins of dyed wool”, although the ending parts of the suspended textiles are similar to the fringed extremities of the textiles represented in the Black Obelisk. Similar textiles are also carved on Shalmaneser III’s throne dais from Nimrud; in this case, the items are transported by tribute-bearers coming from the land of Unqi.²³

The forceful acquisition of goods was however also supplemented by peaceful trade relationships between the Empire and foreign polities. The volume of business that resulted from these peaceful relationships has been considered by scholars as not quantitatively relevant when compared to forceful acquisition of goods.²⁴ But the silence about trade in royal inscriptions can be ascribed to the ideological background of Assyrian kingship. If we look at categories of textual sources that lie outside the channels of the official records, such as administrative records and letters from the royal correspondence, we can see that various forms of imported goods from international trade reached the Assyrian cities in addition to tribute or booty.²⁵ Of course, written sources largely concern themselves with royal affairs and the palace-orientation of the evidence has probably determined the comparatively rare attestations in the texts of mercantile activity, especially in the private sector. Another reason for the scarcity of attestations of merchants’ transactions may be attributed to the use of perishable writing materials, the common tools used for Aramaic alphabetic script that in those very centuries was adopted by scribes of the Assyrian administration. These limits prevents us from reaching a full understanding of the trade and

²⁰ Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 54.

²¹ RIMA 3, A.O.102.90 *bu-u-ši TÚG.lu-búl-ti bir-me u GADA.MEŠ*. It is worth noting that the campaign against Suḫi is not recorded in the preserved texts of Shalmaneser III.

²² Tubb 2014, 136 fig. 44a-b.

²³ Albenda 1978, 2.

²⁴ See Renger 2003, 36.

²⁵ Radner 2004a, 156.

transactions made by merchants, but it is clear that trade existed and more importantly represented another channel for the provisioning the court and the state sector along with taxation.

In this political and economic *scenario*, the *tamkārus*, “the merchants”, played a significant role in the acquisition of certain commodities to supply the needs of the Assyrian state machinery as well as for the development of the private economy, although the latter is poorly documented. Memories of the Assyrian merchants and their activity in the Near East emerge from the words of the prophet Nahum, who spoke of Assyria’s merchants as being “more numerous than the stars of heaven”.²⁶ But who were these Assyrian merchants? From what we can learn from written sources in the Neo-Assyrian archives, they were members of the palace elite who in their mercantile activity acted as royal agents.²⁷ For the acquisition of the commodities needed by the king, the royal family, and the ruling class living in the capital and the major cities of Nineveh, Assur and Kalḫu, the Assyrian merchants, equipped with diplomatic and military competences, travelled along the main overland trading routes within and outside the Empire’s territory, using routes such as those connecting Assyria with Babylonia, Arabia, Egypt, Anatolia and Iran. Their primary trading role seems to be concerned with the procurement of goods regularly needed to support the state machinery, especially the royal army—horses, slaves and various raw materials such as metals²⁸—but they also acquired other important commodities, including textiles. Names of merchants mentioned in lists of debts in silver, possibly due to the palace, indicate the connection between such agents and the state.²⁹ The crown equipped them with large sums of money to allow them to purchase various commodities on their business travels.

Textiles of every sort and provenance were among the goods traded by the Assyrian *tamkārus*. For textiles originating from maritime trade, the Assyrian merchants probably relied on the Phoenicians, whose expertise in sailing is witnessed by depictions of Phoenician ships in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs and other artefacts.³⁰ Other groups providing textiles to Assyrian merchants come from regions adjacent to Assyria. One example of such a group is the *ḫundurāius* of the city of Assur, a professional group who were either textile makers them-

²⁶ *Nah.* 3:16.

²⁷ Radner 1999a, 101–103. This does not exclude, however, that these royal *tamkārus* also operated in independent trade and that other categories of merchants were active in 1st-millennium Assyria. See the discussion in Graslin-Thomé 2009, 401–405.

²⁸ See Postgate 1979b, 207.

²⁹ SAA 7, 30 iii 9’–10’; 32 i 10’; 39 i’ 4’–5’, 8’–9’.

³⁰ Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 71.

selves or, as suggested by Postgate, professional transporters³¹ whose possible Iranian origin probably favoured the trade connections with the Iranian area.³² The role played by Iranian merchants is also echoed in the *Book of Ezekiel*, which mentions dealers from Assyria and Media and the fine textiles (“violet cloths and brocades, stores of coloured fabric rolled up and tied with cords”) exported by these traders to Tyre.³³ Agents involved in trading activities with Anatolia and Egypt also had a significant role in the acquisition of textiles from these two important economic regions, and local intermediators indigenous to those lands were certainly involved in Assyrian trade. Thanks to their role of intermediators Phoenicians, Philistines and Arabs were probably involved in the Assyrian trade with Egypt, a country from which fine linen garments and papyrus were imported into the Empire.³⁴

To achieve its goals in the procurement of textiles exchanged along the main trading routes, the Assyrian state also cooperated with local polities. This was done through a variety of means: by settling Assyrians at strategic crossroads of the trade routes, by establishing a number of commercial ports (*kāru*) along frontiers of the Empire and trade routes of the submitted regions,³⁵ and by direct control of foreign polities and their commercial networks. The re-location of nomads was another means employed by the Assyrians to reach specific goods that were exchanged along caravan routes, such as in the case of Arab trade.³⁶ It was thanks to the multiple means of exploitation involved and their flexible application to different local polities that the Assyrian Empire’s economic growth reached its peak during the 7th century. Of course, it is reasonable to assume that local foreign polities also strongly benefitted in caravan trading under the protection granted by Assyria.³⁷

To the Assyrians, Southern Mesopotamia represented a rich trade network. In the 1st millennium, the city of Nippur (Nuffar) was an important trade centre³⁸ which, thanks to its location on the pastoral frontier of Babylonia, imported large amounts of wool from the adjacent regions populated by Aramaean and Chaldean pastoralists. From letters in the Governor’s archive dating back to the mid-8th century BC, we learn that wool, especially blue-purple and red-pur-

31 Postgate 1995, 405–406.

32 Radner 2007, 196.

33 *Ez.* 27:23–24.

34 Elat 1978, 21, 28–32.

35 Radner 2004a, 157–162; Graslin-Thomé 2009, 370.

36 Eph’al 1982, 106.

37 Radner 2004a, 155.

38 Cole 1996, 56–68.

ple wool, was processed into fine textile products in Nippurean textile workshops by local weavers. Purple dyes were probably obtained by Chaldeans from Phoenicia from the trading caravans via northern Arabia or Syria.³⁹ During the Neo-Assyrian period, Chaldeans were able to achieve control of the commercial routes of southern Mesopotamia, consolidating their political enclaves in Babylonia by gaining direct access to high value goods from Arabia, the Levant and Egypt that were available through the caravan trade.⁴⁰ The presence of merchants from northern Arabia is attested in 1st-millennium sources, and their commercial activities certainly strengthened trading connections between southern Mesopotamia and Arabia, allowing the Babylonian cities access to Arabic goods.⁴¹ Although the letters from Nippur do not specify the destination of these luxury garments, it is probable that they were traded abroad.⁴² One of the Assyrian conquerors' main concerns was to achieve direct control of Nippur's textile trade and thereby control the tribes that traded along the caravan routes connecting Babylonia with the Euphrates valley, the Iranian plateau, and northern Arabia. The Assyrian Empire's economic interest in the Babylonian "textile market" is seen in some Babylonian cuneiform dockets found in Dūr-Šarrukēn (Khorsabad) and Kalḫu. These inscribed objects, which accompanied the bundles of dyed wool transported to Assyria from southern Mesopotamia, could indicate the existence of peaceful trade exchanges between Assyria and the Chaldeans involved in the southern textile trade.⁴³ Further information on the textiles that reached Babylonia from adjacent regions and attracted Assyrian interests may be found in letters of the Sargonid royal correspondence from southern Mesopotamian cities. In one of the missives sent from Uruk (Warka), Marduk-nāšir mentions a caravan coming from Laḫīru and wool transported from Bit-Imbī,⁴⁴ two regions lying at the border of Elam and certainly representing the endpoints of caravan routes originating in Elam and the Iranian area. Another letter, possibly from Babylon, enumerates various goods of unknown provenance, among which first quality wool, *našbatu*-garments, one garment of first-quality wool and one hat.⁴⁵

³⁹ Cole 1996, 64.

⁴⁰ Fales 2011, 97.

⁴¹ See, e.g., letter SAA 18, 153, concerning the arrest of a merchant from Tēma (Tayma), an important trade city in northern Arabia.

⁴² Cole 1996, 61.

⁴³ Dalley, Postgate 1984, 139.

⁴⁴ SAA 17, 136:6–11.

⁴⁵ SAA 18, 19:3'–4', 7'–9'.

In comparison to other Near Eastern polities, the Assyrians allowed the Phoenician cities and Babylonia—two important and wealthy trade centers—to retain a certain degree of self-determination.⁴⁶ This was done to avoid disruption to local trade and to take the maximum profit from it. In order to acquire goods otherwise inaccessible, the Assyrians preferred to control the income from the Phoenician trade instead of directly controlling the territory of the Phoenician cities. Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur’s letter to the Assyrian king provides a good illustration of the relationships between Assyria and Tyre at the beginnings of the Assyrian dominion of Phoenicia (738–734 BC). The governor of Šimarra reports to the king the agreement concluded with Tyrians, according to which they were free to go to and from the trading posts (*kārāni*) and sell or buy as they wished.⁴⁷ In addition, Assyrian tax-collectors were appointed in the ports of trade in order to levy taxes on the trees felled in Mount Lebanon. The freedom granted by the Assyrians to the local population was not unlimited, however. According to Qurdi-Aššur-lāmur’s words, Sidonites were not allowed to sell wood to the Egyptians or to Philistines,⁴⁸ two strong trade competitors of the Assyrians in the area. Similar limitations were certainly applied to other wares. The treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba’al, king of Tyre, is another important piece of evidence attesting to the deliberate intention of the Empire to allow Phoenician commercial activities to proceed within a certain degree of autonomy. In fact, the Phoenician ruler was allowed free access to all the trade ports on the Mediterranean coast.⁴⁹ It was only when the city-states of the Phoenician coast violated the treaties with the

⁴⁶ See Postgate 1979b, 206; Bedford 2009, 57–58.

⁴⁷ SAA 19, 22:5–13.

⁴⁸ SAA 19, 22:24–e.27.

⁴⁹ See SAA 2, 5 r. iii 18’–26’ *an-nu-te* KAR.MEŠ KASKAL.MEŠ šá ¹*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*aš-šur a-na* ¹*ba-a-lu* ARAD-šú ¹*ip-qī*’-[*du-ni*] / *a-na* URU.*a-ku-u* URU.*du-u’-ri* *ina na-gi-e* KUR.*pi-lis-te gab*-[*bu* 0’] / *ù ina* URU.MEŠ *ta-ḥu-me* šá KUR—*aš-šur*.KI šá *ši-di tam-tim gab*-[*bu* 0] / *ù ina* URU.*gu-ub-lu* KUR.*lab-na*-[*na*] URU.MEŠ šá *ina* KUR-*i gab-b*[*u* 0] / *am—mar* URU.MEŠ [šá ¹*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*aš-šur* ¹*ba-a-lu* URU.MEŠ [*x x*] / KUR.*šur-ra-a-a* ¹*pit*’-*ti*’ šá’ ¹*aš-šur*—PAB—AŠ MAN KUR—*aš-šur*.[KI] *i-din*’-[*dš-šú-ni*] / *ina* ŠÀ GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ-šú-*nu* *ù am—mar e*’-¹*rab*’-*u-ni* *ina* ŠÀ URU.MEŠ šá [*x x x*] / URU.MEŠ-šú URU.ŠE.MEŠ-šú KAR.MEŠ-šú šá *a-na na-še-e* [*x x x x x x x*] / *am—mar a-ḥi-ta-te-šú-nu-u-ni ki-i šá ina la-bi*-[*ri x x x x x x*], “These are the ports of trade and the trade routes which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, [entrusted] to his servant Ba’al: to Akko, Dor, to the entire district of the Philistines, and to all the cities within Assyrian territory on the seacoast, and to Byblos, the Lebanon, all the cities in the mountains, all (these) being cities of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria. Ba’al [*may enter these*] cities. The people of Tyre [will], in accordance with what Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, has *per*[mitted, stay] in their ships, and all those who enter into the towns of [...], his town, his villages, his ports of trade which [...] for collecting [toll ...], and all (the places) in their outskirts, will [*pay toll*], as in the past.”

Empire that the Assyrian kings moved in force against them. The treatment meted out to Sidon, which was conquered and reduced to an Assyrian province in 677 BC demonstrates that the military option was considered as a last resort for those who refused to cooperate peacefully with the conquerors. Just five years after the conclusion of the treaty with Esarhaddon, Tyre itself was conquered after refusal to abide by the former agreement with Assyria. In practice, these agreements were often violated by local rulers and merchants, as can be inferred from letters concerning the Phoenician city of Arwad. Here, Ikkilû, the king of Arwad, is referred to in an Itti-Šamaš-balāṭu's letter as the one who systematically impounded the boats going to the port of the Assyrian king, turning the trade and its profit for himself.⁵⁰ Presumably, these boats transported goods from other harbours along the Syro-Palestinian coast, as well as from Egypt and the Aegean. The successor of Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal, imposed a yearly tribute on Ikkilû, consisting of gold, reddish wool, black wool, fish and birds.⁵¹

As regards the favorable treatment of Babylonia manifested during the reigns of Sargon, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, the privileges and the tax concessions for the inhabitants of the Babylonian cities were recognized by the Assyrians and certainly constituted an integral facet of controlling the local trade and its important resources.⁵² The purpose underlying the preferential treatment is clearly expressed in Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions, in which he claims to have opened up the roads of Babylon to allow the resettled inhabitants to develop trade and communication with all the other lands.⁵³

Other Near Eastern regions were highly valued as production centres for high-quality dyed wool. One such region was Anatolia with which Assyria had enjoyed strong commercial ties since the early 2nd millennium BC, as mentioned above. Ašipâ, a governor operating on the northern frontier of the Assyrian Empire who wrote various letters to Sargon, was also concerned with procurement of red wool (*tabrîbu*) for the king.⁵⁴ In this case, local Anatolian wool was procured through tax collection. However, this is not the sole attestation of the trade in Anatolian wool in Neo-Assyrian sources. According to a letter sent by Crown Prince Sennacherib to his father Sargon, the emissaries of Kummuḥ, an important Anatolian region from which dyed wool was imported into Assyria, question the competence of merchants to select the red(?) wool (SĪG.MEŠ LUM.-

⁵⁰ SAA 16, 127:15–21.

⁵¹ BIWA 186 r.27 and PNA 2/I, 488b s.v. *Iakin-Lû*.

⁵² See the letters SAA 17, 21; 23; 145; SAA 18, 158.

⁵³ RINAP 4, 105 vii 38–42.

⁵⁴ SAA 5, 28:7–10.

LUM.MEŠ) that constituted the king's tribute. It seems that only the king's female weavers were considered to be expert enough among the palace staff to check the quality of Kummuhean wool.⁵⁵ Other Anatolian textile products also reached Assyria, as may be inferred from the mention of reinforced underclothes from Phrygia.⁵⁶ In the 1st millennium BC, a well-developed textile manufacture flourished in Phrygia, the land called Muški in cuneiform sources. This powerful kingdom in Central Anatolia was far enough to avoid a direct military intervention by Assyria. However, the support given by this state to polities bordering the areas controlled by Assyria as well as the revolts of the Assyrian vassals in the north-western parts of the Empire in the late 8th century BC constituted a serious threat to the Assyrian dominion. A diplomatic agreement between Mitâ, the king of Muški, and Sargon at the end of the 8th century represents an attempt to end the hostility between the two states.⁵⁷ In all likelihood, commercial connections intensified between Phrygia and Assyria as a result of this concordat⁵⁸ and various end products from Gordion textile workshops were exported to Assyria. The high reputation credited to Phrygian textiles and textile craftsmanship in antiquity and especially the finds (various tools and textile fragments) from the Citadel Mound in Gordion⁵⁹ confirm that the local textile industry was highly developed in this Anatolian state of the Iron Age.⁶⁰ Presumably, textiles produced in Gordion workshops were among the goods that entered Assyria in the form of diplomatic prestige gifts or traded goods. The mass production of textiles in standardized workshop units in the Terrace and Clay Cut Building in the Citadel Mound of Gordion corroborates the hypothesis that not only luxury textiles were fabricated by Phrygian artisans. Presumably, also various textile products of ordinary use and different qualities were produced in these state-controlled workshops. These textiles probably served many purposes: some of which were produced with the purpose of supplying the local standing army of the Phrygians, others for export.⁶¹ Perhaps, it was in Anatolia or thanks to Anatolian

55 SAA 1, 33:19–r.3.

56 SAA 7, 126:4.

57 On Mitâ's messengers bearing tribute to Sargon in 709 BC see Fuchs 1994, Ann. 389; Prunk. 152. See also the letter of the Assyrian governor in Que, reporting to the king on the extradition of men from Que. Assyria's response to Mitâ's friendly initiative consisted in extraditing some Phrygian subjects. See SAA 1, 1:1–r.56.

58 See Kuhrt 1995, 566 discussing on eastern imports found in Gordion.

59 Burke 2010, 114–153.

60 An analysis of the loom weights, spindle-whorls, ivory and bone implements, iron needles, bronze and iron knives found in the Terrace and Clay Cut units in the Citadel Mound of Gordion is presented in Burke 2010, 114–150.

61 Burke 2010, 152–153.

intermediators that other exotic commodities from this area reached Assyria, such as the Cimmerian shoes recorded in an administrative inventory of various goods.⁶² Invasions of Cimmerians and Scythians were threatening Urartian and Anatolian cities during Sargon's reign as well as in the mid-7th century BC.

It is reasonable to think that the Empire's strategy to promote trade in important trade areas such as Phoenicia and Babylonia must have been counterbalanced by analogous efforts to develop commercial life also in the major cities of central Assyria, although this is hard to document, especially in the domain of private commercial activities.⁶³ Private trade certainly existed in the Assyrian Empire, but it is scarcely attested in the extant sources. A few attestations show that *tamkārus* did not only act as crown agents in home and foreign trading activities, but had their private business as well. An idea of this can be gained from SAA 11, 26, a memorandum from 7th century Nineveh on transactions done by some Assyrian merchants. The broken part at the top of the tablet prevents us to know the purpose of the document. According to the text, the *tamkārus* mentioned in the memorandum operated in Ḥarrān, an important city in western Syria, and traded various goods, among which textiles. Linen garments (*kitū*) and tunics(?) (*šaddīnu*), as well as dyed wool occur as the wares purchased by a number of traders. This text not only sheds light on the mobility of merchants of different provenance within the imperial territory, but, more importantly, also documents private trading. In fact, all the persons mentioned in the document are described as involved in exchanging their merchandise against silver for their own profit, not for the Assyrian state.⁶⁴ This means that merchants did not operate exclusively for the crown's interests and, more importantly, the same lavish textiles which constituted the palace income were also part of a parallel non-state-controlled trade whose purpose was private profit. In all likelihood, the special commercial nature of textiles as merchandise with a high value-to-weight ratio and the fact that textiles, thanks to their flexibility and lightness, could be easily stored by merchants in bales of variable size and weight between heavier commodities of a cargo (e.g., pottery, metals, stones) must have facilitated private and non-state controlled trade of both luxury and common textile products in the major "market places" of the Empire's territory.⁶⁵

⁶² SAA 7, 120 ii' 7–8.

⁶³ According to Postgate 1979b, 207 the inhabitants of the old Assyrian cities would have expanded their commercial activities thanks to their favoured position in the central region of the Empire.

⁶⁴ See the discussion on this document in Fales, Postgate 1995, xix.

⁶⁵ See Radner 2016, 225 for traded textiles used as packing material to protect supplies as well as silver funds. A comparison with the economic systems of other large polities of the ancient

The same text mentions other goods purchased in Ḥarrān and these include iron, silver, dyed skins, cured skins and boxes of unknown commodities.⁶⁶ In this document, two linen garments are recorded as purchased by an unnamed Aramaean merchant,⁶⁷ while five tunics(?) were acquired from a merchant from the land of Kumuḥ.⁶⁸ Instead, the origin and identity of the purchaser of the amounts of black (*ṣalittu*) and red wool (*sāntu*) are not preserved in the tablet.⁶⁹ *Kitūs* and *šaddīnus* were high-value items of clothing at the time and trade in these garments seems to have been controlled by the state. Taxes collected by governors in the Assyrian provinces also included textiles. The provincial tribute delivered by Adda-ḥāti, governor of Hamath, to Sargon comprises two *šaddīnus* and three *kitūs*.⁷⁰ This is also clear if one looks at a letter by Sennacherib, the crown prince, which enumerates fine textiles from tribute received from the Levant. The textiles, some of which categorized as tribute (*maddattu*) and others as audience gifts (*nāmurtu*), comprised linen garments (*kitû*), tunics(?) (*šaddīnu*) of unspecified material, probably linen, a small number of tunics(?) made of *būṣu*, possibly a very fine quality of linen, and Hasaeen tents. The recipients of these textiles are listed in this letter: from the extant lines of the tablet we learn that these luxurious textiles had to be assigned to the Palace, the queen, the crown prince, the grand vizier, the second vizier, the commander-in-chief, the *sartennu*, the chief eunuch, the palace superintendent, the overseer of the domestic quarters, the palace scribe, the chariot driver and the “third man”.⁷¹ It is worth noting that the quota of tribute and audience gifts to be assigned to the queen’s household is listed in this epistle immediately after that of the Palace.⁷² This confirms the important role played by the queen in the Neo-Assyrian state hierarchy and organization. The share of the Palace, queen and crown prince, as well as the quotas for the high officials were checked and sealed by the scribes of the central administration, and specific labels—in all likelihood sealed using the stamp

world can give us useful insights into transportation costs in connection with textile products. As regards transportation costs for textiles in the Roman Empire’s economy, Broekaert observes that textiles could also have been used to protect more vulnerable commodities during the commercial travel. See Broekaert 2016, 39 with previous literature on this aspect.

66 SAA 11, 26:1’-r.4. In the case of the 301 dyed skins, the transaction is said to have taken place in Kalḥu, not in Ḥarrān. See *ibidem*, 8’-9’.

67 SAA 11, 26 r.5-6.

68 SAA 11, 26 r.8-9.

69 SAA 11, 26 r.11-13.

70 SAA 1, 176:8.

71 SAA 1, 34:8-r.21’.

72 SAA 1, 34:14-16, r.8’-9’.

seals of the relevant offices—were probably prepared by them to facilitate storage and distribution of the items.

In Assyrian, the term *kitû* designated not only flax and a linen garment,⁷³ but also linen textiles that could have different destinations, for instance, as covering for furnishings⁷⁴ or carts.⁷⁵ As to the *šaddīnu*, it was a luxury garment of linen.⁷⁶ Those made of byssus (*būšu*) were highly appreciated by the Assyrian ruling class: the number of byssus *šaddīnus*, a small fraction if compared to the total number of these garments sent to the Palace (four byssus *šaddīnus* vs. 20 *šaddīnus* [= 10 ordinary(?) *šaddīnus* and 10 large *šaddīnus*])⁷⁷ is also indicative of the high-status of the few that could wear such a garment at the Assyrian royal court. That the *šaddīnu*-garment was peculiar to royal wardrobe is also evident from the presence of such a garment among the precious objects plundered by Esarhaddon's soldiers in the conquest of Memphis.⁷⁸ Another possible indication that most of the Levantine linen textiles listed in Sennacherib's letter ultimately came from Egypt,⁷⁹ the home of linen industry, is given perhaps from the mention of scrolls of papyrus in this letter,⁸⁰ a writing material of Egyptian origin that could have been used by those Assyrian scribes who used Aramaic script in their everyday record-keeping.⁸¹ *Kitûs* and *šaddīnus* also come together in a Nimrud document listing goods from Ashkelon; presumably, these were Egyptian products which were available in the Philistine trade. In this text, 50 *šaddīnus* are listed and totaled with the generic term *miḥṣu*, "woven textiles".⁸² Instead, a specific and low number of the same item of clothing is mentioned aside in the text and simply qualified by the scribe as *damqu*, "fine".⁸³ Perhaps, these *šaddīnus* were of a very fine quality of linen and corresponding to those of

⁷³ 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; SAA 20, 32:21; StAT 3, 1 r.32. See AHW, 495b; CAD K, 473a; CDA, 163a; AEAD, 51a.

⁷⁴ For *kitûs* used as covering of beds and chairs see SAA 7, 115 r. ii 5.

⁷⁵ For Aššur-ālik-pāni's request for new carts, possibly furnished with NIM.[MA] ṛTUG².GADA ša KI.TA KUŠ.ṛtu²-nim-me, "linen abo[ve] and tunimmu-leather below", see SAA 5, 152 r.10–11.

⁷⁶ CTN 2, 155 r. v 13'; ND 2307 r.2 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); SAA 11, 26 r.8.

⁷⁷ SAA 1, 34:11.

⁷⁸ RINAP 4, 103:21. The booty list is fragmentary and, therefore, it is not possible to know if other precious textiles were included. See comments in Elat 1978, 25.

⁷⁹ See also Elat 1978, 30–31.

⁸⁰ SAA 1, 34 r.19'.

⁸¹ Elat 1978, 31.

⁸² ND 2672:23–24 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387).

⁸³ ND 2672:29 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387) 4 TÚG.ša-din SIG₅.MEŠ.

byssus of Sennacherib's missive. Byssus was not a novelty for Assyrian traders, since, according to what is referred to by Shalmaneser III as regards tribute from the land of Suḫi,⁸⁴ this material was available along with coloured wool and linen textiles in the central Euphratic region, presumably as goods imported from the Levant. The Assyrian interest for Egyptian linen in the late Neo-Assyrian period is also evident from an inscription, attributed to Esarhaddon, in which the king mentions various Egyptian artisans brought to Assyria, including *kāširus* and clothes menders,⁸⁵ as well as 1586 bolts of woven linen.⁸⁶ The interest for Egyptian linen continued in Mesopotamia. Neo-Babylonian documents show that linen fabrics of Egyptian provenance were highly esteemed in Babylonia, although it is hard to determine the extent of consumption of imported linen against that produced locally.⁸⁷

The existence of independent trade in the hands of merchants from different provenance and the state's interests in controlling it also emerge from a letter such as the one sent by Aššur-rēšūwa to Sargon, where the author, who operated in the northern frontier of the Empire, describes the illegal trade of the inhabitants of Bususu, a city in the area of present-day Kurdistan. These are accused to purchase Assyrian luxury items in Kalḫu and Nineveh and to sell these wares to people of Kumme,⁸⁸ a city in the vicinity of Bususu. It is possible that the category of *šaḫittu*, "luxury item", used by Aššur-rēšūwa to describe the commodities exchanged in this illegal trade, also comprised textiles, presumably available in the major Assyrian cities. Kummeans, instead, are involved in transporting these Assyrian wares to Urarṭu and to import other goods from that land.⁸⁹ This piece of information sheds important light on private commercial life in Assyrian cities and at the border as well as the difficulty faced by the Assyrian state to control these activities.

Foreign linen and wool textiles were regularly acquired by Assyrian merchants in centres of international trade, as in the above-mentioned case of Ḥar-rān, an important trading centre of western Syria where dealers of different provenance regularly met for their private affairs. Another important Syrian centre where Assyrian merchants acquired foreign textiles and, perhaps, exchanged Assyrian textiles against silver, was Hamath. A document from Assur listing textiles destined to the Aššur Temple, perhaps to be used as vestments for cultic person-

⁸⁴ RIMA 3, 90.

⁸⁵ RINAP 4, 9 i' 12', 14'.

⁸⁶ RINAP 4, 9 ii' 14'.

⁸⁷ Quillien 2014, 276–277.

⁸⁸ SAA 5, 100:12–16.

⁸⁹ SAA 5, 100:16–r.5.

nel and as textiles for other destinations in the sanctuary, are qualified as “*kuzippus* from Hamath”.⁹⁰ This probably indicates that these items were all imported to Assyria through trading activities conducted by *tamkārus* in that city. The merchandise available in Hamath reflected the provenance of the dealers operating in that city. In fact, among the items of Hamathean origin listed in the Assur text we find a Tabalean SI.LUḪ⁹¹ and a Babylonian *niksu*.⁹² Tabal is mentioned as one of the places of origin of wool garments with multicoloured trim and linen clothes, as well as dyed wool, in royal annals of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon.⁹³ The presence of exotic items was not limited to these textiles. From other texts we are informed about textiles imported from the Levant and specific items of military clothing of Anatolian origin, as may be observed in the case of a number of *urnutus* imported from Byblos in an administrative record from Nineveh⁹⁴ and in that of *šupālitu ḫalluptus* of Phrygian origin occurring among various items assigned(?) to Assyrian state officials.⁹⁵ In a letter sent by Nabû-šumu-lišir to Sargon, the issue of clothes to a king’s relative and his wife is described. This piece of information is very interesting, since gives us an idea of the wardrobe used by members of the royal family during journeys. Abu-erība, the *zēr šarri*, receives a *kusītu*, a wool cover and a *mušiptu*-garment threaded(?) according to the Tukriš tradition or fashion.⁹⁶ Analogous clothes were probably given to his consort and their personal attendants,⁹⁷ although the text is silent about that. It is not clear whether the Tukrišean textile was a Babylonian imitation of features that were peculiar to the textile manufacture of this garment in Tukriš or, alternatively, a *mušiptu* imported from Tukriš.⁹⁸ Textiles from Tukriš, a place possibly located in the Iranian area,⁹⁹ were imported to Babylonia since the 2nd millennium BC.¹⁰⁰

Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions give no details on the specific textiles imported into Assyria as tribute or booty from conquered regions and standard de-

90 StAT 3, 1 e.35.

91 StAT 3, 1 r.24.

92 StAT 3, 1 r.31.

93 See fn. 19 of this chapter for references.

94 SAA 7, 108 r. ii’ 4’.

95 SAA 7, 126:4.

96 SAA 17, 122:7–9.

97 SAA 17, 122:15–e.18.

98 Fuchs 2014, 175a.

99 See Groneberg 1980, 239 for the identification of this place with the region of Luristan. However, this localization is far from certain. According to Fuchs 2014, 174b, this place was probably located in the Iranian region or in Central Asia.

100 Fuchs 2014, 175a.

nominations of textile products concern *lubulti birme*, “garments with multicoloured trim”, as already observed. In other passages dealing with tribute or booty, we also find the generic mention of textiles *mātišunu*, “of their country”.¹⁰¹ It is not stated what kind of textiles were intended in this generic definition and what were their specific characteristics. In all likelihood, the decorative design of the *birmu*, possibly, a detachable piece of cloth¹⁰² to be used for the fabrication of girdles and border strips, varied according to the place of production. If so, a Tabalean *birmu* was probably different from that from central Syria, Phoenicia or Zagros mountains. In Assyria, the *birmu* was a characteristic element of articles of clothing¹⁰³ as well as bedcovers,¹⁰⁴ as we will see below.

The continuous import of these foreign clothes from the West certainly increased the demand for new exotic textiles by the Assyrian elite during the 8th and 7th centuries. An idea of the commodities imported from abroad can be gained by a letter from the royal correspondence of King Esarhaddon. A delivery of large amounts of linen thread, red and black wool, as well as alum and natron, are mentioned as imported goods from the West in a letter sent by a certain Marduk-šarru-ušur to Esarhaddon.¹⁰⁵ With the exception of alum and natron, the same commodities are listed in a long record of linen, dyeing substances and red wool from Nineveh; according to the concluding lines of this document, these goods were not acquired by the state as tribute (literally, “from the magnates”), but were bought,¹⁰⁶ presumably through the activity of royal merchants. Also the qualification KAR, “of the commercial port”, in opposition to KUR, “of the country”, that we regularly encounter in Ninevite labels and lists enumerating various textiles exchanged and consumed in the government sector of the Assyrian Empire¹⁰⁷ may possibly be referred to respectively products imported from abroad through trading activities and products deriving from taxation. In all likelihood, the amounts of alum and natron mentioned in Marduk-šarru-ušur’s epistle were imported from Egypt through the Levantine trade posts. Workers possibly specialized in the procurement or selling of alum to the palace are attested during the early Neo-Assyrian period, as may be ob-

101 RINAP 1, 12:1’; 47 r.12’.

102 See Dalley 1991, 120, 124; Postgate 2014, 408.

103 SAA 7, 97 r.5; 99:1; 105:6’, 7’. See also StAT 3, 1 r.23, 25, 28.

104 StAT 3, 1:9.

105 SAA 16, 82.

106 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 21–23. See the discussion in Radner 2004a, 156.

107 For textile labels and lists from Nineveh see, respectively, SAA 7, 93–106 and SAA 7, 107–116. One label mentioning textiles is also documented in the city of Assur. See KAN 4, 14. For these texts see the discussion in Radner 2004a, 156–157.

served by an Assurnaširpal II's edict.¹⁰⁸ These alum-specialists worked in connection with artisans employed in both leather and textile industry. To fix the colorant to the vegetal and animal fibres a mordant was required. Although alum can also be found in Mesopotamia, it was regularly imported from western regions.¹⁰⁹ In Middle Assyrian times, alum was imported from Egypt,¹¹⁰ a practice that certainly continued in the 1st millennium BC, as witnessed by the Neo-Babylonian attestations.¹¹¹ Another source for alum, presumably extracted from alunite, was Anatolia.¹¹² In its native state alum was found in the form of efflorescences or deposits in argillaceous or carboniferous rocks in desert places such as the oases of the western Egyptian desert.¹¹³ It was probably from a place like present-day El-Shab that in antiquity alum was transported to various trade posts in the Levant and from there to Assyria. The trade in alum and natron from Egypt continued in Classical times. According to Classical authors, alum and natron were imported into the Greek world from this country.¹¹⁴

Although the aforesaid textile labels and lists from the central state administration are written with shorthand and many parts are fragmentary, they provide useful insights into the textile products consumed in the Neo-Assyrian state sector. It is not easy to understand whether these qualifications refer to the textile itself or to the colour, usually red.¹¹⁵ The Assyrian reading of the logogram KAR as *kāru*, “port”, has been definitely established on the basis of the occurrence given in a Nimrud text dealing with wool.¹¹⁶ Textiles for which both a variety called KUR, “of the country” (henceforth C), and one called KAR, “of

108 SAA 12, 83 r.15. One wonders whether the profession called *ša-parzillišu*, “iron man”, attested in ND 2440 r. ii 7, 9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 26, pl. XIII), had also something to do with the procurement of iron as mordant in dyeing. Iron is mentioned along with other mordants in the Assyrian “chemist’s manual”, see Campbell Thompson 1934, 781–784. For the use of iron salt in dyeing see Cardon 2007, 39–46.

109 Joannès 2001a, 38.

110 MARV VIII, 67:2–3. Alum also occurs along with madder as material for leather industry. See the Middle Assyrian document Ass.2001.D–2035:2–3 in Frahm 2002, 74.

111 See CAD G, 7a s.v. *gabû* for references. The exploitation of alum from Egypt and Anatolia continued in the following centuries and especially during the Middle Age, when the textile industries of Europe and the Islamic world expanded considerably. See Cardon 2007, 23.

112 See CAD G, 7ab for references. For the exploitation of alum from Phocaea, in Asia Minor, in the Middle Age, see Cardon 2007, 24.

113 Cardon 2007, 21–22.

114 See Spantidaki 2016, 131–132.

115 For the possibility that this qualification refers to red wool (SA₂) see Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii.

116 ND 2307:14–15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI) SÍG.SA₅ *ka-a-ri*. See Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii.

the (commercial) port” (henceforth P), are attested are: *gulēnu* (C,¹¹⁷ P¹¹⁸); *qirmu* (C,¹¹⁹ P¹²⁰); *šītu* (C,¹²¹ P¹²²); and *urnutu* (C,¹²³ P¹²⁴). A number of textiles are only qualified as coming from “the country”, a fact showing that they were produced in Assyria and come from taxation: *elītu* (an upper garment);¹²⁵ *kubšu* (a head-dress);¹²⁶ *kusītu* (robe, long tunic);¹²⁷ and *sasuppu* (a band of cloth).¹²⁸ Others, instead, are only attested as exclusively coming from trade (P): *maqattu*;¹²⁹ *muklālu*;¹³⁰ *našbutu*;¹³¹ *raddīdu*;¹³² *šipirtu*;¹³³ and *ša-IŠ*.¹³⁴

At first sight, one wonders whether the “red of the port” of the Neo-Assyrian texts had something to do with the red-purple dye available in the 1st millennium through caravan trade via central Syrian and northern Arabian intermediation or directly in Phoenicia. As a working hypothesis, Albenda suggests that with this denomination Tyrian purple was probably intended.¹³⁵ More plausibly, it is possible that with this term imported madder or another red colorant was intended. In any case, the “red of the port” was a dye not available in Assyria or an exotic and high-quality variant of an Assyrian dye. Accordingly, it had to be imported from abroad. Against the hypothesis that the “red of the port” is purple is the fact that purple was well known in Assyria and that two terms were used to designate wool dyed with this colorant. As known, from different species of murex Phoenicians produced both a blue-purple and a red-purple dye: these were called by the Assyrians *takiltu* and *argamannu* respectively.¹³⁶

117 SAA 7, 96:5’.

118 SAA 7, 107 r.8’.

119 SAA 7, 98:10’.

120 SAA 7, 98:9’.

121 SAA 7, 108 i’ 15’.

122 SAA 7, 108 i’ 13’.

123 SAA 7, 94:5; 98:7’; 109 r. iii 10’.

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

125 SAA 7, 105:9’.

126 SAA 7, 120 ii’ 16–17.

127 SAA 7, 105:7’.

128 SAA 7, 120 ii’ 4–6.

129 SAA 7, 93:1; 97 r.1.

130 SAA 7, 105:8’; 119 r. i’ 6’, 7’.

131 SAA 7, 96:11’, r.1; 97:11’.

132 SAA 7, 105:3’.

133 SAA 7, 96:8’; 120 ii’ 12–14.

134 SAA 7, 119 r. i’ 10’.

135 Albenda 2005, 62.

136 Cardon 2007, 554–555, 571–572. The well-known “Tyrian” or “Royal Purple” was especially obtained from *Hexaplex trunculus*, *Bolinus brandaris* and *Stramonita haemastoma*, the species

Both the varieties of purple dyes were known in 2nd-millennium BC Assyria: one text from Assur documents that *argamannu* could be given in substitution of *tabarru-red*.¹³⁷ Administrative texts from the royal palace show that both blue and purple dyed wool were used in textile production. In fact, amounts of *argamannu* and *takiltu* dyed wool were issued under work-assignment to female weavers for the fabrication of *nahlaptu*-garments.¹³⁸ Purple dyed-wool was a western import in Assyria. The closest comparable evidence about the purple-dyed textiles consumed in 2nd-millennium BC Assyria are the lavish purple-dyed textiles discovered in the royal tombs of Qatna.¹³⁹ These fossilised textile remains, possibly of wool, are woven in plain weave, although one piece shows a finely-executed tapestry segment, woven with a *kilim*-technique and showing an ornamental pattern in blue.¹⁴⁰

The Assyrian interest for purple-dyed wool continued in the 1st millennium BC. From the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions mentioning tribute in textiles from conquered lands, we learn that the Assyrians imported these two varieties of purple-dyed wool from various regions of Anatolia and Syria, also profiting of the intermediation of those nomadic people along the caravan routes, such as Aramaeans, Qedarites and Arabs.¹⁴¹ Outside the corpus of the royal inscriptions, *argamannu* and *takiltu* are scarcely attested. *Argamannu* is the colour of clothes donated by the Assyrian king to his servants as a sign of favour. In his letter to the crown prince, the haruspex Tabnī reminds the prince about the favour granted by the king, who dressed Tabnī's father in red-purple robes (SĪG.ZA.GĪN.SA₅) and appointed him chief haruspex.¹⁴² The same motif of the royal grant, dispensed to foreign delegates welcomed at court, submissive rulers as well as workmen employed in building activities, is frequently attested as regards linen clothes and garments with multicoloured trim: Shalmaneser III, for instance, claims to have dressed in clothes with polychromatic trim the inhabitants

predominantly exploited in antiquity in the Mediterranean area. For the Akkadian designations for purple varieties, see CAD A/II, 253a s.v. *argamannu*, CAD T, 70b–73a s.v. *takiltu*.

137 MARV VIII, 24:9 1 MA.NA SĪG.ZA.GĪN.SA₅ *ki-mu ta-bar-ri*.

138 MARV X, 40:5 (StAT 5, 40). To produce one *nahlaptu*, one mina three *kisallus* of red-purple dyed wool was needed. But see KAM 11, 58:10' for the quantity of half a mina and three shekels of *tabribu*-wool for one *nahlaptu*.

139 The tombs in Qatna comprise four rock-cut chambers that were used for around 300–400 years for members of the local royal elite prior to the destruction of the overlying palace complex in 1340 BC. See Matthew *et al.* 2009, 1109–1110.

140 Matthews *et al.* 2009, 1112–1113 and fig. 3.

141 See fn. 19 for references.

142 SAA 10, 182:12–13. See also *ibidem*, r.5. Instead of red-purple, red (SĪG.SA₅) is used in SAA 16, 63:29.

of Babylon and Borsippa, to whom he granted freedom; Sargon claims to have clad in linen clothes and wool garments with multicoloured trim a foreign ruler; finally, Sennacherib did the same for the workmen who dug out the canal.¹⁴³ From these attestations, it is clear that red-purple clothing was strictly associated to kingship in Assyria: its function as status symbol reflects patterns of circulation and consumption limited to a restricted number of people of the Assyrian ruling elite. Later imperial elites in the Ancient Near East retained the function of red-purple as a symbol of social prestige and royal power.¹⁴⁴ The blue variety of purple was also highly prized in the Land of Aššur. *Takiltu*-wool occurs in a fragmentary Babylonian letter of the correspondence of Esarhaddon dealing with illegal trade.¹⁴⁵ Evidently, trading in purple-dyed wools was restricted to commercial activities directed by the state through royal trade agents, while commercial activities involving such precious textiles by independent merchants were not allowed, although it seems that analogous situations regularly happened.¹⁴⁶

Red is the most frequently attested dye in Neo-Assyrian administrative documents dealing with textiles. However, black dye is also documented. In the aforementioned letter by Marduk-šarru-ušur we learn that not only finished textiles, but also wool could be defined as KUR. In his letter, amounts of red wool (*šāptu sāntu*) and black wool (*šāptu šalittu*) of the country-type are mentioned.¹⁴⁷ This demonstrates that the KUR-qualification also applied to black wool, not

143 RIMA 3, A.O.102.5 vi 4; Fuchs 1998, Vb:57'; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5'; 223:33. See also CAD B, 258ab s.v. *birnu* for references. The reference to the colour or the garment used to dress high-ranking individuals is sometimes omitted. See, e.g., SAA 1, 29 r.20–21, 134:13, SAA 11, 29 r.3–5, SAA 15, 91 r.2, and SAA 17, 122:17–e.18, where it is possible that garments with polychromatic trim or purple-dyed clothes are intended.

144 The strict connection of purple with kingship and royal imagery is peculiar to imperial elites of the ancient world. The prestige of purple spread both eastwards and westwards. In Achaemenid Persia, purple became a mark of royalty and was also adopted by Hellenistic rulers along with other Persian and Near Eastern symbols of power. Notwithstanding purple and purple-dressing were attacked by moralist writers, and imperial elites tried to confine the use of most luxurious type of purple to the person of the Roman emperor and members of the court, consumption of purple spread throughout the Roman Empire's territory. The "purple mania", which reached its height in the 2nd century AD, and the development of an imitation purple industry favoured the diffusion of purple in all social classes of the Roman imperial society. See Reinhold 1970 and Cardon 2007, 572–576.

145 SAA 18, 103:14'–15'.

146 On illegal trade of iron by some merchants to Arabs see the letter SAA 1, 179:20–29. According to the author of this message, the traders are identified with some people from 'Atā, a region of Syria. See also SAA 18, 115:2'–8', on Assyrian merchants purchasing iron from palace smiths.

147 SAA 16, 82 r.6–7. For black wool see also 216:11.

only to the red variety.¹⁴⁸ Secondly, the fact that Marduk-šarru-ušur's message specifies that the black wool was of the KUR-variety could be an indication that also the KAR-variety existed for *šalittu*-wool.

We have seen that Assyria imported purple-dyed wools from the international trade for the needs of the palace-oriented textile industry. However, purple was not the only colorant appreciated by the Assyrian elite. Administrators in Nineveh kept record of the consumption of *hūrutu*, “madder”, a red-dye substance that, according to an account listing this substance and red-dyed wool, was imported from western cities located in North-West Syria, South-East Anatolia, Phoenicia, central Syria and Palestine, precisely Sāmīrīna (Samaria), Kullania, Damascus, Arpadda (Arpad), Karkemiš, Que, Magidū (Megiddo), Šimirra, Maṣuāti, Ḥatarikka, Šūputu, Sam'al, Tušḥan and Amidi.¹⁴⁹ Accounts like SAA 7, 116 (**Text No. 25**) show that scribes periodically recorded the income of colorant from taxation of these cities. In this case, we see that, for instance, Karkemiš delivered one hundred talents of red wool and two talents of madder.¹⁵⁰ According to another account from Nineveh listing products purchased by the state (and not coming from taxation), scribes registered disbursements of large quantities of madder for various purposes; to judge from the list of recipients in the “madder-section”, it is clear that it served to dye a large number of textiles of different destination (uniforms for soldiers and gate-overseers, clothes for exorcists, drapes or carpets for the palace entrance, etc.).¹⁵¹ This shows that madder was procured both from taxation and commercial activities. It is worth noting that a large amount of madder, a quantity very close to those listed in the account SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**), occurs in a Nineveh list among various commodities possibly belonging to the private household of the individual named Ṭāb-šār-papāḫi.¹⁵² Presumably, the quantity of colorant, assigned to him from the state, served to dye the clothing used in his household. Apart from madder, the **Text No. 24** also lists consumption of *huḥhurāti*-dye. Its consumption is connected to dyeing of red wool,¹⁵³ so, it was an alternative colorant to *hūrutu*. This

148 But in Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii these qualifications are only understood as referring to red.

149 SAA 7, 116.

150 SAA 7, 116:4'.

151 SAA7, 115 ii 6–r. i 9.

152 Ki 1904–10–9, 154+ e.53 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) ʿxʿ G[Ú.U]N GIŠ.ḤAB. See, e.g., SAA 7, 115 ii 11 (three talents: Epā, for the gate-overseers), 21 (two talents: the *kāširu*'s house), 22 (two talents: Šār-Issār), r. i 7 (two talents: the weavers of sashes). The names of the individuals Ṭāb-šār-papāḫi and Bābilitu, attested in Ki 1904–10–9, 154+1–2, are omitted in respectively PNA 1/II, 246a and PNA 3/II, 1347b–1348a.

153 SAA 7, 115 r. i 12, 15, 19.

dye also occurs among various goods, including *šaddīnus* and *kundirašši*-garments, connected with Bēt nayālāni, a country possibly located in the West.¹⁵⁴

As already observed, the city of Assur had a long tradition in trading activities. The private documents stemming from its archives inform us of transactions in which a number of merchants jointly borrow the capital for trading ventures (*bēl ḥarrāni*). These ventures concerned long-distance trade of goods through river and overland transportation. In all likelihood, among the wares purchased by caravan entrepreneurs of Assur in their trading journeys along the Tigris or overland routes there were also textiles. An unnamed man is mentioned in connection with *kuzippu*-clothes in a private letter of a certain AŠšur-balātu-iqbi of Assur, perhaps dealing with traded commodities.¹⁵⁵ *Kuzippu* is used as a generic term for clothes in Assyrian. It is also used to refer to king's robes as well as to clothes by which the Assyrian king or his officials dress foreign delegates or court members.¹⁵⁶ In the above-mentioned document recording commodities belonging to Tab-šār-papāḥi's estate, *kuzippī* for the bodyguards are also listed.¹⁵⁷ A number of textiles (TÚG.KĀR.MEŠ), also possibly coming from trade, are listed along with iron items in a text from Archive N25.¹⁵⁸ That textiles originating from caravan trade were highly esteemed by members of the Assyrian elite is also evident from a text concerning the *tākultu* ritual in favour of Assurbanipal. This cultic event consisted in a meal presented to all the gods of Assyria, who were invited to participate to the ceremony and bless the Assyrian king. In this text, caravan wool, *i. e.*, high-quality wool, is mentioned among other valuable goods in a blessing section.¹⁵⁹ From the documents stemming from the archive of Dūri-Aššur in Assur we can learn more on textiles that circulated in caravan trade in the second half of the 7th century BC. This private archive informs us that from 651 to 614 BC Dūri-Aššur was the head of a private

154 SAA 7, 121 r. i' 5.

155 StAT 2, 315 e.10.

156 SAA 15, 90:25; 91 r.2.

157 Ki 1904–10–9, 154+ r.36 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII).

158 StAT 2, 128:7'.

159 SAA 20, 40 r. iv 28'–38' *ana mu-ul-ta-me an-nu-ti / ŠE-im KUG.UD Ì.MEŠ SÍG'.KASKAL'.2'.MEŠ / MUN šā ba-ri-ki-ti / ana KŪ-šú-nu / u qí-ri-ru DŪG.GA / a-na nu-ri-šú-nu / lib-ši bul-ṭa / ší-ri-a di-in-qa / ik-ri-bi / šā DINGIR.MEŠ-ni / [a-š]i-bu-ut KUR—aš-šur*, “For these partakers of the meal, may there be corn, silver, oil, caravan wool and salt of Bariku for their food, and good oil for their lamp! Live, be rich and prosperous! The blessings for the gods [who dwell] in Assyria.” On “journey/caravan wool” (SÍG'.KASKAL) see also the Nimrud inventory text ND 2311:16 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X). But note that in Parpola 2017, 168 and 190 the writing SÍG'.KASKAL.2 is interpreted as the logographic form of the word *šartu*, “goat's hair”. Goat hair was a low-quality product in comparison with wool and was used for utilitarian goods.

trading firm and in such a role he organized trading ventures in the northern regions of Assyria with his commercial partners.¹⁶⁰ Trading agents were employed by Dūri-Aššur and his associates to conduct a number of caravan journeys a year. The merchandise that originated from Assur comprised various textile products and was transported on donkeys upstream along the Tigris.¹⁶¹ In one of his commercial letters, an individual is asked to bring shoes as well as three unspecified textiles to be used as packing material.¹⁶² Suitable shoes were certainly needed by trading agents who were involved in overland transportation of commodities from and to Assur.¹⁶³ Another missive is sent by Nabû-taqinanni to Dūri-Aššur and concerns *kuzippu*-garments.¹⁶⁴ Other documents from this archive show that garments, collectively referred to as *kuzippī*,¹⁶⁵ were frequently exchanged in these caravan transactions. In some cases, the texts specify the items of clothing involved, such as in the case of *šupālītus*,¹⁶⁶ *gulēnus*¹⁶⁷ and *dappastus*.¹⁶⁸ Private entrepreneurs of Assur organized these trading expeditions to import goods not available in their country. In the case of Dūri-Aššur's trade, it seems that the trips were primarily aimed at importing wine, a luxury good that was appreciated by the upper social strata of imperial Assyria,¹⁶⁹ included the commercial elite of the city of Assur.¹⁷⁰ The wine that Dūri-Aššur's trading agents bought at destina-

160 Radner 2017, 224–225.

161 Radner 2017, 225. Textiles are mentioned in Radner 2016, texts nos. I.3 e.18; I.4 r.4; I.5 e.5.

162 Radner 2016, 85, text no. I.3 e.18 KUŠ.DĀ.E.SĪR 3 TŪG *tu-bu-ka-a-te*. The meaning of the word *tubbuku* has not been understood in the dictionaries. See CAD T, 446a s.v. *tubbuku* 3 and CDA, 408b. The term also occurs in a medical text, where it is used to qualify wool cloths to soak in water (BAM 222:15). In the case of the above-mentioned occurrence in Dūri-Aššur's letter, Radner suggests the translation "Textilienballen".

163 Postgate 1995, 403; Radner 1999a, 119.

164 Radner 2016, 85, text no. I.4 r.4 *ku-zi-pu* [x x x].

165 See Radner 2016, texts nos. I.47 r.5–6; I.53:5.

166 Radner 2016, 112, text no. I.53:6. Note that in *ibidem*, 5 *kuzippī* are mentioned. Possibly, the *kuzippī* included the *šupālītus*.

167 Radner 2016, 116, text no. I.63:2.

168 Radner 2016, 117, text no. I.68:9'.

169 See Radner 2016, 85, text no. I.4; 87, text no. I.6; 109, text no. I.45. See the discussion in Radner 2017, 225.

170 Wine was among the commodities regularly traded by the businessmen of this city, as evident from the private archives. One homer of wine is put at the disposal of four caravan entrepreneurs according to a loan document from the archive of the singers (Archive N3), see StAT 2, 5:2 (644*/629* BC). Jugs of wine are enumerated in a list of commodities stored in a warehouse along with domestic objects, see StAT 2, 233:2 (Archive N31, undated). Wine also occurs in the fragmentary debt-note StAT 2, 308:2.

tion was transported to Assur by river navigation, using rafts of wineskins.¹⁷¹ The merchandise brought back to Assur as well as the silver amount acquired with the transactions at the end of the journey were redistributed among the people who took part as commercial partners in the trading venture.¹⁷²

Some of the textiles traded by merchants of Assur in their journeys certainly entered the composition of dowries of their daughters. For instance, varieties of *urnutu*- and *maqattutu*-garments, textiles qualified as “of the port” in administrative texts from Nineveh and probably imported from the West, occur in a marriage contract from Archive N31 of Assur as components of Mullissu-ḥammāt’s dowry (675 BC).¹⁷³ It is also important to note the presence of linen garments in her dowry (four items of clothing out of 17), probably including also fine-quality linen items coming from caravan trade. Linen *maqattutus* must have been appreciated by women of the upper class, as may be inferred also by the mention of linen *maqattus* assigned to the daughter of the crown prince in a document from Kalḫu.¹⁷⁴ That linen consumed by the Assyrian ruling class was also imported from abroad is evident from the above-mentioned account from Nineveh that lists linen purchased by the state, presumably through the activity of the king’s trade agents, and consumed in various establishments.¹⁷⁵ As known, flax was cultivated since the beginnings of agriculture in Mesopotamia (c. 9000 BC) and linen textiles have been locally produced there since then, although textile production in Mesopotamia has been predominantly oriented towards wool along all its history.¹⁷⁶ The Neo-Assyrian account SAA 7, 115 (**Text No. 24**) documents that during the imperial period, Assyria imported flax. The listed amounts were assigned to a number of households located in the Review Palace of Nineveh, the Review Palace of the New Corps, the Palace of the Queen, the New Palace of Kalḫu, the Review Palace of Kalḫu and the Domestic Quarters, as well as the cities of Adian, Našibina and Assur, also seats of royal establishments. It is possible that palace women belonging to the royal “harems” of these establishments were engaged in linen textile manufacture, although the texts do

171 Radner 2017, 225.

172 The administrative lists found in Dūrī-Aššur’s archive record sums of silver and other commodities in connection with names of individuals of Assur who invested in Dūrī-Aššur’s trading expeditions. Some of these lists mention sums of money and quantities of unspecified products, presumably grain and wine to be redistributed among the investors. See Radner 2016, 102, text no. I.33 r.3, e.18; 103, text no. I.34 r.8’; 105, text no. I.37:11’.

173 StAT 2, 164:10–13 TÚG.ur-na-te GADA 4 TÚG.kun-dar-a-ša-ni / 1 TÚG.ur-nu-tú SÍG 2 TÚG.ur-nu-tu bé-te / 1 TÚG.mu-qa-tu-tú bé-te 1 TÚG.mu-qa-tu-tú SIKIL / 1 TÚG SIG, KI.MIN.

174 ND 2687:3 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII) 1 TÚG.ma-qa-tu GADA DUMU.MÍ DUMU—MAN.

175 SAA 7, 115 i 1, r. ii 3, 13, 15.

176 Breniquet, Michel 2014a, 2.

not tell us whether only for basic operations, like spinning, or to other and more complex phases of the linen operational chain, such as weaving. Linen textiles are a peculiar commodity of the upper social stratum of the Assyrian imperial society, as witnessed by their consumption in both palace and temple contexts. The origin of imported linen is not clarified from texts issued from the state central administration, but from royal inscriptions we learn that linen was a typical western commodity,¹⁷⁷ perhaps imported to the western countries from Egypt.

Circulation of exotic linen textiles was probably increased in those Assyrian cities where groups of foreign individuals or descendants of deported people lived, as in the case of Assur, where a number of Egyptians are attested. Many of the people involved in the aforesaid marriage contract from Assur, such as the father of the bridegroom and, perhaps, also the father of the woman Mullisu-ḥammāt, bear Egyptian names¹⁷⁸ and may have been involved in trading linen textiles with their home country. That Egyptians of Assur were actively involved in trading ventures is confirmed by administrative documents from the above-mentioned archive of Dūrī-Aššur. Some of the individuals who invested small sums of money in Dūrī-Aššur's trading missions were Egyptians.¹⁷⁹ Exotic textiles made of fibres other than linen and wool are not attested in written sources from this period, but the archaeological evidence from 8th century BC Kalḫu that will be discussed in Chapter Five reveals that cotton garments were imported for the needs of the Assyrian elite.

Other fine-quality textiles are attested in two marriage contracts from Kalḫu, the former possibly belongs to the 8th century, the latter, instead, is of the end of the 7th century. In the former document, thirty-two textiles are mentioned.¹⁸⁰ Of these, only three are explicitly qualified as wool textiles, namely *ša-ḫilis* of red wool and various pieces of red purple wool.¹⁸¹ This dowry also comprises *gulē-nu*-garments,¹⁸² another commodity qualified as coming from “the port” by the accountants of the state administration in Nineveh. The second marriage contract from Kalḫu describes the components of Šubētu's dowry. In total, there are 45 textile products that entered her wardrobe. These include both linen

177 See fn. 19 for references.

178 See PNA 3/I, 977a s.v. *Pabbā'u* and PNA 3/II, 1311a s.v. *Tap-naḫte*.

179 The presence of a large number of women among the Egyptian investors of Dūrī-Aššur's trading firm is explained by Radner in the light of the freedom that Egyptian women enjoyed in their home country, where they could conduct business independently. See Radner 2017, 225–226.

180 CTN 2, 1:12'.

181 CTN 2, 1:6'–8'.

182 CTN 2, 1:11'.

and wool items, in all likelihood of a very fine quality. The linen items comprise five *urnutus* and one *šaddīnu*.¹⁸³ Interestingly, the document specifies that two *kuzippu*-garments and two *urnutu*-garments were made of red wool of the port,¹⁸⁴ perhaps a red dye available in western textile trade. Also *gulēnus* are mentioned as components of Šubētu's wardrobe, followed by *gammīdu*-garments as in the other contract from Kalḫu.¹⁸⁵ In this case, the Phoenician name of the woman and the West Semitic name of her husband, Milki-rāmu, could indicate connections with western trade. Perhaps, the huge number of textiles in the dowry may be explained in the light of her husband's profession. If Milki-rāmu is the same person attested as chief *kāširu* who was eponym in the year 656 BC,¹⁸⁶ access to luxury textiles of foreign origin in international trade must have been easily available to him thanks to his professional background and his good connections with the court milieu. As observed by Mattila, who reviewed the evidence about the role of Neo-Assyrian officials, the administrative duties of the *rab kāširi* are not explicitly described in the texts. According to a letter concerning crimes in Gūzāna, it seems that the *rab kāširi* had to take care of the royal paraphernalia, namely the bracelet, the dagger and the parasol.¹⁸⁷ This role enabled him to be in the personal entourage of the Assyrian king.¹⁸⁸ Officials bearing this professional titles are attested as involved in various important state affairs, presumably entrusted to them because they had a position in the close circle of the king. Apart from their professional title, explicit connections between these officials with textiles are lacking, if we exclude the aforementioned letter mentioning the (royal) parasol and an administrative document from Nineveh recording goods delivered to or by a number of officials, in which the name of a certain Abdi-Milki, *rab kāširi*, is associated with two Phrygian reinforced lower garments.¹⁸⁹

183 ND 2307:16, 18, r.4 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI). Note that the sign for GADA, "linen", at the end of line r.4 is not included in Parker's transliteration.

184 ND 2307:14–15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

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

186 For Lipiński's suggestion that he is identical with the eponym see PNA 2/II, 753a s.v. *Milki-rāmu* no. 3.

187 SAA 16, 63 r.15–17.

188 See Mattila 2014, 409–410.

189 SAA 7, 126:4–5.

4.3 Textiles from trade and their distribution in the Neo-Assyrian Empire

Textiles that came into the Assyrian Empire by way of tribute and trade activities conducted by the king's *tamkārus* were redistributed by the state administration to various recipients. As well as the king and members of the royal family and court, these recipients included members of the palace dependent personnel, administrative and military staff. The textiles were disbursed in the form of raw materials or as end products (clothing). Dyed wool, dyestuff and finished textiles bought by the Assyrian merchants in various commercial outposts abroad were consigned to state officials and stored in the storerooms of the main households. Here, the administrators recorded the incoming items in order to define assignments to the main textile workshops of the Empire. Weavers received wool and, according to the *iškāru*-system, had to present a number of finished textiles to the state within a given deadline. These workshops produced a large variety of clothes and other textile products, some of high quality and others of middle or lower quality, depending on the final destination of the items in question. The finer materials were used for the clothes of the king and the palace elite or were woven into high-quality carpets and curtains for palaces and temples, while the lower quality wool was made into soldiers' uniforms, work clothes or ordinary tents for the army. Wool also entered the distribution chain of the Assyrian state as a quota for palace-linked professionals,¹⁹⁰ as can be seen from SAA 11, 36, an account from Nineveh dealing with tribute to be distributed to palace personnel. In this text, 20 minas of *tabribu* are mentioned as the assignment of the chief fuller.¹⁹¹ An analogous administrative document dealing with distribution of wool amounts is CTN 2, 223, which lists large quantities of wool assigned to high-ranking members of the palace staff in Kalḫu, among which we find the eunuch of the "mistress of the house" and the eunuch of the palace overseer(?).¹⁹² Distribution of articles of clothing is also documented. In a Nimrud document listing linen clothes distributed to various persons of the palace, including the crown prince's daughter, we find the following garments: *gammīdus*, *maqatṭus*, *kitūs*, *šupālitu ḫalluptus* and *karballutus*.¹⁹³ These items of clothing are then collectively totalled as *šubātu*. The archaeological discovery

190 On the distribution of wool not transformed in textiles as rations to palace employees in the 2nd millennium see Michel 2014a, 250.

191 SAA 11, 36 ii 19.

192 CTN 2, 223. This text comes from Room vii of the B 50 area in Nimrud. In the same place was found the text CTN 2, 224, dealing with various items of clothing.

193 ND 2687:1, 3, 4, r.6, 7, 9, e.11 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII).

of linen traces in the remains of garments that covered the bodies of the Assyrian queens in the Nimrud tombs confirms the use of linen for palace women.¹⁹⁴ Some of the items of clothing in the Nimrud document also occur as the lot of clothes provided by the state to court members, as may be observed from a letter of salary complaints written by the exorcist Urad-Gula, in which the court scholar mentions *gulēnus*, *kitûs* and *maklulus* as king's gifts that another court scholar had secured for himself.¹⁹⁵ This seems to indicate that the most expensive textiles were the prerogative of members of the royal family, the court and high-ranking officials.

The much-quoted Sennacherib's letter on tribute and audience gifts provides further evidence of the high-ranking recipients of imported textiles and their respective quotas. The letter mentions the grand vizier (15 *kitûs* and 11 *šaddīnus*); the commander-in-chief (15 *šaddīnus* and 10 *kitûs*); the *sartennu* (six *šaddīnus* and three *kitûs*); the second vizier (six? *šaddīnus* and three? *kitûs*); the chief eunuch (three *šaddīnus* and three *kitûs*); the palace superintendent (three *šaddīnus* and two *kitûs*); the overseer of the domestic quarters (one *šaddīnu*), the palace scribe (one *šaddīnu*), the chariot driver and the "third man" (both receiving one *šaddīnu* each).¹⁹⁶ Textiles composing the palace supervisor's quota are also recorded in a Ninevite account concerning the distribution of tribute among palace members. According to this document, his quota comprises six cloaks, four sashes and two pairs of saddle-bags.¹⁹⁷

Clothing and equipment for military staff constitutes one of the main concerns of the Assyrian state. This can be inferred from the large amounts of madder purchased by the state for dyeing the uniforms of specific units of the Assyrian army (e.g., the Qurreans, the chariot-fighters, the archers).¹⁹⁸ Textiles were also distributed by the Assyrian palace administration in the form of gifts to various foreign individuals linked to the Assyrian court. Sheikhs are attested as recipients of textiles in the Assyrian state sector. A record of wool and flax amounts mentions two minas of red wool for the production of an unspecified number of *maqatṭutu*-garments for the *nasikus*, "the sheikhs". The title *nasiku* was used by the Assyrians to refer to the rulers of nomadic or semi-nomadic populations, such as the Aramaeans.¹⁹⁹ Textiles were also disbursed to foreign delegates visiting the Assyrian king. Those issued for Urartian delegates comprised

194 Toray Industries 1996, 199–200 and pls. 1–3 (Specimens nos. 1–3, 5, 7–8).

195 SAA 10, 289 r.5'.

196 SAA 1, 34:8–r.21'.

197 SAA 11, 36 ii 13–15.

198 SAA 7, 115 ii 17–20.

199 Elat 1978, 29.

reinforced lower garments, leggings, black upper garments, *ša-IŠ* garments and *šipirtu*-sashes.²⁰⁰ Another administrative text from Nineveh lists envoys from Iran and mentions a linen garment in that context,²⁰¹ probably a royal gift for one of them.

Inscribed sealings—pieces of clay bearing the impression of a stamp seal—are also proof that textiles circulated within the state sector and were destined for palace staff, although we cannot say with any certainty if they were tribute or goods brought in as part of trade activities conducted by royal agents. These sealings were attached to the bundles of textiles that were transported or to the wooden boxes that contained them. Two sealings of the Neo-Assyrian period concern *kuzippu*-clothes: the first, from Kalḫu, is dated to the 9th century and records *ilku*-payments from the magnates of Shalmaneser III, son of King Asurnasirpal II.²⁰² The second, from Nineveh, belongs to the late phase of the Neo-Assyrian period and mentions *kuzippus* along with *šipirtu*-sashes, probably transferred from a department to another for internal distribution within the palace.²⁰³

As already observed, it is reasonable to assume that the enlargement of the Assyrian state and the access this enlargement brought to international trade greatly favoured those Assyrian private merchants benefitting from living in major cities of the Empire and from tax exemptions. Merchants operating in the major cities of central Assyria certainly grew rich from the continuous flow of commodities that reached Assyrian cities from state-driven international trade. However, it seems that some goods acquired by the state and assigned to artisans in charge of supplying the palace with certain end products were illegally sold to local merchants for money.²⁰⁴ As with many other goods belonging to the Palace, it is possible that textiles could also be stolen and sold for money by palace personnel.²⁰⁵ It is reasonable to think that through thefts by palace personnel, some Assyrian luxury items, including textiles and metal objects, entered the trade of independent merchants who operated in the Assyrian

200 SAA 7, 127:3'–4', 8'–10'.

201 SAA 11, 31 r.7.

202 ND 3413 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 139, pl. XI).

203 SAA 11, 67.

204 This is the case of iron assigned by the state to palace smiths and sold by them to merchants of Kalḫu for money. See the letter SAA 18, 115:2'–8'. Interestingly, the above-discussed document dealing with private transaction in Ḥarrān also mentions a large amount of iron purchased from an ironsmith of the city of Assur. See SAA 11, 263'–5'.

205 See, e.g., Ašipā's letter SAA 19, 114 about some palace wares stolen and sold by a baker and the "harem" manageress.

cities as intermediaries for foreign dealers. This seems to be the case for the Assyrian luxury wares illegally traded by foreign people operating in Kalḫu and Nineveh and transported outside Assyria, described in Aššur-rēšūwa's letter mentioned above. The illegal trade in elite wares in the Assyrian cities and at the borders of the Empire also illustrates how the political unification of the Near East under Assyrian dominion and the enormous flow of goods from institutional trade to the major urban centres of Assyria determined the expansion of profit opportunities for ordinary people in subjected and adjacent areas. Other goods were purchased by private individuals of the Assyrian elite through independent trade. Ṭāb-šār-papāḫi, who belonged to the circle of the trader Aššur-mātu-taqqin, is mentioned in various documents of the reign of Assurbanipal. He was a businessman involved in a wide variety of commercial activities. In one of these documents—a commercial letter—he is asked by Aššur-mātu-taqqin and Nabû-taqqinanni, two partners of Dūri-Aššur's trading firm who were in charge of caravan traveling, to send turbans from Assur.²⁰⁶ These were luxury items of clothing produced in the domestic workshops of Assur and were an integral part of the merchandise transported by the trading agents in their commercial trips.

Not only independent merchants of the city of Assur, but also private persons of the higher social ranks of the Empire must have benefitted from state access to international trade. High-ranking officials in the state sector probably profited from their position, wealth and palace connections to purchase goods from international trade, presumably relying on *tamkārus* who were regularly involved in transporting goods to the major Assyrian cities. We can certainly speculate with some degree of authority that various protagonists would have profited from an increasing demand for foreign textiles by the upper echelons of society. This would have included the royal trade agent, for whom this would have represented a lucrative side-activity to his official job at the service of the palace, and various professional transporters, who would have seen this as a remunerative way to implement their wages. These unofficial transactions, however, are of course difficult to detect from the extant documentation.

Reconstructing a complete picture of the circulation of textiles within the Assyrian Empire would also require a wider set of data about the value of the items exchanged by merchants. Unfortunately, we are informed about the price in silver—the most attested pre-coinage currency in Assyria in the late centuries of the Empire—for only a limited number of commodities. From the presence of certain textiles among the commodities recorded by the scribes in administrative docu-

206 Radner 2016, 86, text no. I.5 e.5. See also PNA 3/II, 1348a s.v. *Ṭāb-šār-papāḫi* 5.

ments, we may obtain useful insights into the circulation of foreign goods among the upper echelons of the Assyrian imperial society, although the restricted number of attestations in written sources prevents us from getting a broader understanding of the full range of textile products circulating in the country and their value throughout the whole Neo-Assyrian period. Moreover, no details are offered in the texts about the circulation of textiles outside the urban context. Therefore, my observations are confined to the upper class living in the main cities.

According to the above-mentioned Ninevite memorandum on private transactions in Ḫarrān, the total cost for two linen garments (*kitū*) purchased by an Aramaean merchant was one mina 23 shekels,²⁰⁷ a price per unit of 0.61 minas. Instead, it seems that *šaddīnus* were cheaper; half a mina is the total price paid by a merchant from Kumuḫ for five linen *šaddīnus*,²⁰⁸ corresponding to six shekels per unit. Other prices in silver for textiles are documented in texts from Kalḫu and Assur. A letter sent by Bēl-abū'a to the Palace scribe in Assur is about trade in textiles and informs us that the cost of one *šipirtu*-sash of ordinary quality corresponded to half a mina, namely 30 shekels.²⁰⁹ Four documents from Assur offer further evidence on prices for textiles. In the first, 13 *urnutu*-garments are purchased for one mina, which works out less than five shekels per *urnutu*.²¹⁰ The second document from this city appears to attest a price of eight shekels for one textile(?) product.²¹¹ From an administrative document from another private archive of the city we learn that the value in silver of one *dappastu*-covering for chairs was five shekels.²¹² An undated short note on expenditures gives the prices for one ram and a saddlebag of goat hair; it seems that the cost of one *zurzu* was one(?) shekel (of silver).²¹³ In a list of expenditures from Kalḫu, probably related to the preparation of a wedding ceremony²¹⁴ to be celebrated in the North-West Palace, the price for one *kuzippu*-garment corresponds to four and a half

207 SAA 11, 26 r.5.

208 SAA 11, 26 r.8.

209 SAA 19, 14 r.4–6.

210 NATAPA 2, 100:3–5.

211 NATAPA 2, 102:4. The line is transliterated by the editors of this text as *kas-pu* ʿša x' ŠE x and tentatively translated as “the price of *maṣḫatu*-flour” (*ibidem*, p. 84). However, following K. Deller’s alternative reading of these signs, it is possible that a textile product is to be intended here, although the item in question cannot be identified. Accordingly, the line can be reconstructed as follows: *kas-pu* ʿša TÚG' ŠE x, “the price for the ...-textile(?)”.

212 Radner 2016, 117, text no. I.68:9'. The text mentions two *dappasāt kussī* whose total value is ten shekels of silver.

213 NATAPA 2, 133:2 1' GÍN ša zu-ur-ʿzī'.

214 See Postgate 1979c, 100.

shekels,²¹⁵ while that of a *ša-ħallupte*-cloth only two and 1/3 shekels.²¹⁶ Interestingly, in one of the Nimrud lists possibly dealing with expenditures for a marriage we find some of the items of clothing that composed the dowries of the above-mentioned women from Assur and Kalḫu (*maklulu*, *maqatṭutu*, *urnutu* and *ħuzūnu*).²¹⁷ In addition to the prices of garments, there are also a few attestations of values in silver for wool. We have seen above that dyed wool was purchased by Assyrian merchants in private transactions. According to the price given in SAA 11, 26, one mina ten shekels of dyed wool was purchased for one mina of silver.²¹⁸ In an 8th century letter, Aššur-mātka-tēra, a royal agent, informs the king about the favourable exchange rate in the land, according to which forty(?) minas of wool went for one mina of copper(?).²¹⁹ This price probably refers to Nineveh.²²⁰ In Assyria, copper was progressively substituted by silver as currency in the course of the 7th century, but we are not able to say how the price of wool in terms of the two metals varied across the entire Neo-Assyrian period. The price for undyed wool is difficult to determine. In an administrative note from Nebi Yunus the price for an unspecified amount of shorn wool (*gizzu*) is twenty talents thirteen minas eighteen and one-third shekels of silver,²²¹ but this price presumably reflects a judicial decision (the sum is qualified as *sartu*, “penalty, fine”), rather than the current “market price”. These data about prices for textiles in the Late Assyrian period are scanty if compared with the rich information we get about costs and selling prices of the textiles traded by the Assyrian merchants in the 19th and 18th centuries BC. However, they too shed light on circulation of textiles in private contexts.

This overview on prices for textiles may be enriched by a look at the value of other commodities exchanged in the Neo-Assyrian period. This can enable us to gain a clearer idea on the value of goods in the period in question, although the evidence about prices for utilitarian commodities purchased in everyday transactions is extremely scarce. Most of the attestations for prices in Neo-Assyrian sources concern estates and slaves, two high-value goods that regularly occur in

215 ND 2312:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X). See also the note Radner 2016, 112, text no. I.53:5, which mentions 17 minas 18 shekels in connection to *kuzippus*. The number of garments is not specified, however.

216 ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X).

217 ND 2311:2, 5–7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X).

218 SAA 11, 26 r.11–13.

219 SAA 19, 19:14–15.

220 The possibility that Nineveh is intended in the part concerning wool is suggested by the fact that Nineveh is given first in the passage referring to the value of barley in SAA 19, 19:9–13.

221 SAA 11, 100:1–4. See Fales, Postgate 1995, xxiv for comments.

transactions conducted by members of the socio-economic elite that ruled the Assyrian cities. The prices for the aforesaid textiles represent small sums of money if compared with the usual cost of slaves that we find in legal documents coming from the archives of Nineveh, Kalḫu and Assur, generally ranging from one and one and a half minas in case of males and from 3/4 mina and 1/2 mina in case of females.²²² In the field of transactions concerning the purchase of textile craftsmen it is worth noting that the prices in silver are not so different from those observed for slaves. In a contract from the domestic wing of the North-West Palace in Kalḫu, dated to 765 BC, one Nabû-šuma-iddina sold a certain Bēl-iddina, a weaver of multicoloured cloth, to Nabû-tuklatū'a, the palace scribe.²²³ The *ušpār birmi* was purchased for one mina of silver, but the silver norm is not indicated in the document.²²⁴ This document proves that textile specialists were considered a valuable economic resource by the members of the Assyrian ruling class.²²⁵ Their skills were put at the service of the owner's household. Weavers were also employed in temple households, as may be seen in the case of a transaction—possibly of 637 BC—in which Iddin-Aia, priest of Ninurta, buys Šumma-Nabû, a weaver of multicoloured trim from the weavers Na'di-Issār and Aššur-mātka-da'in, sons of Issār-šumu-iddina, weaver of the queen.²²⁶ Surprisingly, the sum paid by the *sangû* of Ninurta is half a mina of silver.²²⁷ This amount is unusual as a price for adult slaves, although sums ranging from 30 to 37 shekels are attested in some slave purchase documents from Nineveh and Assur.²²⁸ Interestingly, thirty shekels is the sum paid to buy one boy in a slave purchase document of 675 BC from Nineveh.²²⁹ In all likelihood, Šumma-Nabû was a young man who had been trained in the textile workshop of Na'di-Issār and Aššur-mātka-da'in; in fact, in the contract he is referred to as

222 See Fales 1996, 29–30 and Charts IV-VI.

223 ADW 9:4–9.

224 ADW 9:6.

225 This is true for craftsmen of different professional sectors. Deported or fugitive textile workers were usually sold for money and relocated in royal or private households. See, e.g., the letter SAA 15, 214 on three (Babylonian?) *kāširus* of the “son of Zērī” (Marduk-apla-iddina II), who had run away. The letter informs us that these artisans were later sold for money to a man called Tēšī-ētir, son of Badāia.

226 SAA 12, 94:5–11.

227 SAA 12, 94:8.

228 See SAA 6, 127:7: 30 shekels; SAA 6, 246:5': 30 shekels; SAA 14, 67:5: 30 shekels (according to the mina of the king); NATAPA 2, 77:8': 30 shekels; SAA 6, 118:6: 32 shekels; NATAPA 2, 76:9: 37 shekels. Lower prices are also attested, although very rarely for adult slaves. See SAA 6, 244:6: 20 shekels; SAA 14, 212:6: 16 shekels.

229 SAA 6, 227:5.

“the servant” (*urdu*) of the two weavers.²³⁰ In legal documents of the 7th century BC the price for a textile specialist can be more than one mina. An *ušpār šiprāti*, called Aḫūšina, is bought for one and a half minas of silver in a contract of Rēmanni-Adad in 670 BC.²³¹ The chief chariot driver of Assurbanipal is documented in his archive primarily as a buyer of estates and slaves.²³² He was one of the “nouveaux riches” who benefitted from their exclusive access to the person of the king and, consequently, to considerable sums of money and royal privileges.²³³ In this case, the king’s *mukil appāti* purchases a weaver who belonged to another high-ranking official, a certain Mušēzib-Marduk, prefect of the horses of the New Palace. The contract also specifies that the silver norm used in the transaction followed the royal mina.²³⁴ However, the document does not clarify whether the weaver of *šipirtu*-textiles was a deportee from a foreign country relocated in Assyria or an Assyrian, but it is clear that the abilities of this and analogous specialists were valued highly by members of the Assyrian elite. The activity of these specialized weavers in the domestic textile workshops where they were employed was considered crucial to increase the prosperity of the owner’s household. A look at other purchase contracts of the royal charioteer shows that this high-ranking member of the Ninevite court bought various specialists whose skills were needed for his business and the everyday running of his household. A camel driver was acquired just a few months before the purchase of the *šipirtu*-weaver, but the broken part in the tablet prevents us from knowing the sum paid by Rēmanni-Adad to the three owners of the *rādi gammali*.²³⁵ The price is not preserved also in a contract related to the purchase of a eunuch and dated to 667 BC.²³⁶ From these observations, it is evident that the usual price for specialists was around one mina; this is also confirmed by the sum of silver paid by the charioteer to buy a baker in 669 BC.²³⁷ Interestingly, in this case the buyer

230 SAA 12, 94:5. In addition, the purchase document explicitly qualifies Šumma-Nabû as *amēlu*, “man”, not *šeḫru*, “boy”.

231 SAA 6, 301:4–9.

232 Land and immovable properties are the object of Rēmanni-Adad’s contracts SAA 6, 302; 304; 311; 314; 315; 320; 322; 325; 326; 328; 329; 331–340. For transactions concerning slaves see SAA 6, 297; 319; 341; 342; 343; 345; 346; 347; 348.

233 Kwasman, Parpola 1991, xx, xxiii.

234 SAA 6, 301:8–9.

235 SAA 6, 300:5–7. It is reasonable to think that the sum must have been of one or one and a half minas. See the sale contract SAA 6, 138, dated to 693 BC and concerning the purchase of three individuals for three minas. The people sold include two men and a woman. One of the two men is a camel driver (*ibidem*, 4).

236 SAA 6, 309:3–8.

237 SAA 6, 305:4–8.

opted for the mina of Karkemiš,²³⁸ the silver standard more frequently used in Assyria in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. As it has been observed, when changes in price occur these variations were not necessarily motivated from conditions of the good that was exchanged, for instance age, physical condition and professional expertise of the artisan being sold. The use of different standards for the silver mina is an indication of speculative manoeuvrings operated by the buyers, especially when more than one type of mina are used by the same purchaser in transactions of the same period.²³⁹

If we now move to transactions concerning everyday commodities we see that prices in silver are very far from those attested for slaves and textile artisans. Fluctuations of prices per unit of the above-mentioned textile products were certainly increased by the mutual competition of the different silver norms and the chronic instability of the exchange rate. These factors characterized the unregulated economic system of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Regarding textiles, it is reasonable to think that various factors determined the price, *i.e.*, material, quality, provenance, colour, decoration, and so on. Presumably, a wide variety of items of different quality were available to the Assyrian “market” with variable prices. Linen garments were very expensive in Assyria, as we have seen in the case of the *kitûs* and *šaddinus*. If we take into consideration the prices in silver of livestock, we may observe that one *kitû* (41.5 shekels) was more expensive than an ox (30 shekels).²⁴⁰ It is important to underline that the sum of thirty shekels for one *šipirtu* is, according to Bēl-abū’a’s words, the usual price for the ordinary type (*sadrāte*) of this item.²⁴¹ This means that high-quality *šipirtus* were paid more than half a mina. Just to have an idea about the cost of these textile products, a sum of about thirty shekels could represent the lower price for donkeys in Assyria.²⁴² In addition, the value in silver of the above-mentioned textiles may also be confronted with the wages for hired work that are attested for the same period. According to legal documents that stem from the private archives of the *ḥundurāius* in the *Außenhaken* area in Assur, the highest monthly pay for men who worked for hire in the 7th century BC was three shekels, while a salary of around one or two shekels was the norm in the majority of the cases

238 SAA 6, 305:8.

239 On this aspect see the discussion in Fales 1996, 31–33.

240 NATAPA 2, 100:1–2.

241 SAA 19, 14 r.4–6.

242 See the list of prices for female donkeys SAA 11, 98. The maximum cost for a female donkey was one mina. The cost of male donkeys was generally higher. In *ibidem*, 1 we have the price of one and a half minas seven shekels, while in SAA 14, 187:6 one male donkey is sold for c. one mina 16 shekels. But see ADW 55:12–13 for the cost of thirty shekels for one male donkey.

of hired workers.²⁴³ This means that very few people could afford the cost of these commodities. For example, the cost for one *dappastu*-covering for chairs (five shekels) could be around five times the lower monthly pay of a hired worker. Lists of expenses for everyday goods from Kalḫu can give us further evidence to contextualize the prices in silver of the textile products,²⁴⁴ but the lack of data about the quantities of foodstuffs listed in these documents prevents us from identifying the possible price per unit of the goods. The only exception is given by six *qû* of wine, a quantity that was purchased for six shekels.²⁴⁵ As known, wine was a very expensive commodity in Assyria and its consumption by the socio-economic elite increased during the 7th century BC, as witnessed by the promotion of state-controlled production in the Empire's territory and the importation of wines from abroad.²⁴⁶ If confronted with the prices of items of clothing, the cost of six *qû* of wine corresponded to that of one *šaddīnu* and was higher than that of one *urnutu* (4.6 shekels). Other remarks may be made as regards the prices for the Neo-Assyrian garments discussed above. If we exclude the most expensive garments (*kitû*, *šipirtu*), the cost of the majority of the items of clothing ranges from more than two shekels (*ša-ḥallupte*) to six shekels (*šaddīnu*). Therefore, it seems that garments of two shekels—the cheapest among the ones discussed above—had the same cost of dyed or cured hides.²⁴⁷ The impression is that these prices were prohibitive not only from the point of view of hired workers who earned one or two shekels per month. Presumably, four and a half shekels for one *kuzippu* was a prohibitive cost even for people who belonged to the upper class of the Assyrian imperial society. Further data about prices of textile products and other everyday commodities in 1st-millennium Assyria are needed to confirm this view. Prices for everyday commodities are useful indicators of the levels of prosperity in the imperial society. Much less investigated are the factors that determined changes in the prosperity levels. As the much-quoted letter of Urad-Gula reminds us, falling into disgrace at court could seriously affect the possibility to have not only a donkey, but also a new suit of *kuzippus*.²⁴⁸

243 Radner 2007, 200.

244 ND 2310 and ND 2312 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20–21, pl. X).

245 ND 2312:4 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X).

246 Gaspa 2012a, 235–236, 239–241.

247 According to SAA 11, 26, the price per unit of one dyed skin (*tuḥšiu*) was 2.12 as well as 2.16 shekels (*ibidem*, 7'–8', 10'–11'), while that of one cured skin (*šallu*) was 2.05 shekels (*ibid.*, 13').

248 SAA 10, 294 r. 27–28.

5 Garments for kings, queens, soldiers and gods

5.1 Royal garments

From a brief glance at the carved wall-panels that decorated the Neo-Assyrian palaces in Kalḫu, Dūr-Šarrukēn and Nineveh—nowadays kept in the major museum collections—it is clear that the clothes worn by the Assyrian kings were the main concern of a large number of artisans and administrators in charge of textile production and management. The production of king's clothes required many different artisans, from common weavers to specialised tailors and experts in textile decorations. In its basic components, the king's dress is defined by a long fringed robe with short sleeves and a fringed overgarment or shawl that covered the king's shoulders or that could be wrapped around his body.¹ From the monumental art of Assurnāširpal II's reign we may form an idea about this overgarment. A stele from Nimrud shows the king's figure in profile. His short-sleeved tunic is partially covered by a shawl in such a way that the left arm appears completely covered by it, while the right arm remained free.² In the well-known scene on a relief from the throne room of the North-West Palace in Nimrud depicting Assurnāširpal on either side of the Assyrian sacred tree the two figures of the king show that the royal shawl was not symmetrical.³ How this overgarment covered the king's figure can also be seen from a look at a free-standing statue of the same king from the sanctuary of Ištar at Nimrud.⁴ A statue representing Shalmaneser III shows the same royal dress with an overgarment covering the left arm.⁵ In visual representations, the Assyrian king also wears a tiara. These basic components of the royal dress could be finely decorated by ornamental designs, both figurative and geometrical. These decorative elements are documented in numerous palace reliefs, monuments, painted wall panels and minor art objects, and represent an important source of information for the knowledge of the Neo-Assyrian royal clothing. The detailed representation of

1 Illustrations of this overgarment wrapped around the body are in Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 25 (Assurnāširpal II) and Matthiae 1998, 182 (Tiglath-pileser III). This way of wearing the overgarment also characterized the prince's clothing. See, e.g., Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 12 (Sargon and the crown prince) and Matthiae 1998, 129 (Assurbanipal). For a brief overview on the types of royal shawl see Braun-Holzinger 2009–11, 129b–130b.

2 Reade 1983, 20–21 with fig. 10.

3 Reade 1983, 36–37 with fig. 33.

4 See Matthiae 1998, 39. A drawing of the statue is reproduced in Villard 2001, 106. See Reade 1983, 21 for discussion.

5 Nunn 2006, 30 fig. 28.

the border bands and fringes of the royal garments bears witness to the significance attached to the wearer. An idea of this can be gained from a look at the Zincirli Stela (first half of the 7th century BC), where King Esarhaddon and his two sons, princes Šamaš-šumu-ukīn and Assurbanipal, are represented in their costumes. It is interesting to note that the princes are wearing different garments: Šamaš-šumu-ukīn is dressed in the typical Babylonian tunic while his brother Assurbanipal is wearing a costume that was peculiar to the Assyrian tradition, constituted by a tasseled tunic and a fringed overgarment. It is worth noting that also the headbands of the two princes are different: the one worn by Assurbanipal is decorated by a row of large concentric discs recalling the decorative design of the king's tiara. The strong similarity between the king's garment and that worn by Assurbanipal leaves no doubt about the continuity of royal power on the throne of Assyria.⁶

The political significance of displaying the royal dress as a means of conveying the idea of Assyrian power to the country's subjects is especially evident in monumental art. Garments seem to have played a role as a *manifesto* of Assyrian royal ideology. Within the Assyrian mindset, kings enjoyed a special proximity to gods and this special relationship was stressed through the nonverbal language of textiles: the visual art of Assyria shows that types of garments worn by gods and kings as well as decorative elements that adorned them shared similar characteristics. The function of dress as a marker of identity⁷ is widely used—in the political message conveyed through monumental art and texts—to define the special position of the king in Assyrian society as well as in the god-human communication. The power of royal clothes in the Assyrian imperial culture is clearly evident in the context of ritual performance. Major cultic events that required the presence of the king represented one of the occasions in which the key-concepts of the royal ideology—such as the vice-regency and priesthood of the king and his central role for obtaining the divine blessings for the well-being of the Land of Aššur—were communicated to the Assyrian population. Letters from the royal correspondence show that the Assyrian king's clothes were used as a substitute for the royal person when the monarch could not be present in the processions of the gods.⁸ This means that an agentive role was attributed to royal clothes, presumably because they were perceived as an extension of the

⁶ A drawing of the stela is reproduced in Matthiae 1998, 129. For a detailed photograph about Assurbanipal's garment on the stela see *ibidem*, 127.

⁷ For an anthropological investigation of the major cultural meanings that cloth conveys as a marker of identity in societies, see Schneider 1987, 409–448.

⁸ SAA 10, 287:3–6; 339:12–13; 340:9–12.

king's person and functions. In one of his letters to Esarhaddon, the chief lamentation priest Urad-Ea mentions the *akītu*-procession of the gods of the city of Kurba'il and the participation of the king's garments to the cultic event.⁹ It is not clear how and where these royal clothes were displayed on the occasion of these religious celebrations. Were these royal vestments presented upon a throne? In addition, from Urad-Ea's words it seems that penitential psalms had to be performed on the royal clothes.¹⁰ The same ritual act had to be executed on the occasion of the *akītu* of the god Sîn of Ḥarrān.¹¹ The second missive is about a nocturnal kettledrum ritual: the kettledrum had to be placed before the gods Nergal and Kaiamānu and upon the king's vestments.¹² The music of the kettledrum and the performance of the chants of Kaiamānu in the presence of the royal clothes were aimed at obtaining the god's blessings in favour of the king.¹³ Another letter, attributed to the exorcist Nabû-nādin-šumi, is about the city of Arbela and an analogous ritual use of the king's clothes.¹⁴ This conceptualization of royal clothes was an integral part of the process of theologization of the royal insignia that was promoted in imperial Assyria. The regalia of kingship were the material embodiment of the office of kingship and were regarded as gifts entrusted by the gods to the legitimate ruler.¹⁵ This notion emerges in literary texts that aim at elevating the status of the ruling king and his power to a cosmic level, as may be seen in Assurbanipal's Coronation Prayer and in a text dealing with the creation of the king. In the Coronation Prayer, Šamaš is described as the one who elevates the shepherhip of the four world regions. Aššur, the head of the Assyrian pantheon, is the god who bestows the sceptre. The crown is the gift of Anu, while

9 SAA 10, 339:12–r.2.

10 SAA 10, 339 r.3–4.

11 SAA 10, 338:9–15.

12 SAA 10, 340:9–12. According to other letters of Urad-Ea, nocturnal kettledrum rituals were also arranged before Marduk and Dilbat, see SAA 10, 341 and 342.

13 SAA 10, 340:13–r.6. See also SAA 10, 338:16–r.2 about the execution of a penitential psalm for Sîn's blessings in favour of the king.

14 SAA 10, 287:3–6.

15 The divine origin of the royal insignia is peculiar to the Mesopotamian notion of kingship. In the Sumerian poem *Inanna and Enki*, the crown, the throne, the sceptre, the staff and crook, the noble dress (túg maḥ), shepherdship and kingship figure among the divine powers (me) that were stolen by Inanna from Enki. See c.1.3.1, Segment F, lines 18–19, Segment I, lines 1–10, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>. According to an *adab* to An for King Lipit-Ištar, the king's person and his attire are adorned with the divine powers. See *Lipit-Ištar C*, c.2.5.5.3, lines 46–47, in Black *et al.* 1998–, <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>: “Enki has adorned you with princely divine powers. Inana escorts(?) you with the garment of princeship.” (accessed in December 2016).

Enlil gives his throne.¹⁶ Ninurta, the warrior of the gods, is the giver of the weapon, while Nergal donates his luminous splendour.¹⁷ Nusku is mentioned as the god who sends counselors to stand in attendance upon him.¹⁸ In the text describing the creation of the king, it is Bēlet-ilī, the creation goddess, who is in charge of fashioning the king. The goddess gives him the features of kingship. According to Ea's instructions, the body of the king had to be adorned with excellence.¹⁹ The enumeration of the divine gifts is identical to the Coronation Prayer, with the exception of the weapon and splendour, that in this text are donated by Nergal and Ninurta respectively.²⁰ The bestowal of the royal insignia makes the Assyrian king the earthen representative of the gods, especially the martial god Ninurta. In a Neo-Assyrian theological commentary, the king, equated with Ninurta, is described as equipped with the sceptre, throne and staff, and as the one who is adorned with the splendour of kingship.²¹ These texts show that the body of the king had to be adorned with splendour—a property of divine origin that also characterizes the royal person. This notion can give us useful insights into the way royal garments were created, used and conceptualized in imperial Assyria. Royal clothes give the Assyrian king his dignity and manifest his functions as the ruler of the Land of the god Aššur. The precious materials that adorned his garment enhanced the idea of the divine origin of the office of kingship.²² Through specific rituals, the royal insignia were purified and animated in order to enable the king to perform the duties of his office. Royal garments were among the regalia that were treated in this way.²³ The ritual of the opening and washing of the mouth was not only reserved to the activation of divine statues. It was also used to animate the insignia of kingship and the king himself.²⁴ After purification, the garment and the other royal insignia were placed before gods, and stars and prayers were pronounced to these divine beings. The crucial role of royal garments also emerges from the purification path outlined in royal rituals aimed at purifying the king's person. This is the case of the *Bit rimki*, a 1st-millennium ritual that makes use of various apotropaic and

16 SAA 3, 11:5.

17 SAA 3, 11:6–7.

18 SAA 3, 11:8.

19 Foster 2005, 497, line 34'.

20 Foster 2005, 497, line 40'.

21 SAA 3, 39 r.20–24.

22 Analogous observations may be made about the throne and the tiara, whose precious materials strengthened the idea of the divine origin of *šarrūtu*. See Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 446.

23 On this aspect, see Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 444.

24 Walker, Dick 2001, 10, 13.

prophylactic measures to protect the royal person.²⁵ After the purificatory and apotropaic rites were performed in seven “houses”, a rite of investiture took place. In this stage of the ritual, the garment that the king wears becomes the means by which the king acquires dignity, while the sceptre and the tiara enable him to subdue his foes and raise his head.²⁶ This shows that these purification measures served to define the function of each royal object and in this way the agency of the royal insignia was activated.²⁷ In the ritual concerning the royal investiture the regalia of kingship were presented to the king; this act guarantees the successful rulership.²⁸

The royal wardrobe probably included costumes specific to public ceremonies, private and public audiences, religious ceremonies, war and hunting activities, as well as travel, although the characteristics of these items are difficult to identify. Textiles are a powerful way of communicating ideas related to rank and status. It was also presumably due to specific attributes of royal garments, such as colour, structure and decorative design (as well as the combination or variation of these elements) that nonverbal communication was performed through textiles and that religious and political ideologies were conveyed to viewers and subjects. Scribes who recorded these items of clothing in texts were certainly aware of differences in royal dress and the meanings attached to them, but the telegraphic style of their descriptions and enumerations do not enable us to understand how each different piece of costume was worn and the ideas these articles conveyed to a contemporary audience. The visual evidence provided by palace reliefs and monuments can certainly help integrate the information from written records, although a number of details may well have been simplified by the artist in the visual representation. Generally, the long tunic and the overgarment or shawl are peculiar to ceremonial and ritual scenes, while in hunting or war scenes the Assyrian king wears clothes that on one hand distinguish him from his military entourage, on the other hand recalls elements of the military dress. This may be observed, for instance, in the case of Assurnasirpal’s war outfit, whose upper part shows in certain scenes the same decorative

25 The *Bit rimki* ritual can be reconstructed thanks to the manuscripts from the Neo-Assyrian and the Late Babylonian period. See BBR 26+30, von Weiher 1983, text no. 12 and Laessøe 1955, 21, 29–32.

26 See the blessing that was pronounced to the king at the beginning of the purificatory preparations in the *Bit rimki* in von Weiher 1988, text no. 66:81–84.

27 See Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 445.

28 On the investiture of the king ritual see Berlejung 1996, 3–31. See also Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 442. The tablets concerning the royal investiture are not included in Parpola 2017.

border characterizing the archers' uniforms²⁹ or in that of the short horseman tunic, shoes and leggings worn by Assurbanipal in hunting scenes from Nineveh.³⁰ These elements of the royal dress served to portray the king as an invincible warrior—a concept that is present in royal titulary.³¹ Another interesting case is given by the garment worn by Šamši-Adad V (823–811 BC) in his stele from Nimrud.³² The upper part of his close-fitting tunic is adorned by crossed straps, perhaps reminiscent of the shirts with crossed straps worn by Assyrian soldiers.³³

It seems that the type of shawl and the way it was worn served to communicate rank and social status of the wearer. It is interesting to observe that the fringed overgarment or shawl—a peculiar element of the Assyrian royal dress—is not present in scenes from Nineveh representing Assurbanipal. In non-ceremonial events, such as the royal “picnic” of Assurbanipal and the queen in the palace garden in Nineveh, the king wears only a finely-patterned tunic.³⁴ Surprisingly, also in ceremonial contexts Assurbanipal's dress does not include the shawl. In fact, in the scene that shows the libation ritual on the dead lions that follows the conclusion of the royal hunt the king wears the royal tiara and the typical ceremonial long robe,³⁵ but no overgarment is represented in this ceremonial scene. This is not the unique case in Assyrian visual art in which the king's dress lacks one important component. Another interesting example is given by Tukulti-Ninurta I's alabaster altar from the Ištar temple in Assur (second half of the 13th century BC). There is no doubt that the bearded figures with mace and fringed robes represent the king in the act of approaching and kneeling before the altar. In this case, the king is represented in a prayer gesture in front of the divine symbol, but he is not wearing the typical royal headgear.³⁶ This is worth to note, since the Assyrian king is never represented bareheaded in secular and religious occasions. Perhaps, a specific meaning was attached to these unusual representations of the royal person. The lack of headgear probably

²⁹ See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 17 and compare the royal dress with that worn by the Assyrian archers represented in *ibidem*, pl. 11.

³⁰ Barnett 1976, pls. 50, 51, 52.

³¹ Among the heroic epithets used in Assurbanipal's royal inscriptions we find *zīkaru qardu*, “valiant man” (BIWA A i 39; F i 33); *mušamqit šepšūte*, “the one who lays low the recalcitrant ones” (OECT 6, 69:12); *dā'išu*, “trampler” (Bauer 1933, 76:23); *sāpinu*, “overwhelmer” (Bauer 1933, 76:23).

³² Reade 1983, 45 fig. 46.

³³ On crossed straps in military uniforms see Postgate 2001, 382, 386 and fig. 9.

³⁴ Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

³⁵ Barnett 1976, pl. 59.

³⁶ Matthiae 1998, 45.

served to emphasize the king's profound devotion and his worship, an idea expressed by the artist through the choice of the continuous narrative in the same space and the repetition of the prayer gesture in two consecutive moments.³⁷ Analogous observations may be made about the aforementioned free-standing statue representing Assurnasirpal II. Interestingly, in this statue the king is shown without his royal tiara. The statue was erected in the sanctuary of Ištar at Kalḫu and was probably intended to express the respectful and reverent attitude of the monarch towards the deity.³⁸ Differently from Assurnasirpal's statue, that representing Shalmaneser III does not show the king holding weapons.³⁹ In this case too, no royal tiara covers the king's head and the reason must be searched in the fact that the statue was dedicated by the monarch to Adad of Kurbail as a sign of devotion to the local deity.

Moreover, the royal costume was not limited to clothes and head-dresses, but also included belts, sashes and shoes that must have been specific to different private and public occasions. The king's public persona was accentuated by his royal costume, which also required the presence of a number of accessories used as royal insignia; these items, that epitomized the Assyrian royal power, were fundamental components of the king's dress (such as his sceptre, the jewellery and the ceremonial weapons) and of his appearance in the public (such as the royal parasol and garments worn by his personal attendants). For instance, the presence of an attendant holding the royal parasol is shown not only in scenes where the king is standing in front of his defeated enemies,⁴⁰ but also in war scenes. In one of his palace reliefs from Kalḫu, Assurnasirpal II is represented as an invincible archer during the siege of a city. Interestingly, in the scene an attendant is following the king with a pretty and finely-decorated sunshade when the heroic monarch is shooting arrows against the enemies.⁴¹ In all the attestations, the presence of the parasol highlights the special space occupied by the Assyrian king's person.⁴²

37 Collins 2008, 21.

38 Matthiae 1998, 39. See also Reade 1983, 22–23.

39 Nunn 2006, 30 fig. 28.

40 In a relief from the North-West Palace in Nimrud, Assurnasirpal II is accompanied by his parasol attendant when he receives Sangara, the ruler of Karkemiš, prostrated before his feet. See Matthiae 1996, fig. 2.20. In the Black Obelisk (second half of the 9th century BC), Shalmaneser III is portrayed with his parasol attendant when receiving the submitted Jehu, king of Israel. See Matthiae 1998, 56. See also Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 12. In the scene concerning the booty of Lachish from the South-West Palace in Nineveh, the bearer of Sennacherib's parasol is represented while accompanying the royal charioteer. See Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 23.

41 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 20.

42 Radner 2010, 25–26.

To judge from the fine and complex decorations that adorned the clothes of the Neo-Assyrian kings in representations on palace reliefs, a special emphasis was put on certain figurative and symbolic elements, in all likelihood related to the Assyrian concept of kingship and its role. On Assurnasirpal II's dress the decoration is a replica of motifs displayed in the monumental art in Kalḫu: images of the king facing the Assyrian sacred tree, the winged symbol of the god Aššur and protective genies are peculiar elements of his robe along with sphinxes and vegetal motifs (palmettes, rosettes and buds).⁴³ It seems that royal tastes for decorative patterns of garments changed over time, since the kings of the 8th and the 7th century BC wear garments whose decorations predominantly, if not exclusively, consist of geometrical elements including motifs that could adorn both the borders of garments and their main surface, such as concentric circles, square-shaped elements, rosettes and star-shaped elements. In addition, these patterns also occur as decoration on tiaras and royal parasols. Rows of squares characterize the garments of the enthroned king represented in Til Barsip wall paintings: squares are outlined in blue or in white on a red or blue background.⁴⁴ In contrast, the hunting garment depicted in these paintings simply shows a pattern of black circles enclosing red concentric circles.⁴⁵ During the Sargonid period, especially in the reign of Assurbanipal, concentric circles with central dots, encircled rosettes and stars take pride of place on the royal garments. Geometric patterns adorn the entire surface of Sargon's dress. This tradition in royal textile decoration continues through the reigns of his successors, as can be seen in representations of Sennacherib wearing a garment decorated with numerous concentric circles and circles with a central dot in reliefs related to the Lachish campaign.⁴⁶ According to Albenda, it is possible that the borders of Sennacherib's garment were adorned with a bead decoration imitating granulation.⁴⁷ Assurbanipal's self-presentation in texts and monumental art is representative of the cultural tendencies that were at work in the royal ideology of the last phase of the Assyrian Empire. He presents himself as the king who had been nursed by the goddess⁴⁸ and as the one who possessed divine qualities, granted to him by

⁴³ Guralnick 2004, 221–222.

⁴⁴ Albenda 2005, 65.

⁴⁵ Guralnick 2004, 223.

⁴⁶ Guralnick 2004, 228; Albenda 2005, 68.

⁴⁷ Albenda 2005, 68.

⁴⁸ In the prophetic text SAA 9, 7:6 Mullissu is referred to as the mother of Assurbanipal, while Ištar of Arbela is described as his nurse. The role of wet nurse is attributed to Ištar of Nineveh in the dialogue between Assurbanipal and Nabû SAA 3, 13 r.6–8.

the Great Gods of Assyria.⁴⁹ His unrivalled power was probably manifested by the sumptuous clothes he wore in the most important ceremonial occasions, such as the 24th day of Šabātu, when the king showed himself to the people with the crown of Aššur. In these public events the outfit and the insignia of the king materialized the coincidence of the earthen power of the king with the celestial power of the god on the Land of Aššur. In this context, the royal robe adorned with legions of stars and circles must have played a significant role in stressing that the Assyrian king's power was universal, like the gods' dominion on the cosmos.⁵⁰ As representations in fabric or metal of astral symbols, these ornaments marked the special relationship that linked the king with the gods and especially the status of the Assyrian king as the *protégé* of the goddess.⁵¹

In scenes carved on palace wall panels, the emphasis on the finely-decorated king's dress is also stressed by the evident contrast between Assurbanipal's robe and the completely undecorated clothes of non-royal individuals or the different decoration of his immediate attendants and bodyguards.⁵² We can surmise that the luminescent presence of bracteates on the royal dress enhanced this contrast.⁵³ Large rosettes and concentric circles were not confined to items of dress. As shown in the Nineveh chariot scenes, the public display of the king also required the presence of specific accessories linked to the royal persona, such as the king's parasol. The cloth used for this object was a presumably heavy fabric finely decorated with rows of rosettes and alternating concentric discs, separated by bands with hatch marks.⁵⁴ A peculiar element in Assurbanipal's royal dress is visible in the hunting scenes. The chest area of his robe shows a rectangular-shaped panel bordered by narrow bands with concentric discs and a number of different motifs in the shape of rosettes, rectangles, lotus buds and concentric circles.⁵⁵ A figurative scene with two images of the king facing the Assyrian sacred tree under the god's winged disc is represented in the middle of

49 See SAA 3, 11 r.5–8.

50 See Maul 2017, 349.

51 In this way, the apotropaic function that dress ornaments probably had in origin, in the Assyrian royal robe was intertwined to the notion of the special filiation that linked the deity—represented in astralized form—with the king.

52 Guralnick 2004, 228.

53 Ethnographical literature shows that elite apparel makes ostentatious use of luminescent or decorated fabric in comparison with clothes worn by commoners. See Schneider 1987, 412.

54 Guralnick 2004, 228 and fig. 11.

55 Barnett 1976, pls. 5, 8, 11, 12, 50–52.

this chest panel,⁵⁶ in part visible also on the chest area of the garment worn by one of the attendants depicted in a scene in the act of warding off a wounded lion with spears⁵⁷ and on the shoulder of a chariot-driver's dress in another scene.⁵⁸ It seems that sculptors who carved these reliefs take care to represent the royal clothes as accurately as possible, presumably in the light of the special symbolism attached to these elements as well as of the "political use" of representing luxury and finely patterned textiles—as king's clothes, coverings of royal furniture and environments and trappings for the king's horses—to convey the idea of the Assyrian royal power. The figurative scene of the sacred tree is a decorative element inherited from the age of Assurnāširpal II, but it is clear that in the Late Neo-Assyrian period figurative scenes are limited to specific parts of the royal dress (the chest) or of the garments worn by some of his closest hunting attendants (chest and shoulders). In any case, geometrical elements dominate the decoration of the royal dress in the Late Neo-Assyrian period. Late Assyrian kings not only looked at their predecessors as a source of inspiration for royal rhetoric and ideological motifs. They also imitated decorative elements of the royal dress of their predecessors, as in the case of the "sacred tree scene". In her analysis of royal patterns, Guralnick concludes that some of the elements adorning garments represented in royal palace reliefs were used exclusively for the royal dress, such as the encircled rosettes with internal concentric circles and dots and the encircled star-shaped rosette.⁵⁹ Border strips and fringed bands represented a valuable part of royal garments. It is therefore possible that these parts were removed from the main garment before cleaning it.⁶⁰ After laundering, these pieces could be sewn on again on the king's robe.

Other significant details of the Neo-Assyrian king's clothing can be observed in royal funeral ceremonies, another important occasion in which the display of the dead king and the emblems of his power played an important role for the Assyrian ruling class. It is reasonable to assume that the power of royal garments to convey the king's status in various profane and religious ceremonies was also present in the funeral rituals. Textiles for the dead king were used not only to wrap the body, but also to stress the king's status and the social relationships with high-ranking individuals taking part in the funeral ceremony. More impor-

⁵⁶ An enlarged picture of the breast part of Assurbanipal's garment is reproduced in Fales, Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27.

⁵⁷ Barnett 1976, pl. 8. For a detailed photograph of the royal attendants represented in this relief see Collins 2008, 120.

⁵⁸ Barnett 1976, pl. 12. For details of the chariot-driver's garment see Collins 2008, 8.

⁵⁹ Guralnick 2004, 231.

⁶⁰ Dalley 1991, 124.

tantly, the bestowal of clothes to the dead served to consolidate ties among the living—in this case members of the royal family and high-ranking state officials.⁶¹ In a Late Assyrian multi-column text that commemorates the death of an Assyrian king, numerous grave goods are listed.⁶² Among these goods there are textiles which were probably presented by different donors whose names are not preserved in the text, if we exclude the mention of “the king of Akkad” in the second column.⁶³ From the lines preserved we can form an idea about the textiles presented as grave goods to the dead king, and indirectly about the royal wardrobe used by the living king. The group of textiles includes a blanket, various suits of robes, mitres, pairs of leggings and sleeves, sets of sashes, cloaks and shawls, reinforced lower garments and an umbrella. The rich variety of items of this funerary wardrobe presumably reflects the items of clothing regularly worn by the living king as well as other textiles that characterized his environment in everyday court life, as can be seen in the scene of Assurbanipal’s “picnic” in his royal garden in a Ninevite relief,⁶⁴ where various elements, including a blanket for the royal couch and the highly-decorated robe worn by the queen, underline the unequalled power and luxury attained by the Assyrian monarch.

The richly decorated royal dress shown in palace reliefs illustrates the significance that was attached to borders of garments and to specific elements of decoration. In a world where garments were largely untailed, it was the specific combination of items of clothing, borders and ornamental elements that defined the identity of a garment. Patterned fabrics could be made in different ways: by using a set of multicoloured threads; by embroidery or by attaching various materials (precious stones and metal items) to the cloth.⁶⁵ It is interesting to observe that the red-black chromatism of the items of clothing mentioned in Late Assyrian administrative records from Nineveh is confirmed by the coloured garments depicted in the wall paintings from Til Barsip: the colours used in these paintings are red, black, white and blue.⁶⁶ According to the Til Barsip evidence, it seems that polychromatic garments were limited to high ranking persons.⁶⁷

⁶¹ For the function of cloth in consolidating social relationships in funerary rituals see Schneider 1987, 410.

⁶² K 6323+ (Kwasman 2009, 114–117).

⁶³ K 6323+ ii 31' (Kwasman 2009, 115).

⁶⁴ Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

⁶⁵ Albenda 2005, 56.

⁶⁶ Albenda 2005, 61.

⁶⁷ Albenda 2005, 63.

It is an open question whether the ornamental items represented on Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs, monuments and other artefacts were made of fabric or metal or of both materials. What is certain is that an ancient decorative technique concerning textiles consisted in stitching small and thin metal plates of different shape and size on the cloth in order to embellish them. The decorative appliqués or bracteates⁶⁸ represent an important source of information on the history of costume of ancient elites and give the scholars of ancient textiles important insights on socio-economic, aesthetic, and religious aspects of the ancient civilizations. The intriguing description which Oppenheim made about the ornaments decorating the garments of the Mesopotamian gods' statues in 1949⁶⁹ led the reader to the world of textile decoration and to the care for divine paraphernalia in the Babylonian cultic practice. As already observed by Fales and Postgate in their introduction to the edition of a group of administrative documents from the archive of Nineveh,⁷⁰ Oppenheim discussed the Babylonian practice of adorning the garments of divine statues without mentioning attestations of designations for such decorative elements from Neo-Assyrian textual sources. However, he tried to corroborate his assumptions by citing numerous attestations from Neo-Assyrian monumental art. In addition, the discovery of the tombs of queens in Kalḫu and their valuable contents represents another important piece of evidence for the use of decorative elements in the fabrication of luxurious garments of 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia which cannot be ignored by scholars of ancient textiles. In order to update Oppenheim's considerations, the following remarks will attempt to give a more complete analysis of golden dress decorations in 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia. This will be made through an interdisciplinary approach combining textual data with contemporary archaeological and iconographic evidence. Combining words and *realia* is in most cases an insoluble problem for the identification of the items mentioned in ancient texts. Fortunately, the findings in the burials of the Assyrian queens represent a turning point for textile research and their treasury of textile-related data may now help us to ground the study of the 1st-millennium BC metal appliqués on firmer foundations.

68 The term bracteate, from Latin *bractea*, indicates a flat, thin plate of metal; usually these ornamental items were made of precious metal. The terms appliqué, plaque, and attachment are also used in archaeological literature to describe these objects.

69 Oppenheim 1949, 172–193.

70 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxv.

5.2 Golden decorations for Assyrian and Babylonian textiles in the 1st millennium BC

The life of the royal courts and the cultic ceremonies in the main temples in 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia oriented the local textile manufacture towards the production of finely elaborated items of clothing for the members of the ruling class as well as for the statues of divinities. In fact, the dressing of the gods, which were represented in the shrines by their statues, was a fundamental part of the regular service that temple personnel had to perform for the gods: accordingly, divine statues had to be properly washed, fed, dressed, and entertained in order to get the gods' benevolence and gifts. The extremely elaborate decoration of these luxury garments, which required the collaborative work of specialized goldsmiths and tailors, became an important sector in the palace- and temple-oriented textile economies of the Near Eastern states.

The adornment of garments with golden appliqués is especially attested in Assyria and in Babylonia. With the advancement of research in the field of the Neo-Babylonian period, we are now able to update Oppenheim's observations by taking into consideration additional Neo-Babylonian texts which were not known to him when he wrote his paper. Many texts from the archive of the Eanna temple, the sanctuary of the goddess Ištar in Uruk (second half of 7th—mid 6th century BC), shed light on the allocation of textiles for the deities of the Babylonian shrines. A group of texts informs us on the decoration of the gods' garments. The vestments for the goddesses Ištar, Nanāya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš were densely covered with gold appliqués in the shape of rosettes (*aiaru*), stars (*kakkabu*), *ḥašū*-elements, *tenšū*-elements, and lions (*nēšu*).⁷¹ The meaning of the ornament designations *ḥašū* and *tenšū* still escapes us.⁷² Perhaps, in the light of the meaning of the word *ḥašū* as "lung", one may suppose that the ornament in question was a lung(?) -shaped element.⁷³ Concerning the Neo-Babylonian word *tenšū*, it is intended as an Aramaic loanword in the dictionaries, which interpret it as a term generically denoting a precious metal dress ornament.⁷⁴ According to Matsushima, the word probably designates a square ornament;⁷⁵ in

⁷¹ Beaulieu 2003, 21–25. On textile production and management of garments for divine statues in 1st-millennium BC Babylonia, see Zawadzki 2006.

⁷² Oppenheim 1949, 176, 177; Beaulieu 2003, 382, 389.

⁷³ Names of organs could be used to designate precious stones. For kidney-shaped ornaments, called in Akkadian with the term *tukpītu*, see CAD T, 459a.

⁷⁴ AHw, 1347b; CAD T, 344a; CDA 404a; AEAD 124a.

⁷⁵ Cited in Beaulieu 2003, 389. The possibility that the word *tenšū* means "square" was already suggested in Oppenheim 1949, 176.

fact, the iconographic evidence about divine and royal garments shows that square-shaped ornaments alternate with rosettes in dress decorations. From the Neo-Babylonian evidence we may see that square-shaped ornaments for garments were also called *bābu*, “door, gate”.⁷⁶ When attached to garments, some of the above-mentioned golden items come in pairs, *i. e.* stars are associated with *ḥašû*-elements, while rosettes occur with *tenšû*-elements. The *kusîtu*-garment of the goddess could be adorned with stars and *ḥašûs* (Ištar)⁷⁷ or with rosettes and *tenšûs* (Nanāya).⁷⁸ The last items, namely *aiarus* and *tenšûs*, also occur together as golden decorative elements in connection with the statue of the goddess Šarpanîtu in a Neo-Assyrian letter by Rāši-ili, a clergyman of Bēl.⁷⁹ The missive does not specify whether the items were used as ornaments for the statue or for a garment covering it. In any case, these elements must have decorated in profusion the appearance of the goddess, as suggested by the 12 minas of gold from which the rosettes and the *tenšûs* were made.⁸⁰

To come back to the Neo-Babylonian evidence, we see that lion-shaped ornaments were used to adorn the belt (*nēbeḥu*) of Ištar⁸¹ and the *lubāru mēṭu* garment of Ištar⁸² and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.⁸³ For the adornment of the belt 15 *nēšus* were required, while for that of the *lubāru mēṭu* garment the number varied according to the type of ornaments and, presumably, of the size of the statue’s costume; the one worn by Ištar could be covered by 70 large lions, that of Bēltu-ša-Rēš by 14–15 lions of unspecified size (perhaps, the large variety) as well as by 25 small lions. From the amounts listed in these documents, we may form an idea on the decorative work which the statues’ garments required. The *kusîtu*-garment of Ištar could be covered with a maximum of 1.391 pieces, that of Nanāya with 1.486 pieces. This means that the size of the ornaments in question was very small. The fact that the quantities of the elements coming in pairs are not equivalent has been interpreted by Oppenheim as an indication that the two types of

76 BBSt 36:10–11 1–en TÚG.UDA ZA.GÌN.‘KUR’.RA / iz-ḥi KÁ, “One blue *lubāru*-garment with golden (ornaments in the shape of) gate(s) fastened to it.” (cited in Zawadzki 2010, 417).

77 BIN 2, 125; NBC 4504; 4577; NCBT 1008; 1251; PTS 2539; 2674; 3067; YBC 3438; 7383; 9240; 9638; YOS 6, 117; 17, 248; 19, 269.

78 AUWE 11, 162; GCCI 2, 69; NBC 4504; 4510; 4577; NCBT 1008; PTS 2539; 2674; 3067; YBC 3438; 3441; 7383; 9240; 9395; 9638; YOS 6, 117; 17, 248; 19, 269.

79 SAA 13, 174:10–14 12 MA.NA KUG.GI / šá a-na šul-ma-na-a-ti a-na^dEN / i-ru-ba ina pa-ni-ia a-na a-a-ru / ù te-en-šû-ú šá^dzar-pa-ni-tum / e-te-pu-uš, “The 12 minas of gold which came in to me as gifts for Bēl I have made into rosette-shaped ornaments and *tenšû*-ornaments for Šarpanîtu.”

80 SAA 13, 174:10.

81 PTS 2927:3.

82 NCBT 557:7–8.

83 NCBT 557:9–10; 1251:6–8; PTS 2927:4; YBC 9031:1–3.

decorative elements were stitched on the garments in alternation.⁸⁴ However, to a closer analysis of the texts, we may see that the figures differ by one only in three texts which concern the *kusītu* of Nanāya,⁸⁵ while in the case of the *kusītu* of Ištar, the difference in the number of stars and *ḥašū*-elements ranges from 4 to 18 (15 in three attestations). In the case of a total coincidence in the number of the two types of ornaments, as may be observed in nine texts regarding to rosettes and *tenšûs* for the *kusītu* of Nanāya,⁸⁶ one is entitled to assume that the golden items were complementary each other, and that they formed a unique decorative element once stitched onto the fabric. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in some texts, the gold items destined to Nanāya's costume are strictly associated with the *mušiptu*-cloth:⁸⁷ perhaps, this was the cloth (of the *kusītu*) on which the two ornaments were stitched.⁸⁸

At a first impression, the above-mentioned amounts may appear excessive, but we must consider that the garments used for covering the divine statues in temples could weigh tens of minas; in fact, the texts from the archive of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar tell us that the *lubāru*-garment for the statue of Šamaš weighed 20 minas of wool (c. 10 kg).⁸⁹ From a Neo-Assyrian list from Nineveh recording quantities of textile materials consumed in a given period, we find that the quantity of red wool used to manufacture the garments of an indefinite number of divine statues corresponds to seven talents and ten minas (c. 434.3 or 217.1 kg).⁹⁰ Large quantities of gold were required to adorn these divine vestments. From a Neo-Babylonian document we learn that the entire decoration of the *kusītu* for Nanāya, constituted by 703 *aiarus* and an equivalent amount

84 Oppenheim 1949, 177–178.

85 GCCI 2, 133:1–2; GCCI 2, 367:1–2; PTS 2539:7–8.

86 AUWE 11, 162:2–3; NBC 4504:6–7; NCBT 557:1–2; 1008:7–8; PTS 2674:7–8; 3067:6–7; YBC 3438:7–8; 9395:1–2; YOS 6, 117:4–5.

87 GCCI 2, 69:3; 133:6; 367:5; NCBT 557:6. The word, which according to CDA 220a derived from the verb *šuppu* II, “to decorate”, is intended as a generic term for garments, see Roth 1989–90, 29.

88 In NCBT 557:6 the *mušiptu* is qualified as a linen fabric (GADA.*mu-šip-ti*). Instead, in the other attestations the word is preceded by the determinative TÚG.

89 Zawadzki 2006, 88.

90 SAA 7, 115 r. i 10–11. The calculation of the corresponding value in kilograms depends on the type of mina taken into consideration. In Assyria both the heavy mina (1.01 kg) and the light mina (0.505 kg) were in use.

of *tenšûs*, corresponded to a quantity of 23 minas of gold,⁹¹ i. e. more than ten kilograms.

The Assyrian counterparts of these Babylonian dress ornaments have been recognized in some decorative elements of gold which are recorded in some of the Neo-Assyrian administrative lists of metal objects found in Nineveh.⁹² Although the fragmentary status of the texts and the concise style of the Assyrian bureaucracy do not give us details about the items which were adorned by the decorative elements, it is clear that some of the attested ornamental elements were used in textile decorations. These metallic elements are indicated by the words *takkussu* and *buṭu*[...]. A third element is only attested in the logographic form SIG.LU.KUR GAR-*nu* and no corresponding Akkadian syllabic writing is known at present. As alternative readings, Fales and Postgate suggest *pik-lu-lat* and SIG UDU KUR, both to be rejected.⁹³ Another possibility is to read the occurrence as *sik-lu-nat*; a plural form *siklunātu* would fit well to the quantity of the listed items (4 *sik-lu-nat*). The only possible term referring to textiles which comes to my mind is the word *sikulittu*, which is attested in Nuzi texts as a qualification of chairs and beds.⁹⁴ Is the form *siklunāt* in some way linked to the word *sikulittu*? The use of this item in connection with chairs and beds seems to be perfectly in line with what we know about the *dappastu*, as we will see in detail below.

What is important to note is that *takkussu* and *buṭu*[...] occur together and this confirms the hypothesis that they complemented each other, thus representing a possible counterpart of the rosettes and the *tenšûs* of the Neo-Babylonian garments. The first designation, *takkussu*, has been interpreted as denoting a tube or pipe,⁹⁵ while the interpretation of the second word is problematic, since in all the known attestations the last signs of the term are broken. Is the occurrence *buṭu*[...] to be referred to the word *buṭuttu*, “terebinth nut”? Beads used in jewellery were often named according to their appearance in ancient

91 AUWE 11, 162:1. For the same weight, see also YBC 9395:3 (700 *aiarus* and 700 *tenšûs*). This second text specifies that 23 minas were the total amount needed for decorating the entire section of Nanāya's *kusītu*-garment (*issēn riksi ša kusīti*). See YBC 9395:4.

92 Fales, Postgate 1992, xv.

93 Fales, Postgate 1992, 86. The word *pikallullu* refers to the vent for an oven (AHw, 863a and CAD P, 371a), while UDU KUR is the logographic form of *immer šadê*, “mountain sheep”. Both the meanings do not seem to fit the context concerning the description of a textile.

94 See CAD S, 261a. The word is listed as *zikulittu* in AHw, 1527b and CDA 447b. No plural form of the term seems to be attested at present. In addition, mention should be made of a term of possible Hurrian origin which occurs in connection to textiles: Alalakh 362:6 ṛ6 TÚG.šī-ik-la(-)te-na (in a list of textiles). See CAD Š/II, 436a s.v. *šiklu*.

95 AHw, 1307a; CAD T, 78b; CDA 395a; AEAD 121a.

Mesopotamia.⁹⁶ Perhaps, the *bu[uttu?]* was a type of bead imitating the shape of the terebinth-nuts. New attestations of the word are needed to confirm or reject this hypothesis. In the texts, *takkussu* and *buṭu[...]* are associated with the textile known as *dappastu*.⁹⁷ One text mentions a red wool *dappastu* with 382 tubes, 432 *buṭu[...]*-elements, and four SIG¹.LU.KUR GAR-*nu*,⁹⁸ while another one has a *dappastu* with four SIG.LU.KUR¹ GAR-*nu*², 136 tub[es ...], and 136 *bu[uttu...]*-elements.⁹⁹ In both cases, additional quantities of tubes are listed, in some way associated to the same textile product: respectively, 100 tubes for the first *dappastu*¹⁰⁰ and 404 tubes for the second one.¹⁰¹ It is interesting to note that the number of SIG.LU.-KUR-ornaments does not change, while the amounts of tubes and *buṭu[...]*s are variable. In one of the texts, the weight of (all?) the elements adorning a *dappastu* is given: 11 minas 13 ½ shekels (c. 11.33 or 5.66 kg).¹⁰² This weight shows that one *dappastu* with all these elements must have been very heavy. It is clear that the production of this type of textile and of all these precious metal appliqués was very expensive and involved the most skilled weavers and goldsmiths of the Empire.

To come back to the decorative elements characterizing the *dappastu*, the fact that in both the *dappastus* occurring in the administrative lists four SIG.LU.-KUR GAR-*nu* (or *sik-lu-nat* GAR-*nu*) are mentioned seems to suggest that the elements in question had to do with the four sides or the four angles of the textile. The *dappastu* has been interpreted as a blanket or bedcover¹⁰³ and as a rug.¹⁰⁴

96 See, e.g., the following names of beads, attested in Neo-Babylonian texts: *binitu*, “fish-roe-shaped bead”, *erimmatu*, “egg-shaped bead”, *nurmû*, “pomegranate-shaped bead”, *zēr qiššê*, “melon-seed-shaped bead”. See Beaulieu 2003, 13–14. For designations of beads referring to fruits and seeds in Mari texts, see Arkhipov 2012, 47–48 (*kisibirrum*, “coriander-shaped bead”), 49 (*murdiyyum*, “bramble-shaped bead”), 52 (*nurmûm*, “pomegranate-shaped bead”), *ibid.* (*papparḥum*, purslane(?) shaped bead), 54 (*šarûrum*, “melon(?) shaped bead”), 56 (*uḥennum*, “fresh date-shaped bead”), *ibid.* (*uṭṭetum*, “grain-shaped bead”), 57 (*zēr šakirê*, “henbane-seed-shaped bead”).

97 This textile product is attested in CTN 2, 1:3'; 152:5; 154 r.3'; K 6323+ ii 1 (Kwasman 2009, 114); ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); ND 2691:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 44, pl. XXIII); ND 2758:7' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); SAA 7, 64 r. i 7; 66 r. i' 1', 6'; 96:3'; 97:9'; 105:4'; 115 i 11; 117 r.3; 168:5'; SAA 16, 53:9; StAT 3, 1 r.18; TH 52:6; 64:3–4.

98 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 7'–10'.

99 SAA 7, 66 r. i' 1'–4'.

100 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 11'.

101 SAA 7, 66 r. i' 5'–6'. It is not clear whether the 400 tubes and 400 *buṭu[...]*s which are mentioned in the same list (lines r. i' 7'–8') have to be referred to the same *dappastu*.

102 SAA 7, 66 r. i' 9'.

103 AEAD 21a.

Accordingly, a square-shaped textile seems to be the best candidate for the item in question. An exemplar of blanket is provided by the iconographic evidence of the Neo-Assyrian period: it is depicted in the scene of the garden banquet of Assurbanipal and the queen in a relief from Room S' of the North Palace in Nineveh (c. 645 BC).¹⁰⁵ This blanket, whose use is associated with the king's couch, is bordered by a decorated band and, presumably, also by four angular tassels.¹⁰⁶ According to Neo-Assyrian texts, the *dappastu* came in two types, the wool variety¹⁰⁷ and the linen variety.¹⁰⁸ The wool variety could be red¹⁰⁹ or black.¹¹⁰ From a list of grave goods for a king we learn that the "front part" of the *dappastu*, perhaps to be intended as the upper and visible part of it,¹¹¹ could be black.¹¹² The connection of this textile with beds is corroborated by the fact that in the same list are mentioned beds among the grave goods for the royal dead.¹¹³ Moreover, it represents a common item in enumerations of bedclothes in dowry lists of marriage contracts from Kalḫu.¹¹⁴ *Dappastus* for beds are listed in two triangular textile labels from Nineveh which possibly accompanied stocks of textiles.¹¹⁵ The *dappastu* constituted one of the bedclothes which were used in Assyrian temples for the beds of the gods. From a text containing a memorandum on temple furnishings we learn that the *dappastu* was one of the bed textiles which were used as covering for the bed of the goddess Šērū'a in her shrine.¹¹⁶ That this textile was strictly connected to beds in the daily life of the Assyrians is also evident from a private letter dealing with the adoption of a daughter. The text mentions what seem to be the basic household elements composing a bed: a wooden board (*lē'u*), blankets (*dappastu*), and a bedspread (*qarrānu*).¹¹⁷ However, it seems that this textile could be used as covering for other pieces

104 CDA 398a. The term is generically intended as a cover or garment in AHw, 1320b and CAD D, 104b.

105 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

106 Only one tassel is visible in the relief.

107 StAT 3, 1 r.18–19.

108 SAA 7, 115 i 11.

109 ND 2758:6' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); SAA 7, 96:3'; StAT 3, 1 r.18; TH 52:6.

110 ND 2758:5' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); StAT 3, 1 r.19.

111 Kwasman suggests that it could also be referred to the right side of the *dappastu*. See Kwasman 2009, 118.

112 K 6323+ ii 1–2 (Kwasman 2009, 114).

113 K 6323+ ii 19', 32' (Kwasman 2009, 114–115).

114 CTN 2, 1:3'; ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

115 SAA 7, 97:9'; SAA 7, 105:4'.

116 SAA 7, 117 r.3–7.

117 SAA 16, 53:8–10.

of the royal furniture as well; in a document from Kalḫu three talents of cloth of black (wool) and three talents of cloth of red wool for 12 *dappastu* are recorded, two of which were destined as covering of chairs.¹¹⁸ This means that with six talents of wool cloth (c. 363.6 or 181.8 kg) an Assyrian weaver could manufacture twelve of these textiles and that the quantity needed for one *dappastu* corresponded to half a talent (c. 30.3 or 15.1 kg). Also this weight confirms that this type of textile could be very heavy; a possible explanation could be that with this term both blankets (or bedcovers) and large tapestries were designated.

As to the element indicated by the writing GAR-*nu*, it is possible that this form must be read as a *pīrs* nominal form of the verb *šakānu*, “to place, set, install”, *i.e.* as *šiknu*. This word is used in a Neo-Assyrian text to designate a textile. It occurs among various grave goods in a text concerning the royal funeral of a king;¹¹⁹ in two passages of this text, *šiknu*-textiles are associated with mitres, leggings, and sleeves.¹²⁰ In connection to textiles, the *šiknu* also occurs in two texts of the 2nd millennium BC. In an Old Assyrian document, two *kusitum*-garments with a *šiknum* are listed.¹²¹ Interestingly, this item could also be associated with bedclothes; in fact, in a document from the city of Mari we are informed about a *ḫalû*-textile with a *šiknum* for a bed.¹²² Also the *šiknu* of the 1st millennium BC, interpreted as designating a padding,¹²³ appears to have been used for both garments and bedclothes. However, in the case of our *dappastu*, it is difficult to think how a padding could be associated to four decorative metal objects. Perhaps, the most plausible solution is to consider *šiknum* as referring to the setting of the four metal items,¹²⁴ in other words, to the appearance or structure of the SIG.LU.KURs; the broken signs following the word in the two known attestations probably concerned the name of the material of this setting.¹²⁵

Summing up, our *dappastu* represented a finely-executed blanket, perhaps destined to cover a bed of a goddess in an Assyrian temple. The exact function of the afore-mentioned metal decorative items escapes us, but it is plausible that

118 ND 2758:5'–8' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI).

119 K 6323+ r. i' 5', 18' (Kwasman 2009, 116).

120 K 6323+ r. i' 4'–7', 15'–18' (Kwasman 2009, 116).

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

122 RA 64, 33, no. 25:1. See CAD Š/II, 439a. For the interpretation of the *ḫalû šiknu* as a “courtepointe”, see Durand 2009, 40, 603.

123 The interpretation of the *šiknu* as a pad or padding has been suggested by Kwasman in connection with the Neo-Assyrian occurrence of the word. See Kwasman 2009, 121, who, however, does not discuss the function of this textile in the light of the Old Assyrian and Mari attestations.

124 For this meaning of the word, see CAD Š/II, 436b–437a s.v. *šiknu* A 1a'.

125 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 10'; 66 r. i' 2'.

the several hundreds of tubes (if this is the correct translation of the word *tak-kussu*) and of *buṭ[u...]*-elements, presumably consisting of very tiny and small pieces of metal, must have served to decorate the four bordering bands of this blanket, perhaps used in alternation or as single components of more elaborated designs. Other uses of these tubes are to be ruled out, in the light of the fact that they were of precious metal. In fact, from the point of view of the textile technique, the use of metal tubes for the construction of tassels has been put forward in the light of the two cylindrical tassels discovered in Tombs II and III at Nimrud, but the analysis of these tassels revealed that no bronze pin or tube was present inside them.¹²⁶ As for the four SIG.LU.KUR GAR-*nu* (or *sik-lu-nat* GAR-*nu*), these items had probably to do with the decoration of the four angular tassels of the *dappastu*. Representations of garments worn by the king and other court members show that the tassels composing the fringed edge were clasped by elements. It is possible that in more elaborated textiles these elements were made of precious metal.¹²⁷ This is probably the case of the tassel of the bedcover of Assurbanipal's couch, although the representation of the juncture of the tassel to the bedcover's border in the relief does not seem to have been made with accuracy. If these considerations may be accepted, we may suppose that the *dappastu* was probably characterized by four angular tassels which were closed by small gold clasps.

5.3 The findings in the Nimrud tombs and their significance for the study of the Assyrian textiles

The textile research on the Assyrian garments may greatly benefit from the combination of textual and iconographic materials in the identification of the items in question. A third type of evidence has been provided by the archaeological research on the burials of the 8th century capital of the Assyrian state, the city of Kalḫu. Four tombs were discovered in the complex of the North-West Palace in Nimrud.¹²⁸ In particular, the discovery of Tomb 2 in the domestic quarter of the North-West Palace in 1989 by the Iraqi archaeologists¹²⁹ revealed that, among various and precious grave goods which accompanied the skeletons of two

126 Crowfoot 1995, 114, 117.

127 On the use of jewelled tassels in the adornment of Assyrian costumes, see Houston 1954, 156–158 and pl. 8.2.

128 For the location of the tombs in the context of the North-West Palace complex see Hussein 2016, pl. 5.

129 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 87–133; Damerji 1999, 19–84; 2008, 81–82.

women, one to be identified as Yabâ (wife of Tiglath-pileser III, 745–727 BC) and the other as Bānītu (wife of Shalmaneser V, 726–722 BC) or Ataliâ (wife of Sargon, 721–705 BC),¹³⁰ there was a mass of blackened fabric which originally covered the bodies or was piled up over them.¹³¹ This mass of fabric was formed by various layers of cloth.¹³² The dark colour of the material was probably due to deterioration or to the use of liquids in funerary rituals.¹³³ Analyses on the Nimrud textile fragments confirmed that flax had been used to fabricate the garments of the buried queens; this fibre was detected both in the mass of cloth discovered in Tomb 2 and in the fragments of Tomb 4.¹³⁴ Analysis on these fragments also revealed the presence of cotton.¹³⁵ In addition to cloth, the tombs also contained a large variety of small objects, in part lying among the bones and in part in the folds of one layer of the solidified textile. This material included a huge number of luxury dress ornaments, such as 700 tiny gold rosettes, star-shaped ornaments, circles, triangles, and banded agate studs with borders of gold granules. It has been assumed that all these tiny and finely made objects had been sewn onto the garments as decorative elements rather than being part of some broken piece of jewellery.¹³⁶ That the items accompanying the queens in their last rest

130 Of the two skeletons found in this tomb, one above the other, the upper individual was probably the last occupant (Bānītu or Ataliâ), while the lower individual was the original occupant (Yabâ). A new hypothesis has been put forward by Dalley, according to whom the two bodies contained in the sarcophagus of Tomb 2 at Nimrud belong to Yabâ and Ataliâ. The name Bānītu was probably the second name of Tiglath-pileser III's wife. See Dalley 2008, 171.

131 On the textile remains found in the tombs, see Crowfoot, 113–118. For pictures of them, see *ibidem*, 116 fig. 5; Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 440 fig. 222; Hussein 2016, pl. 36a-c. Analyses on the Nimrud textile fragments confirmed that flax had been used to fabricate the garments of the buried queens. See Crowfoot 1995, 117. Analogous remains of textiles in burial contexts have been found in the royal hypogeum of Qatna (18th/17th–14th century BC). See Lion 2009, 282. On the finds of the excavations in Qatna see Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003, 189–218.

132 Hussein 2016, 13 fn. 24.

133 See Hussein 2016, 13, citing Postgate's hypothesis about the practice of pouring ointments as the cause of discoloration. Indeed, various liquid substances were used in libations for the dead. Neo-Assyrian offerings for the royal tombs also included various kinds of beer. See the administrative list of offerings SAA 7, 197 r.2–10'.

134 See Crowfoot 1995, 117; Hussein 2016, 13, 45 and pls. 36a-c (Tomb II), 179 f (Tomb IV).

135 See Toray Industries, Inc. 1996, 199. Outside Mesopotamia proper, it is important to mention the cotton textile remains found in the Arjān tomb (c. 630–550 BC?), discovered in a site of western Iran. See Álvarez-Món 2010b, 31–33.

136 Crowfoot 1995, 113; Oates, Oates 2001, 83. A short description of Tomb 2 dress decorations is given in Collon 2008, 114 with figs. 14–q and 14–r. The pictures were reproduced from Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 302 fig. 94, 306 fig. 98, and 307 fig. 99. See now Hussein 2016, pls. 77–80, 151, 152. Various pieces of jewellery, presumably belonging to elite women, have also been dis-

constituted an extremely rich treasury is also evident from the words against the profaners in the alabaster funerary tablet of Yabâ, which explicitly mention the queen's jewellery (*šukuttu*).¹³⁷ However, there is no evidence in the texts about the luxury garments that were buried with the Neo-Assyrian queens. A ritual text from Nineveh describes the ceremony for the burial of an unknown queen. The ritual event was arranged in an open space, where women of the royal family played a central role. The first part of the burial rite consisted in the display of the body of the queen on the bed (*taklimtu*),¹³⁸ while the second part was characterized by the funeral burning (*šaruptu*).¹³⁹ During these parts of the funeral ceremony various ritual operations are performed. The bride washes the feet and circumambulates around the bed three times, then kisses the feet of the queen and burns cedar. Wine libations are also performed in this phase of the rite.¹⁴⁰ The same acts accompany the ritual burning.¹⁴¹ In this phase, the participants bring the ceremonial foodstuffs and make libations. After the fire of the *šaruptu* is extinguished, the participants arrange the funeral meal for the gods, consisting in meat cuts, baked preparations, flour, grain, oil, syrup, water, beer and wine.¹⁴² The foods are presented on tables before the Great Antu, Gilgameš and the boatmen. However, in the detailed description of the burial rite no mention is made of the garments worn by the dead as well as of the textiles donated by the participants as burial gifts. That the presentation of textiles played a fundamental role in the context of burial rites is evident from a ritual text from Nineveh related to the funeral ceremony for an unnamed king, possibly Esarhaddon or Assurbanipal. In this case, the funerary text includes a long list of grave goods, among which there are numerous textiles that we also find in the administrative text corpus. These textiles were presented as grave goods by various donors, presumably the crown prince and other members of the royal family and court. Among these items we find blankets, multi-coloured garments and head-coverings, leggings, sleeves, sashes and shoes.¹⁴³

covered in the Middle Assyrian Tomb 45 in the city of Assur (c. 14th–13th century BC). See Feldman 2006, 23, 32–33.

137 Al-Rawi 2008, 119, text ND 1989/68:10.

138 SAA 20, 34:1–15.

139 SAA 20, 34:16–r.20.

140 SAA 20, 34:2–14.

141 SAA 20, 19–e.31.

142 SAA 20, 34 r.3–16.

143 K 6323+ ii 1–2 (Kwasman 2009, 114 ff: one *dappastu* with black front-part); *ibidem*, 33' (one textile, generically referred to as *miḥṣu*); *ibid.*, iii 22–27 (one Elamite gold mitre, various robes, especially multicoloured, reinforced undergarments and *našbutus*); *ibid.*, iv 2 (one umbrella);

In the final part of the text, the person who is speaking—in all likelihood the crown prince—states to have gently laid the dead king in the tomb, to have displayed various luxury objects and to have presented gifts to the Anunnaki and the gods of the Netherworld.¹⁴⁴ In the last lines of the reverse side of this tablet all the grave goods presented to the dead are referred to as “gold and silver objects”, a *pars pro toto* to indicate all the grave goods.¹⁴⁵ It is clear that with this designation also the luxury textiles decorated in profusion with gilded bracteates were intended. In this part of the text, the jewels and the textiles that are enumerated in various sections of the text are qualified as the emblems of the king’s lordship.¹⁴⁶ This digression on the textual evidence about funerary ceremonies in the Neo-Assyrian period has shown that no explicit references are made in the extant texts about clothes that covered the dead in Assyria. However, these ritual texts provide us the cultural context in which the luxury textiles were presented in burial ceremonies that involved members of the royal family. Presumably, the *taklimtu* required that the queen’s body was presented with vestments appropriate to the status and social role of the dead. The donation of items of clothing by various donors during the burial ceremony emphasized the social status of the dead and at the same time served to re-affirm the family and social connections between the donors and the dead. With this ritual background in mind, we can go back to the items unearthed in the Assyrian queen’s tombs.

The material from the tombs has been studied by Hussein and Suleiman, who published a catalogue with pictures and a brief description of the items.¹⁴⁷ Since then, no other in-depth studies have been carried out on the Nimrud treasures, if we exclude the investigation of the most important objects by Damerji, a brief description of the finds by Oates and Oates and a summary panel description edited by Collon.¹⁴⁸ It is a pity that no systematic evaluation on the size of these dress decorations has been made by Hussein and Suleiman. The details contained in their study only refer to the weight of some objects and

ibid., r.4’–18’ (various mitres, included the white variety, *šiknus*, leggings, sleeves, sashes, shoes, cloaks, shawls and reinforced undergarments).

144 K 6323+ r. ii’ 3’–24’ (Kwasman 2009, 117). The presentation of gifts to the gods of the Netherworld also characterizes the final part of the burial rite for the dead queen. See SAA 20, 34 r. 12–16.

145 K 6323+ r. ii’ 13’–14’ (Kwasman 2009, 117) *ú-nu-ut* KUG.GI KUG.UD / *mim-ma tar-si-it* KI.MAḤ, “gold and silver objects, everything proper for a tomb”.

146 K 6323+ r. ii’ 15’ (Kwasman 2009, 117) *si-mat be-lu-ti-šú*, “emblems of his lordship”.

147 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000.

148 Damerji 1999; Oates, Oates 2001, 78–89; Collon 2008, 105–118.

in very few cases also to the length of them. Due to the poor quality of the photographs of the study by Hussein and Suleiman, a new catalogue with further descriptive details and enlarged reproductions of the photographs of the objects has been published by Hussein in 2016. Given the fact that all the materials composing the Nimrud treasures are currently not available for study, the accurate study that the materials, especially the dress decorations, deserve is not possible at present. Consequently, my observations will be limited to the available data.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, a short description of these materials will be given here.

In **Table 4** of table section of the present book all the Nimrud items from Tombs 1, 2, and 3 (abbreviated in the table as respectively T1, T2, and T3) which may be interpreted as dress ornaments are presented. The Nimrud dress decorative elements belong to different categories. The most attested items are golden elements shaped as rosettes and stars, in all likelihood to identify with the *aiarus* and the *kakkabtus* which frequently occur in Neo-Assyrian administrative records. Rosettes and star-shaped ornaments for textiles are well attested in other periods of Mesopotamian history. Second millennium BC attestations of these items can be found in texts from the royal archives of Mari, from which we learn that *kakkabum*-ornaments were used to decorate both clothes and footwear.¹⁵⁰ Gold rosettes were also discovered in the royal tomb of Qatna (18th/17th–14th century BC) by Syrian and German archaeologists in 2002.¹⁵¹ Of a type of rosette among the decorative materials of Tomb 2 were found 770 examples. To judge from the picture published by Hussein and Suleiman and republished in Hussein's new catalogue, this item is characterized by a ten-petalled structure.¹⁵² Golden rosettes from other Neo-Assyrian burial contexts were also found in tombs of the city of Assur. One flat disc-shaped appliqué from this city shows a decorative motif with a 16-petalled rosette with a small concentric disc in the centre and globular elements at the ends of each petal,¹⁵³ while another item has the shape of a 17-petalled rosette with a concentric central disc.¹⁵⁴ Other interesting golden dress decorations from the Nimrud tombs are represented by gold foil items in the shape of discs, wheels, hemispheres, triangles and strips. All of these were stitched on the surface of the garments of the two

149 Based on the descriptions of the objects given in Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000 and Hussein 2016.

150 Arkhipov 2012, 46.

151 Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003, 195, 215.

152 However, in Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 241 fig. 36 is said that the leaves of the rosettes are varying in number. See now Hussein 2016, pl. 77.

153 Haller 1954, pl. 17f (Tomb 807).

154 Haller 1954, pl. 38d (Tomb 64).

women. In fact, a number of these gold items are pierced for pinning them to clothes, such as the different types of rosettes (see **Table 4**, Nos. 2, 4,¹⁵⁵ 14,¹⁵⁶ 15, 17, 27¹⁵⁷), the round beads (No. 3), the triangles (No. 12), the strips and bands of golden wires (Nos. 9, 18, 19), while others are provided with a suspension ring for fastening on garments, such as the hemispherical pieces (Nos. 6,¹⁵⁸ 10), the ten-petalled rosettes (No. 7), the eight-pointed stars (No. 11), the clothing fasteners with lion head (No. 13),¹⁵⁹ the bangles (Nos. 18, 19)¹⁶⁰ and the gold beads (Nos. 23–26). In all likelihood, this suspension ring was the object called *sanhu* in Neo-Babylonian texts;¹⁶¹ in fact, it is often associated with rosette-shaped ornaments.¹⁶² Instead, no holes or loop is present on the disc-shaped buttons with convex surfaces found in Coffin 2 of Tomb 3 (No. 16). A cross-shaped structure for attachment is present in the hollow buttons from Tomb 2 (No. 5);¹⁶³ in all likelihood, these as well as other buttons would have received the thread from the back.¹⁶⁴ Given the presence of pierced holes or rings, these items could be easily removed from the garments for cleaning or repairing operations. This is also true for the dress ornaments found in Assur. The above-mentioned disc-shaped appliqué of gold decorated with a rosette from Assur shows a pair of small holes in the central part,¹⁶⁵ while three rosettes of frit from another tomb of Assur, which are characterized by concentric series of petals, have

155 In Hussein 2016, pl. 79b only four of ten eight-petalled rosettes are shown.

156 Of nineteen rosettes only nine are shown in Hussein 2016, pl. 152a.

157 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, 37, 133 and pl. 151 h. Note that these items (IM 118082 = ND 1989.365) are classified as “beads” in Hussein 2016, 133. No length and individual weight are given in Hussein’s study.

158 The hemispherical items were classified with the museum number IM 115313 in Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 344. In Hussein 2016, 97 their number is now IM 115413 (ND 1989.139).

159 Interpreted as “cufflinks” by Hussein. See Hussein 2016, 22, 81. In these pieces the loop is located between the ears of the animal head. According to Hussein, the loop probably served for the attachment of a gold cord.

160 Note that in Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 105 the plain bangles (“plain doughnuts”) are erroneously described as “cylindrical pieces”, while in *ibidem*, 346 as resembling “a round piece of cake”. No specific details about the weight of the plain doughnuts are given in *ibid.*, 346 fig. 137, where only the total weight of the entire group of items, *i.e.* 73.90 g, is mentioned. For a description of these pieces, see now Hussein 2016, 22, 82, 83.

161 VS 20, 1:1; YOS 6, 211:3. See CAD S, 147a and Seidl, Krebernik 2006–2008, 443b.

162 AHw, 1023a: “Gold-/Silberanhänger”; CAD S, 146b: “ring, catch?”; CDA, 316a: “part of an ornament”.

163 But see that only eight of 71 pieces are shown in Hussein 2016, pl. 80e.

164 See Hussein 2016, 22 regarding the cross-shaped buttons.

165 Haller 1954, pl. 17f. The picture published in *ibidem*, pl. 38d does not allow us to see the presence of holes in the golden rosette-shaped appliqué from Tomb 64.

four holes in the centre.¹⁶⁶ Rosette decorations are very rare at graves in Assur,¹⁶⁷ while most of them come from temple contexts¹⁶⁸ and have not four holes but a fixation on the backside.¹⁶⁹ The diameter of the rosettes and stars from the Nimrud tombs varies from around less than 1 cm (No. 2: c. 0.75 cm) to 2 cm (No. 4: c. 2 cm; No. 11: 2 cm).¹⁷⁰ One of the most interesting pieces is an ornament in the shape of an equilateral triangle measuring 2.3 cm per side and weighing 0.5 g (No. 12). The external surface of this item is decorated with globular elements;¹⁷¹ perhaps, it was a stylized representation of a cluster of grape. *Ishunnatum*-shaped items are attested as ornaments in Mesopotamia.¹⁷²

A number of pierced strips of gold sheet were found in Tombs 2 and 3 (Nos. 9 and 21). They are different in length, size, decoration, and number of holes. From the published pictures, one may observe that the distance between the holes is quite regular in many of these pieces, even if in some cases more holes have been made in the same point of the strip (No. 9), presumably due to the necessity to adequately position the ornament to the area of the garment on which it was stitched. In the case of the long strip broken into two pieces (No. 21), the holes are very close each other and extend along the edge of all the four sides of the strip. These strips were probably mounted on the hem of a garment.¹⁷³ The recurrent decorative designs of these strips are peculiar to Assyrian art; the one adorn-

166 Haller 1954, pl. 23a (Tomb 31). A rosette-decorated button from Assur (VA Ass 2434/Excavation no.: Ass 10564), kept at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, was found in a private house apparently dated to the Neo-Assyrian period. However, as Dr. Helen Gries (Vorderasiatisches Museum) kindly informs me, the excavation report is not very specific about the date of this object.

167 For Middle Assyrian rosette decorations found in Assur see Pedde 2015, pls. 27, 73. Several other rosette-shaped decorations from this site are discussed in Wartke 1999, 331–332, nos. 132–135.

168 See Schmitt 2012, 171–175, nos. 786–826; Werner 2016, 123–124, nos. 1489–1499; Gries 2017, 163–164, nos. 158, 159, 161, 164–170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 180, pl. 147b–i.

169 I owe this piece of information to Dr. H. Gries (personal communication).

170 No diameter measure is given in Hussein 2016, 94, 133 for the repoussé foil rosettes IM 105983 (ND 1989.116) and the eight-petalled rosettes IM 118084–118085 (ND 1989.367–368). These rosettes are included in Table 4, Nos. 7, 14 and 15 of my study. Of the eight-petalled rosettes with small pendants IM 118086–118087 (ND 1989.369a–b) only length and weight are given in Hussein 2016, 133–134. See Table 4, No. 17 of the present book.

171 Hussein 2016, 22, 95.

172 For these precious elements in Mari texts, see Arkhipov 2012, 79. Similar triangular elements were used as jewellery or dress ornaments in other societies of the Ancient Near East. See, e.g., the golden triangular bead discovered in Grave 15 of ancient Vani, in Georgia (first half of 3rd century BC). See Kacharava, Kvirkvelia 2008, 208 fig. 20.

173 Hussein 2016, 37.

ing the strips of Tomb 2, constituted by a motif of two intertwining bands which form concentric circles, is also attested as a design on painted bricks and wall ornaments in the North-West Palace in Nimrud.¹⁷⁴

As observed by Hussein, in some appliquéés the centre is left open, while others are button-like, with convex surfaces and holes through the sides.¹⁷⁵ Disc-shaped buttons come in different types; among them, the ones with convex surface are numerous (Nos. 3, 16). There are also rosettes with convex discs in the middle (No. 14). The use of golden buttons as decorative elements of garments is attested in other sites of the Ancient Near East; those found in the royal necropolis of Ebla (c. 1750–1700 BC), for instance, show a motif constituted by concentric circles and four holes in the middle for pinning to the clothes.¹⁷⁶ Hemispherical items are numerous among the gold ornaments from Tombs 2 and 3 (Nos. 6, 10). A huge number of hemispheres were found in Tomb 2 (No. 10); they have a diameter of c. 0.5 cm.¹⁷⁷ Similar pieces were discovered in Coffin 2 of Tomb 3 (No. 25), but their measures are unknown.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, it is not clear to me whether some Nimrud pieces were actually fastened to clothes or used as jewellery. Many gold beads probably had this function, such as the ones found in Tomb 2 (Nos. 3, 23, 26). Of the gold beads found in Tomb 3 (Nos. 23–26) some are shaped in the form of discs, cylinders, barrels, double conoids and bar spacers (No. 23), while others are hemispherical (Nos. 24–26).¹⁷⁹ Small gold objects found in the debris of Coffin 2 were part of jewellery or dress ornaments, such as the small spheres mounted on shafts.¹⁸⁰

Also some of the numerous carnelian beads discovered in Tomb 3 were possibly used as dress ornaments; most of the carnelian beads are cylindrical or tubular, others are shaped in the form of spheres, biconoids and barrels.¹⁸¹ These carnelian beads from the Nimrud burials confirm that the adornment of elite gar-

174 Layard 1849–53, I, figs. 84, 86.

175 Hussein 2016, 22.

176 Matthiae, Pinnock, Scandone Matthiae 1995, 483 nos. 403, 404.

177 However, no individual weight of these hemispherical buttons is given in Hussein 2016, 95.

178 No diameter and weight measures are given in Hussein 2016, 140.

179 No weight measures are given in Hussein 2016, 140–141 for the beads IM 118127 (ND 1989.408–409) and IM 118131 (ND 1989.413).

180 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 237; Hussein 2016, 37, 133 and pl. 151 g. In Hussein's study only six of these spherical items (IM 118081 = ND 1989.364) are shown. Each of these objects is high 1.0 cm and has a diameter of c. 0.5 cm. The combined weight is 23.28 g. For other finds from Coffin 2, classified by Hussein as “bits of jewelry” and “miscellaneous fragments”, see Hussein 2016, 37, 134, 152 and pl. 152e-g (IM 118088 = ND 1989.370, IM 118208–209 = ND 1989.478–479).

181 On these stone beads from Coffins 2 and 3 of Tomb 3, see Hussein 2016, 140 (IM 118126, 118127 = ND 1989.407–409).

ments made use of precious stones. This aspect is also documented in contemporary textual sources. A textile label from the documentation of the central administration in Nineveh mentions two felted shawls or capes (*muklālu*) with the front part red and stones whose nature and number is not indicated.¹⁸² Another label records a cloak (*kuzippu*) studded with (precious) stones.¹⁸³ In a similar document, the same qualification occurs for a textile whose name, however, cannot be read on the tablet.¹⁸⁴ Clearly, the polychrome appearance of these sumptuous garments was enhanced by the use of various coloured beads. The function of other gold items found in the Nimrud burials is debated. For instance, the upper end fibulae found in Tomb 2 are tentatively interpreted as hair ornaments, although they could also have been pinned to garments.¹⁸⁵

Some of the Nimrud ornamental items are very elaborate, such as the fibulae, from Tombs 1 and 2 (Nos. 1, 8),¹⁸⁶ the clothing fasteners with lion head, from Tomb 2 (No. 13),¹⁸⁷ and the strap bands of golden wires and chains with pendants found in the northwestern corner of Coffin 1, from Tomb 3 (No. 22). The last item is composed of two main bands (horizontal bands for the shoulder area) connected at their ends and two shorter bands (vertical bands for the neck area) attached at the middle of them. The small holes at the inner and outer edges indicate that the bands were sewn onto clothing. It was presumably used to decorate the neck and the shoulders of a robe of one of the buried queens.¹⁸⁸

The richness of this material witnesses the fine work of the Assyrian craftsmen as well as the aesthetics of the women belonging to the royal family in the 8th century BC. Given the huge number of the above-described golden elements, it is clear that the items in question had served to adorn various types of garments worn by the buried queens. Unfortunately, any possible reconstruction

182 SAA 7, 96:7'.

183 SAA 7, 97:13'.

184 SAA 7, 105:10'. Stones also occur in SAA 7, 106 r.5', 6', a fragmentary label listing textiles.

185 Hussein 2016, 19, 92 and pl. 69a.

186 For the fibulae IM 108980 (ND 1989.19) and IM 105892–105894 (ND 1989.52a-c) see now Hussein 2016, pl. 80 g. For the fibula IM 108980, see also Damerji 1999, fig. 14a-b. No details about the measures of the fibula IM 108980 are given in Hussein 2016, 60. Another gold fibula was found in Tomb 2 (IM 105982 = ND 1989.115), but no information and picture are available at present. See Hussein 2016, 22, 94. For a fragmentary gold fibula (IM 115641 = ND 1989.331) from Tomb 3 see *ibidem*, 35, 126 and pl. 148a.

187 Hussein 2016, 81 and pl. 80f. Only the combined weight is given in this catalogue.

188 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 340 fig. 131; Collon 2008, 114; Hussein 2016, 29, 107 and pl. 103b.

of the type of clothes and, especially, the specific place where each gold ornament was pinned to the garments may only be based on a comparison with the extant iconographic evidence about Assyrian lavish garments. Also the analysis of the distribution of the decorative elements in relation to the queen's bodies in the tombs could provide useful insights as regards the possible location of the attachments on the garments and the composition of decorative sets formed by different attachments. However, only the finds of Tomb 1 were carefully recorded by the archaeologists.¹⁸⁹ What is clear about these decorative elements is that the management of all the precious materials which were supplied to the textile craftsmen working for the temple and the palace represented an important part of the activity of the state administrators, who compiled very detailed lists of precious objects with their weight. In a passage of a document issued by the state administration, unidentified items of gold to be used in association with clothes, presumably for wearing the gods' statues, are recorded with their weight.¹⁹⁰ It is not always clear whether the rosettes and the star-shaped elements recorded in these documents from Nineveh¹⁹¹ refer to actual decorations for textiles or to ornamental items for other objects (parts of statues, temple furnishings, jewels, etc.). And the same can be said as regards the *takkusātu*, "tubes", which could also be used as parts of more elaborate pieces of jewelry.¹⁹² We know, for example, that star-shaped ornaments could be used to adorn the base of quivers, bows, and bowcases.¹⁹³ A list enumerating items from Babylonian temples which were returned from Elam mentions rosettes and star-shaped ornaments, probably used as decorations for gods' statues or for the garments which covered them. Among these items, there are rosettes of gold alloy (*aiarī sādāni*) associated to the Lady of Akkad (Ištar of Babylonia)¹⁹⁴ and 2/3 mina of gold for making four pure star-shaped ornaments (*kakkabāte eb-bāte*) for the shoulder of the same goddess.¹⁹⁵ As dress decorations, *kakkabtu-el-*

189 See Hussein 2016, 14 fn. 25 as regards the finds in Tomb 2. The plan of Tomb 2 is given in *ibidem*, pl. 32. For the locations of the objects in Tomb 1 see Hussein 2016, pl. 11. For the plan of Tomb III see *ibid.*, pls. 102 and 128.

190 SAA 7, 63 ii' 9–12.

191 Rosettes are mentioned in SAA 7, 60 i 5. Stars occur in SAA 7, 60 ii 11, r. ii 6'; 63 ii' 1, 6; 64 i 2, 15; 67 i 4'; 68 ii' 3'; 74:2, 4; 89:10.

192 Tubes are attested in SAA 7, 64 r. i' 8', 11'; 65 i 5'; 66 r. i' 3', 5', 7', 18', ii' 3'; 68 r. ii 1'; 72:1, 15'.

193 SAA 7, 63 ii' 1–3, 6–8; 64 i 2; 89:10.

194 SAA 7, 60 i 5–6.

195 SAA 7, 60 ii 11–12. In a fragmentary report about an oracle to King Assurbanipal, golden star ornaments are mentioned. See SAA 9, 11 r.7, 11. However, the broken parts of the tablet prevent us to know whether these items decorated the statue of Ištar, her items of clothing or other objects.

ements were placed on headbands (*kubšū*),¹⁹⁶ presumably used for gods' statues in temples. This item of clothing was worn by gods' statues and high officials of the king, and, more importantly, it constituted an important element of royal insignia.¹⁹⁷ Headgear worn by the Assyrian kings of the Neo-Assyrian period has the form of a taller fez with conical top, diadem or upturned brim in front, and ribbons attached at the back of it. One of more horizontal bands decorating the royal fez are often characterized by rows of rosettes,¹⁹⁸ as documented in scenes illustrated on various Assyrian monuments, reliefs, and artefacts of this period. Presumably, these rosette-shaped elements were not golden items attached to the fez, but woven fabric decorations of bright colour stitched on it, although a clear differentiation between fabric-made or embroidered elements and applied metals is not possible in the light of the visual evidence. A white fez worn by Shalmaneser III depicted on glazed bricks shows a green six-petalled rosette on its front,¹⁹⁹ while the headgear worn by Sargon could be white with three red bands adorned with white rosettes or red with white bands decorated with yellow rosettes.²⁰⁰ One wonders whether other elements of cloth, metal or stone were used to decorate 1st-millennium BC headgear; Mari texts, for example, show that turbans could be adorned with stone items in the shape of (heads of) pigs²⁰¹ or ducks.²⁰² The presence of fabric-made ornaments for garments is documented in archaeological textiles of the 1st-millennium BC; one of the cotton-made textiles found in the Arjān tomb (c. 630–550 BC?), for example, is decorated by fringes that are formed by pairs of eight-petalled embroidered rosettes.²⁰³

Among the precious items discovered in Nimrud a particular category of objects deserves to be considered. A large number of small pipes or tubes of gold was found among the jewellery and the dress decorations of Tomb 2.²⁰⁴ These

196 SAA 7, 74:3–4.

197 See CAD K, 485b–486a for references. For Neo-Assyrian attestations, see CTN 2, 155 r. v 14'; K 6323+ r. i' 4', 15' (Kwasman 2009, 116); PVA 271; SAA 3, 49 r.5'; SAA 7, 74:4; 96:8'; 105:11'; 120 ii' 16; SAA 10, 96 r.10, 16, 21; 184 r.6; SAA 11, 28:12.

198 Reade 2009, 254, 256.

199 Reade 2009, 250.

200 Reade 2009, 256.

201 Arkhipov 2012, 54 (*šahūm*).

202 Arkhipov 2012, 56 (*ūsum*).

203 Álvarez-Món 2010b, 32 and pl. 11. Álvarez-Món, quoting Mo'taghd's study on the Arjān clothes, mentions the possibility that a resin-like substance was used to hold the threads of the rosette together.

204 The first group of these cylindrical items is classified with the number IM 105897 (ND 1989.54). See Hussein 2016, 84 and pl. 57c. Each bead is long 3 cm and the combined weight

pipes or tubes were probably used as elements of a necklace or as decorative elements for textiles. The first option seems to be confirmed by a comparison with a group of several golden tubes of 2.5 cm each with endings characterized by tiny granules.²⁰⁵ All these elements were probably part of a series of necklaces which adorned the queen's neck. Golden cylindrical beads for necklaces have been discovered in other Near Eastern burial contexts. The ones found in Ebla, in the tomb of the "Signore dei Capridi", for instance, were of a golden variety of 1.6 cm each.²⁰⁶ However, the second possibility, *i.e.* that these tubes were used for adorning a textile, cannot be ruled out at all. As observed above, tubes occur in Neo-Assyrian administrative records in the following quantities: 100,²⁰⁷ 136,²⁰⁸ 382,²⁰⁹ and 404.²¹⁰ Only some of them are mentioned in association with textiles, as seen in the case of the textile called *dappastu*. If the comparison of the *takkussu*-elements occurring in the textual sources with the Nimrud tubes may be accepted, we may tentatively suggest that at least a part of the Nimrud golden tubes were used to decorate the garments which covered the queens' bodies.

The high number of some of the Nimrud dress decorations is astonishing. It reminds us of the hundreds of rosettes and *tenšûs* of the Neo-Babylonian textiles, as well as the hundreds of *takkussus* and *buṭu*[...]s which served to adorn the Neo-Assyrian *dappastus*. The quantities of certain objects, such as the 770 rosettes and the 1.160 hemispherical buttons, suggest that they were far from being isolated decorative elements. On the contrary, these items were diffusely stitched on the whole surface of the garments, thus probably giving the queen's dress the appearance of a complete gold-made garment. This reminds us of what it is stated in some letters from the royal correspondence of Mari concerning the fabrication of luxury clothes with appliqués.²¹¹ In a letter

is 207.3 g. For the items IM 105954 and 1059555 (ND 1989.97–98) see *ibidem*, 91 and pl. 65d-e. The combined weight measures of these two sets of beads are 125.80 g and 128 g respectively. Regarding the items IM 105971–105976 (ND 1989.113a-f) see *ibid.*, 94 and pl. 57f. Each cylindrical element is long 0.8 to 1.5 cm, while the combined weight is 370.02 g.

205 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 277 fig. 70; Hussein 2016, 84 and pl. 57a.

206 Matthiae *et al.*, 471 no. 395.

207 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 11'.

208 SAA 7, 66 r. i' 3'.

209 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 8'.

210 SAA 7, 66 r. i' 5'.

211 Durand 1997, 271–278, nos. 133–139. The term used in these texts to indicate the appliqués is *taddêtum*. It seems that these ornaments also included embroideries of gold thread. See *id.*, 271. If really gold threads were used in Mesopotamia, this piece of information may complete the analysis about the use of gold thread in antiquity given in Gleba 2008, 61–77.

dealing with instructions for the production of a cloth with appliqués, the sender (the king) asks his official that the decorated garment looks like a metal sheet.²¹² In addition, the same epistle informs us that the excessive weight of the appliqués could tear the garment in question.²¹³ These aspects may help us to a better understanding of the decorated magnificent garments which are represented in the Assyrian palace reliefs. Garments worn by the Assyrian king show very elaborate patterns. In a relief slab from the Royal Palace of Dūr-Šarrukēn (Khorsabad), for example, King Sargon wears a fringed shawl decorated with the motif of the double rosette within two concentric circles and an undergarment consisting of a long tunic having a square grid structure formed by squares containing small rosettes.²¹⁴ It is possible that, at least in the case of the undergarment, the rosettes were metal appliqués.²¹⁵ In the light of the materials found in Tomb 2, we may suggest that these decorative rosette-shaped elements were attached to the fabric-woven squares of the king's tunic. To do this, the palace tailors had probably at their disposal hundreds of these golden rosettes. An approximate estimate of the rosettes needed to adorn this type of royal tunic may be obtained by considering that the depicted row of squares containing rosettes in the lower part of the garment which is not covered by the shawl comprises thirteen of these elements. But this number refers to one side of the garment. This means that an entire row of decorations could comprise around twenty-five squares. Consequently, the whole surface of the royal tunic could comprise more than eight hundred of these decorative elements, a number not so far from that of the golden rosettes found in Tomb 2 and which reminds us of the several hundreds of metal tubes and *buṭu*[...]s mentioned in the above-discussed textual sources. Analogous observations may be made about the garments worn by Assurbanipal in the hunting scenes carved in the wall panels of the North Palace in Nineveh.²¹⁶ In the scene representing the king while hunting on horseback, the knee-length garment is completely covered by circled star-shaped ornaments, while the chest area is characterized by a rectangular panel bordered by

212 Durand 1997, 274, no. 136: “Il faut que cet habit, comme s’il était un habit de Tuttub, soit tissé et noué de façon soignée de chaîne et de trame et que son intérieur soit vraiment comme une feuille d’argent”.

213 Durand 1997, 274, no. 136: “Cet habit se verra mettre des orlets à la yamhadéenne et, comme une étoffe-*ḥuššûm*, du *širpum* lui sera appliqué. Il ne faudrait pas que, lorsqu’on installera ensemble chaîne et trame, les ornements ne soient (trop) lourds au moment où on les enfilera et que l’habit ne se déchire”.

214 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 12.

215 Guralnick 2004, 226. The author also suggests that the rosettes could have been woven or embroidered, or that they could have consisted of fabric appliqués.

216 Barnett 1976, pls. 5, 8, 10–12, 46, 47, 49, 50–52, 56, 59.

bands with rows of rosettes, concentric circles, and other elements. Interestingly, the star-shaped decoration shows the same eight-pointed structure of the golden dress decorations from Nimrud. Secondly, the concentric circles could be interpreted as disc-shaped ornaments with central holes for fastening to the fabric or with a raised central element: two characteristics that are well documented in the Nimrud burial material, as may be seen, respectively, in the case of the globular-petalled rosettes with central holes and of the buttons with central protuberance. In all likelihood, all or part of the elements decorating Assurbanipal's garment were metal appliqué: the candidates seem to be the rosettes, the disc-shaped buttons, and the star-shaped ornaments of the type documented in Nimrud.

Another example of possible link between the iconographic evidence and the dress decorations of Tomb 2 may be found in the case of the bronze friezes of the standards coming from the temple entrances of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad. The king is depicted in one of the friezes as wearing a garment decorated by a vertical row of rosettes and a horizontal row of rosettes associated with a row of hanging triangles.²¹⁷ Interestingly, dress decorative elements in form of triangles were found among the precious objects of the queens' tomb. Analogous observations may be made about the motif of the circle or of the concentric circle, which appear on royal garments represented in various reliefs, such as, for instance, in the scene where Sennacherib is depicted as enthroned after the victory at Lachish; in this case, the garment worn by the king has concentric circles, some of which contain a central dot.²¹⁸ This fabric-woven decorative pattern could have been enriched by the addition of golden circles, discs, or wheels not so different from those which adorned the costumes of the two women of Tomb 2. The garment worn by the Assyrian crown prince in the reign of Sennacherib, for example, shows a finely executed decoration on the bands which border the shawl as well as the sleeves, the shoulders, and the neck of the royal tunic. These bands are characterized by rows of rosettes or concentric circles.²¹⁹ In this case too, the small size of the rosettes and the circles suggests that these elements were metal appliqué, presumably of one of the types discovered in Nimrud.

If we now come to the description of the Assyrian queen's robe, we may see that some of the decorative patterns represented in mid 7th century BC monumental art may be compared with the materials of the queens' tombs in Nimrud.

217 Guralnick 2004, 226.

218 Guralnick 2004, 228.

219 Reproduced in Parpola, Watanabe 1988, 19.

In the well-known “banquet scene” of a wall panel from the North Palace in Nineveh,²²⁰ Assurbanipal and his wife, Libbāli-šarrat, are depicted in a relaxed and feasting atmosphere in the royal garden, while enjoying the pleasures of wine and of some snacks served by female attendants. The queen is represented as enthroned and wearing a mural crown. Her fringed robe is constituted by an overcoat and a long high-neck tunic showing the same decorative patterns, that is, an overall decoration of circles distributed throughout the garment with borders and sleeves enriched by outlined bands with rows of smaller circles, dots, and stepped triangles. On a fragmentary stele from Assur bearing a representation of the queen on the throne and an inscription which identifies the woman as Libbāli-šarrat,²²¹ the queen’s fringed overcoat has an overall decoration of rosettes and an outlined band with a row of smaller seven-petalled rosettes.

There is no reason to think that the practice of decorating with metal items the luxury garments of the members of the king’s family, as clearly documented in the 8th century queens’ tombs of Nimrud, stopped in Late Assyrian times. On the contrary, if we look at the representations of this period, especially those carved on palace reliefs, we may observe textiles with highly decorative patterning. Among the different materials found in the vaulted chambers of the queens’ tomb there are some possible candidates for the dress decorations of Libbāli-šarrat’s clothes which are depicted in the above-discussed pictorial evidence. These are represented by the golden discs or the hemispherical buttons, the rosettes or the star-shaped items, and the triangle-shaped ornaments. All these items were probably attached to decorative bands which were previously woven as separate parts. Once prepared, these bands were then stitched on the borders and on the sleeves of the garments. Additional elements were also sewn onto the queen’s robe, such as the decorated golden strips which were found in two Nimrud tombs. To judge from the decoration of Libbāli-šarrat’s robe in the depicted scene, it is possible that a number of strips were stitched on the outlined bands adorning the neck, the sleeves, and the edge of both the overcoat and the tunic. The number of strips needed to decorate these parts varied according to the length of the single areas of the garment. Interestingly, ethnographic evidence from present-day manufacture of garments in Iraq attests to the continuity in the use of metal appliquéés as dress decorations; according to Damerji, gold rosettes of a type very similar to the 8th century BC Nimrud exemplars are still being stitched on garments in Mosul.²²²

²²⁰ Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

²²¹ Andrae 1913, 6–8.

²²² Damerji 2008, 82.

Concerning the other golden elements adorning the queen's dress as depicted in the relief, we suppose that the decoration of the bands bordering the overcoat and the tunic was enriched by attaching small discs or hemispherical buttons of gold, while the triangle-decorations could have consisted in a variant of the golden triangle-shaped appliqués used by the Nimrud queens in the 8th century BC. The stepped structure of the triangles of Libbāli-šarrat's robe could have been inspired by the analogous structure of the Mesopotamian temple towers; this motif could have been chosen by the palace tailors in charge of the making of the queen's wardrobe for the special significance of the ziggurat as a symbol of Ištar, a goddess whose cult was strongly promoted by the Late Assyrian kings.²²³ Seen from the point of view of the Assyrian royal ideology, the queen was the earthen counterpart of Mullissu/Ištar, the consort of Aššur. Accordingly, the fine garments worn by the queen were probably intended as an imitation of the richly adorned vestments which covered the statues of the goddess in the Assyrian temples. A second possibility is that also the overall circle-based decoration of the garment of Assurbanipal's wife could have been made by golden appliqués. Numerous discs and buttons in origin decorated the robes of the Nimrud queens. Their large number, especially that of the hemispherical buttons, suggests that this second hypothesis cannot be ruled out at all. In all likelihood, the total number of the hemispherical buttons comprise items which adorned the garments of both the two buried queens of Tomb 2; if so, a single garment could have been decorated in profusion with hundreds of these golden items, thus giving to the linen robe worn by the Assyrian queens the same brilliant appearance which characterized the clothes of the goddess.²²⁴ Regarding the second example, in this case both the overall decoration and that of the band consist of rosettes, although of different size. Bracteates in the shape of rosettes of different size were found in the queens' tombs; presumably, they were applied to different areas of Libbāli-šarrat's robe. It is interesting to note that the seven-petalled rosette depicted on the band of the queen's overcoat resembles analogous golden elements of Tomb 2 at Nimrud, the unique difference being the number of petals, which in the Nimrud exemplars correspond to five, six, eight, as well as ten.

To judge from the extant iconographic evidence about Ancient Near Eastern garments completely ornamented with bracteates, it seems that the first attestations are represented by the royal wardrobe of the Middle Elamite period: in fact, the garments of Queen Napir-Asu and of King Untaš-Napiriša of late 14th century

223 See SAA 3, 7:9.

224 See SAA 3, 7:6–8.

BC show a field surface ornamentation consisting of disc-shaped elements, either plain with central dots or with a ring in the middle.²²⁵ Given the expensive materials involved and the high-quality technical abilities of tailors and goldsmiths required for the production of these garments, it is clear that this metal-appliqué work was strictly controlled by the palace. The palace-oriented textile manufacture of the Assyrian Empire promoted the employment of various textile specialists, a number of whom were probably of foreign origin, and the development of ornamental techniques for the aesthetic and ceremonial needs of the Assyrian king and his consort. At present, we may speculate on the possibility that the use of bracteates as decoration for the complete surface of garments reached Assyria from Elam.²²⁶ In any case, the evidence about golden ornaments from various sites and periods²²⁷ confirms the antiquity and wide diffusion of the tradition of enriching garments with gold items in the Near East.

In the light of the material discussed, we may assume that queens of Nimrud, Yabâ and Bânîtu (or Ataliâ), were accompanied in their last rest by tasselled overgarments and tunics decorated in profusion by a variety of golden appliqués, fibulae, and precious stones. Perhaps, they also wore a shawl decorated with stepped motifs both in the tassels and in the overall surface of the robe, as seems suggested by the tassels found in the burials.²²⁸ Analogous stepped motifs as decorative elements may also be found in Neo-Assyrian representations of covers of siege-machines²²⁹ (perhaps, to be intended as thick carpets or analogous textiles used as protective covering of these war engines, as suggested by a comparison with Medieval siege-engines²³⁰), of war chariots,²³¹ and of the royal tent in the Assyrian military camp.²³²

225 Álvarez-Món 2009, 154–155.

226 On this aspect, see Oppenheim 1949, 191; Álvarez-Món 2009, 156.

227 See, *e.g.*, Oppenheim 1949, 188 for a description of the metal dress ornaments excavated in various sites of the Near East of different periods (*e.g.*, Tepe Gawra, Nuzi, Megiddo). For a brief description of the archaeological evidence see now also Seidl, Krebernik 2006–2008, 445b. The golden rosettes discovered at Tepe Gawra (*c.* 3500–3200 BC) show four small holes in the centre; at present, they seem to be the oldest archaeological evidence of gold attachments for garments. See Álvarez-Món 2010b, 43 fn. 82, citing Asko Parpola's study of cultic garments from Harappa.

228 Crowfoot 1995, 115 fig. 4. For shawls decorated with stepped motifs worn by female captives in a wall panel from Nineveh see Layard 1849–53, II, fig. 27.

229 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 77.

230 On textiles used as protective covering in siege-engines of the Middle Age, see Todaro 2003, 36–38 with further bibliography. Interestingly, in De Backer 2013, 39 it is stated that certain Old Babylonian texts mention the use of wool to produce felt coverings of siege-machines. However, De Backer gives no bibliographical reference about these texts and the relevant passages attesting this use of felt textiles. See De Backer 2013, 42 for the possibility that the covering of the Assyrian siege-engines was made of interwoven rush or reed.

The decorative elements which adorned the robes worn by the Nimrud queens in their eternal rest were also usually employed as decorations for the gods' statues. As seen above, the statues of the Babylonian deities were clothed with vestments that were densely decorated with hundreds of golden items. From the description of the wealthy booty taken by the Assyrians during the campaign against Mušāšir and the pillage of the temple of Ḫaldi, the Assyrian king and his soldiers must have been impressed by the highly decorated garments which adorned the statues of the Urukian gods. The long section of Sargon's "Letter to Aššur", devoted to the enumeration of the items composing the booty, includes nine *lubāru*-garments belonging to these statues; their decoration was characterized by golden discs (*niphū*) and rosettes. These golden elements were probably attached to a piece of cloth whose seam or embroidery(?) (*šibītsunu*) was bordered with (golden) thread (*ina murdê*).²³³ The word *šibītu* (*šipītu*), "suture, seam",²³⁴ is derived from the verb *šapû*, "to wrap up, to fasten with strings".²³⁵ It is attested in a Middle Assyrian document where it is used to qualify the *birnu*,²³⁶ a piece of cloth possibly woven separately and attached to the garments. Concerning the word *murdû* (from Sum. m u r ú . d ù), it is intended in CAD as a term indicating a kind of grating or fence.²³⁷ In the context of ornaments, CDA suggests that it designated a filigree.²³⁸

The evidence provided by the "Letter to Aššur" not only confirms that golden discs were in use in the 8th century BC textile decoration, but also that the word by which the golden disc-shaped dress decorations were called in Assyria was *niphū*, a synonym of which was *šanšāntu*. Secondly, it is possible—although not confirmed—that the threads used in the bordering of the embroidery were

231 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pls. 53, 58, 63, 65, 77.

232 Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 23.

233 For the text, see Mayer 1983, 108, line 386. The difficulty to translate this passage has been already observed by Oppenheim, see Oppenheim 1949, 175, who translates the line as "9 garments of his divine attire, whose *šibtu* were trimmed(?) with golden *niphū* and golden rosettes in row(?)". A similar translation is given in Villard 2010, 396: "9 vêtements de sa tenue divine, dont les *gaufres* étaient garnies de disques d'or et de rosettes d'or *formant un liseré*". Instead, Mayer prefers to interpret the occurrence *né-ep-ḫi* as referring to *nēbeḫi*, "belt", and *mu-ur-de-e* as possibly denoting a golden thread, see Mayer 1983, 109: "9 Gewänder, Kleider seiner Gottheit, mit Gürteln aus Gold, Rosetten (aus) Gold, deren Stickereien mit Goldfäden(?) eingefasst sind".

234 CAD Š/II, 381a; CDA, 370b.

235 CAD Š/I, 490a.

236 KAM 11, 96:2 *bir-mu ʿšaʿ šī-pi-ya₈-a-tu*. The word *šibītu/šipītu* was not understood by Donbaz, who translated the occurrence as "multicoloured *šippiātu*-fleece".

237 CAD M/II, 230a.

238 CDA, 219b. A translation also followed in AEAD, 67b.

of gold. The manufacture of gold threads in textile production is well attested in antiquity and various archaeological finds confirms the spread of this practice in the Ancient Near East.²³⁹ However, Oppenheim's conclusion that this textile technique occurs very late²⁴⁰ must be updated in the light of the bands with very fine golden strips interworked in diagonal plaiting in 2.2 twill discovered in the Royal Palace G in Ebla and presumably used for some ceremonial garment.²⁴¹ Woven bands of high-quality gold wires were also used as dress decorations in 8th century Nimrud, as witnessed by the above-mentioned bands of gold wires found in Tomb 3. These pieces witness to the high technical level reached by the goldsmiths who worked in association with tailors for the fabrication of the Assyrian elite garments. The presence of gold threads probably served to enhance the effect of luminosity in addition to the metal appliquéés. It was thanks to the high-quality work of these goldsmiths and tailors that the notion of the royal and divine luminosity was transferred from the political and theological discourse (and its limited audiences) to the language of textile art (and its sensorial perception).

5.4 Uniforms and other textiles for the royal army

The state-controlled textile industry that flourished in Assyria during the imperial age was not only oriented towards the demand for luxury textiles of the members of the palace elite. Given the large investment in military activities at every frontier of the Assyrian Empire, the government's chief preoccupation was keeping the army supplied. Consequently various goods, including textiles, were supplied to the units of the Assyrian troops as military equipment along with weaponry: these goods included uniforms in the form of mail-shirts, short kilts, knee-length tunics, waist-belts and leggings, as well as harnesses and saddlecloths. Troops also received other textiles for practical use, presumably to transport and store goods (bags and sacks) and as shelter for camping during the campaigns (canvas for tents). In all likelihood, military camps fell into two categories: permanent camps located in internal areas of Assyria and temporary camps situated in war zones.²⁴² Visual depictions of tents can be seen

239 See Gleba 2008, 65–66, where the archaeological evidence about gold threads from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt is collected and discussed. To these attestations, we may now add the evidence provided by the cluster of gold thread found in a tomb in Vani (Georgia). See Kacharava, Kvirkvelia 2008, 199, 201 pl. 52a (Grave 4, first half of the 3rd century BC).

240 See Oppenheim 1949, 189.

241 Peyronel 2014, 134 and fig. 8.9.

242 Fales 2001, 141.

on some palace reliefs: in some representations of Assyrian military camps, the everyday life of soldiers and other staff is illustrated.²⁴³ In these scenes we also see the royal tent or pavillion, presumably made of a fabric of higher quality in comparison to that used for soldiers' tents.²⁴⁴ This tent was certainly used for audiences with the monarch. From an administrative text from Tell Ḥalaf dealing with soldiers' tents, we learn that *zārutus* could be fabricated with red wool and that *dappastu*-covers were used as material.²⁴⁵

A special use of carpets or analogous coarse and heavy textiles may be seen in the case of siege-machines²⁴⁶ and war chariots,²⁴⁷ whose covers show various decorative patterns. These designs, as well as those characterizing the uniforms of soldiers and military officers probably served to identify units within the army (units of cavalry, chariotry and infantry as well as groups of specialists within these major categories).²⁴⁸ In the case of uniforms, it is possible that type of dress and decoration also served to communicate ranks among the soldiers and officers.²⁴⁹ Passages referring to the “clothing” (*labbušu*) of soldiers or commanders in administrative texts probably show the significance of clothing as a formal procedure attesting to the acquisition of status, as observed by Postgate.²⁵⁰ From a Ninevite list of commodities for a soldier who performed *ilku*-service we learn that a suit of clothes for one person could comprise six items of dress plus a head-dress and sandals.²⁵¹

The production of items of clothing and other finished textile products for the needs of the army is already documented in texts from the Middle Assyrian period, as already observed in the case of the products listed in the text MARV III, 5. Presumably the items listed in this document (among which we find tunics and coats, leggings and caps as well as covers for chariots) constituted the uniforms for members of specific military units.²⁵² Uniforms for special units of the

243 Barnett 1976, pl. 66.

244 Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 23.

245 TH 64:1–4 20 TÚG.za-[ra-a-te x x] / ša SA₅ [x x x] / 20 TÚG.za-r[a-a-te x x] / ša TÚG.dáp-[pa-as-tú] (Reconstruction of the line by the author). Note that in Dornauer 2014, 88 the line 4 is transliterated as “ša TÚG.TAB-[x ...]”, with no attempt at reconstructing the occurrence of the textile term.

246 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 77.

247 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pls. 53, 58, 63, 65, 77.

248 Dalley 1991, 125.

249 See Postgate 2001, 373–388 for an analysis of some items of clothing used as uniforms in the Neo-Assyrian army.

250 Postgate 2001, 374.

251 SAA 11, 28:11–15.

252 MARV III, 5:8', 9', 10', 16', 18', 20', e.26', r.32', 33', 34', 38', 39'.

Assyrian army are documented in the administrative documentation of the Neo-Assyrian period: for instance, we are informed about the purchase of madder for dyeing items of clothing to be used by the units of the Qurreans, the chariot-fighters and the archers.²⁵³ The Qurraean military unit is also mentioned in another list as the recipient of 1500 coats or wraps.²⁵⁴ Letters from the royal correspondence provide further evidence on the production of textiles and their consumption by special units of the Assyrian imperial army, such as the case of items of clothing produced for the Itu'a troops. In a king's letter sent to Aššur-rēmani and Nabû-bēl-aḥḥēšu the monarch explicitly states that the clothes for the Itu'eans had to be different from those of the (regular?) troops.²⁵⁵ Presumably, the differences concerned type, decorative patterns and quality of garments. It seems that the king's bodyguards wore uniforms peculiar to their professional role and duties.²⁵⁶ The differentiation of uniforms worn by soldiers was determined by the organization of the Assyrian army in the Neo-Assyrian period. In the Sargonid age the tendency was to organize corps of the imperial army by ethnic origin, as witnessed by the horse lists from Fort Shalmaneser in Kalḫu mentioning equestrian units of Chaldeans and Samaritans.²⁵⁷ With the expansion of the Assyrian Empire, various ethnic groups from conquered territories were included in the army, such as Babylonians, Aramaeans, Anatolians, Iranians, Elamites and Egyptians, to list the most relevant ones. The region of provenance of the Qurreans probably corresponded to the transtigradian region, while the Itu'eans originated from the central or southern tigradian area.²⁵⁸

Evidence about the necessity to supply the Assyrian troops with regular deliveries of uniforms and other pieces of military equipment is provided by a group of texts from the archive of Tell Ḥalaf. From TH 63 we learn that *gulēnus* were distributed to various individuals, including a palace servant employed for the campaign.²⁵⁹ In another document from the same archive, *gulēnus* are listed alongside other items of military clothing (*meserru*, *sāgu*) and weapons.²⁶⁰ To judge from the exact equivalence in the number of *gulēnus*, *meserrus* and

253 SAA 7, 115 ii 17–20.

254 SAA 7, 112 r.1–2.

255 SAA 19, 6 r.14'–16' *ku-zi-pi-ši[a] LÚ**.ERIM.MEŠ 'lu-u' SIG₅ [š]a LÚ*.i-tú-'a-a-a [LÚ.x]x.MEŠ²⁷ *ku-zi-pi-šú-nu lu-u ša-ni-ú*.

256 See, e.g., Ki 1904–10–9,154+ r.36 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152, pl. XXVII).

257 See CTN 3, 99 ii 12–15, 16–22.

258 Fales 2001, 77.

259 TH 63:1–e.8.

260 TH 48. This text also mentions a chariot, horses, asses, one bull, and sheep. In TH 52 one *gulēnu* is listed in association with UŠ-textiles and *sāgus*.

sāgus in this inventory text²⁶¹ it is clear that all these items made up the components of a uniform. The type of uniform was largely determined by the role and activity of soldiers: while long fringed robes are peculiar to high-ranking officers, short kilts simply consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth wrapped around the waist are characteristic dress for soldiers and archers,²⁶² although the latter category could also wear long tunics.²⁶³ It is clear that short and unrestrictive garments were largely preferred as military and working dress:²⁶⁴ short kilts were suitable for the mobility of infantrymen, while long robes were used by special units of the Assyrian army that were more static in war operations. From a document from Kalḫu we also learn that *kuzippu*-clothes were assigned to bodyguards²⁶⁵ and we can only speculate that the outfit for members of specific corps were fabricated according to certain standards as regards type of clothing, shape, quality of materials and ornamental design. Presumably, there was a standard set of items of clothing that could be enriched by additional elements. Commanders and high-military officers of the imperial army probably wore uniforms that enhanced their superior social status through type of clothing, colours and design. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that campaigning in certain places affected by cold weather required appropriate clothing for the Assyrian soldiers, as it can be surmised in the case of mountainous regions to the north, northeast and east of Assyria that are described in Neo-Assyrian letters and royal inscriptions as the scenery for the military activity of the Assyrian troops. Letters from the royal correspondence stress the dangers represented by severe cold weather²⁶⁶ and we can surmise that the lack of adequate clothing or delay in provisioning new suits of clothes caused serious problems to Assyrian soldiers who operated in those war zones. Troops engaged in long marches in mountainous regions also required adequate footwear made of leather and felt. Boots made of these materials are documented in Assyrian texts of the 2nd millennium.²⁶⁷ Felt is a common insulating material and in Assyria it was probably used not only as liner for footwear, helmets and armours, but also as the mate-

261 TH 48:10–e.12 10 TÚG.gu-[i-ni] / 10 KUŠ.me-[se-ru] / 10 sa-ga-t[e].

262 Postgate 2001, 374, 380, 381 with relevant illustrations.

263 Postgate 2001, 379 fig. 3.

264 On short and long robes worn by the Assyrian soldiers, see, e.g., Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 86. Short garments constituted by knee-length tunics were also used as working clothes by palace dependent personnel. See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 32. Similar considerations can be made as regards Middle Assyrian work clothing. Presumably, work garments produced for *šiluh-lū*-people who were employed in Dūr-Katlimmu farms were knee-length tunics or kilts.

265 Ki 1904–10–9, 154+ r.36 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII).

266 On this aspect, see Van Buylaere 2009, 297–306.

267 See Llop 2016, 200 for discussion and references.

rial for camp tents, especially for soldiers who operated in areas affected by cold weather.

Soldiers' garments could be undecorated or decorated with fringed bands and edge. Elaborate designs appear over the whole surface of some soldiers' uniforms, such as stepped motifs or square-shaped elements. According to the evidence from Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs, long belted tunics as well as tunics without belts are peculiar to the wardrobe of palace attendants and of both civilian and military staff. This kind of tunic is generally close-fitting with short, tight sleeves. A luxury version of this item of clothing was also worn by the Assyrian king. In hunting scenes from the North Palace in Nineveh, for instance, Assurbanipal wears a finely decorated tunic which is shortened at the level of the knee at the front, presumably to facilitate riding on horseback.²⁶⁸ Evidently this was an element of dress peculiar to mounted troops. This type of close-fitting tunic could be worn with a sleeveless mail-shirt.²⁶⁹ Shape, length and decorative designs of military dress were functional in distinguishing rank among soldiers and officers. However, the way specific elements of the garment were worn also served to communicate group identity, as may be observed by the use of the long pendent fringe. According to Postgate, it seems that in some palace reliefs of Sennacherib the pendent fringe served to mark a superior rank among soldiers or to distinguish different classes of spearmen.²⁷⁰ One wonders whether this hypothesis also applies to the war-machines used by Assyrian soldiers during sieges of foreign cities. Are the designs that decorated these machines an indication that they belonged to and were handled by special groups of soldiers of the imperial army (maybe clothed in uniforms showing the same patterned fabric)? Or were the decorated coverings of these war-machines devoid of any idea of membership? What is clear is that textile workshops in Assyria produced large pieces of fabric with a variety of patterns (such as stepped motifs, concentric discs, *etc.*) and that these served to fabricate both uniforms for soldiers and coverings for these vehicles.

5.5 Dressing the gods: textiles in religious contexts

The role of textiles in the development of the socio-economic basis of the civilizations in the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean Area is known, at least

²⁶⁸ Barnett 1976, pls. 46–53. See Postgate 2001, 382 and Albenda 2005, 69 for discussion.

²⁶⁹ Postgate 2001, 382.

²⁷⁰ Postgate 2001, 384.

in its main traits. But the role that textiles played in the religious life of these areas of the Ancient World deserves to be investigated in deep in the light of the progress in the field of ancient textile research that have been made in the last decades. In Mesopotamia, since the foundation of the first complex urban societies at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC onwards, textile manufacture has been oriented towards the needs of the temple and palace households. These two complex organizations absorbed most of the textiles which were produced locally or imported from abroad. In the 1st millennium BC, the age which sees the creation of imperial structures, of vast multicultural states, and of more integrated trade networks in the Ancient Near East, the temples continued to be the centres of the religious life and the main seat of the cultural identity of a country, and, not less important, a terminal of the economic system in the surrounding region. The temple cult required the ordinary service to the gods and this comprised the supply of clothes for the divine statues. In fact, in the Mesopotamian religious thought, the statue of a god was far from being a passive and static visual representation of the deity; on the contrary, it could become the animated body of the god after the execution of rituals of consecration. The “activity” of the Mesopotamian gods was made manifest especially through their “journeys”: during divine processions their statues were brought outside the cella and reached other sanctuaries. These religious practices clearly determined a continuous demand for new textiles needed to clothe the god’s statues (especially on the occasion of special yearly cult ceremonies), as well as for the mending of old ones. Also the objects with which the divine statues were associated needed constant repair. The highly developed professional specialization in the textile sector is strictly connected with these cultic affairs. In addition to the maintenance of the gods’ statues, the priestly personnel and all the cultic performers operating in the sanctuaries represented another important category of textile consumers in cultic contexts. Other products of the textile industry, such as dyed wool, usually in the form of threads, also had a great significance in cult since it was manipulated by the cultic performer as ritual materials in conjunction with other substances. Finally, textiles constituted both elements of embellishment of the interior of sanctuaries and important components of the god’s belongings.

Unfortunately, the evidence about the use of textiles in cultic context in 1st-millennium Assyria is very meagre in comparison with the documentation stemming from Neo-Babylonian archives. Therefore, in this chapter I will discuss both the Neo-Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian evidence about textiles of cultic use, in order to reach a more complete understanding on the topic. I will confine my considerations to the cultic contexts of the main temples of Assyria and Babylonia. The most important temple complex in 1st-millennium Assyria was the

shrine of the national god of the Assyrians in the city of Assur, which in Neo-Assyrian times was also called Libbāli, “The Inner City”. In this city, where the kings were enthroned and the kingship of the god Aššur was periodically reaffirmed in royal rituals, there were temples dedicated to other important deities of the Assyrian pantheon, such as Ištar and Nabû. Other sanctuaries of the “Great Gods” (*ilāni rabûti*) venerated in the Assyrian state cult were located in Kalḫu and Nineveh, the main cities of the core region of the imperial territory. The cuneiform tablets from the archives of these cities enable us to know various aspects of the consumption of textiles in palace and temple milieus of the Assyrian Empire during its apogee in the 7th century BC. After the downfall of the Assyrian Empire under the Median and Babylonian attack in 612 BC, the sources for the reconstruction of the organization of the cult in 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamia remain those stemming from the archives of the Neo-Babylonian state. Here, the bulk of the documentation comes from the archives of two important sanctuaries, namely the Eanna temple in Uruk, the great sanctuary of the goddess Ištar, and the Ebabbar temple in Sippar (Tell Abu Habbah), which was the seat of the cult of Šamaš. The time span of the majority of the texts from these archives is the 6th century BC; these documents shed light on the period of the political independence of the Neo-Babylonian kingdom (626–539 BC) and on the beginning of the Persian dominion of Babylonia (539–520 BC).

Textiles in cultic contexts have been treated in recent studies, but a reconsideration of the question through a unitary approach, namely integrating Neo-Assyrian with Neo-Babylonian sources, is needed. The topic concerning cult-related textiles has been treated by Beaulieu in his work on the Neo-Babylonian pantheon of Uruk in the evidence of the Eanna texts²⁷¹ and by Zawadzki in his studies on the divine garments attested in the Ebabbar archive.²⁷² Before these works, the first study devoted to garments of divine statues, although limited to Babylonian cultic practices, was carried out by Oppenheim in 1949.²⁷³ A reconsideration of this crucial aspect of the Mesopotamian cult was also made by Matsushima in a paper of 1993 focusing on fashioning and clothing of gods’ statues, predominantly attested in the Neo- and Late Babylonian texts.²⁷⁴ Accordingly, I will present a unitary description of the divine wardrobes documented in both the Babylonian temple archives of Uruk and Sippar of the 1st millennium BC in order to reach some conclusive observations on the phenomenon

271 See Beaulieu 2003.

272 See Zawadzki 2006 for the discussion on the Ebabbar-related textile industry and Zawadzki 2013 for the texts.

273 Oppenheim 1949, 172–193.

274 Matsushima 1993, 209–219.

of “statue-clothing” in the Mesopotamian temples of this period. Secondly, I shall compare the Neo-Babylonian evidence with the data stemming from the Neo-Assyrian sources in order to propose some identifications of the 1st-millennium divine vestments. Cultic textiles were not limited to costumes for the representations of divine beings. Other types of textiles played an important role in temples as clothes of cultic performers and as elements aimed at embellishing the interior of sanctuaries. The data from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts and the observations that follow will enable us to have a more complete idea about the use of textiles in 1st-millennium BC Mesopotamian cultic contexts.

Why did the gods’ statues have to be clothed? The idea at the basis of the dressing of the divine statues in Mesopotamian religious practice is that humans were created by gods with the specific task to serve them in every aspect of their daily life. Accordingly, gods needed to be appropriately bathed, fed, clothed, and entertained by humans. The anthropomorphization of divine beings in the early period of Mesopotamian civilization certainly strengthened this idea, since the gods were conceived as having the same or analogous needs of humans. Other aspects of the divine statues and their cult may be considered in the light of the specific theological concepts characterizing the Mesopotamian religion. The image of the divine beings was considered a sort of living entity. In fact, divine statues as well as other objects related to the divine world were subjected to specific rituals, such as the ritual for the “washing of the mouth” (*mīs pî*) and the one for the “opening of the mouth” (*pīt pî*); these ritual operations were aimed at “activating” the statue. In Mesopotamia, cult statues representing deities were made of various precious materials—valuable stones and metals that enriched the bodily core, generally made of wood or bitumen—and were dressed with multicoloured clothes and adorned with jewels and accessories that were appropriate to their divine personality and functions. All these materials along with their garments and jewellery defined the appearance of the gods and materialised the divine presence in the cultic encounter that took place between the god and the ritual performer in the temples. The execution of the aforementioned rituals transformed the man-made statue into a divine entity. Once “activated”, the divine *simulacrum* could consume the offered foods and drinks and participate in religious processions. More importantly, these rituals enabled the god’s statue to communicate with humans.²⁷⁵ This aspect leads us to investigate how sacred textiles delineated and materialised the personhood of deities, ena-

275 On the texts for the *mīs pî* and *pīt pî* rituals, see Walker, Dick 2001.

bling the persons who had access to the god's cella to interact with the statue.²⁷⁶ Divine communication through the garments of a god's statue probably happened through different sensorial levels, not only through the visual sphere of colours and combination of pieces of clothing. Therefore, dressing divine statues and god-related objects represented one of the most important acts of devotion towards the deity. Consequently, a large sector of the temple-centered economy of the Mesopotamian cities was oriented to production, decoration, washing, and repairing of these "divine" textiles. Although all these aspects become clearer thanks to recent studies devoted on the topic, much has still to be made as regards the study of the relationship between garments and deities and the religious significance that certain items of clothing, colour, size, weight, and decorative elements had in the Mesopotamian theological conception. In addition to vestments of divine statues, other kinds of textiles were used in cult places. A description of their function will integrate our discussion on textiles in the 1st-millennium cultic context.

5.5.1 Textiles for divine beings in Assyria and Babylonia: statues of gods and other divine entities

5.5.1.1 The wardrobe of Ištar and of other goddesses

Investigation of the main textile products consumed in temples illustrates that garments for goddesses constitute the majority of the attestations of articles of clothing in the 1st-millennium BC archival documents, at least in Uruk. A different picture emerges in Sippar, where most of the attestations concern garments for Šamaš, a male god. This archival situation clearly reflects the predominant roles of certain deities in local panthea and cultic activities. Information on the wardrobe of goddesses may also be found in earlier periods. In Old Babylonian times, for instance, garments for Ištar of Lagaba, as well as Ištar and Nanāya of Larsa are attested.²⁷⁷ Concerning the 1st-millennium evidence, we may observe that the written sources stemming from the Neo-Assyrian archives are scarce and the few details about textiles used in cultic contexts must be compared with the richer data originating from the Neo-Babylonian archives. In an inventory text from the Aššur Temple in Assur various items of clothing are listed. The textiles are collectively qualified as "garments from Hamath",²⁷⁸ although

²⁷⁶ On the concept of personhood and how relationality and agency inform the interaction of humans with cultic statues see Whitehead 2013, esp. 100–135.

²⁷⁷ Maggio 2012, 130–131.

²⁷⁸ StAT 3, 1 e.35.

there are also some items which are connected to different regions of origin (a Tabolean SILUḪ and a Babylonian *niksu*).²⁷⁹ Given the fact that the “steward” (*laḫḫinu*) of the temple is mentioned in the text as the person in charge of these items,²⁸⁰ it is reasonable to think that the listed garments were used in the Aššur Temple; some of the garments were probably destined to be used by the cultic personnel, others were for the divine statues and related paraphernalia. The list includes royal garments (*kusītu*, *ša muḫḫi šarri*)²⁸¹ and items of clothing of different use (for example, the well-known *šupālitu ḫalluptu* used by the Assyrian soldiers). There are also textiles of possible cultic use, such as the *niksu* and the *sasuppu*,²⁸² presumably used by the cultic performer, and the *dappastu*,²⁸³ a cover possibly used for the bed of deities. Garments for divine statues could have included some of the *kusītus* listed in this document. Colour is another possible indication of the temple destination of these textiles; some items of clothing are white (*pašiu*),²⁸⁴ a common trait of ritually pure garments.²⁸⁵ The mention of textile products from abroad in this list demonstrates that the import of exotic vestments for cultic purposes was not in contrast with the cultic regulations of the Assyrian temples.

The production of the wardrobes for the divine statues was in charge of the temple textile artisans, who received the raw materials, above all, fibres and dyeing substances, to produce a large variety of items of clothing as well as other textile products in a given period of time. In a contract from the Nineveh archive (682 BC) some textiles are said to be at the disposal of a chief weaver, evidently for the manufacture of divine garments. The text also specifies that these textile products are the “fine work” (*dullu qatnu*) belonging to a god.²⁸⁶ Weavers of the

279 StAT 3, 1 r.24, 31.

280 StAT 3, 1 e.36 50 *šu-pu-uq¹-tú* IGI LÚ.láḫ-ḫi-ni ‘SUM’ *ina qa-ZAG la kar-ru¹*, “Fifty (pieces) are the assignment at the disposal of the temple steward; (therefore,) they are not located according to the instructions.”

281 StAT 3, 1:2–3, r.30.

282 StAT 3, 1:10 38 TÚG.nik-si BABBAR.MEŠ UŠ ZAG SA₃, “Thirty-eight white *niksu*-textiles with red sides and front part”; *ibid.*, r.28 8 TÚG.šu-sú-up GÛN, “Eight *sasuppu*-textiles with *birmu* (or multicoloured *sasuppu*-textiles?).”

283 StAT 3, 1 r.18–19 4 TÚG.dáp-pa-sat ḪÉ.MED / 4 TÚG.: GE₆, “Four red blankets, four black blankets.”

284 StAT 3, 1:5, 10, 16, r.26, 30, 32.

285 See, e.g., the Assyrian ritual text SAA 20, 32 r.20–22, describing the donation of a white garment to the Divine Judges at the end of the ceremony. The white colour probably attested the achievement of a state of purity by the devotee.

286 SAA 6, 190:1–5 *ur-su-tu ša 4* [TÚG.x x] / 4 TÚG.nik-si *du[l¹-lu]* / *qa-at-nu ša* ^dx[x x x] / *ina pa-an¹ur-da¹-a¹* / LÚ.GAL—UŠ.BAR.M[EŠ], “A depot of four [...-textiles] and four *niksu*-textiles, fine wor[k], belonging to the god [...], at the disposal of Urdâ, chief weav[er].”

temple of Ištar in Arbela are mentioned in a letter of Nabû-šarru-ušur sent to King Esarhaddon. The sender informs the king about the provision of red wool from the palace storeroom to the temple weavers; the red wool would have enabled them to fabricate textiles for the king.²⁸⁷ The same letter mentions *kusī-tu*-garments,²⁸⁸ probably to be identified with the textiles which the weavers had to fabricate, and also some operations to be done as regards the *birmu* to be placed before the breast of Adad's statue.²⁸⁹ We wonder whether measurements of the statues to be clothed were done by weavers in charge of the production of the "divine garments". If we exclude one letter where the sender explains to the king that the statue of Bēl was short one-half of a *pītu*-textile(?),²⁹⁰ references to measurements in connection to statue-clothing are not attested in the available sources. However, we know that analogous measurements were regularly done to calculate the exact amount of precious metal needed for their decoration.²⁹¹

That the adorning of statues constituted an important part of the temple-oriented textile production in Assyria is also evident from an administrative document from Nineveh listing amounts of wool, linen, and madder for various purposes; in particular, an amount of seven talents and ten minas is said to be allocated by the central administration for the production of some textiles, presumably articles of clothing, associated to statues of gods.²⁹² To dye this amount of red wool 22 talents of scarlet dye were needed.²⁹³ More specific details on the work carried out by the temple weavers are scarce in the Neo-Assyrian texts. Sometimes, the royal correspondence informs us about the progress of work of craftsmen working for the Palace. As regards textile production, the activity of weavers was carefully monitored; this may be observed in a Nabû-mušēši's letter to the king that mentions weavers who were behind their assigned quota of work.²⁹⁴ Another letter of complaints concerns the weavers of the city of Arbela who, according to the sender, did not send the garments commissioned to them.²⁹⁵ Given the fact that the author of the missive, a certain Aplāya, was a

287 SAA 16, 84:12–r.11.

288 SAA 16, 84:8.

289 SAA 16, 84 r.12–13 *ù bir^l-me ina IGI ir^l-te / [ša] ^dIM nu-x[x x]*, "Furthermore, we shall [*finish?/ change?*] the *birmu* (placed) before the breast [of (the statue of)] Adad."

290 SAA 13, 181:7.

291 See CTN 3, 95, a text from Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud listing measurements of gods' statues belonging to the Temple of Nabû.

292 SAA 7, 115 r. i 10–11.

293 SAA 7, 115 r. i 12–13.

294 SAA 13, 145:7–8.

295 SAA 13, 186 r.3'–4'.

priest of Edurḥenunna, the temple of Adad in Kurbail, it is reasonable to think that the garments in question were the vestments for the divine statues of the local sanctuary. Aplāya is also mentioned in a Nabû-šarru-ušur's letter, from which we learn that the priest of Kurbail was in charge of monitoring the work of the weavers of Ištar of Arbela, who were expected to come to Kurbail to fabricate textiles.²⁹⁶ Perhaps, these specialized textile workers were in charge to produce the multicoloured cloth for Adad's statue that is mentioned in the same letter.²⁹⁷

Most of the elements of clothing of which we find evidence in texts from the Eanna archive are related to the *lubuštu*-ceremony. This was a cultic event consisting in the clothing the statue of the god.²⁹⁸ A letter sent to the Assyrian king by Rāši-ili informs us that on the 3rd day of the month of Elūlu (August-September) the dressing ceremony of Bēl took place.²⁹⁹ From Rāši-ili's words, it is also clear that he was in charge of this ceremony.³⁰⁰ This religious event is documented in texts stemming from Babylonian archives and it is not clear whether its rare attestations in the Assyrian official cult³⁰¹ are due to the nature of the sources or to the fact that this ceremony was alien to the Assyrian religious traditions. Instead, we know that the *lubuštu*-event continued to be celebrated in the Hellenistic period, at least in Uruk.³⁰² In the Eanna temple archive, divine garments are documented for Ištar, Nanāya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš ("the Lady of Rēš"), Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu ("the Urukean [goddess]"), Aḫlamayītu ("the Aḫlamaean [goddess]"), Antu, Gula, ⁴IGI.DU, a group of female deities known as "the Goddesses", as well as for Nabû and Dumuzi. Therefore, the wardrobe of Ištar may be considered as highly representative of the vestments of Neo-Babylonian deities, since it comprises many items of clothing that also characterize the clothes of other goddesses. Her statues, placed in the Eanna temple in Uruk as well as in other Babylonian shrines, were clothed with a rich variety of garments (*išḫe-nabe*, *kusītu*, *lubāru*, *salḫu*, *šibtu*, *šubātu ša sādī*), outer garments and wraps (*ḫullānu*, *naḫlaptu*), headgear (*eru*, *lubāru kulūlu*, *lubāru mēṭu*, *paršīgu*), scarves,

296 SAA 16, 84 r.5–11.

297 SAA 16, 84 r.12–13.

298 On the clothing ceremony in 1st-millennium BC Babylonia see Beaulieu 2003, 15–21 with further literature. The practice of clothing statues of gods is already attested in previous periods of Mesopotamian history. See, for example, Biga 2010, 166, citing a text from Ebla (75.G.1524) which mentions the ritual dressing for the goddess Nintu in the temple of Kura.

299 SAA 13, 176:8–9. To this event is to be referred also the letter SAA 10, 356.

300 SAA 13, 176:12–r.11.

301 van Driel 1969, 167.

302 Linssen 2004, 54–56.

sashes and belts (*guḥalšu*, *ḥuṣannu*, *mēzeḥu*, *nēbeḥu*). Her statues were not only covered with various vestments which surpassed in number those of the other gods' *simulacra*. The richness of her attire also concerned the variety of colours and decorative elements adorning her garments. All these elements were intended to convey the idea of Ištar's majesty and power, above all, her special position in the Uruk pantheon. It is interesting to observe the absence of the *lubāru*-garment in the Sipparean goddesses' wardrobes and its exclusive use for male deities, a fact that leads us to interpret the use of this article of clothing by the "androgynous" deity as a reflection of her dominant position in the Uruk pantheon.³⁰³ The relationship between items of clothing and divine powers of the goddess, which is expressed in the poem of *Ištar's Descent in the Netherworld*, witnesses to the theological significance attributed by Mesopotamians to the goddess' clothing as a manifestation of her divine personality and powers. At the crossing of the Seven Gates of Kurnugia, she is deprived of elements of her attire, namely jewels and garments, such as the breast-band cloth, the belt, and the tunic.³⁰⁴ This myth shows that the goddess was envisaged as a clothed cult statue in Mesopotamia³⁰⁵ and the stripping of her items of clothing at each gate is reflective of the significance attached to her clothes and to the act of clothing her *simulacra* in Mesopotamian sanctuaries.

References to the garments worn by the Babylonian Ištar may be found in Assyrian texts. In the literary composition known as the Marduk Ordeal there is a description of the attire which covered the statue of the goddess: the Lady-of-Babylon is said to have been clothed with black wool on her back (*ina kutallišāni*) and red wool on her front (*ina pānišāni*).³⁰⁶ Evidently, the author of this composition uses the word "wool" (*šipātu*) in metonymical use to indicate her garment. This description seems to perfectly accord with the prevailing red-black chromatic dualism characterizing wool garments in administrative texts from Nineveh; in some cases, these texts specify that the vestments had a coloured front (*pūtu*)³⁰⁷ or rear part (*zibbutu*).³⁰⁸ To the details provided by the

303 Zawadzki 2010, 411.

304 Pettinato 2005, 456–457, lines 51–52, 54–55, 60–61. The same items are returned to the goddess when she goes out from the Netherworld. See *ibidem*, 460, lines 119, 121, 122.

305 Dalley 1991, 117.

306 SAA 3, 34:42–43 [^d*be-lit*—KÁ.DINGIR].RA.KI ša SÍG.MI *ina ku-tal-li-šā-ni* SÍG.tab-ri-bu *ina pa-ni-šā-ni* 0] / [x x x *ina pa-na-ti*]u-uš-šā *da-mu ša šur-ri ša tab-ku-u-ni* [šū-nu], "[The Lady-of-Ba]bylon 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 [...]."

307 SAA 7, 93:1–2; 94:4; 95:1, 2, 3; 96:5', 7', r.1; 97:7', 10', r.1, 3; 98:2', 3', 5'–10'; 100:6'; 102:5'; 103 r.3'; 104:3'; 105:3', 8'; 106:9; 107:2', 4'–10', r.5'–8'; 108 i' 9'–15', ii' 3'; 109 ii 2', iii 2', r. iii 7', 9', iv 5'. But see SAA 7, 107 r.9' concerning *maqāṭtu*-garments without coloured front part (*lā pūtu*).

Neo-Assyrian texts we may add those of the contemporary iconographic evidence. For instance, in the scene of the procession of goddesses' statues on thrones, which is depicted on the Slab 36 of the Wall R of the South-West Palace at Nineveh, the short-sleeved tunics of the goddesses show an overall surface with square-shaped concentric elements.³⁰⁹ Instead, in a seal impression, the garment is characterized by hexagonal motifs,³¹⁰ while the most common type of garment for the goddess shows a flounced structure.³¹¹

All these details from the Assyrian iconographic evidence about Ištar's vestments show that garments for the goddess could be decorated with a variety of patterns. Some of Ištar's garments in the Eanna temple in Uruk are characterized by tassels(?) (*adīlu*), such as the *kusītu*.³¹² The text YBC 943 mentions a certain amount of blue-coloured wool for the fabrication of the tassels(?) aimed at adorning Ištar's *kusītu*.³¹³ In addition to tassels, golden appliqués of different shapes were also stitched onto the *kusītu*-garments and the *lubāru mētu* head-dresses, as well as to the *nēbeḫu*-belts. In this connection, it is possible that with *ṣubātu ša sādī*, "gold-coloured garment", attested in YOS 7, 183,³¹⁴ a garment completely covered with golden bracteates was intended. This also reminds us of what we read in an Assurbanipal's hymn to Ištar of Nineveh, where the goddess is described as clothed with brilliance (*namriri ḫalpat*), bearing a crown gleaming like the stars (*aki kakkabi*), and with luminescent discs (*šanšānāti*) on her breasts shining like the sun.³¹⁵ In this case too, it is possible that the author's poetic words were inspired by the vision of the gold-covered garment of Ištar's statue in the sanctuary. Golden appliqués come in a variety of shapes: lions (*nēšu*), stars (*kakkabu*), rosettes (*aiaru*), *ḫašū*- and *tenšū*-elements. But these items were not used for all the goddesses, since lions, stars, and *ḫašū*-elements occur as specific decorations for Ištar's *kusītu*-garment, while rosettes and *tenšū*-elements are the preferred appliqués for Nanāya's dress. That Nanāya's dress was richly decorated is also suggested by the words used by Esarhaddon to describe her magnificence in a text dealing with the renovation of her cella in the

308 SAA 7, 106:2, 4; 107:2'; 108 i' 5'; 109 r. iv 2'. In the case of SAA 7, 109 r. iv 2' the garment's rear part is multicoloured (*barmu*) or equipped with a trim (*birmu*).

309 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 65.

310 Collon 2001, pl. XIX, no. 240 (89769). For an enlarged vision of this seal, see pl. XXXIII.

311 See, e.g., Collon 2001, pl. XIX, no. 238 (89846), pl. XX, no. 244 (89406), no. 252 (89164), no. 254 (129542), pl. XXII, no. 270 (105113).

312 Beaulieu 2003, 151–159.

313 YBC 9431:2–3. See Beaulieu 2003, 155.

314 YOS 7, 183:7. See Beaulieu 2003, 152.

315 SAA 3, 7:6–8.

Eanna temple complex: “adorned with attractiveness and joy and full of glamour”.³¹⁶ It seems that Nanāya’s *kusītu*-dress was also adorned with pomegranate-shaped beads (*nurmū?*).³¹⁷ We may suppose that the choice was due to the significance that these elements had in the religious imagery of these goddesses. In fact, Ištar’s iconography is always characterized by the figure of the goddess standing on the back of a couchant lion and often encircled by a nimbus of stars.³¹⁸ This nimbus is represented in visual art as a circle with globe- or star-tipped rays and probably represents the *melammu*, the divine radiance of the goddess.³¹⁹ It is possible that other metal ornaments mentioned in texts concerning repairing divine statues were appliqués or sequins to be sewn onto the goddesses’ garments, as in the case of the golden scorpion-men figurines (*girtablilū*) which adorned the statue of Ušur-amāssu in Uruk.³²⁰ These data about appliqués for garments of divine statues may be compared with what we know from Neo-Assyrian texts. A Neo-Assyrian administrative list enumerating items originating from Babylonian temples mentions rosettes and star-shaped ornaments, probably used as decorations for divine statues or for the garments which covered them. From this text we learn that the statue of the Lady-of-Akkad was decorated by rosettes of gold alloy³²¹ and star-shaped ornaments.³²² In addition, we know that the practice of adorning the garments of the gods’ statues with metal items was widespread in the Ancient Near East. The author of the text of Sargon’s Eighth Campaign against Urartū describes the Assyrian plunder of the temple of the god Ḫaldi; the garments in which the Urartian gods’ statues were clad are described as studded with gold discs and rosettes.³²³ Presumably, the tradition of clothing divine *simulacra* with richly decorated vestments reached the Urartian area from Assyria.

Concerning the Assyrian evidence, it is certain that these attachments for garments were also made of other materials, like the one made of frit kept at the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin.³²⁴ It is worth noting that the majority of the rosette-shaped attachments for garments from Assur come from temple

316 RINAP 4, 135:1 *šá* ḪI.LI u *ul-ši za-a’-na-tu lu-le-e ma-la-tu*.

317 YOS 17, 246:16. But the word is written as *nu-úr*. See Beaulieu 2003, 200.

318 Collon 2001, pl. XIX, no. 240, pl. XX, nos. 252–254, pl. XXII, nos. 270–275.

319 Collon 2001, 138.

320 NCBT 333:1–3. See Beaulieu 2003, 243.

321 SAA 7, 60 i 5–6.

322 SAA 7, 60 ii 11–12.

323 Foster 2005, 810.

324 VA Ass. 2434/Excavation no.: 10564.

contexts.³²⁵ This could be an indication that these appliqués were used for garments covering statues of divinities worshipped in this city. From other 1st-millennium texts we learn that various activities concerning these decorative items for garments were executed by artisans. Neo-Babylonian documents show that golden items were periodically removed from the statues' garments for repair,³²⁶ cleaning,³²⁷ or recasting.³²⁸ In special cases, these metal attachments could be used for a different purpose: from NBC 4510 we learn that rosettes and *tenšû*-elements were removed from Nanāya's dress in order to make jewels for the adornment of the goddess Kurunnītu.³²⁹ Some golden appliqués could be temporarily removed from the wardrobe of a goddess and lent to another deity: this is documented in the text NBC 4577, which mentions 86 rosettes and *tenšû*-elements removed from Nanāya in order to adorn the *kusītu* of Ištar.³³⁰ It seems that this practice also applied to the garments themselves; from YOS 6, 71+ it is clear that vestments of a goddess could be used by other goddesses as well: this text shows that *kusītu*s belonging to the wardrobe of Nanāya of Ezida (Borsippa) were lent to Ištar and Nanāya of Uruk.³³¹ The garments of the Babylonian goddesses could be completely covered with hundreds of these golden items; the number of pieces could be even more than 1400, as may be observed in nine texts stemming from the Eanna archive.³³² The periodic repair of these elements must also be considered in the light of the religious significance of the divine radiance (*melammu*). Since brilliance and luminosity constituted the manifestation of the divinity, the statue of the god had to shine brightly in the cella: this explains the importance of changing the god's clothes and polishing or repairing the golden decorations adorning the statue and the vestments themselves.³³³ This is why statues' bodies were overlaid with gold, as can be seen from Mār-Isār's letter informing Esarhaddon about the progress of work on the statues of the Urukian gods Nanāya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Anunītu and Palil.³³⁴ Other

325 On rosette decorations from temple contexts see Schmitt 2012, 171–175, nos. 786–826; Werner 2016, 123–124, nos. 1489–1499; Gries 2017, 163–164, nos. 158, 159, 161, 164–170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 180.

326 NCBT 1008, 1251; BIN 2, 125; YBC 9240. See Beaulieu 2003, 22, 24.

327 YOS 6, 117; 17, 248; 19, 269; PTS 2927; NCBT 557. See Beaulieu 2003, 23–25.

328 GCCI 2, 69. See Beaulieu 2003, 23.

329 NBC 4510. See Beaulieu 2003, 23.

330 NBC 4577:3, 9–10. See Beaulieu 2003, 157.

331 See Beaulieu 2003, 156.

332 AUWE 11, 162; NBC 4504; NCBT 557, 1008; PTS 2539, 2674, 3067; YBC 3438; YOS 6, 117.

333 Walker, Dick 2001, 6.

334 SAA 10, 349:12–16 [*šá-kut-tú ša* ^dn]a-na-a / ma-aṭ-ṭi-ia-at ù pa-ni ŠU.[2.MEŠ *ša* ^dú-šur]—a-mat-sa / KUG.GI uḫ-ḫu-zu la-a-nu ṛū¹ [GÌR.2.MEŠ] / KUG.GI la uḫ-ḫu-zu TÚG.la-[ma-ḫuš-šu-u

details on the items of clothing of the goddesses' statues may be found in Neo-Assyrian texts. In an Esarhaddon's royal inscription, for instance, Nanāya is defined as *pussumti ilāti*, "the veiled one among the goddesses",³³⁵ but the term *pussumu/pusunnu* is not otherwise attested in 1st-millennium texts.³³⁶ One of the statues mentioned in Mār-Issār's missive is that of the Babylonian goddess Ušur-amāssu. Interestingly, the divine garment mentioned by the scholar in his message, called *lamaḥuššû*,³³⁷ does not occur in the Neo-Babylonian texts from the Eanna archive, which only attribute to this deity the textiles called *ḥullānu*, *lubāru*, *naḥlaptu*, *našbatu*, *salḥu* and *šibtu*. However, its use in connection with goddesses is confirmed by a Neo-Babylonian text mentioning one *lamaḥuššû* associated with a veil which was brought to the *bīt ḥilšu* for the goddesses (d¹INNIN.NA.MEŠ).³³⁸ Dress-specific incantations were an integral part of the instructions for the *mīs pī* ritual for the activation of cult statues. In these instructions the *lamaḥuššû*-garment is mentioned as the focus of the ritual action³³⁹ and this shows that it was a fundamental part of the god's dress. A number of articles appear as exclusively components of the clothing of specific deities. For instance, Šarrat Sippar is the sole goddess wearing the *lubār pāni* (a veil?)³⁴⁰ and the *lubār ḥubbītu* (a soft item of apparel: a veil or a shawl?),³⁴¹

lab]-šá-at / a-gu-ú KUG.GI šak-na-at, "[The decoration of N]anāya is incomplete. Furthermore, (while) the face and the hand[s] of Ušur]-amāssa have been overlaid with gold, the figure and [the feet] have not. She is [dr]essed with a *la*[*maḥuššû*]-robe and equipped with a golden tiara."
335 RINAP 4, 135:1.

336 See CAD P, 537b for references.

337 SAA 10, 349:15–16 TÚG.la-[*ma-ḥuš-šu-u lab*]-šá-at / a-gu-ú KUG.GI šak-na-at, "She is [dr]essed with a *la*[*maḥuššû*]-robe (and) equipped with a golden tiara."

338 TCL 13, 233:4. It is also important to note that a *lamaḥuššû* for statues (TÚG.NÍG.LÁM. BÀN.DA ša šalmi) is mentioned in the lexical list *Ḥarra ḥubullu* XIX, 117 ff. For these attestations see CAD L, 59a s.v.

339 The Nineveh Ritual Tablet of the *mīs pī* ritual includes the incantation é n túg-ma ḥ túg-níg-lám-ma g[ada-babbār-ra ...], "Exalted garment, *lamaḥuššû*-garment of [white l]inen [...]." See Walker, Dick 2001, 66 line 192.

340 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 193 r.15; 195:11; 196 r.20; 200:11; 203 r.13; 205 r.11'; 210 r.17; 212 r.14; 228:13; 231:15; 237 r.6'; 254 r.8'; 262 r.6'; 274:4'; 452:2. According to Zawadzki, this item of clothing was a veil. See *ibid.*, 182.

341 Zawadzki 2013, no. 495:2. The textile designation *ḥubbītu*, not translated by Zawadzki, must be connected to the verb *ḥabû* II, "to be soft". The same item of clothing was called with the term *ḥubbutu*, attested in *ibid.*, no. 489:2. Both the *lubār ḥubbītu* and the *ḥubbutu* were made of blue-purple coloured wool and destined to Šarrat Sippar.

while the *lubār qabli* (a loincloth or a belt?) and the *lubār ša šammamu* (a headband?) only occur in Anunitu's wardrobe.³⁴²

The contemporary Neo-Assyrian glyptic provides useful pieces of information which enable us to identify some of the articles of clothing of Ištar. In representations on seal impressions, the turban of the goddess is a star-topped tall, cylindrical, and horned head-dress with feathered top.³⁴³ Other varieties include a square, horned head-dress with a globe on top³⁴⁴ or a low, flat-topped type.³⁴⁵ The head-dress is enriched by a tasselled band hanging down her back.³⁴⁶ Elements of its decoration are represented by a series of dots in the glyptic,³⁴⁷ evidently as a simplified rendering of star- or rosette-shaped ornaments that are usually represented in the statuary. In its basic components, her dress is constituted by a short-sleeved fringed robe and what apparently is a fringed kilt.³⁴⁸ In other representations, her vestments comprise a tiered, striated robe open over a fringed kilt³⁴⁹ or a grid-and-dot patterned upper garment with a fringed kilt.³⁵⁰ The vertical striations are also represented as characterized by an undulating structure.³⁵¹ A large waist belt is shown on seal impressions,³⁵² its structure is composed by horizontal bands or striations,³⁵³ probably indicating the large and thick borders characterizing it. There must have been differences in the wardrobe of Assyrian and Babylonian goddesses, but the evidence provided by the Neo-Assyrian glyptic is in any case instructive as regards the basic components of the clothes of female deities in the 1st millennium. From these iconographic details, we may suggest that the short-sleeved, long fringed and open robe can be identified as the outer garment or wrap respectively called *naḥlaptu* and *ḥullānu* in the texts, while the so-called “fringed kilt” was the visible part of

342 For the *lubār qabli* see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 67 r.26; 165 r.4'; 167 r.13; 221 r.13; 222 r.5'; 225 r.2'; 290 r.25; 291:13; 441 r.11; 472:2. In Zawadzki 2006, 123 the term is translated as “belt”. The *lubār ša šammamu* is documented in *ibid.*, nos. 221 r.14; 222 r.6'; 253 r.3'; 275:14. Perhaps, Anunitu is also intended in *ibid.*, no. 284 r.10'. The interpretation that the *lubār ša šammamu* was a headband is put forward by Zawadzki. See Zawadzki 2006, 124.

343 Collon 2001, no. 240.

344 Collon 2001, no. 252.

345 Collon 2001, no. 254.

346 Collon 2001, nos. 240, 248, 250, 252.

347 Collon 2001, no. 240.

348 Collon 2001, no. 240.

349 Collon 2001, nos. 252–254, 270, 271.

350 Collon 2001, no. 253.

351 Collon 2001, no. 253.

352 Collon 2001, nos. 240, 244, 248, 251–254.

353 Collon 2001, nos. 240, 254.

a short tunic, in all likelihood to be identified with the *kusītu*. The turban was called *paršīgu* and *lubāru kulūlu*, while the *eru* is probably to be identified with the tasselled band hanging down her back. The *paršīgu* head-dress is often described as having front rosettes in the Ebabbar texts.³⁵⁴ The candidate for the belt of the goddess is the word *nēbeḫu*, although terms designating scarves and sashes (*guḫalšu*, *ḫuṣannu*, and *mēzeḫu*) could be other names for this element of clothing. Finally, the tassels that accompanied both the garments and the headband could be represented by the word *adīlu*. Gold lion-shaped elements, which are frequently mentioned in texts concerning decorations of Ištar's dress,³⁵⁵ were attached as appliqués to the *nēbeḫu* of her garment, as witnessed by the reference given in PTS 2927.³⁵⁶ From other Neo-Babylonian texts, we see that these lion-shaped ornaments also served to decorate the *lubāru mēḫu* of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, with quantities ranging from 14/15 to 25 pieces.³⁵⁷

5.5.1.2 The wardrobe of male deities

From the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple archive in Sippar we get analogous pieces of information about the garments of male deities. Garments are documented for many gods, some of whom were worshiped also in Uruk, as already observed. These are Adad, Aḫlamītu ša Anunītu, Anunītu, Aya, Bēl, Bunene, Dumuzi, Gula, Immertu, Ištar-šamē, Marduk, Nabū, Nergal, Šalam-šamē, Šala, Šamaš, Šarrat Sippar, a group of goddesses collectively referred to as “The Daughters of Ebabbar”, and the Ziqqurra. In comparison with the Eanna evidence, in the case of the Ebabbar texts we get a clearer idea about the wardrobes of male deities, especially of Šamaš, the god of sun and justice, who was the main god venerated in Sippar. The garments of Šamaš include a large variety of vestments (*ḫullānu*, *lubāru*, *lubār mē damqi*, *lubāru ziqqu*, SAG, *salḫu*, *sūnu*, *šibtu*),³⁵⁸ head-dresses (*lubār kulūlu*, *lubār mē qaqqadi*, *lubār mēḫu*, *muttatu*,

³⁵⁴ Zawadzki 2013, no. 42:3–4. See also *ibid.*, nos. 174 r.1'; 200 e.12.

³⁵⁵ See, e.g., GCCI 2, 133, 367. See Beaulieu 2003, 23.

³⁵⁶ PTS 2927:3. The number of lion-shaped elements that was needed to decorate the *nēbeḫu* of Ištar corresponded to 15 units. See Beaulieu 2003, 156.

³⁵⁷ NCBT 557, 1251, 1451, PTS 2927, YBC 9031. See Beaulieu 2003, 24–25, 220.

³⁵⁸ *ḫullānu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 184:3; 186:4; 187:4; 189:3; 190:4; 191:2; 195:3; 196:5; 197:5; 200:3; 201:3; 202:3; 203:3; 204:2'; 206:2'; 207:1'; 209:4; 210:4; 211:2'; 212:4; 217:4; 219:5; 220:4; 221:3 and *passim*; *lubāru*: *ibid.*, nos. 30:1; 34:1; 52:3; 69:4; 75:4; 76:4; 77:3; 82:5; 90:2'; 108:4; 111:4; 112:4; 114:3; 116:4; 123:4; 126:4; 132:1' and *passim*; *lubār mē damqi* (or *lubāru siqqu/ziqqu/mesiqu?*): *ibid.*, nos. 1:3; 2:2; 30:2; 34:2; 35:2'; 38:2'; 108:8; 156:4'(?); 290:7; SAG: *ibid.*, nos. 104:9; 106 r.15; 229:4; 242:5; 418:7; 535 r.8; *salḫu*: *ibid.*, nos. 180:1; 187:4; 191:2; 195:3; 200:3; 203:3; 210:4; 219:5; 221:3; 225:4; 242:4; 243:4; 257:5'; 292 r.15; 332:4, r.3'; 359:2; CT 55, 823:1; *sūnu*: *ibid.*, nos. 1:3; 2:3;

paršīgu),³⁵⁹ sashes and scarves (*guḫalšu*, *ḫuṣannu*),³⁶⁰ and belts (*nēbeḫu*, *patinnu*).³⁶¹ Most of these textiles were also used to cover images of other gods, like Aya, Šarrat Sippar, and Bunene. The wardrobe (TŪG.NÍG.MU₄) of the Sun-god is treated in detail in a text of the time of Nabû-apal-iddina, king of Babylon (c. 887–855 BC); this document regulates the change of the god’s garments according to the months of the Sippar religious calendar. According to this text, on the 7th day of Nisannu (March-April) the god wore two linen *salḫu*-tunics, four *šibtu*-garments of *kitinnû*-material, one *ḫullānu*-cloak, two linen *mēzeḫu*-sashes, seven *ḫuṣannu*-sashes, one tied *nēbeḫu*-belt, one red *patinnu*-belt, one *lubāru*-garment, one *lubār ziqqu*-garment, one blue-purple *kulūlu*-headband with golden ornament fastened on it, and one blue-purple *lubāru*-garment with a golden ornament in shape of the gate fastened to it.³⁶² The same suit of clothes characterizes the 10th day of Ayyāru (April-May) and the 15th of Araḫsamnu (October-November). Instead, for the 3rd of Ulūlu (August-September), as well as for the 7th of Tašrītu (September-October) and the 15th of Addāru (February-March), we find some of the above-mentioned items (i. e., *salḫu*, *šibtu*, *ḫullānu*, *mēzeḫu*, *ḫuṣannu*, *patinnu* and *lubāru*) with the addition of one red *muttatu*-headband and blue-purple yarn of byssus.³⁶³ It seems that the use of the *muttatu* was restricted to Šamaš;³⁶⁴ it probably consisted in a headband³⁶⁵ which differentiated

3:3; 5:3; 6:7; 7:9; 8 r.8; 9:3; 11:3; 18:4; 21:3; 22:3; 23:2 and *passim*; *šibtu*: *ibid.*, nos. 1:2; 2:2; 3:2; 6:6; 10:2; 11:2; 12 r.14; 18:3; 19:2; 23:2; 24:2; 28:2; 30:1; 34:1; 50:4; 52:4; 54:5; 57:4; 63:6 and *passim*.
359 *Lubār kulūlu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 43:1; 67 r.18; 71 r.13; 76 r.6; 82:12; 163 r. i 8; 170:5; 172:5; 177:5; 178:6; 185:4; 186:5 and *passim*; *lubār mē qaqqadi*: *ibid.*, nos. 77:5; 111:6 (abbreviated as TŪG, instead of TŪG.ḪI.A); 112:6; 116:6; 123:6; *lubār mēṭu*: *ibid.*, nos. 71 r.12; 77 r.22; 163 r. i 7; 170:5; 172:5; 178:1; 183:6; 185:4; 186:6 and *passim*; *muttatu*: *ibid.*, nos. 5 r.9; 220:5; 226:3(?); 229a:4(?); 231:2; 232:4; 234:1(?) ; 348:1; 484a:7; 504:3; 591 r.13(?); BM 64129:2; *paršīgu*: *ibid.*, nos. 195:4; 203 r.13; 228:5.

360 *Guḫalšu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 176:5; 183:4; 184:3; 185:3; 186:4; 187:4; 189:3; 190:5; 191:3; 195:3; 196:6; 197:5; 200:3; 201:3; 202:3; 203:3; 204:2; 206:2; 212:4 and *passim*; *ḫuṣannu*: *ibid.*, nos. 30:3; 49:4(?); 50:6(?); 57:6; 58:7; 71:7; 72:7(?); 86:6; 88:8; 90:4; 100:3; 101:5; 102:7 and *passim*.

361 For the Sun-god’s *nēbeḫu* see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 63:9; 170:4; 171:8; 175:6; 177:4; 178:3; 183:2; 184:4; 189:4; 190:5; 193:5; 195:4; 196:7; 198:4; 200:4; 203:4; 204:3 and *passim*. The *patinnu* is attested in *ibid.*, nos. 67 r.19; 180:13; 187:5(?); 190:5; 193:4; 196:6; 200:4; 210:5; 217:5; 218:3; 219:6; 221:4; 228:5; 229a:4(?); 237:6; 239:5; 247:1; 287:10(?); 292 r.16; 597:2; Nbn 410:5.

362 Zawadzki 2013, no. 175:3–11.

363 Zawadzki 2013, no. 175:12–16.

364 See fn. 359 for the attestations.

365 However, note that the feminine term *muttatu* is listed in CAD M/II, 310b s.v. *muttatu* A, “half, halfpack”, although it is etymologically linked to the word *muttu*, “front (part)”. This etymological connection is not indicated in the dictionaries. Also note that Zawadzki’s arguments

from analogous items for its decoration or manufacture and, as such, stressed the dominant position of this god over the other deities of Sippar. According to Zawadzki's interpretation, the basic item of clothing of the Sun-god was a tunic, which was placed on the body of the statue. Other items were then added on this basic apparel, such as a coat, a scarf, a belt and a head-dress.³⁶⁶ A visual representation of the Sun-god and his clothes in the 1st millennium may be seen on the top of a limestone tablet from Sippar. This object shows the introduction of King Nabû-apal-iddina into the presence of the god of justice. The Sun-god is represented as seated on the throne inside the Ebabbar temple and as wearing a horned tiara and a long short-sleeved tunic with undulating and striped design.³⁶⁷ In this scene the apparel of Šamaš is limited to two basic components, the tunic and the head-dress, probably to be identified with some of the textile designations mentioned in the Ebabbar texts, while no sash or belt adorns his seated statue.

As regards *kusîtus*, it seems that the presence of this item of attire characterized both male and female deities' wardrobes, the main difference being that the gods' *kusîtus* were generally white, while the goddesses' ones were polychromatic and enriched by sequins.³⁶⁸ The fact that the preferred colour of the costumes of Šamaš was white may be connected to the traditional imagery of this god in the Mesopotamian theological thought, according to which the nature of the god was characterized by luminosity and brilliance. This trait of his personality enables him to see everything and, consequently, he is regarded as the god of truth and justice. In a hymn to the Sun-god in favour of Assurbanipal, Šamaš is described as "Light of the Great Gods, Light of Earth".³⁶⁹ The same idea is probably at the basis of the name of his sanctuary in Sippar and Larsa; in fact, E-babbar simply means "White House".

To judge from the extant written sources dealing with divine garments, the costumes of other Babylonian deities were not so different from the ones of Šamaš, but the data about them are limited in comparison with those concerning

supporting the interpretation that this item was a "head-dress" are solely based on the analysis of the position of the *muttatu* in the *miḫṣu tenû* lists. See Zawadzki 2006, 132.

366 Zawadzki 2013, 539.

367 For a picture of the Sun-god tablet in the British Museum image catalogue (object ref. no. 1881,0428.34a 91000) see <http://www.bmimages.com/results.asp?image=00871293001&image=141&searchnum=0006> (accessed in September 2015).

368 Zawadzki 2013, 539.

369 Castellino 1977, 429. These aspects of the god's nature are also treated in one of the more stylistically-elaborated hymnic compositions of the end of the Kassite period, see *ibid.*, 385–387, 391.

the Sun-god's wardrobe. For example, according to the Ebabbar archive, linen *kibsu*-fabric was assigned to Marduk and Bēltiya.³⁷⁰ It is difficult to believe that the wardrobe belonging to the statue of Marduk, the head of the Babylonian pantheon who was especially worshiped in the Esagil temple in Babylon, was limited to this item of attire.³⁷¹ But this has probably to do with the nature of sources which, in the case of the Sippar archive, are primarily focused on the Sun-god's clothes. In an Assyrian theological commentary and in the Ninevite version of the Marduk Ordeal the outfit of Marduk (Bēl) is indicated with the term *šer'itu*.³⁷² After defeating Tīāmat, the primeval sea monster, Marduk is described as wearing a "princely robe" in the *Enūma eliš*.³⁷³ As evident from the *Erra Epic*, the deteriorated and dirty garment of the god's statue affects not only the image, which loses its divine brilliance and the manifestation of the god's *melammu*, but also the status of the god himself, who could abandon his image and temple.³⁷⁴ The scarce documentary data about his costumes certainly reflects the low position that he had in Sippar theology. As for Adad, the components of his attire are poorly documented in the two temple archives of Uruk and Sippar. A document from the Eanna textual evidence informs us about the disbursement of red- and blue-coloured wool for this deity, presumably used to fabricate a *salḫu*-garment.³⁷⁵ This is in line with what we know from Neo-Assyrian sources: a letter of Esarhaddon's correspondence shows that polychromatic cloth was used for the garments of Adad's statue.³⁷⁶ The donation of items of clothing to the Storm-god is already attested in the Middle Assyrian period: the Coronation Ritual mentions the presentation of one clean or bright (*zakiu*) garment to Adad and another one for Salmānu.³⁷⁷ A clearer idea of Adad's wardrobe may be obtained from the Ebabbar documentation, according to which the statue of the Storm-god was clothed with vestments called *lubāru*,

370 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 328:12; 333:8'.

371 A statue of Marduk with the characteristic spade is represented on a relief from Nineveh. See Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 67 A. In the scene, the Babylonian god wears a long short-sleeved tunic with fringed border, a waist belt and a horned tiara.

372 SAA 3, 35:21.

373 Pettinato 2005, 134, line V, 93. In an Assurbanipal's hymn he is described as the one who "excels in form, most high in stature and magnificent in his lordly apparel" (SAA 3, 2:25).

374 Pettinato 2005, 248, lines I, 127–129, 250, lines I, 180–181.

375 YBC 3561:10–12 SĜ. ʿ*ta*-*bar-ru* / SĜ.ZA.GĪN.KUR.RA ʿ*x x*ʿ GADA².*sal-ḫu* / ʿ*a-na*ʿ dIM *šu-bi-lana-a-šú*, "Bring us red- and blue-coloured wool for one linen(?) *salḫu*-garment for Adad." See Beaulieu 2003, 326.

376 SAA 16, 84 r.12–13.

377 SAA 20, 7 r. iii 35–36.

salḫu, *sūnu*, *šibtu*, and *pašīru*;³⁷⁸ sashes like *guḫalšu* and *ḫuṣannu*;³⁷⁹ head-dresses like *paršīgu*, *kulūlu*, and *lubār mēṭu*;³⁸⁰ belts like *patinnu* and *nēbeḫu*.³⁸¹ Adad is also the recipient of *kibsu*-cloth.³⁸² Like in the case of Šamaš and Anunitu, this fabric was used to fabricate the god's *sūnu*,³⁸³ a piece of clothing which is usually translated by scholars as "loincloth",³⁸⁴ but which probably indicated various band-like textiles of different uses.³⁸⁵ It is tempting to explain the lack of the *ḫul-lānu*, an outer garment, in his wardrobe in connection with the deity's role as a weather god,³⁸⁶ but further data are needed to confirm this interpretation. If we take into consideration the Neo-Assyrian iconographic evidence concerning this deity we see that Adad is generally represented as wearing the same attire of the other male gods. In the Maltese rock relief, for example, the Storm-god is represented with a cylindrical horned tiara and a long wrap or shawl covering a long tunic like the other deities.³⁸⁷ Differently, on a cylinder seal impression his costumes include a knee-length tunic which is covered by a long outer gar-

378 For the *lubāru*-garments, see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 68 r.4'; 288:4. The other items of clothing are attested in the following texts: *salḫu*: *ibid.*, nos. 195 r.14'; 200 r.15'; 203 r.17'; 210 r.22'; 221 r.17'; *sūnu*: *ibid.*, nos. 4:5; 11:9; 16:8; 18 e.8; 19 e.8; 25 r.3'; 34:7; 50:11 and *passim*; *šibtu*: *ibid.*, nos. 63 r.5'; 66 r.15'; 81 r.14'; 161 r.9'; 581:2; *pašīru*: *ibid.*, no. 82 r.22.

379 For the *guḫalšu* see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 184 r.12'; 190 r.3'; 193 r.19'; 195 r.14'; 196 r.23'; 197 r.2'; 200 r.15'; 203 r.17'; 210 r.22'; 212 r.19'; 214 r.11'; 214 r.11'; 221 r.17'; 222 r.8'; 228 r.16'; 229 r.18'; 233 r.14'; 239 r.2'; 246:7'; 248 r.9'; 251 r.12'; 259 r.14'; 268 r.13'; 278 r.2'; 292 r.24. The *ḫuṣannu* is attested in *ibid.*, nos. 49:7'; 50:10; 58 e.11; 62:9'; 76 r.2; 85 r.14'; 91 r.15'; 101 r.5'; 131 r.12'; 136 r.7'; 143:7; 147 r.10; 148 r.7'; 150 r.9'; 288:5; 293 i 9'; 294 i 1', r. ii 9'; 297 i 16', r. ii 20'; 301:6; 305:7; 307:4'.

380 *Paršīgu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 67 r.17'; 76 r.8'; 91:14; 147 r.12; 150 r.11'; 188 r.8; 287:7; Cam 413:16; *kulūlu*: *ibid.*, nos. 63 r.6'; 67 r.25; 170 r.19; 172 r.12; 177 e.9; 178:17; 181 r.5'; 287 r.16; 378 r.8'; *lubār mēṭu*: *ibid.*, nos. 67 r.25; 170 r.18; 172 r.11; 178:18; 277 r.3'; 284a r.8'; 287 r.16; 350 r.1'; BM 62915 r.2; CT 55, 808 r.5'.

381 *Patinnu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 193 r.19; 196 r.23; 200 r.15; 210 r.22; 214 r.11'; 221 r.17; 228 r.16; 239 r.1'; 246:8'; 253 r.6'; 256 r.9'; 265 r.10'; 268 r.13'; 280 r.8'; 292 r.24; *nēbeḫu*: *ibid.*, nos. 184 r.13; 190 r.3'; 193 r.20; 195 r.14; 196 r.24; 198 r.8'; 200 r.16; 203 r.17; 210 r.23; 212 r.19; 221 r.18; 222 r.8'; 228 r.16; 229 r.18; 232 r.16; 233 r.14'; 246:7'; 251 r.12'; 259 r.15; 278 r.3'; 280 r.8'.

382 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 337 r.6'; 344 r.9'. Linen *kibsu*-cloth for this deity is attested in *ibid.*, nos. 320 r.3'; 325 r.22; 326 r.26; 329:19, r.30; 333 r.2'; 335 r.17'; 337 r.6'; 339 r.5'.

383 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 315 r.4' 1 GADA *kib-su šā ŪR a-na* ⁴IM. See also no. 337 r.4'. For the *sūnu* of *kibsu*-cloth for Šamaš and Anunitu see *ibid.*, nos. 315 r.3'-4'; 321 r.5'-6'; 325 r.25-26.

384 See AEAD, 101b.

385 The term *sūnu* is used in Mari and Middle Assyrian texts to designate (band-like?) parts of garments. See CAD S, 389b s.v. *sūnu* B b. Zawadzki prefers translating the term as "belt". See Zawadzki 2013, 21 and *passim*.

386 Zawadzki 2006, 196.

387 Thureau-Dangin 1924, 187.

ment.³⁸⁸ Instead, in a scene of divine procession on a relief from the South-West Palace at Nineveh, the standing statue of Adad is depicted while wearing a knee-length garment with short sleeves and a large waist belt, both elements resembling the typical items composing the dress of Assyrian soldiers. The overall surface of his dress is decorated by square-shaped elements which are similar to the ones adorning the goddesses' statues in the same scene. In addition, in the Ninevite relief the Storm-god is represented without the typical divine tiara, although the horns are present on his head. If the comparison with the Neo-Assyrian iconography of the Storm-god is valid, we may state that the Ninevite representation of Adad, where the outer garment is lacking, is not only a clear pictorial counterpart of the Neo-Babylonian imagery of this god that we get from the Ebabbar texts, but, more importantly, it confirms on iconographic grounds the lack of the *ḥullānu* in Adad's Babylonian attire. Bunene is another important deity of the Babylonian pantheon. He was the son and the divine charioteer of the Sun-god. Garments (*ḥullānu*, *lubāru*, *salḫu*, *šibtu*, *sūnu*),³⁸⁹ head-dresses (*lubār kulūlu*, *lubār mēṭu*, *paršigu*),³⁹⁰ sashes (*guḫalšu*, *hušannu*),³⁹¹ and belts (*nēbeḫu*, *patinnu*)³⁹² worn by this god are the same characterizing the Sun-

388 A picture of this seal (BM 132257) is reproduced in Livingstone 1989, 2 fig. 1.

389 For Bunene's *ḥullānu*, see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 189:7; 193:8; 195:8; 196:14; 201:7; 203:7; 205:7'; 208:10'; 210:13; 212:8; 214 r.8'; 221:7; 228:8; 229:10; 232:7; 233:8'; 236:7'; 246:5'; 249:3'; 254:2'; 264:10; 265:6'; 274:1'; 290 r.21; 291:8; 292 r.21. *Lubāru*-garments for this deity are attested in *ibid.*, nos. 1:5; 3:5; 6:9; 18:6; 19:5; 23:5; 24:7; 25 r.1; 27:4; 28:4; 30:4; 34:5; 50:8; 54 r.10; 64:6; 69:9; 103 r.13'; 108:10; 112 r.11; 117 r.12; 123 r.16; 132 e.7'; 146 r.11'; 293 i 7'; 294 i 7'; 295 i 4'; 297 i 2, 14', r. i 16', ii 19'; 298:2'(?); 305:5; 308:6; 312:6'; 484a:8; 507:4. For the *salḫu* see *ibid.*, nos. 193:8; 195:8; 196:14; 205:7'; 208:10'; 210:13; 214 r.8'; 228:8; 229:10; 236:7'; 246:5'; 249:3'; 254:2'; 290 r.21; 359:2; Dar 62:8; Nbn 252:1 and *passim*. The *šibtu*-garment is documented in *ibid.*, nos. 1:5; 3:5; 6:9; 12 r.14; 18:6; 19:5; 23:5; 27:4; 28:4; 30:4; 34:5; 50:8; 52:9; 54 r.10; 58:10; 66:9; 69:9; 102:10; 103 r.15'; 112 r.11; 117 r.12; 122 e.12; 123 r.16; 127 e.7; 132 e.7'; 146 r.12'; 150:4'; 290:12. For the *sūnu* see *ibid.*, nos. 16 r.15; 19:3; 24 r.13; 49:8'; 54 r.12; 59 r.15; 76 r.3'; 118 r.11; 123 r.14; 139 r.2'; 146 r.9'; 293 r. ii 4'; 294 i 9'; 297 i 4', r. ii 4'; 299:5'; 301 r.13; 304:4; 306 r.15; 308:6.

390 *Lubār kulūlu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 163 r. ii 14'; 178:15; 181 r.4'; 284a r.6'; 287 r.18; 288 r.13; 514:5; BM 51422:8'; BM 101133:5; Cam 66:4; *lubār mēṭu*: *ibid.*, nos. 163 r. ii 13'; 170:10; 178:14; 181 r.4'; 284a r.7'; 287 r.19; 288 r.14; 484a:9; BM 50342 r.6'; BM 51422:8; BM 101133:8; Cyr 259:3; *paršigu*: *ibid.*, nos. 87 r.12; 293 r. ii 5'; 294 i 9'; 295 i 6'; 297 i 4', r. ii 4'; 299:5; 304:4; 351:3'; Cam 156:3.

391 For Bunene's *guḫalšu* see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 176:6; 184:8; 189:7; 192:4; 193:8; 195:8; 196:14; 201:7; 203:7; 204:7'; 205:8; 208 e.11'; 210:13; 212:8; 214 r.8'; 218:9; 221:7; 228:8; 229:11; 232:7; 233:8'; 236:7'; 240:9; 246:5'; 249:4'; 252:7'; 254:3'; 256:4'; 262:1'; 264:11; 265:6'; 274:1'; 286:3'; 290 r.21; 291:8; 292 r.21. The *hušannu* is attested in *ibid.*, nos. 143:8; 293 r. ii 4'; 294 i 9'; 297 r. ii 4'; 301:13.

392 *Nēbeḫu*: Zawadzki 2013, nos. 170:9; 178:12; 180:15; 184:9; 193:9; 195:9; 196:15; 203:8; 204:7'; 205:7'; 210:14; 214 r.9'; 228:9; 229:10; 232:8; 236:7'; 249:4' and *passim*; *patinnu*: *ibid.*, nos. 67 r.19; 176:6; 180:14; 184:8; 193:9; 195:8; 196:15; 203:8; 204:7'; 208 e.11'; 210:14; 214 r.9'; 218:9; 228:8;

god's attire. The fact that the *lubāru* and the *šibtu* of this god were lighter than the ones of Šamaš leads Zawadzki to suggest that Bunene was worshiped as the child of Šamaš and Aya.³⁹³ This means that family ties among the gods were reflected by divine vestments. It has been suggested that his attire consisted in a short jacket with short sleeves, a dress probably appropriate to his role as driver of the Sun-god's chariot.³⁹⁴ Colours of garments were certainly used to mark the specific traits of the god's personality and his family and rank relations with other deities. In fact, another peculiarity of Bunene's attire is the *paršigu* head-dress, which only for this deity was white (*pešû*),³⁹⁵ while that of the Sun-god was red (*tabarru*).

After this review of the evidence for costumes worn by the most important Mesopotamian deities of the 1st millennium, we wonder which elements of clothing were used for the head of the Assyrian pantheon, the god Aššur. The arrangement of the clothing of his statue may be supposed on the basis of a reference to the god's old garments in a text dealing with cultic practices in Assur.³⁹⁶ According to this passage, it seems that not only the statue of the national god of the Assyrians was clothed, but also that his clothes were used to cover the *simulacra* of other Assyrian deities. This probably has to do with the special personality of Aššur, who had absorbed many features of other deities, primarily Enlil, Anu and Šamaš,³⁹⁷ thus becoming a universal god in the imperial phase of Assyrian history. As a working hypothesis, we may suggest that the vestments adorning his statue were characterized by items of clothing whose colours and decorations were those of other important gods' of the Assyrian pantheon, especially the so-called "Great Gods". In this way, the theological concept of the divinity of

229:10; 231:8; 232:8; 233:8; 236:7'; 246:6'; 249:4'; 254:3'; 256:4'; 268:5'; 287 r.18; 290 r.21; 291:8; 292 r.21.

393 Zawadzki 2006, 195. The same considerations apply to other items of clothing of the Sun-god's son and charioteer. See, for instance, the weight of the *patinnu*-belt, which is 12 shekels in the case of Šamaš (Nbn 410:5) and only five shekels in the case of Bunene (*ibid.*, 6). Another case is given by the KUR.RA-garment, whose weight corresponded to 30 shekels in the case of the Sun-god (Zawadzki 2013, no. 455:3–4) and only six shekels in that of the divine chariot driver (*ibid.*, 5–e.6).

394 Zawadzki 2006, 195.

395 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 293 r. ii 5'; 294 i 9'; 295 i 6'; 297 i 4', r. ii 4'.

396 SAA 20, 52 r. ii 41'–43' i-'na' UGU *ku-zip-pi'* SUMUN.MEŠ *šá aš-šur GÍD.DA UD¹-me¹ / i-na-áš¹-šú-u-ni a-na DINGIR.MEŠ šá ina IGI LUGAL / ma-ħir-u-ni ú-kât-tu-mu dul-lu e-piš' DUG.GA*, "Concerning the old garments which Aššur wears (since) a long time, they cover (with them) the gods who are acceptable to the king. An extispicy was made and it was favourable."

397 Leick 1991, 15.

Aššur as the sum total of the gods was probably stressed.³⁹⁸ To judge, for example, from the representation of Aššur in the Malta rock relief,³⁹⁹ his attire consisted in the same items of clothing worn by the other deities. Evidently, it was the combination of colours in Aššur's *lubussu* which stressed his pre-eminent position in the Assyrian pantheon. The significance of the supreme Assyrian god's clothing emerges in rituals aimed at re-affirming the function of the royal power. The donation of items of clothing to the gods was deeply rooted in the Assyrian cult as it was in the cults of other regions of the Ancient Near East. In Old Assyrian times, Aššur and Ištar are documented as the recipients of specific items of clothing that were highly prized in caravan trade of Assyrian merchants. According to an Old Assyrian document, Aššur received *kutānu*-garments, while Ištar was the recipient of *šūru*-textiles.⁴⁰⁰ The *kutānu* was made by a luxury wool cloth, since it is described as having a flat and smooth surface, probably achieved by shearing.⁴⁰¹ The *kutānu*-cloth was also used as material to fabricate various textile products.⁴⁰² In comparison with the *kutānu*, the *šūru*-textiles were a cheaper and coarser cloth. The *šūru* occurs in Old Assyrian documents as a utilitarian cloth used for wrapping merchandise, although high-quality versions of it figure as luxury products for individuals of the social elite of Assyria as well as of Anatolia.⁴⁰³ For the Middle Assyrian period, we have already observed that the donation of garments was an integral part of the cultic service due to gods venerated in the city of Assur. Various Assyrian gods housed in the Aššur Temple figure as the recipients of garments in the above-mentioned Coronation Ritual. In the case of Adad and Salmānu, these deities occur in a section of the reverse side of the tablet devoted to donations of stones to the gods, but they are the only ones that receive both stones and items of clothing—*šubātu zakīu* – as gifts.⁴⁰⁴ In an analogous section of the obverse side, donations to the

398 On the concept of sum total of the gods in the Assyrian religion, see Parpola 2000, 171–172.

399 Thureau-Dangin 1924, 187.

400 See the text BIN 6, 186, cited in CAD Š/III, 368 s.v. *šūru* a.

401 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 212.

402 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 234.

403 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 244.

404 SAA 20, 7 r. iii 35–36. The act of donating stones to the gods is peculiar to Middle Assyrian cult. Among the texts discovered in Assur there is a text that illustrates this practice. The document KAM 11, 119 lists sixteen stones dedicated to deities of the city of Assur. According to the text, the Temple of Aššur received *buburdaniū*- and red-stones (*ibidem*, 1–2), while the shrines of Bēl-šarri and of the Storm-god received one *enūtu*-stone and one *buburdaniū*-stone respectively (*ibid.*, 3–4). Among the gods who figure as recipients of stones, we see that Anu and Aššur received *yašpiu*-stones, while the Sun-god received one seal-stone (*ibid.*, 5–7). The text also mentions four unspecified stones for the sanctuary of Ištar (*ibid.*, r.10).

gods by the king comprise sheep and stones; in this part, Mullissu, the spouse of the head of the Assyrian pantheon, figures as the only deity who receives both one sheep and one garment (*šubātu*).⁴⁰⁵ The most interesting stage of the coronation ceremony concerns the donation of the garment to the god Aššur. This act is described in the first column of the obverse side of the tablet and follows the entry of the king in the temple. In the preceding moments of the ceremony the king's cheek was slapped by the priest, who solemnly proclaimed the kingship of Aššur.⁴⁰⁶ At this point, after prostrating and lighting the censers of the cella,⁴⁰⁷ the king presents gifts to Aššur. This stage of the ritual precedes the arrangement of the divine meal and the presentation of the regular offerings. The royal presents to the head of the pantheon are a golden bowl with oil, a mina of silver, a mina of gold, and a garment (*lubultu*) with its *tamlītu*; all these gifts had to be presented at the feet of the god.⁴⁰⁸ It is clear that this garment was intended as a gift for the supreme deity and that, after the ceremony, it constituted the revenue of the priest along with the minas of silver and gold.⁴⁰⁹ In this passage, the word *tamlītu*, “inlay, decoration”, is used to indicate the appliquéés that decorated the sumptuous garment.⁴¹⁰ Another *lubultu* is mentioned after the coronation of the king; in that case, it is the city scribe who is mentioned as the person in charge of taking the garment used in the ceremony with its appurtenances.⁴¹¹ A further piece of evidence about textile production in connection with the god Aššur may only be gained from a Middle Assyrian text concerning assignment of amounts of dyed wool belonging to the god Aššur.⁴¹² The recipients are female weavers, but the text does not specify whether the end products had to be used as garments for divine statues in the Aššur Temple.

From the enumerations of items of clothing for statues of deities that we find in 1st-millennium texts, especially from those stemming from Babylonian temple archives, we may gain a clearer idea about gender-distinctions in divine dressing. However, other elements of clothing attested in Neo-Babylonian archival documents appear to be destined to both male and female deities. For example, according to the document NCBT 377, the gods Nabû and Nanāya received tassels(?)

405 SAA 20, 7 ii 6 1 NA₄ 1 UDU 1 TÚG.ḪI.A dN[IN.LÍL' x x x x x x x].

406 SAA 20, 7 i 27'–29'.

407 SAA 20, 7 i 31'.

408 SAA 20, 7 i 32'–36'.

409 SAA 20, 7 i 36'–37'.

410 SAA 20, 7 i 35'. See CAD T, 143a s.v. *tamlītu* 4a.

411 SAA 20, 7 ii 41.

412 MARV X, 40 r.12–14 (StAT 5, 40).

(*adīlu*) and *našbatu*-garments of red-purple wool.⁴¹³ We do not know whether the *adīlu*-elements were then added to the *našbatus* or to other items of clothing of these deities. What is interesting to observe is that *adīlus* were not an exclusive element of goddesses' attire. Secondly, Nabû's statue also received silver shoes (KUŠ.E.SĪR KUG.UD),⁴¹⁴ in all likelihood because of his role as a swift god. In fact, he was known in Assyria as "Nabû of the footrace" (*Nabû ša lismi*) and a special celebration taking place in the city of Assur in the month Ayyāru was called *ūm lismi ša Nabû*, "day of the footrace of Nabû".⁴¹⁵ His shoes must have been of leather with silver decorative elements. In the 1st millennium BC, shoes for statues were also adorned with gold. In his Eighth Campaign account, Sargon describes the shoes worn by the statues of the Urartian gods plundered in the Ḫaldi temple as decorated with golden star-shaped ornaments.⁴¹⁶

Another important divine being venerated in Uruk and Sippar was Dumuzi, the divine shepherd whose mythical death was celebrated during the month bearing his name, *i.e.*, Du'ūzu (June-July), and the subsequent month, called Abu (July-August). In the Mesopotamian mythological tradition he is the lover of Inanna/Ištar; he is chosen as the substitute of the goddess to enable her to go out from the Netherworld. Not differently from the gods' statues in the Eanna, also his image (*šalam* ^dDUMU.ZI) was honoured through a clothing ceremony. However, details on his garments are limited to some textile materials and only to two pieces of clothing. A text from the Eanna lists one half mina of white woven cloth for one loincloth (*sūnu*) and small amounts of few shekels of white, red, and blue-coloured thread.⁴¹⁷ That the *sūnu*-textile was a peculiarity of Dumuzi's attire is also evident from another document from the same archive.⁴¹⁸ The possibility that the term *sūnu* refers to a loincloth or to a band-like cloth fits well the imagery of a young shepherd only wearing few and simple articles of clothing. The Ebabbar documents complete the picture about his wardrobe; from one text we learn that also the *ḫuṣannu*-sash was associated to Dumuzi.⁴¹⁹ Presumably, his clothes were not limited to the *sūnu* and the *ḫuṣannu*. In all likelihood, the ritual clothing of his body, which commemorated the moment of his death, concerned a luxury robe appropriate for a marriage ceremony. In fact, in the poem of *Ištar's Descent to the Netherworld*, Geštinanna's brother is bathed,

413 NCBT 377:1–5. See Beaulieu 2003, 344.

414 YOS 19, 212:2. See Beaulieu 2003, 343.

415 Parpola 1983, 55–56; Beaulieu 2003, 344.

416 Mayer 1983, line 387.

417 GCCI 2, 108:1–5. See Beaulieu 2003, 336.

418 PTS 3257:1–3. See Beaulieu 2003, 336.

419 Zawadzki 2013, no. 427 r.11'.

anointed with scented oil, and clothed with a red garment.⁴²⁰ This garment was also aimed at covering the naked body of the shepherd; in fact, in the episode of his escape from the demons, Dumuzi loses his clothes and waist belt.⁴²¹

There were also deities whose attire was also enriched by the presence of a *taḥapšu*. This may be observed in the case of the gods worshiped in Sippar. This Hurrian loanword designates in Akkadian a wool or linen blanket or stole⁴²² and appears in association with both male and female gods (i. e., Šamaš, Adad, Bunene, Aya, Anunitu, Gula, Šarrat Sippar, Šala, Immertu, Ušur-amāssu and Urkayitu). However, it is not easy to understand its exact function and how it was combined with the other divine articles of clothing on the statue's body or with paraphernalia. This linen textile was made of *kibsu*,⁴²³ possibly a type of woven cloth, or of *salḫu*.⁴²⁴ The latter usually indicates a garment, but it is possible that the term also refers to a peculiarity of the *salḫus*, perhaps given by their decoration or technique used to produce them. The term may be connected with the verb *salāḫu*, “to moisten, wet”, which is used in Assyrian medical texts to indicate the operation of saturating a cloth with liquid substances.⁴²⁵ Accordingly, we can suggest that the Neo-Babylonian *salḫu* was probably a kind of fabric whose structure was made denser through kneading and stomping it in wet and warm conditions.⁴²⁶ A text from the Ebabbar archive mentions new *salḫus* for the baldachin of Šamaš,⁴²⁷ but it is not clear whether it refers to the material used for the baldachin, namely the same fabric used for the *salḫu*-garments, or to a type of *salḫu* used as nightdress for the Sun-god's statue. Interestingly, the *salḫu* was also used to produce *kibsu*-fabric.⁴²⁸ The fact that *kibsu*-fabric could be made of *salḫu* and that both *salḫu* and *kibsu* could be used to fabricate the *taḥapšu* leads Zawadzki to conclude that the divine cover was made of old used textiles.⁴²⁹ It is also possible that the terms *salḫu* and *kibsu* designated specific types of woven fabric. Also the *taḥapšu* was periodical-

420 Pettinato 2005, 461, lines 127–129.

421 Bottéro, Kramer 1992, 331, lines 86–87.

422 CAD T, 40b s.v. Note that Zawadzki prefers to translate the term as “cover”.

423 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 181:9; 314 r.14¹–15¹; 319:5¹–r.9¹; 321:12–13; 322:6¹–12¹; 325:12–15; 326:13–16, r.18; 327 r.20–21, 23, 25; 328 r.23–26; 331:4–6; 333 r. 4¹–6¹; 335:7¹–9¹.

424 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 314:7¹–9¹, 11¹–13¹; 316:14–16; 319 r.15¹; 321:9–12; 322:6¹–7¹; 324 r.15–17; 325:9–11; 326:10–12; 327:10–12; 328:8–10; 329:5, 7; 335:3¹–6¹.

425 AMT 74 ii 35; BAM 3 iv 19. See CAD S, 86b s.v. *salāḫu* A 1c.

426 On this technical procedure, see Andersson Strand 2010, 20–21.

427 Zawadzki 2013, no. 333 r.11¹–12¹ [*x sal*]-ḫu eš-šu a-na GADA.MEŠ AN^e / [a-n]a ⁴UTU. Possibly, the same textile was used also for the baldachin of Aya, see *ibid.*, r.13¹–14¹.

428 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 321:7; 325:8; 326:9; 329:8.

429 Zawadzki 2006, 135; *id.* 2010, 412.

ly cleaned; from one text we are informed about the cleaning operations concerning the blanket of the goddesses Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.⁴³⁰ According to the text, a weaver receives a quantity of juniper extract in connection with the *taḥapšu*, but the document does not clarify whether it was used as a dyeing substance or as a scent for the sacred blanket.⁴³¹ Other items of clothing were certainly used in 1st-millennium temples, but the attestations in the extant sources do not give us details about their specific destination. In Assyria, for instance, we find the garment called *kindabasi*; its connection with the cultic sphere is suggested by its mention in an inventory text dealing with offering materials, but its use is not indicated in the text and the name of the god is not preserved.⁴³²

Gods could also wear garments usually used by deities of different gender. In addition to the above-mentioned *adīlus* for the garments of Nabû and Nanāya, other interesting examples may be discussed here. For example, Anunītu wears not only items of clothing which are typical of the goddesses' attire, such as the *naḥlaptu* and the *lubār erru*, but also male garments. In fact, the Ebabbar texts show that her vestments included the *ḥullānu*-wrap and the belts of the *nēbeḥu*- and *patinnu*-type, usually parts of the gods' attire.⁴³³ The reason for this can be found in the specific personality of the goddess, which made her a manifestation of the warlike aspect of Ištar,⁴³⁴ the "androgynous" deity. Consequently, Anunītu's male vestments probably became a means to express her warlike characteristics. This interpretation is also confirmed by the lack of the *kusītu* – a garment that was peculiar to female clothing, although not exclusively—in her wardrobe.⁴³⁵ Analogous considerations may be made about the use of the *pašīru* (a loose garment?) by Aya, the spouse of Šamaš,⁴³⁶ this item of

430 NBC 8363:4–6. See Beaulieu 2003, 230.

431 NBC 8363:9–11.

432 SAA 7, 176 r.5'–7' [k]i-ma TÚG.ki-in-da-[ba-si] / [u]s-se-ri-bu x[x] / [UDU].SISKUR ina IGI r^d[x] / [x x x x], "After they had brought the *kinda[basī]*-garments in [the temple(?), an of]fering before the god [... will be performed]."

433 Zawadzki 2006, 196.

434 Zawadzki 2006, 197.

435 Zawadzki 2006, 196.

436 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 179:8'–9'; 181 r.2'. In the text no. 179 this textile occurs between head-dresses and sashes, while in no. 181 after head-dresses. The term *pašīru*, which is not included in the dictionaries, seems to be based on the verb *pašāru*, "to release, free". According to the meaning of the root, the word probably refers to a loose garment or to the loose texture of this garment's cloth.

clothing also characterized the Storm-god's attire.⁴³⁷ Concerning Gula's wardrobe, it also included the *šibtu*, one of the most characteristic among the male vestments.⁴³⁸

Materials used for the divine garments in Assyria and Babylonia were wool and linen. In some cases, the terminology used in the texts is more specific, since it refers to rare materials or to fine varieties of wool and linen used in the production of the sacred vestments. Cotton could be identified with the Babylonian word *kitinnû*, but we have seen above that this is far from certain. Neo-Babylonian documents show that *kitinnû*⁴³⁹ was used to produce *šibtu*⁴⁴⁰ and *lubāru*,⁴⁴¹ two items of clothing usually made of wool. Concerning the former textile, we may observe that *kitinnû* served to produce both the well-known *šibtu*-garment and the homonymous bed cover; in a number of texts the *šibtu*-garment occurs in association with Anunītu,⁴⁴² while the *šibtu*-cover is attested in connection with the bed of two male deities, Adad⁴⁴³ and Šamaš.⁴⁴⁴ As for the *lubāru*, an important component of the wardrobe of Šamaš, we know that this garment was made of *kitinnû*. In other cases, the end product to be manufactured with the *kitinnû*-material is not mentioned and the description in the text is only limited to the thread to be used for the divine costumes; a document informs us that 18 minas of *kitinnû* along with one mina of *ḫūratu*-dye and one *qū* of alum were assigned to an individual to produce thread for Anunītu's garments (*ana ṭimutu ša Anunītu*).⁴⁴⁵

Another term used in the Akkadian textile terminology of the 1st millennium BC is *būšu*. This word of Western Semitic origin probably refers to a very fine variety of linen, perhaps fabricated in Egypt and exported in the Levantine coast.⁴⁴⁶

437 Zawadzki 2013, no. 82 r.22. This item is mentioned in a section dealing with Adad's attire and occurs after sashes and *sūnu*-textiles. This probably means that the *pašīru* was an article of secondary importance in Adad's dress, perhaps an outer garment or an accessory element to be attached to another item of apparel.

438 Zawadzki 2006, 198.

439 Texts concerning the use of *kitinnû* in the temple-related textile manufacture in Sippar are published in Zawadzki 2013, 475–490. Zawadzki tentatively translates the term as “cotton”.

440 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 556:2–3; 561:1–2; 573:1–3; 575 r.1–3; 576:3–4; 581:1–3; 582:3–4.

441 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 558:2–3; 582:1–2; 583a:1–2.

442 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 575 r.1–3; 576:3–4. Perhaps, the name of the goddess Anunītu is also intended in no. 573:1–3.

443 Zawadzki 2013, no. 581:1–3.

444 Zawadzki 2013, no. 582:3–4.

445 Zawadzki 2013, no. 609:1–3.

446 At present, the evidence about this word is too meagre and problematic to support the interpretation that it refers to sea-silk, namely, the material secreted by the *Pinna nobilis*. For a

Linen from Egypt was imported to Babylonia.⁴⁴⁷ As observed above, blue-purple yarn of byssus (*būšu ṭimītu*) occurs among the garments of Šamaš in a document dealing with change of vestments in accordance with specific periods of the religious calendar in Sippar.⁴⁴⁸ In all probability, yarn of *būšu* served to produce specific items of clothing or small decorative parts of them which are not documented in these texts.

Other textile terms attested in the Neo-Babylonian documentation probably refer to specific kinds of woven cloth. The word *kibsu* is frequently attested in the Ebabbar documents in connection to cult-related textiles. This term is interpreted by scholars as a designation for a type of linen fabric.⁴⁴⁹ Given the fact that the verb *kabāsu*, means “to tread upon, to put down”, the derived nominal form probably refers to the technical operation of submitting the *kibsu*-thread under the *ṭimu*-thread,⁴⁵⁰ resulting in a special pattern in the woven structure. If this interpretation is valid, the name of the fabric probably derived from the position of the *kibsu*-thread in the woven structure. The special pattern was due to the material or colour of the *kibsu*, which probably differed from the *ṭimu*-thread. As we will see below, the *kibsu* was used not only for the production of garments, but also for other textile products aimed at embellishing the temple’s structures and furnishings.

In terms of interaction with cult statues, the act of dressing the god’s *simulacrum* constituted a significant moment for the human contact with the divine. The clothing operation enabled the ritual performer to experience the divine nature through touching and manipulating the god’s clothes. Another tactile experience concerning divine garments is documented in written sources. Assyrian kings tell us that they took hold of the hem of the garments that covered the cult statues.⁴⁵¹ The mention of this act—a prerogative of kings—is illustrative

different opinion, although not confirmed by the extant sources, see Beaulieu 1989, 71, commenting on the possibility that *būšu* is “une soie secrétée par certains mollusques bivalves et avec laquelle on confectionne encore aujourd’hui des tissus”, and Villard 2010, 394, about the identification of byssus (*būšu*) with sea-silk and its use in the Assyrian luxury textile manufacture. Also Dalley sees in the Akkadian *būšu* the fabric derived from the mollusc filaments. See Dalley 1991, 122.

447 Zawadzki 2006, 24, citing the text CT 2, 2:8.

448 Zawadzki 2013, no. 175:12–16.

449 CAD K, 339a s.v. *kibsu* B.

450 This hypothesis is suggested by the text TCL 12, 109:4, where a white fabric (*mīḫšu*) is said to be constituted by twined yarn and *kibsu*-yarn (*ṭimu u kibasu*). See CAD K, 339b s.v.

451 In a psalm to Ištar of Nineveh, Assurnasirpal I (1049–1031 BC) is referred to as “the one who grasps your (= of Ištar) divine hem (*qammu*), who beseeches your ladyship.” See Foster 2005, 330. The act of taking hold of the divine *qammu* is also mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian hymn to the god-

of the proximity existing between Assyrian kings and gods. More importantly, the function of the hem as a *pars pro toto* of the garment of a person—and as an expression of personal identity—is transferred to the realm of god-human interaction: the hem represents the specific deity's identity and holding fast the hem of the god's garment illustrates the exceptional bodily experience of the king's contact with his god.⁴⁵²

5.5.1.3 Dressing *Mischwesen* and non-anthropomorphic figures in 1st-millennium BC Babylonia

In addition to statues of gods, the divine presence was also made manifest through demons of composite nature, the so-called *Mischwesen* (in German Assyriological literature), and through a number of objects that were used as symbols of certain deities. For their divine nature, the name of these beings was written with the determinative usually used for divine names. Also these entities were the recipients of offerings and addressees of prayers and ritual practices in ancient Mesopotamia. Among the benevolent demons whose nature shows features of both humans and animals we find the *urdimmu*. His upper body is that of a man, while his lower body resembles that of a lion. He is usually represented as wearing a horned tiara and carrying a staff characterized on the top by a moon-crescent. As protective creatures, they acted as gate guardians to protect the entrance to temples and palaces. In a Neo-Assyrian text, an *urdimmu* is mentioned among various statues of large size for the cella of Marduk in the temple of Nabû in Nimrud.⁴⁵³ On the reliefs of Rooms I and S of Assurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh⁴⁵⁴ and on seal impressions from the same city,⁴⁵⁵ *urdimmus* are represented with a curled tail. According to the texts from the Eanna archive, the articles of clothing destined to the statues representing the *urdimmus* in the Babylonian cult were light-coloured or white waistbands (TÚG.BABBAR.RA.MEŠ), sashes (*hušannu*), KUR.RA-garments, *uzāru*-garments, tassels(?) (*adilu*), and perhaps also jackets (*širiam*).⁴⁵⁶ The identification of the first two articles is facilitat-

dess Nanāya. See SAA 3, 4 r ii 18' *kur-bi* ¹LUGAL—GI.NA *ša-bit qa-ni-ki* / *re-'u-ū* KUR—*aš-šur*.KI *alik ar-ke-e-ki*, "Bless Sargon, who holds fast the hem of your garment, the shepherd of Assyria, who walks behind you!"

⁴⁵² By this ritual act, the Assyrian king re-affirmed his proximity to the divine sphere and his inferiority to the gods. See Neumann 2017, 15–16.

⁴⁵³ CTN 3, 95 B, 4–8.

⁴⁵⁴ Barnett 1976, pls. 26 (Room I, slab I), 54 (Room S, entrance a).

⁴⁵⁵ Herbordt 1992, 90–91.

⁴⁵⁶ Cincinnati 20:1–2; YBC 7436:35, 43; PTS 3230:6–7, 17. See Beaulieu 2003, 361–362.

ed from a comparison with the pictorial evidence about *urdimmus* in the Neo-Assyrian iconography; these demons are always represented as naked and wearing only a waist belt.⁴⁵⁷ In the above-mentioned North Palace reliefs, the waist belt is characterized by horizontal striations. Perhaps, these lines were of different colours. Instead, given the fact that these monsters are naked in visual art, it is impossible to identify other items of their clothing, although we may suppose that they also wore other types of dress. According to YBC 7436,⁴⁵⁸ tassels destined to the *urdimmus* were made of woven cloth of white (*pešû*), red (*tabarru*), and blue-coloured (*takiltu*) wool, as well as of linen. Nothing is known, however, about the materials for the KUR.RA-garments, the *uzāru*-garments, and the jackets, although these too could have been of wool. Tassels were produced for the *uzārus*, as witnessed by PTS 3230:⁴⁵⁹ the text mentions one mina and 52 shekels of red- and blue-coloured wool for six tassels and two minas and five shekels of red- and blue-coloured wool for other six tassels. We may suppose that other *urdimmus* also wore knee-length kilts, as the ones illustrated in two panels from the North Palace in Nineveh as vestments of lion-headed and humanoid guardian demons.⁴⁶⁰ Are these kilts with a long fringed band the tasseled *uzāru*-garments that are mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian texts? An idea on the polychrome appearance of the waist belts or sashes worn by the *urdimmus* can be gained from the remains of wall paintings at Til Barsip (Tell Aḫmar), where some sashes belonging to palace attendants are represented.⁴⁶¹ It is also interesting to observe that personnel employed as door keepers at gates of buildings decorated with images of *urdimmus* received the same types of garments usually destined to cover the statues of these benevolent demons with whom they were associated. In fact, from the text YOS 17, 255 we learn that Iṣtar-rēšū'a, a guardian who stationed before the statue of an *urdimmu*, received one KUR.RA-garment.⁴⁶² Membership to this specific professional group was probably stressed through the affiliation to the tutelary demon.

Other items of clothing were allocated for deified objects. These objects were placed in the shrine along with the god's statues and were considered sacred ("divine") for their association with specific deities. Moreover, the presentation of offerings to these objects, a practice usually reserved to gods, reveals that they were considered as other important media for the divine-human communi-

457 Beaulieu 2003, 362.

458 Beaulieu 2003, 361.

459 Beaulieu, 2003, 361.

460 Barnett 1976, pls. 4 (Room B), 21 (Room F), 31 (Room K).

461 Albenda 2005, 66 fig. 25.

462 Beaulieu 2003, 363.

cation. The Divine Staff or Sceptre (*ḥuṭāru*) is one of the non-anthropomorphic figures which are documented in the Eanna temple archive at Uruk. According to the text PTS 3230,⁴⁶³ this item representing the concept of divine and royal authority was clothed with a “garment” called *talbuštu*, a nominal formation based on the verb *labāšu*, “to dress”. To produce this item of clothing one mina and 52 shekels of wool woven cloth (*miḥṣu*) were needed. We do not know the exact amount of wool that was necessary to cover the Sceptre, because from the above-mentioned quantity of wool six tassels(?) for the garments of the Divine *urdimmus* were also produced. The Sceptre’s “garment” was made of red-coloured wool dyed with *ḥūratu*, a dyeing substance probably to be identified with madder, and of blue-coloured wool. The text also informs us that the wool amount included both thick (*šapū*) and thin (*ruqqu*) fabric. Evidently, these two types of woven cloth of different consistency served to give a variegated appearance to the cloth surface, with the thin part probably destined to the internal part of the textile and the thick part for the borders. Given the fact that the garment in question served to cover the Sceptre, it probably was a cloth envelope of tubular shape. Alternatively, it may be understood as a small piece of cloth upon which the Sceptre was placed in the sanctuary or a piece of cloth serving to cover.

Other gods’ paraphernalia were “clothed” in Babylonian temples. The *urigallu* was a symbol frequently associated with deities, namely Ištar and Ušur-amāssu. It consisted of a staff surmounted by a circle-shaped piece on the top, often including a decorative animal-shaped motif within the circular element. The Babylonians created specific elements of clothing as if these divine objects were anthropomorphic deities. Two texts, YOS 7, 183 and PTS 2282,⁴⁶⁴ show that amounts of wool woven cloth were disbursed to produce turbans for the divine *urigallu* staff. In YOS 7, 183 two different quantities of wool are listed: an amount of two minas of woven cloth of red-coloured wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu*-dye was destined to the production of a turban (*paršīgu*) for the *urigallu* of the Lady-of-Uruk, while an amount of 1 2/3 minas of the same type of wool cloth served to make the turban for the staff of the goddess Ušur-amāssu. The same items of red-coloured wool cloth for the two goddesses are also recorded in PTS 2282. The cloth in question could have consisted of a number of tassels which were tied at the base of the circle-shaped element of the staff.⁴⁶⁵ Concerning the colour of these products, we see that red-coloured wool (*tabarnu*) was ob-

⁴⁶³ Beaulieu 2003, 352–53.

⁴⁶⁴ Beaulieu 2003, 354.

⁴⁶⁵ Pongratz-Leisten, quoted in Beaulieu 1998, 26 and *id.* 2003, 354.

tained by using the dyeing substances named *hūratu* and *inzaḥurētu*. The dye for the blue-dyed wool (*takiltu*) is not specified, but we may suppose that the *uqnātu*-dye was used.⁴⁶⁶ It is also worth noting that *urigallu* could be covered by other textiles as well. A text dating back to Nabonidus' reign (556–539 BC) mentions materials assigned to the weaver Šāpik-zēri for the dyeing (*ana šīpi*) of a linen ҲU.PAP, namely two minas of *inzaḥurētu*-dye, one mina of alum, and one mina of wool. This textile product served to cover the *urigallu*-standard of Šarrat Sippar of Anunītu.⁴⁶⁷ Probably, the amount of wool served to decorate the linen cloth. The Akkadian reading of the logographic writing ҲU.PAP is not known at present.⁴⁶⁸ As for the Assyrian evidence, *tākultu* ritual texts and the so-called *Götteradressbuch* describe the cultic topography of the holy city of Assur, constituted by gods and various deified entities. It is possible that the *simulacra* representing these entities in the Aššur Temple were also covered with textiles like the statues of gods. Among these divinized entities, whose names are usually written with the determinative for gods, there are, for example, temple doors,⁴⁶⁹ ziqqurrats⁴⁷⁰ and the weapons of the gods.⁴⁷¹

The custom of clothing items was also extended to royal objects which were donated in temples by kings. This is already attested in the 2nd millennium BC. Two Middle Assyrian texts from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta concern the distribution of red wool (*tabarribu*) for various cultic objects, among which there are weapons (GIŠ.TUKUL/*kakku*) of various dead kings (Erišum, Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē, Šulmānu-ašarēd, and Tukultī-Ninurta).⁴⁷² The red wool in question probably served to produce the covering of these royal objects or the cushions on which these items were deposited. Interestingly, we may see that this practice is attested in Neo-Babylonian sanctuaries in connection to divine weapons. A document from the Ebabbar archive shows that the weapon of Šamaš was covered by a KUR.RA-garment, the same textile which also clothed his statue; this textile was produced with 30 shekels of blue-purple wool.⁴⁷³

466 See Bongenaar 1997, 309.

467 Zawadzki 2013, no. 536:1–r.7.

468 Zawadzki 2013, 464.

469 SAA 20, 38 i 34; 40 i 30; 42 i 21–22; 47:4'.

470 SAA 20, 38 ii 48; 40 ii 23, r. i 14'.

471 SAA 20, 40 vi 14, r. iii 28'; 46 i 15'; 49:10.

472 MARV IV, 138:1–2; 140 (fragment of a duplicate text of no. 138).

473 Zawadzki 2013, no. 455:1–3 ½ MA.NA SÍG.ZA.GÌN.KUR.ṚRA' [a-na] / TÚG.KUR.RA GIŠ.TUKUL DINGIR TÚG.KUR.RA / ŠÁ^uUTU, “Thirty shekels of blue-purple wool [for] the KUR.RA-garment of the god's weapon, (namely, for) the KUR.RA-garment of Šamaš.” With the same amount a KUR.RA-garment for the god statue was fabricated. See *ibid.*, lines 3–4.

Gods' statues were periodically brought outside their temples in processions. In a Late Babylonian text of the Achaemenid period, a certain Bunene-šimanni is mentioned as the recipient of ten shekels of blue-purple wool for repairing a chariot (GIŠ.GIGIR/*narkabtu*),⁴⁷⁴ presumably to be identified with that used for the procession of the Sun-god, as suggested by Zawadzki.⁴⁷⁵ The wool probably served to produce the cloth destined to cover the ceremonial chariot, in order to make it ready for the procession. Analogous chariots or other types of vehicles were used for other gods as well.⁴⁷⁶ For instance, Ušur-amāssu had her own wagon (*attaru*).⁴⁷⁷ This reminds us of the mention of amounts of wool for *nakbu-šu*-covers for chariots in a Middle Assyrian administrative list from Assur.⁴⁷⁸ In all likelihood, also the processional chariot of the god Aššur, which was pulled by white horses, was analogously covered by lavish cloths on the occasion of *akītu*-processions arranged in the city of Assur.

5.5.2 Textiles for cultic performers

Weavers employed in textile workshops in Assyria and Babylonia were also in charge of the production of vestments and other textiles to be used by ritual performers in their activity. The study of this category of textiles can give us useful insights into the role of ritual actors in the cultic context, although the religious meaning attached to the single textile items and the function that certain textiles played in consecration ceremonies and in the dynamics of various temple rituals are not explained in the texts. In ritual contexts, items of clothing and the act of dress-change have the function of materialising the transition and change of the status of a person—an aspect that is evident in rites of passage.⁴⁷⁹ This aspect played a significant role also in 1st-millennium Mesopotamia. A few examples

⁴⁷⁴ Zawadzki 2013, no. 610 r.9–11.

⁴⁷⁵ The connection with chariots is not limited to the Sun-god. Note that Bunene, a minor god of the Babylonian pantheon which was worshiped in Sippar and Uruk, was considered the son and charioteer of Šamaš. On the Sun-god's chariot, which was considered a divine entity and, as such, received offerings, see Zawadzki 2006, 175–177. A scene of offering presentation before a chariot is depicted in Neo-Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh, see Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 24.

⁴⁷⁶ See, e.g., Zawadzki 2013, no. 611:6–r.7 which mentions barley for fodder for the horses of Bēl.

⁴⁷⁷ Beaulieu 2003, 230.

⁴⁷⁸ MARV III, 5 r.34'. Interestingly, the Middle Assyrian text also specifies that cloths served to cover a specific part of the chariot called *kišādu* (*ibid.*, line r.35').

⁴⁷⁹ On rites of passage see van Gennep 1909. For a discussion on the rites of passage in the ritual context of the Ancient Near East see Biga, Capomacchia 2008, 55–59.

from the 1st-millennium Assyrian evidence can illustrate how textiles shaped the role and functions of various ritual performers in the context of the Assyrian state religion. In the cultic ceremonies taking place in the religious cycle of the months Šabātu (January-February) and Addāru (February-March), the Assyrian king acted as the principal ritual performer. According to the Assyrian royal tradition, the king was vice-regent of the god Aššur (*iššak Aššūr*), the real king of the country, and high priest (*sangû rabiū*) of the Temple of Aššur in the city of Assur. As high priest, he was the head of the clergy and had to participate in various cultic rituals taking place at the Aššur Temple as well as in other shrines located in various cities of the imperial territory. According to the texts which describe various stages of the cultic rituals celebrated at the Aššur Temple, on the 18th day of Šabātu and on the 8th day of Addāru the king entered the sanctuary and presented offerings and libations in front of the statues of the gods. At this point of the ritual, the text states that a textile called *sasuppu* was put on the king's shoulders (*ina muḥḥi naglab šarni*).⁴⁸⁰ Possibly, in the framework of this ritual this act of ceremonial dressing enabled the king to fulfil his function as *sangû rabiū* of the god Aššur. The mention of this act at the very moment of the presentation of various offerings at the table of the god induces us to interpret it as an act of consecration of the king's person. Concerning the meaning and the ritual function of the *sasuppu*, it is important to note that a *sasuppu* for the shoulders of the king is also mentioned in an above-mentioned contract from Nineveh listing textile products belonging to a god, in all likelihood referring to the wardrobe of the divine statue.⁴⁸¹ The possibility that this element of clothing was a sort of priestly shawl cannot be ruled out, but another and more plausible possibility is that it served to dry the "hands" of the god's statue after they had been washed. In fact, after the *sasuppu* has been put on the king's shoulders, the monarch offers hand-water to the god Aššur.⁴⁸² Since this act appears in strict conjunction with the presentation of water and offerings for the god's meal and reminds us of analogous operations made by Assyrian

480 SAA 20, 1:7–10 GIŠ.BANŠUR *i-rak-kás* NINDA.[MEŠ *it-qur-a-ti*] / *ʿhi-í[n-ḥi]-ni bu-de-e ʿza-am-ru gab-bu ana U[GU GIŠ.BA]N[ŠUR GAR-an] / ʿtap-ḥa-a-ni kír-ra-a-ni ḥa-a[s]-ba-ʿa-t[i] ú-mal-ʿlu-ú*] / TÚG.sa-ʿsu-up-pu *ina* UGU MAŠ.ʿQA LUGAL *i-kar-ru-ru*, “He sets the offering table. He places u[pon it] loaves of brea[d, plates] with ḥi[nḥi]nu-seeds, a *budê*-confection, and mixed fruits. They (= the priests) fill up the cauldrons, the collector vessels, and the pots, and place a *sasuppu* on the king's shoulders.” See also *ibid.*, 2 i 14'; 9 i 16–17; 11:6–7.

481 SAA 6, 190:1–5.

482 SAA 20, 1:11; 2 i 15'; 11:7.

palace attendants towards the king and his guests at royal meals,⁴⁸³ it is possible that the role of the monarch in the above-described ritual act was probably analogous to that of the palace lackeys who were entrusted to give out clean napkins and pour hand-water to the participants to the royal banquets before the meal took place.

After the clothing operation with the *sasuppu*-textile and the presentation of hand-water, purification rituals, libations, and various food offerings are performed before the statues of the gods in the Aššur Temple. The act of approaching the gods required purification of the person acting as cultic performer. This is explicitly stated in a hymn dedicated to Ištar of Nineveh: the king is clothed in a clean garment (*ebbūti labiš*), his robe is magnificent and he enters amid holy and pure offerings.⁴⁸⁴ Wearing a clean robe at the end of a sequence of purification acts marked the full acquisition of a purified status by the Assyrian king, as may be seen in the case of the purifications prescribed for the monarch in the *Bit rimki*, a ritual aimed at protecting the king from the evil in the case of lunar eclipse.⁴⁸⁵ More specific details on the priestly garments of the Assyrian king are not explicitly described in the texts. From royal representations in palace reliefs and other monuments it seems that the king's ritual dress was similar to that used in profane contexts.⁴⁸⁶ An important peculiarity of his dress was represented by its decoration; parts of the garment, such as the breast and the shoulder, could be decorated with images of the sacred tree, the purifying genii, the winged disc, and the royal figure, four iconographic elements aimed at conveying the idea of the proximity of the king to the divine world and the divine-inspired nature of his rule.⁴⁸⁷ Nothing is known about the colours of his priestly garments, although we may presume that they also played a role in the liturgy. That the royal garments played a significant role in Assyrian religious practices is witnessed by the fact that the king's clothes could be used as a

483 According to the Ninevite text SAA 20, 33 ii 16–21, dealing with the organization of a royal banquet, palace lackeys were entrusted to give out clean napkins and pour hand-water to the king and other noble diners at the banquet before the meal took place. The text is a protocol that was probably followed to arrange banquets at the royal palace, since it contains a set of instructions that both the king's guests and the palace servants had to know to participate to the event in a way acceptable to the royal etiquette. For a detailed analysis of this text see Gaspa 2012b, 205–213. On this Ancient Near Eastern custom, see also Oates, Oates 2001, 58–59.

484 SAA 3, 7:13–14.

485 BBR 26 iii 17–18. This act was accompanied by the washing of the king's hands and marked the end of the first phase of the *Bit rimki* ritual, related to purification rites in the palace.

486 For the royal garments in ritual scenes, see, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 12 (Assurmaširpal II in a relief from Nimrud); Barnett 1976, pl. 59 (Assurbanipal in a relief from Nineveh).

487 Layard 1849–53, I, pls. 6, 9.

substitute of his person; more precisely, the king could participate in the processions of the gods in the form of his garments.⁴⁸⁸ The royal garments were an important component of the regalia of kingship and in this function they were displayed in royal rituals. In the ritual for the investiture mention is made of the king's clothes among other royal insignia.⁴⁸⁹ In a tablet related to the same ritual the ceremonial garment worn by the king is referred to with the Babylonian term *tillû*,⁴⁹⁰ but no specific details are given about this item and its use.

An important article of the priestly dress was the head-dress. From some letters from the royal correspondence, we learn that Assyrian priests were shaved and wore headgear (*kubšû*),⁴⁹¹ presumably in the shape of a caudal fin, as may be seen from pictorial representations of priests in the Neo-Assyrian period.⁴⁹² In a wall-panel from Room S' of the North Palace in Nineveh a group of priests, shaved and in their peculiar attire are shown.⁴⁹³ This fish-shaped conical head-dress was probably intended to stress the ritual relationship between the Assyrian priests and the fish-skin dressed mythical *apkallus*. This item of clothing for priests was fabricated by a highly specialized textile artisan called *ša-kubšišu* in Neo-Assyrian texts. Apart from priestly garments and other textiles used by Assyrian priests and the king in ordinary temple rituals, there were articles of clothing destined to special ritual occasions and cultic performers. This can be assumed in the light of a Neo-Assyrian relief from Nimrud, where some cultic dancers dressed in lion-cloaks are represented in the act of performing a victory dance.⁴⁹⁴ Their robe is constituted by a lion-headed outer garment whose interior border was decorated by tassels and by a short knee-length and short-sleeved tunic with analogous tassels. In Assyria, there were also various figures of devotees and cultic performers associated to the cult of Ištar and enhancing the particular nature of the goddess in connection to the ideas of limi-

488 SAA 10, 339:12–13; 340:9–12. For clothes functioning as representatives of members of the royal family in rituals, see the letters SAA 10, 246:8'–12' and 258:2'–3'.

489 Berlejung 1996, 3, text K 6818:4 *lu-bu-uš-ti* LUGAL.

490 Berlejung 1996, 5, text K 8696:4 TÚG.til-le-e LUGAL, *ibidem*, 11 TÚG.til-le-e x. The term, which is translated by Berlejung as “Waffenkleid”, is only attested in the Babylonian documentation. See CAD T, 412a s.v. *tillû* A for references.

491 See the letters SAA 10, 96 and 97.

492 See Barnett 1976, pl. 62e (BM 124923); Luukko, Van Buylaere 2002, 59, fig. 12 (ANE 124948).

493 See Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 6.

494 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 30. This scene from this relief (BM 124548) is also represented in Livingstone 1989, 80 fig. 27. For a picture of another wall-panel from Nimrud (730–727 BC) showing a ritual performer wearing a lion-cloak in the British Museum image catalogue (object ref. no. 136773 1976,0201.1) see <http://www.bmimages.com/results.asp?image=00111849001&image=186&searchnum=0002> (accessed in September 2015).

nality and boundary-crossing, like the effeminates (*assinnu*), the corybants (*kurgarrû*), and the coiffured men and women (*kazru*, *kazrutu*). Effeminates and corybants participated in Assyrian victory rituals as performers of songs and dances.⁴⁹⁵ The *assinnus* wore clothes that highlighted the male and female features of the goddess: they wore men's clothes on their right side and women's clothes on their left side.⁴⁹⁶ According to a cultic commentary and a ritual text, it seems that during their ritual performance *kurgarrûs* and *assinnus* tore out their clothes.⁴⁹⁷ Details on the garments worn by these performers as well as the use of clothing in initiation rites of these ritual actors are not specified in the written sources, however. Corybants played a central role also in the cult of Nanāya. In a Neo-Assyrian hymn they are described as armed with spindles and whips and adorned with female jewellery.⁴⁹⁸ From a Neo-Assyrian text from the city of Tušḥan that mentions the acquisition of a “man-woman” by a textile bleacher or washer,⁴⁹⁹ it seems that the dress of these goddess-linked cultic actors was white. Perhaps, an article of clothing worn by these cultic figures was the *šipirtu-sash*. Fifty white *šipirtus* are recorded in a document from an archive associated with the cult of Ištar at Nimrud and we can speculate that they were probably used by devotees or ritual performers linked to the goddess.⁵⁰⁰

5.5.3 Textiles for the interior of sanctuaries

One of the cultural functions manifested by textiles is the property of transforming places into sacred spaces. By adorning places, textiles at the same time create and empower these places, making manifest the presence of the numinous element and the channels of communication between divine and human sphere.⁵⁰¹

495 SAA 20, 18:18–21.

496 Maul 1992, 159–171.

497 SAA 3, 37:29' *mì-il-ḥu i-m[al-la-ḥu]*; SAA 20, 18:21 *mì-il-ḥu i-ma-al-lu-ḥu*. The meaning of this passage in the texts is not clear. See CAD M/1, 153a s.v. *malāḥu* 2: “to perform a dance or song(?)”. This sentence is not translated in Parpola 2017, 48 *ad* no. 18:21. It is worth noting that in the cultic commentary (SAA 3, 37) the act is referred to the *kurgarrûs*, while in the victory ritual (SAA 20, 18) it is attributed to the *assinnus*—possibly an indication that their role was interchangeable.

498 SAA 3, 4:10'–16'.

499 Parpola 2008, 45, text no. 6:3–5. See also the text no. 7.

500 ND 2086:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18) 50 TÚG.*šip-rat* BABBAR.MEŠ. See also Parpola 2008, 50 for discussion.

501 On cloth as a transforming medium and the power of textiles in delineating sacred spaces, see Schneider 1987, 411.

The environment where the divine presence was made manifest inside the temples was richly adorned with textiles of every sort. In a Neo-Assyrian hymn dedicated to the city of Arbela, the holy city of Ištar, the sanctuary of the goddess is described as “adorned with attractiveness”.⁵⁰² In fact, a number of textile designations occurring in cultic contexts concern textile products which were used to embellish the interior of the Assyrian and Babylonian temples and their furniture. From an administrative document from Nimrud we learn that various types of cloth, included black and red wool cloth, served to fabricate blankets or rugs, some of which to be used to cover chairs. All these textiles were destined to the temple of Šin.⁵⁰³ Other textile products were used in Assyrian and Babylonian temples as gods’ paraphernalia. Curtains separated the cella from the other rooms of the sanctuary.⁵⁰⁴ From a letter of Urdu-Nabû to the Assyrian king, we see that the access to the cella and the drawing of the curtain to remove the statue for a festival had to be executed on a proper day: “On the 28th day we will clear the temple, and I will bring in the wooden ladders. On the 29th day we will draw the curtain, take down Ištar’s jewellery and [rem]ove Ištar from the lion (-shaped pedestal).”⁵⁰⁵ The word used to indicate this curtain in the Assyrian dialect is *mardutu*, which probably refers to the drapes separating the area of the god’s statue, *i. e.*, the cella, from the rest of the inner space of the temple.⁵⁰⁶ In the Middle Assyrian period, royal residences and temples were adorned with this kind of finely-decorated textile and we may surmise that this use of *mardutus* continued in the 1st millennium. Another possible Neo-Assyrian term for curtain seems to be *maldudu*. In the Eanna sanctuary of Uruk, the cella of Ištar had a door curtain hanging at the entrance. The amount of linen (GADA) or combed flax (GADA.ḫalšu) needed to make this curtain, called *gidlû* in the texts, is given in some documents, and ranges from 35⁵⁰⁷ to 12 minas.⁵⁰⁸ This curtain was also present in the inner cellas of other deities, such as Ušur-amässu,⁵⁰⁹

502 SAA 3, 8 r.21’ É.KUR *ku-uz-bu ʿzaʿ-ʿu-ʿunʿ* [x x x x x x].

503 ND 2758:10’ (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI) *a-na É—^[d]30*.

504 The use of curtains to separate the most sacred place of the temple is also attested in the Old Testament. According to *Exodus* 26:31–35, a curtain of blue, purple and scarlet yarn and finely twisted linen divided the Holy Place from the Most Holy Place, which contained the ark of the Testimony.

505 SAA 13, 59:6:13.

506 See, *e. g.*, SAA 20, 7 ii 45–46 *ina pi-i É—^dla-bu-ni TÚG.mar-du-tu / ma-[ḫar x x G]IŠ.GU.ZA ša MAN-ut-te ša-al-ʿa-at*, “A curtain has [been hung? ...] at the opening of the Bēt Labbunu and the royal throne has been set up.”

507 PTS 2038:1. See Beaulieu 2003, 139.

508 UCP 9/1, 68. See Beaulieu 2003, 139.

509 NBC 8350:4, YBC 3715:10. See Beaulieu 2003, 230, 276.

the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanāya, Gula, and ^dIGI.DU.⁵¹⁰ In the case of the god ^dIGI.DU, the textile hanging at the gate of the cella could also be the *šuppu*, a term indicating a “braided curtain” in Neo-Babylonian.⁵¹¹ Two linen *šuppus* are attested for the entrance of the cella of this god.

From other texts we learn that a tent (*zāratu*) was peculiar to Nanāya’s cult. His cella hosted a tent with a door curtain at the entrance.⁵¹² This curtain, which could be of wool⁵¹³ or combed flax,⁵¹⁴ is also said to lie in front of (*ša pāni*) Nanāya’s statue.⁵¹⁵ The cella was also equipped with a dividing curtain (*šiddu*),⁵¹⁶ for the production of which both wool and combed flax were necessary.⁵¹⁷ This means that both the door curtains and the dividing curtains were made of mixed fibres; perhaps, the coloured wool served for the decoration of some parts of the linen cloth, for example, the border.⁵¹⁸ The *šiddu* was a finely elaborate curtain employed also for the main part of the temple of Šamaš at Sippar. Documents from this archive show that it was very heavy and that it was made of linen.⁵¹⁹ The *gidlū* door curtain was an important component also in the Sun-god’s cella in the main temple of Sippar, where it seems to have been functionally complementary to the *šiddu*-curtain.⁵²⁰ Curtains adorning the door of his cella were made of linen;⁵²¹ periodic repairs of this particular textile are docu-

510 YBC 3715:8–10. See Beaulieu 2003, 275–276.

511 PTS 2491:4. See Beaulieu 2003, 283.

512 YBC 9582:1–3. See Beaulieu 2003, 189–190.

513 YOS 17, 305:8 (red-coloured wool). See Beaulieu 2003, 190.

514 NBC 8350:1 (combed flax). See Beaulieu 2003, 190.

515 NBC 8350:2–3. See Beaulieu 2003, 190.

516 GCCI 2, 381:1. See Beaulieu 2003, 190.

517 GCCI 2, 381:1–2 (blue-coloured wool and flax). See Beaulieu 2003, 190. It seems that no prohibition of manufacturing textiles of mixed fibres existed in Mesopotamia. For the prohibition of mixing wool and linen in the Old Testament, see *Deuteronomy* 22:11 and *Leviticus* 19:19. One of the textile fragments from Gordion is a piece of fabric which is made of animal and vegetal yarns. Some areas of the fabric show that the vegetal fibres were used for the warp, while the animal fibres for the weft, presumably to create a special pattern. See Burke 2010, 156 (Fabric F).

518 According to CT 4, 27:14, the *šiddu* was decorated by a wool braid cord (*nīru*), presumably of a colour different from the one of the curtain. See CAD N/II, 265a s.v. *nīru* B, although the occurrence of *nīru* is referred to chests. See also Quillien 2014, 288.

519 Zawadzki 2013, no. 347:7’–8’½ GÜ.UN 5½ MA.NA SÍG.ta-bar-ri / KI.LAL 2 GADA šid-du.M[EŠ], “Thirty-five and a half minas of red wool, the weight of two linen *šiddu*-curtain[s]”; *ibid.*, 396, no. 414:6’–7’ [PAP x+]5 GÜ.UN 38 ½ MA.NA SÍ[G.ĤI.A] / [a-na dul-lu šá šid-du šá É.BAB-BAR.R[A], “[Total: x+]5 talents 38 ½ minas of wo[ol f]or manufacture of the *šiddu*-curtain of the Ebabbar temple.”

520 Zawadzki 2006, 63 text BM 84054 r.14 3 GADA gi-da-li-e / šá pa-pa-ḥu šá ^dUTU 4 GADA šid-du.MEŠ.

521 Zawadzki 2013, no. 345 r.14’.

mented in the text CT 55, 858.⁵²² For the cleaning of both *gidlûs* and *šiddus* launderers received amounts of tamarisk, alkali, and plant oil.⁵²³ The use of curtains in Babylonian temples continued in the Hellenistic period and finely-decorated curtains for cellas of Babylonian origin probably reached Greek sanctuaries. In the fifth book of his *Description of Greece*, Pausanias describes the temple of Zeus in Olympia. He states that a wool curtain adorned with Assyrian weaving and Phoenician purple was visible in the sanctuary.⁵²⁴ Unlike the curtain in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the one of the shrine in Olympia was not drawn upwards to the roof, but it was let down to the ground by cords.⁵²⁵ The Greek author also informs us that the curtain was dedicated by Antiochus, presumably to identify with Antiochus IV Epiphanes, king of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria (175–164 BC). Perhaps, the design of this curtain or the specific weaving technique followed to fabricate it was considered by Greeks as peculiar to the Assyrian textile tradition. In addition to curtains, other textiles of Near Eastern provenance seem to have been used in Greek sanctuaries. In another passage of his work (in the second book), Pausanias describes the statues of divinities he saw at the sanctuary of Asklepius at Titane. There, the *simulacra* were so covered by clothes and other items offered by the devotees that they cannot be seen easily. According to the author, an image of Health was covered with strips of Babylonian clothes.⁵²⁶ This may be taken as an indication that textiles produced in Mesopotamian workshops reached the Greek world. We cannot exclude that Assyrian weaving traditions survived after the collapse of the Assyrian Empire and that Babylonian textile workshops of the following centuries absorbed these traditions. However, one can also legitimately suspect that Greek writers were not completely aware about the exact provenance of these Near Eastern luxury textiles.

The space of the cella where the god's statue was placed was covered by a sort of tent or baldachin, called *dalat šamê* or simply *šamû* in Neo-Babylonian. A text from the Ebabbar archive specifies that linen was used for the baldachin of the god (GADA.MEŠ AN^e).⁵²⁷ In the Eanna temple at Uruk, Nanāya had her own

522 CT 55, 858:8. See Bongenaar 1997, 322.

523 Zawadzki 2006, 63 text BM 84054 r.12–17.

524 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, V, 12, 4: Ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ παραπέτασμα ἐρεοῦν κεκοσμημένον ὑφάσμασιν Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ βαφῇ πορφύρας τῆς Φοινίκων ἀνέθηκεν Ἄντιοχος.

525 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, V, 12, 4.

526 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, II, 11, 6: ἐσθῆτος Βαβυλωνίας τελαμῶνες.

527 Zawadzki 2013, no. 333 r.11'–14'.

tent (*zāratu*),⁵²⁸ while in the case of Bēltu-ša-Rēš a canopy, called *šamû*, was in use.⁵²⁹ Baldachins for divine statues are not documented in Neo-Assyrian texts, but we can suggest that the Assyrian counterpart was the tent called *zarat šamê* (literally “tent of the sky”), an open-air tent which is attested in a Ninevite administrative document along with various textile products.⁵³⁰ From a document originating from the Ebabbar archive we learn that three minas of wool were necessary for the manufacture of the *uzāru*-cover of a divine canopy (*andullu*),⁵³¹ but in the case of Šarrat Sippar’s *šamû* the amount of wool could be of six minas.⁵³² The *uzāru* is also attested for the canopies of other female deities, such as Anunitu⁵³³ and GAŠAN-AN.NA.⁵³⁴ Instead, the goddess Kurunnitu is associated to a canvas (*paruktu*), whose function was probably analogous to the tents and canopies, that is, to separate the most sacred area from the other parts of the temple. The *paruktu* is also attested in Assyrian temples, where it was called *pariktu*; this was a curtain that closed the entrance of the *Bēt ēqi*,⁵³⁵ an important shrine dedicated to Ištar in which royal rituals were performed. According to the Neo-Babylonian text UCP 9/2, 41, for the fabrication of one *paruktu* an amount of one mina of green-coloured(?) wool (*ḥašaštu*) was disbursed.⁵³⁶ Other textiles served to different purposes. In the Ebabbar temple, linen *kibsu*-fabric was destined to the chapel of Marduk.⁵³⁷ Textiles for covering the cultic seat (*ša muḥḥi šubti*), in all likelihood mats or carpets, are mentioned in different texts from the Eanna⁵³⁸ and Ebabbar temple archives.⁵³⁹ When the word *šubtu* is used, it refers to the altar-base of the god’s cella. Exceptionally, also the pedestal (GIŠ.GÌR.GUB) of the statue was covered by a cloth. For this purpose, a *tunšu*-cloth was used.⁵⁴⁰

528 PTS 3092:8–9; PTS 3243:2–3; YBC 9582:1–4. See Beaulieu 2003, 189–190. Beaulieu also quotes a letter mentioning a linen tent (GADA.za-ra-tu₄) for the god Šamaš, see *ibidem*, 190, fn. 68.

529 NCBT 2338:5. See Beaulieu 2003, 217.

530 SAA 7, 120 ii’ 11.

531 Zawadzki 2013, no. 388 r.11–12.

532 Zawadzki 2013, no. 425:1–3. For the *uzāru* of the *andullu* of Šarrat Sippar see also no. 427 e.6’.

533 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 426:1–2; 427 r.9’–10’.

534 Zawadzki 2013, 566, Nrg 19:2.

535 See SAA 20, 16 i 16’ *pa-rik-tu šá pa-an É—^re’-[qi i-par-rik]*, “[The priest] draws the curtain which is before the Bēt Ē[qu].”

536 UCP 9/2, 41:1–4. See Beaulieu 2003, 322.

537 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 325 r.21; 326 r.25.

538 Beaulieu 2003, 6.

539 Zawadzki 2013, no. 181:9.

540 Zawadzki 2013, no. 15:4–5, 8–9. The term *tunšu* is a Sumerian loanword. See CAD T, 473b: “a cover, mat or drapery”.

This designation of Sumerian origin was used to indicate a cover or drape⁵⁴¹ for the manufacturing of which coloured wool and linen were needed.⁵⁴² The cultic seats (*šubtu*) of Marduk⁵⁴³ and Bēltiya⁵⁴⁴ as well as those of Aya⁵⁴⁵ and Anunitu⁵⁴⁶ in the Ebabbar cellas were covered by a textile of *kibsu*-fabric. It is not clear how these textiles for the cultic seats were made. For instance, the *kibsu* for the cultic seat of Aya is defined “open” (BAD/*petû*);⁵⁴⁷ perhaps, the *kibsu*-cloth had a central opening corresponding to the area where the statue was placed on the seat.⁵⁴⁸ The *kibsu petû* also occurs in association with the gods Bunene and Šarrat Sippar.⁵⁴⁹ From another document we see that an amount of three minas of wool was needed for the manufacture and dyeing of throne cloths of unspecified gods.⁵⁵⁰ In other cases, linen tunics (*salḫu*) are connected with cultic seats of deities,⁵⁵¹ but it is possible that the cloth used for these tunics was also employed for the production of covers for the gods’ seats. An analogous case is given by a text from Uruk, concerning the canopy of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, for which two *salḫu*-cloths were used.⁵⁵²

Inside the cella, which constituted the most holy place of the temple, not all the gods were represented through statues in standing position. In some Assyrian monuments and palace reliefs divine statues are represented as seated on chairs or thrones. In the “White Obelisk”, for instance, Ištar’s statue, clothed in a long robe and wearing a tiara, is represented as seated on a chair in front of the Assyrian king inside her sanctuary.⁵⁵³ In a relief decorating Wall R of the South-West Palace at Nineveh, goddesses’ statues are depicted as seated on thrones during a procession along with standing statues of gods. Analogously, Ištar is portrayed as seated on a highly-decorated throne on a lion among the

541 See CAD T, 473b s.v.

542 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 13:1–7; 14:1–e.6.

543 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 314 r.16’; 316 r.5’–6’; 324 r.20; 329:12–13; 336 r.3’.

544 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 314 r.16’; 316 r.5’–6’; 329:12–13.

545 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 321:6; 325:7.

546 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 325:18; 326 r.22.

547 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 321:6; 325:7; 326:8.

548 The qualification *petû* is obscure, since it appears in connection with other textiles as well. See Beaulieu 1989, 73 for the tentative hypothesis that the word referred to textiles “que l’on déployait dans le temple, soit sur les murs, soit suspendues à des traverses”.

549 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 325:16; 326 r.19 (Bunene); 325:17 (Šarrat Sippar). Perhaps, another *kibsu petû* for Šarrat Sippar is intended in *ibid.*, no. 328:16.

550 Zawadzki 2013, no. 545 r.2–3.

551 Zawadzki 2013, no. 329:4, 6.

552 NCBT 2338:4–6. See Beaulieu 2003, 217.

553 Seidl 2003–2005, 103b.

“Great Gods” of Assyria in the Mal'tai rock relief.⁵⁵⁴ The chair or throne of the gods was considered as a divine being, as can be seen in the case of the Sun-god's GU.ZA in a text enumerating offerings for gods.⁵⁵⁵ Consequently, it received offerings and its “dressing” was an integral part of the cultic service towards Šamaš. Documentary evidence from the Ebabbar archive shows that linen was used for the chair of Aya.⁵⁵⁶ The god's chair (or throne) in the cella was covered by *kibsu*-fabric.⁵⁵⁷ Also in Assyria linen cloth was used to cover chairs as well as beds.⁵⁵⁸ A Neo-Assyrian textile product used as a cover for chairs was the *šipirtu*. In an administrative text, red-coloured *šipirtu*-textiles for a chair are listed.⁵⁵⁹ Perhaps, this word designated the cushion or small rug of the chair or, alternatively, the drape used to cover its back.⁵⁶⁰ Also the Ziqqurrat, the characteristic temple tower of the Mesopotamian urban landscape, occurs as one of the recipients of textiles in the texts from the Ebabbar archive; in these texts it is mentioned as a deified entity (written with the divine determinative as ^dZiqqurrat). Important details on the textiles destined to adorn this sacred building or a model of it may be found in the so-called *tabû*-lists. The base of the Ziqqurrat was covered by a *kibsu*.⁵⁶¹ From other occurrences it seems that the *kibsu* for the *ziqqurratu* was of linen.⁵⁶² Another text specifies that the *kibsu* was destined to the chapel of the Ziqqurrat (*bīt ziqqurrat*).⁵⁶³ Various textiles served to embellish the temple furniture. From the Ebabbar archive we learn that the golden offering table of Šamaš was covered by a linen *kibsu*.⁵⁶⁴ Presumably, this tablecloth covered the offering table during the daily presentation of foods and drinks to the god by the priest. A representation of an offering table may be seen in a stone relief which decorated the Room S' of the North Palace of Assurbanipal

554 Thureau-Dangin 1924, 187. In a hymn to the city of Arbela, the goddess is described as seated on a lion (SAA 3, 8 r.5').

555 Zawadzki 206, 184.

556 Zawadzki 2013, no. 324 r.26.

557 Zawadzki 2013, no. 365:6–7.

558 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 5.

559 SAA 7, 120 ii' 12–14.

560 Examples of royal thrones adorned with drapes and rugs are attested in the wall paintings in the Assyrian palace at Til Barsip, for which see Albenda 2005, 63 fig. 23, and on palace reliefs from Nineveh, see Layard 1849–53, I, pls. 59, 63, 77.

561 Zawadzki 2013, no. 314 r.17' [1 *kib-su* SUMUN] *a-na šu-bat šá^d ziq-qu[r-rat]*. See also *ibid.*, nos. 316 r.7'; 320 r.6'; 324 r.22; 325 e.20; 326 r.24; 329:14; 335 r.15'.

562 Zawadzki 2013, no. 328:13.

563 Zawadzki 2013, no. 336 r.4'.

564 Zawadzki 2013, no. 324 r.23.

in Nineveh.⁵⁶⁵ In the scene, a small tablecloth is clearly visible on this table along with a number of flat bread pieces and a bowl containing meat cuts.

Assyrian and Babylonian temples also included the gods' bedroom, which played a significant role in sacred marriage celebrations.⁵⁶⁶ Above all, the temple was the house of the god (*bīt ili*) and, as such, it was conceived as the place where the deity could live. This idea is clearly expressed in the *Enūma eliš*. After the creation of Babylon by Marduk, the Anunnaki ask the god to build a sanctuary as the place for their rest; to this aim, the temple structure should include a bedroom.⁵⁶⁷ In Assyrian the bedroom was called *bēt erši* or *bēt maiāli*. This room is an integral part of shrines documented in the Neo-Assyrian texts as places where goddess-related royal rituals were periodically performed, such as in the case of Šarrat šadê⁵⁶⁸ and Ištar;⁵⁶⁹ offerings were performed before the gods' statues and the divine bed. The significance of the bed and the bedroom in rituals for the goddess is also witnessed by the Assyrian designation of Ištar as "Ištar of the Bedroom" (*Ištar ša bēt maiāli*).⁵⁷⁰ The donation of beds to deities is a royal custom attested in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian period. Assurnāṣirpal I states to have donated a bed to the goddess Ištar, while Sennacherib did the same to Aššur and Assurbanipal to Marduk.⁵⁷¹ That the god's bed itself was considered as having a divine nature is evident from the letter sent to Sargon by Ṭāb-šār-Aššur, the state treasurer, who informs the king about the execution of sheep offerings in front of a bed of a god.⁵⁷² Celebration for the sacred marriage for Nabû and Tašmētu are attested in Assyria. Neo-Assyrian letters from the royal correspondence shed light on divine beds and on those cultic events. From the letter of Nergal-šarrāni, for example, we learn that on the occasion of this celebration at the temple in Kalḫu, the statue of the god and that of his consort, Tašmētu, were taken to the bedroom (*bēt erši*) of the temple on the 4th day of the month of Ayyāru (April-May), and that the gods stayed

565 Barnett 1976, pl. 59 (Relief D of Room S').

566 But the presence of beds for divine couples also characterizes temple complexes outside the Mesopotamian cultural area. In Sargon's Eighth Campaign account, "a bed of ivory(?) and silver, the god's place of repose, inlaid with gems and gold", is mentioned among various paraphernalia belonging to the Uraṭian gods Ḫaldi and Bagbartu, which were taken by the Assyrian soldiers from the temple of Mušāšir. See Foster 2005, 810.

567 Pettinato 2005, 139, lines VI, 51–54.

568 SAA 20, 21:3–4.

569 SAA 20, 20:3–5.

570 SAA 20, 49:87.

571 Porter 2006, 314–315. See Foster 2005, 329.

572 SAA 1, 55:13'-r.1.

there from the 5th to the 10th day.⁵⁷³ This piece of information may be completed by another letter, sent by Nabû-šumu-iddina, who states that on the 3rd day of Ayyāru the bed would have been set up, in order to enable the god's statue to enter the bedroom. According to the texts, the wedding night (*quršu*) was the 4th day of the month.⁵⁷⁴ The involvement of the bedroom and the bed in such ceremonies also emerges from a letter concerning the sacred marriage of the Lord-of-Lands.⁵⁷⁵ The significance of the preparation of the bed for the gods is witnessed by a letter sent to the king, in which Rāši-ili informs the monarch about the drawing of a sketch of the bed of the Lord of Heaven and Earth.⁵⁷⁶ From another epistle, unfortunately in fragmentary condition, work on cultic objects is described. The god's bed is one of these cultic furnishings: the bed's wooden frame is described as inlaid with silver.⁵⁷⁷ An inventory text from Nineveh shows different pieces of divine bedlinen; the components of Šērū'a's bed, for example, were the following five textiles: *dappastu*, *qirmu*, *gulēnu*, *qarrāru* and *SI.LUḪ*.⁵⁷⁸ In Neo-Babylonian texts from the Ebabbar temple archive we see that linen *ḫullānus* were produced for the bed of Šamaš.⁵⁷⁹ This is another case in which the name of a garment is also used for textiles of different use.⁵⁸⁰ Another textile for the bed of this deity was the *šibtu*,⁵⁸¹ which we have already described above as one of the Sun-god costumes. In this case, it is clear that it refers to a sort of cover or blanket; according to a document from Neriglissar's reign (559–556 BC), the weight of this *šibtu* was five minas and 50 shekels,⁵⁸² but it could be even heavier, as an amount of 15 minas of wool, reg-

573 SAA 13, 70:6–8, 13–15. This cultic event is mentioned in lyric terms in an Assurbanipal's hymn to Nabû and Tašmētu, SAA 3, 6:9–11 TA* *qi-rib mu-um-me ina Ê-šá ana ^dna-bi-a-[ni 0²] / DUMU ^dEN TA* Ê-*tup-pi a-na ḫa-am-mu-[ti 0] / re-ši-šu ki-i ú-šaq-qu-u ú-ma-an-n[a x x]*, “When she emerges from the holy workshop to [our] Nabû, the son of Bēl raises his head from the tablet house to the nuptial bedro[om].”*

574 SAA 13, 78:7–10.

575 SAA 13, 200. On bedrooms, see also SAA 13, 204.

576 SAA 13, 175:6.

577 SAA 13, 188:21–22.

578 SAA 7, 117 r.3–6.

579 Nbn 660:4. See Bongenaar 1997, 325.

580 Another indication that textiles were recycled, sometimes with different function. This was probably due to the high value of the textiles involved. See Quillien 2014, 288 about recycling of linen textiles.

581 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 405:1–3 5 5/6 MA.NA 5 GÍN / K.L.LAL 1^{em} TÚG.šib-tu₄ / a-na GIŠ.NÁ šá ^dUTU, “Five minas 5/6 shekels, the weight of one *šibtu* for the bed of Šamaš”; *ibid.*, no. 406:1–3 15 MA.NA ŠIG.ḪI.A / ina ŠIG.ḪI.A šá šib-tu₄ šá / GIŠ.NÁ šá ^dUTU, “Fifteen minas of wool from the wool for the *šibtu* of the bed of Šamaš”.

582 Zawadzki 2013, no. 405:1–2.

istered in a text of the Achaemenid period from the same archive, demonstrates.⁵⁸³ The bed of the god of justice was also covered by a *tunšu*-cloth,⁵⁸⁴ a textile also used for pedestals. The exact definition of the various elements covering the divine bed in the temple bedroom still escapes us. Concerning the Assyrian evidence, the translations of the terms regarding Šērū'a's bed which are given in CAD seem too generic (i.e., *dappastu*, “a cover or garment”, *qirmu*, “a garment”, *gulēnu*, “a coat”, *qarrāru*, “a textile”).⁵⁸⁵ Given the context in which they occur, we may suggest meanings that are more strictly related to bed, bedding, and nightclothes. Accordingly, *dappastu* could be intended as a bedcover or blanket,⁵⁸⁶ *qirmu* a blanket,⁵⁸⁷ *gulēnu* a nightdress(?),⁵⁸⁸ *qarrāru* a bedspread,⁵⁸⁹ and SI.LUḪ, possibly, a pillow(?).⁵⁹⁰ These meanings also accord with the semantic field of the word *ḫullānu*, which designates a blanket or wrap.⁵⁹¹

In addition to garments, a number of textiles produced by the temple-related artisans for the divine statues were destined to wrap objects with which the dressed statues were equipped. There are some texts from the Ebabbar archive that mention wool for the *pišannu*: this container, possibly a chest or basket,⁵⁹² was associated to the statues of two female deities, namely Šarrat Sippar⁵⁹³ and Anunītu.⁵⁹⁴ The function and significance of this item is not clear. In the Eanna texts we may observe that Ušur-amāssu was equipped with a ceremonial wooden

583 Zawadzki 2013, no. 406:1.

584 Zawadzki 2013, no. 13:2–3 TÚG.tu-un-šú šá UGU GIŠ.NÁ / šá ʹUTU. See also *ibidem*, no. 14:2–3.

585 CAD D, 104b; Q, 127a, 268b; G, 127a.

586 AEAD, 21a.

587 In AEAD, 88b the Assyrian term is translated as “mantle, overcoat, wrap”, but another translation may be suggested in the light of the West Semitic attestations of this word. In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *qrm/qrm'* means “covering”. In Syriac it has the meaning of “felt, felt-like material”. See *Targum Proverbs* 7:16: “I layed out my sleeping mat on a bed and covered it with Egyptian felt.” See LS, 696b; Sokoloff 2009, 1412a; DJBA, 1043b.

588 The translation of “tunic”, given in AEAD, 31b, is too generic.

589 AEAD, 87b: “bedcover, bedspread, counterpane”.

590 The term is only attested in the logographic form. For the interpretation that it was a pillow see Fales, Postgate 1992, xxix.

591 CAD Ḫ, 229a: “a blanket or wrap of linen or wool”.

592 See CAD P, 420b s.v. *pišannu* A and CDA, 276a s.v. *pišannu* I. However, Zawadzki translates the term as “bag”. See Zawadzki 2013, 421 and *passim*.

593 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 456:1–2; 471:1–3. For the *pišannu* see also *ibid.*, texts nos. 463:2; 473:1–4; 489:4–5; 490:5–6; 535:5; 544:5, r.11.

594 Zawadzki 2013, no. 471:1–3.

pišannu.⁵⁹⁵ Since this item was a wooden chest or basket, it is possible that it was covered, completely or only in its interior, with a cloth of coloured linen or wool for ceremonial purposes. This interpretation could explain why in a text the term *pišannu* is qualified as a linen object.⁵⁹⁶ Texts from the Ebabbar archive show that blue-purple,⁵⁹⁷ as well as combinations of blue and red wool⁵⁹⁸ or blue-purple and red wool,⁵⁹⁹ were used in connection to this object.

Other manufactured textiles were used by the priests in the Ištar temple cult in Uruk. Linen (or cotton?) towels in connection with both the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanāya occur in association with a water-basin in the letter YOS 3, 194.⁶⁰⁰ The washing of the god's hands was an integral part of the cultic rituals in the temple. In the case of the cult of Ušur-amāssu, the cloth for the water-basin is called *sūnu*.⁶⁰¹ This means that the word *sūnu*, usually interpreted as meaning "loincloth", could also designate a towel.⁶⁰² This is confirmed by an attestation of the term in an Ebabbar text of the 18th regnal year of Darius; the text mentions two minas of wool assigned to Ardiya, a weaver of polychromatic textiles, for the production of *sūnus* for the "hand-water" (*sūnu ša mē qāti*), used to wash the hands of Šarrat Sippar.⁶⁰³

Textiles also played a significant role in the religious practices in the form of ritual materials. Some cultic rituals taking place in Assur are very informative about this particular purpose. In the Middle Assyrian text describing the coronation ritual, a passage mentions priests who bring two *biršu*-textiles; one is hung before one deity, presumably Aššur, and another one before a second deity, maybe to be identified with his spouse Mullissu.⁶⁰⁴ From this passage it seems

595 FLP 1564:1. See Beaulieu 2003, 230.

596 Zawadzki 2013, no. 535:5 GADA.*pi-ša-an-ni*.

597 Zawadzki 2013, no. 490:5 10 ṚĠN ṚĠG.ZA.ĠN.KUR.RA *a-na ṫi-mu / ša pi-ša-an-ni*, "Ten shekels of blue-purple wool for the yarn for the *pišannu*." For dyeing the yarn (ṚĠG.*ṫi-me*) used to produce the textile for the *pišannu*, *inzaḫurētu*-dye and alum were used. See *ibid.*, no. 544:7-r.11. On the use of blue-purple wool for this object see also nos. 456:1-2, 463:1-2, and 471:1-2. The text no. 471 specifies that the dyed wool is allocated for the production (*a-na dul-lu*) of this sacred object.

598 Zawadzki 2013, no. 473:1-4.

599 Zawadzki 2013, no. 489:3-4. According to this text, five shekels of blue-purple wool and ten shekels of red wool are assigned to an individual for repair (*a-na bat-qa*) of *pišannu*(s).

600 YOS 3, 194:16-17. See Beaulieu 2003, 140.

601 NBC 4597:23'. See Beaulieu 2003, 230.

602 Beaulieu 2003, 230.

603 Zawadzki 2013, no. 402:1-3 2 M[A.N]A ṚĠG.ḪI.A [*a-na*] / TÚG.ÚR *ša me-e-SU.2* / Ṛṫá ṫGASAN —UD.KIB.NUN.KI.

604 SAA 20, 7 ii 17-19 2 TÚG.*bir-še* [x x x x]x x *i-na-ši-ú-ni* 1 TÚG.*bir-še* / [L]Ú.SA[NGA *i-na pa-an aš-šur ul-l*]-*al* 1 TÚG.*bir-ša* / [*i-na pa-an* ṫNIN.LÍL x x x] LÚ.SANGA TÚG.[*bir-š*]a, "They bring two

that the *biršus*, translated by Müller as *Filzdecken* and in CAD as “blankets”,⁶⁰⁵ were drapes which could be hung, like curtains, but from another passage in the text we see that this textile served to do something, perhaps to present the crown to the new king.⁶⁰⁶ This way of presenting the crown probably served to emphasize that no human hand could directly touch the crown of Assyrian kingship, only granted by the god to the candidate to the throne. Pieces of fabric as well as tufts of textile material and coloured threads were also used in royal rituals. A few examples from Neo-Assyrian royal rituals and cultic texts may be considered here. In a ritual involving the king and Ištar-related devotees there is a description of a ritual battle; after the king has put the bow on the ground the devotees take an arrow from the ceremonial chariot and wrap its point with a piece of fabric, probably of wool.⁶⁰⁷ Furthermore, textile materials were allocated for different temple rituals. In a fragmentary text concerning a ritual for Ištar and some operations to be performed before the divine bed, a tuft of wool (*nipšu*) occurs as one of the ritual materials to be used by the cultic performer.⁶⁰⁸ It is not clear from the text what was wrapped in the tuft of wool; in all likelihood, the wrapped substance was one of the meat cuts offered before the goddess mentioned in the same passage.⁶⁰⁹ A tuft of red wool (*tabribu*) occurs in the *nātu*-ritual for the Lady-of-the-Mountain as the ritual materials to be used in a tent on a river bank.⁶¹⁰ The tuft of *tabribu* is also mentioned in other rituals.⁶¹¹ Multicoloured wool (*barrundu*) was also used in such ritual operations.⁶¹² From the text dealing with the arrangement of the banquet of Gula, the goddess of healing, it seems that the tuft of wool was thrown by the performer in the fire.⁶¹³ An-

biršu-textiles [...], and the pri[est ha]ngs one [before Aššur], the other [before Mullissu]. The priests [...] the [*birš*]u-textile.”

605 Müller 1937, 12; CAD B, 261a s.v. *biršu* 2b. Following Müller, Parpola translates the occurrence as “pieces of felt”. See Parpola 2017, 15 *ad no.* 7 ii 17.

606 SAA 20, 7 ii 24–26 [x x x x] BUR K[¹⁷ x x x x x x x x ku-lu-li] / i-na UGU TÚG.bir-še ša ina IGI aš-šur [e-li-lu-ni i-na-ši-a] / ú-kal-lal-šu, “[...].. [the priest brings the crown] upon the *biršu*-textile that [was hung] in front of Aššur and crowns him.”

607 SAA 20, 18:25–27 GIŠ.šil-ta-ḥu TA* UGU GIŠ.GIGIR šá ^dMAŠ.MAŠ / i-na-áš-šú-u-n[i] / [SÍG].MEŠ EME-šú i-lab-bu-ni.

608 SAA 20, 20 i 19' [x x x x x x x] x ni-ip-ši i-kar-ri-ik ina UGU GIŠ.'x', “He (= the cultic performer) wraps [... in] a tuft of wool [and places it] on the woo[den offering table?].”

609 The head, the shoulder, the feet, and the fetlocks of the sacrificial sheep are mentioned in SAA 20, 20:17', 18', 20', 21'. Over them some ritual practices are performed.

610 SAA 20, 24 r.4. For rituals on river banks in the Neo-Assyrian period, see the letters SAA 16, 161 and 162.

611 SAA 20, 31:20'; 25:5; 27:4.

612 SAA 20, 27:10, 11.

613 SAA 20, 30 r.14'–15'.

other text that describes a festive meal of an unknown deity to be served in a sanctuary gives instructions for the participants who had to take part in the ceremony. Interestingly, these instructions, presumably addressed to the officiant, prescribe to fill a wooden container with barley and place a quarter mina of washed wool (SÍG.MEŠ LUḪ.MEŠ) upon it.⁶¹⁴ The same quantity of washed wool had to be placed under the person (of the sacrificer?), at his head and at his feet.⁶¹⁵ Therefore, after seating him on the *anḫu*-object (or place?), his hands had to be bound with a tuft of red wool.⁶¹⁶ Threads of multicoloured wool (*tabrīmu*) were bound around the necks of jars which were placed on the bed of the goddess inside a tent (*maškunu*) on a river bank in the ritual for the “Daughter-of-the-River”.⁶¹⁷ The same ritual required the binding of a virgin ewe at the head of the bed with a polychromatic cloth (*tabrīmu*), the dressing of it in a wrap (*naḫlaptu*) of white wool, and the girding of it with UŠ.BARAG-textiles.⁶¹⁸ Operations of binding or wrapping are also involved in a royal ritual against enemy attack, which prescribes to make a tallow figurine of the enemy and to bind(?) his face with a cord (*ulinnu*).⁶¹⁹ The use of coloured cloths and fibres in connection with sacrificial animals was an important element of various rituals in the Ancient Near East, as documented, for example, by the donation of reddish-brown NI.NI-textile for a sacrificial bull in Ebla (Tell Mardikh)⁶²⁰ and by the use of white wool, goat’s hair, and linen cloths in the sacrifice of a bull for the kettledrum ritual in Hellenistic Uruk.⁶²¹ The text dealing with the ritual for the “Daughter-of-the-River” also includes a description of the ritual arrangement to be executed before Šamaš: the operations comprise the seating of the Seven Divine Judges on a cloth of linen and the fastening a multicoloured cloth (*tabrīmu*) in their heads.⁶²² At the end of the ritual, a clean garment (TÚG UD.UD) is donated by the devotee to the Seven Divine Judges.⁶²³ Apart from the operations of binding, girding and fastening, wool was also employed in the form of ingredient to be mixed with other ritual materials, as in the case of the offering preparations required for Nusku, the son of the Moon-god. The text related to the of-

614 SAA 20, 31:18’.

615 SAA 20, 31:19’.

616 SAA 20, 31:20’. According to *ibidem*, 24’-r.1, the singer had to take the hand of the sacrificer and to release him.

617 SAA 20, 32:12.

618 SAA 20, 32:16–18.

619 BBR 57:12.

620 Biga 2010, 160.

621 Linssen 2004, 252–253, text TU 44 i 22–23, ii 1.

622 SAA 20, 32:20–22.

623 SAA 20, 32 r.20.

ferings for this god prescribes to lay clean (*ebbu*) red wool upon a chair and to place a bowl of sweet oil, aromatics, juniper and tufts of red wool upon it.⁶²⁴ The combinations of these preparations to be presented before the god could comprise bread, groats, cedar, wool, cowrie shell, carnelian and other ingredients⁶²⁵ as well as salt, oil, syrup with grass, juniper, silver and gold with wool.⁶²⁶

It is possible that all the textiles (*i. e.*, costumes for statues and other cult images, textiles for furnishings and paraphernalia, and textile materials for ritual operations) which were produced for the needs of the Assyrian and Babylonian temples were strictly subject to temple regulations as regards their use. This is another important aspect which is not documented in the written sources, although this may be supposed in the light of regulations concerning the activity of the temple personnel in Assyria. We know, for example, that the duties of the priests of the Aššur Temple required the looking after the furniture and the paraphernalia of the god's cella. In a text detailing all these duties, the responsibility over the god's couch and other furnishings is assigned to a person, maybe a priest, associated to the cult of Šin.⁶²⁷ Presumably, the person in charge of the table and the bed of the god had also to look after the textiles associated with these pieces of furniture, such as blankets, bedspreads and other textiles. Instead, the temple steward (*lahḫinu*) had the responsibility to open the golden locks and the wooden pegs of the temple's doors, to look after the garments (*lubussu*) and jewellery of all the statues of the gods, to give out wooden implements and arrows, and to guard all the utensils of the sanctuary.⁶²⁸ In all likelihood, the *lahḫinu* was in charge of storing the divine vestments in the sanctuary's storeroom and of providing the gods' new clothes to the priests for the dressing ceremony. Some of the garments listed in connection to a *lahḫinu* in the aforementioned list from Assur⁶²⁹ probably constituted the *lubussu* of the gods' statues in the Aššur Temple.

624 SAA 20, 27:3–4. On the ritual operation of laying clean red wool see also SAA 20, 25 r.40'.

625 SAA 20, 27:8–10.

626 SAA 20, 27:13–14.

627 SAA 20, 50 i 19–22 [x x x x GiŠ.n]é-mat-tu / [x x x x x a]-ma-ru / [LÚ.x x x x x]x^d30 / [0 pu-tu-ḫu na]-šu, “To [lo]ok after [the table, the couch, [the bed and the throne is the responsibility of the priest]s of Šin.”

628 SAA 20, 50 ii 8–13 MUD.MEŠ KUG.GI GIŠ.GAG.MEŠ GIŠ.IG.MEŠ pa-tu-ú / TÚG.lu-bu-su šu-kut-tu šá DINGIR.MEŠ gab-bu / a-ma-ru mu-dam-me-qa-a-ti / GiŠ.šil-ta-ḫi SUM-nu / a-nu-ut É gab-bu na-ša-ru / LÚ.láḫ-ḫi-nu pu-tu-ḫu na-ši.

629 StAT 3, 1.

6 Neo-Assyrian textiles: the lexicon

6.1 The Neo-Assyrian linguistic context

At its political and territorial apex in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, Assyria developed into an imperial society characterized by the coexistence of languages and cultures of various origins and by the tendency towards socio-economic and cultural homogeneity.¹ 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.

Evidence for the lexicon of textile products in Assyria, principally garments, may be found in various kinds of texts, especially in administrative, legal documents and letters from the archives of Nineveh, Assur, Kalḫu, Gūzāna, Šibaniba and Tušhan. 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 polychromatic trim were a common product acquired by Assurnāširpal II (883–859 BC) and other kings from these regions, such

¹ On the high degree of social, economic and cultural homogeneity in the Neo-Assyrian period see Radner 2017, 209–210.

as Bēt-Zammāni. Red-dyed wool garments with multicoloured 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.² It is reasonable to surmise that the expertise of deported textile artisans from the West Semitic area—as well as from other conquered regions—was put to use by the Assyrian ruling class in state-controlled textile workshops, thereby integrating Western traditions of textile manufacture with Assyrian and Mesopotamian traditions.³ Presumably, these workshops, located in the main royal households of the Assyrian cities, employed artisans of various provenances and cultural backgrounds.⁴ In the 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.⁵ The textiles produced for internal consumption by the Assyrian ruling class and state

² Lipiński 2000, 539–540.

³ Among the *siḫirti ummāni*, “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*. From an Esarhaddon's prism inscription listing foreign palace personnel deported to Assyria, we also see knotters and clothes menders. See RINAP 4, 9 i' 12', 14'. The Assyrian state valued the abilities of deportees and their relocation in the Assyrian palace-oriented economic structure was carefully planned in order to enable these experts to generate wealth for the ruling elite. See Radner 2017, 210–212.

⁴ Artisans of conquered countries were recorded by Assyrian administrative scribes in charge of counting people and properties. See SAA 11, 177:6', which mentions one knotter in a group of nine men, possibly deported persons.

⁵ 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. Recent finds show that during the Neo-Assyrian period clay tablets were also used for documents in Aramaic alphabetic script. See Fales, Attardo 2005, 650–667 on the Aramaic documents from Tell Shiukh Fawqani.

sector as well as those produced for export were regularly recorded in administrative documents by the scribes. However, since the parallel administrative records of these textiles on Aramaic scrolls have not survived, 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.⁶ Of the textile craftsmen whose names are preserved in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, some bear names of West Semitic origin.⁷ These West Semitic names are not confined in a specific sector of textile industry, but are present in various professional groups. Egyptian names are also attested, although the evidence is very meagre.⁸ There are also textile artisans who bear names of unknown origin.⁹ Hybrid names can reveal processes of assimilation of certain foreign groups to the Assyrian language and culture, as may be seen in the case of Assyro-Urartian anthroponyms attested in the Neo-Assyrian onomastics of the 8th and 7th centuries

6 According to Zadok's classification of the prosopographical evidence of 1st-millennium BC Assyria, the ethnolinguistic groups attested in the Neo-Assyrian documentation also include the following hybrid groups: Akkadian-West Semitic, Egyptian-Semitic, Anatolian-Akkadian, Hurro-Urartian and Elamite-Semitic. See Zadok 1997, 212.

7 See the names of the *kāširus Abdi-Milki* (SAA 7, 126:5: *rab k.*); *Adda-pisia* (StAT 2, 169:1–2); *Ammi-rāmu* (SAA 6, 91 r.2'); *Milki-rāmu* (ABL 571:9–10; ND 2328 r.19–20 [Iraq 16, 1954, 43]; ND 2330 r.14–15 [Iraq 16, 1954, 43]; ND 5448 r.28–29 [Iraq 19, 1957, 128, pl. XXVIII]; SAA 3, 20 r.4, 6); *Sūsī* (SAA 6, 31 r.23–24); *Zabīnu* (SAA 6, 81 r.6); *Zaḥaṭuṭu* (SAA 6, 124 r.7). The nomenclature of weavers includes the following West Semitic anthroponyms: *Adda-atar* (O 3705 r.15); *Bābānu* (ND 2306 r.9 [Iraq 16, 1954, 37]); *Sagibi* (SAA 6, 294:1). Among the weavers of *šipirtus* a certain *Ḫannī* is documented (SAA 11, 202 ii 16'–17'). For the washermen, see *Našuh-sagab* (SAA 11, 209 r. iii 29'). The onomastics of hatters also includes the West Semitic *Samsi-idri* (SAA 11, 213 iii 2'). A possible West Semitic origin has been tentatively suggested also for the names of the *kāširus Ḫalmusu* (SAA 14, 186:3–6) and *Šērānu* (ND 2498:3' [Iraq 23, 1961, 35, pl. XVIII]), as well as the *ša-sāgātēšu Kūzā* (SAA 1, 128:17).

8 See the name *Eša-rēše*, borne by a female weaver of Egyptian origin attested in a list of deportees (SAA 11, 169 r.3–4). The names of the other Egyptian female weavers are not preserved in this tablet.

9 See, e.g., the fuller or washerman *Dadūsu* (StAT 3, 3 r.13); the *kāširu Ḫuṭusu* (CTN 2, 4 r.4); the weaver *Ṭuḫi* (Jursa, Radner 1995–96, 100, text no. A 9:5). A possible Urartian or Elamite name is *Naragē*, borne by a chief *kāširu* from Urartu (SAA 5, 91:3). But see PNA 2/II, 930b, where only a possible Elamite origin is considered for this anthroponym.

BC.¹⁰ Analogous observations can be made about assimilated groups of West Semitic provenance. Some Assyrian textile workers whose fathers bear West Semitic names indicate that Assyrianization took place in many families of deportees and immigrants employed in the major cities of Assyria. However, only rarely the texts explicitly mention the professions of fathers.¹¹

We are totally ignorant of the impact that the languages of the foreign 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, assimilating 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 this part of the book, the textile designations attested in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus will be discussed. The observations will concern garments and parts of garments; head-dresses; bandages and other wrapping cloths; blankets, bedspreads, bedcovers, rugs, mats, carpets and curtains; tablecloths and hand-towels; tents and other textile items. Footwear played an important role in 1st-millennium BC Assyrian clothing, but an analysis of it is beyond the scope of the present study.¹² For a limited number of textile 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 textile production.

10 The case of the weaver *Ḫaldi-ēṭir* (SAA 6, 96 r.14) is interesting. This individual bears a theophoric name based on the divine name of Ḫaldi, the supreme Urartian god.

11 The man called *Aplū'a*, a weaver from Assur, is mentioned in a legal document as the son of *Iaḳiru*, a man with a West Semitic name. See NATAPA 1, 35 r.26 and PNA 2/I, 493b s.v. *Iaḳiru* 3. Another case is that of *Ilī-nādīn-apli*, who is attested as a weaver from the city of Ḫašīniḫê in the document Jursa, Radner, 92, text no. A 3:3–5. His father, *Raḫīmāia*, bears a West Semitic name. See PNA 3/I, 1028b s.v. *Raḫīmā* 2. However, there are no indications that also *Iaḳiru* and *Raḫīmāia* were weavers.

12 For an introduction to footwear in the Ancient Near East, see Falkner 1957–71, 123a–124b. A more in-depth study on this topic is Salonen 1969, although it is obsolete.

6.2 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 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.

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, head-dresses, and other textile accessories. Many of these clothes were produced for the palace elite, including royal women. There are few indications of female garments in Neo-Assyrian texts, but 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.¹³ 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*),¹⁴ *lubāru/lubēru*,¹⁵ and *šubātu*¹⁶ to refer to gar-

13 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 feminine items of clothing.

14 BIWA, A ii 10, 93, iii 91; B ii 91; C iii 10b, 126; F ii 8; 190, II 9'; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 449; Prunk. 142, 181; Mayer 1983, line 366, 386; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 79, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 74, 78, 87; A.0.101.2:30, 50; A.0.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.0.101.19:89; A.0.101.73; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.0.102.60; A.0.102.90; A.0.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 12:1', 10'; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22; 42:14'; 47:28, r.12'; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5'; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii' 20'; 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; SAA 20, 50 ii 9.

15 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.

16 ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X); ND 2687 e.12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); Radner 2016, texts nos. I.3 e.18; I.4 e.18; 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; TH 63 r.11 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 edited in StAT 5) and Postgate 2014, 423 for discussion.

ments in general terms. In contrast to CAD,¹⁷ it seems that the last term was also used in Middle Assyrian period as a syllabic writing of the plural logography TÚG.ĦI.A.¹⁸ Other generic designations for clothing are *nalbašu* and *tēdiqū*, although their attestations are limited to the literary language of the Neo-Assyrian period. The word *nalbašu* is used in a theological commentary to indicate the royal attire,¹⁹ while *tēdiqū* is only attested in an Assurbanipal's hymn to Marduk to designate the festive attire of the Babylonian supreme god.²⁰

Given that the Ancient Near Eastern costume is, in Durand's words, an *ensemble vestimentaire*,²¹ 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 *miḥṣu* (logographically written as TÚG.PA/SĪG²²), "textile, woven fabric" (from the verb *maḥāṣu*, "to beat, weave"),²³ and *kuzippu* or *guzippu* (of unknown origin), probably simply intended as "garment" (see below). The beating operation referred to in the root *mḥṣ* 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

17 CAD L, 228b.

18 Donbaz 1991, A 1722:1–2. See Postgate 2014, 423.

19 SAA 3, 40:13–14 [U]D–24–KAM ša LUGAL AGA ÍL-u *be-lum* GÚ ^d*a-num ik-ki-su-m[a]* 'x x' [x x] / LUGAL-tu *ki-i il-qu-u* [A].MEŠ *ir-muk na-al-ba-šú* 'it'-t[*a-al-biš*], "The 24th d[ay] (of the month), when the king wears a crown, is (when) Bēl slashed and [...] Anu's neck; having assumed kingship, he bathed and don[ned] the (royal) garb."

20 SAA 3, 2:25 *šu-tur bi-nu-tum gat-tum šu-uš-qu-ma a-na ti-di-iq be-lu-ti-šú šur-ru-[uḥ x x x]*, "He excels in form, is most high in stature, magnific[ent] in his lordly apparel."

21 Durand 2009, 12.

22 See Borger 1981, 121 no. 295. In the text K 6323+ ii 33' (Kwasman 2009, 115: "textile") the logogram is read as SĪG. The Akkadian reading of this logogram as *miḥṣu* is not given in Postgate 1973a, 28.

23 CTN 2, 1:12' (*dappastu*, SL.LUḪ, *kišiptu*, *naḥlaptu*, *ša ḥili*, *ḥulsu*, *gulēnu* and *gammīdu*); Billa 71:7 (JCS 7 [1953], 137. The broken part of the line must be completed as TÚG.mi-[*iḥ-šī*]; this term is referred to the following textile products: *kusītu*, *ša ḥili* and *zārāte*); ND 2672:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387: the term is referred to the textiles called *kitū* and *šaddīnu*); SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 1', 2' (various textiles of which only the designation *urnutu* is preserved); ZTT II, 33:8 (*elītu*, *maklulu*, *šupālītu ḥalluptu*, *ša-iš*, *iaḥīlu* and *datāiu*). See 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.

weft.²⁴ The word *miḫṣu* is used as a generic term for woven textiles in both Assyrian and Babylonian dialects of the 1st millennium BC.²⁵ Only in PVA we find the form *miḫṣūtu*;²⁶ it probably refers to woven cloths in some way semantically analogous to the textiles called *sūnu*, since the lexical list uses the logography of the compound *bēt sūni* (literally, “box for *sūnu*-textiles”²⁷) for this word. In Assyria, the word *miḫṣu* refers to a wide variety of garments and other finished textile products in texts from Kalḫu,²⁸ Šibaniba,²⁹ Nineveh,³⁰ and Tušḫan.³¹ In enumerations of booty in royal annals, the term is used instead of detailing each article of luxury foreign clothing. Tukulti-Ninurta II mentions 150 woven cloths along with one talent of blue-black wool as part of the booty taken from the campaign in the Ḫābūr region.³² 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 *miḫṣu*.³³ Instead, at the end of a list from Assur, we find the word *kuzippu* having the same meaning as *miḫṣu*. 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.³⁴ The semantic value of the word *kuzippu* as a generic textile term has already been recognised by Radner³⁵ and Villard.³⁶ From Adad-šumu-ušur’s petition in favour of his son Urad-Gula it is

24 Peyronel 2004, 66; Andersson Strand 2015, 52. According to Andersson Strand (*ibidem*), pin-beaters were especially useful to produce tapestry weaves, since they helped lift the warp threads.

25 See CAD M/II, 62a s.v. *miḫṣu* 9b: “woven cloth”. For the Neo-Babylonian *miḫṣu*, see Beaulieu 2003, 15.

26 PVA 285 TÚG.É–ÚR.MEŠ = $\text{r}me^2\text{-iḫ}^2\text{-ṣu}^2\text{-tu}^2$. See Postgate 1973a, 171 fn. *ad* 155 ii 7, where, however, the word is not discussed. The term *miḫṣūtu* is not included in the dictionaries.

27 On the wooden *bēt sūni*, see Gaspa 2014, 234–235.

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

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

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

31 ZTT II, 33:8.

32 RIMA 2, A.0.100.5:99 1–*me* 50 TÚG.mi-iḫ-ṣi 1 GÚ.UN SÍG.ZA.GÍN.MI.

33 Postgate 1979a, text MAH 15854 A 9' *a-na* TÚG.mi-iḫ-ṣi [x] TA.ĀM *up-pu-ša*. Another occurrence of this word is in MARV VII, 23:5' *i+na mi-iḫ-ṣi[i']*, the meaning of which is, however, obscure.

34 StAT 3, 1 r.35 PAB 3–*me* 86 *ku-ziḫ-pe ša* KUR.ḫa-ma-te (the garments and other textiles in question are *kusitu*, *elītu*, *šupāliṭu ḫalluptu*, *qarrāru*, *niksu*, *qirmu*, *gammīdu*, *maqatṭu*, *dappastu*, SI.LUḪ, *nēbettu*, *naḫlaptu*, *sasuppu*, *pariktu*, *ša muḫḫi šarri* and *kitū*).

35 Radner 1999c, 117.

36 Villard 2010, 389.

clear that *kuzippu* was used in Neo-Assyrian as a common name for clothes.³⁷ This use of the word is also confirmed by a letter sent by Urad-Gula to the Assyrian king, where a number of different garments, collectively defined as *kuzippu*, is said to have comprised *gulēnus*, *kitūs*, and *maklulu*-garments.³⁸ From some letters concerning royal garments we learn that *kuzippu* was used as a synonym for *lubussu*.³⁹ The term is also employed to indicate various kinds of clothing items to be exported in caravan trade. Documents from Dūrī-Aššur's archive show that the category of *kuzippu* included *šupālītus*.⁴⁰ Other items of clothing documented in this archive—and presumably included in the “*kuzippu*-group”—are *kubšus* and *gulēnus*.⁴¹

In a fragmentary inventory text from Nineveh we find both *miḥṣu* 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.⁴² The use of both terms as collective designations for textiles in the same text probably indicates a certain degree of specialization of the words *miḥṣu* and *kuzippu*, but conclusive observations about this aspect cannot be made in the light of the extant Neo-Assyrian sources. In any case, these two terms were the common designations for textiles transported for trading. Usually, textiles were transported as wrapped in rolls with attached clay sealings or labels describing the contents of the shipment.⁴³ As already observed,

37 SAA 10, 226 e.24–r.3 [š]a-bit-u-ni tap-ta-ṭar / [š]a UD.MEŠ ma-a'-du-ú-ti / mar-šu-u-ni ib-tal-ṭu / ba-ri-ú-ti is-sab-bu / ub-bu-lu-ti us-sa-at-mi-nu / mi-ri-šu-tú ku-zi-pi uk-ta-at-ti-mu, “Those who were sick for many days have got well, the hungry have been sated, the parched have been anointed with oil, the needy have been covered with garments.”

38 SAA 10, 289 r.3'-7' [x TÚG].^rgu'-zi-pi pa-ni-i'-ú'-[te] / [ša UD]-'22'-KÁM ù ša ú-ma-a 'e'-[ru-bu-u-ni] / [TÚG].^rgul'-IGI.2 TÚG'.GADA TÚG.ma-ak-[li-li] / 'x' [x]-šú' 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]2nd day (of the month) and today, (that is to say) [gu]lēnus, tunics and mak[lulus], every single one of them”.

39 SAA 10, 338:13; 339:12; 340:11. Instead, when referring to the king's clothes, the sender of the letter SAA 10, 287:4, 6 uses the word *lubussu*. In a message sent by Adad-šumu-ušur to the king, we may observe that *lubussu* is used to indicate the king's clothes, while *kuzippu* to designate the garments for the statue of the *šar pūhi*. See SAA 10, 189:9–11.

40 Radner 2016, 112, text no. I.53:5–6 17 MA 18 GÍN ku-zi-pi / KI.TA.MEŠ a-nu-tú AŠGAB KEŠDA, “Seventeen minas eighteen shekels: garments. These undergarments: the leatherworker (and) the *kāširu*.” The term *kuzippu* is used to indicate all the garments stored in the *bēt-qāti*, “warehouse”, in *ibidem*, text no. I.47 r.6.

41 Radner 2016, 86, text no. I.5 e.5; 116, text no. I.63:2.

42 Ki 1904–10–9,154+ r.50–e.51 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII) [x x x x x] TÚG.PA.MEŠ GADA [x x x] / [PAB² x x x x] ku-zi-pi, “[...] linen fabric [... Total: ...] garments”.

43 See SAA 7, 93–106; SAA 11, 67.

it is also possible that the sealing was attached to the box used for transporting the textiles. The practice of gathering garments into rolls, called with the Aramaic loanword *kirku*, is documented in dowry lists both in Assyria⁴⁴ and in Babylonia.⁴⁵ In administrative texts, the collective word *miḥṣu* could be followed by qualifications specifying the material of the listed items. In an administrative document the accountant uses the term *miḥṣu*, adding the logogram SÍG to specify that the listed articles of clothing were made of wool.⁴⁶ Other total-sections in the administrative records of textiles from Nineveh are broken⁴⁷ and we do not know if in these cases the scribes used the generic term *ṣubatu* (TÚG), *miḥṣu* (PA) or another word.

6.3 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.

6.3.1 Assyrian designations belonging to the common Akkadian textile vocabulary

bašāmu. This is a Babylonian word attested in the language of Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions. It is used in his annals to indicate the sackcloth worn by the king of Šubria. The Assyrian king states that the enemy king tore off his royal garment and clothed his body with a *bašāmu*, "the garment of a sinner" (*ṣubāt bēl arni*).⁴⁸ According to the same inscription, the enemy used another

⁴⁴ 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".

⁴⁵ Dar 530:8; Nbk 369:2; TBER 93 (cited in Joannès 2010, 406 fn. 22). 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".

⁴⁶ SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 2' [x]8-me-33 SÍG.MEŠ SÍG.

⁴⁷ SAA 7, 96 r.6; 101 r.1'; 104 r.5'; 108 ii' 1'-2', r. i' 6'-7'.

⁴⁸ RINAP 4, 33 i 3 *lu-bul-ti MAN-ti-šú iš-ḥu-uṭ-ma ba-šā-mu ṣu-bat EN—ar-ni e-di-qa zu-mur-šú*.

sackcloth to clothe a statue representing himself in servile condition to make the Assyrian king have pity on him and save his life.⁴⁹ This item of clothing was made of a coarse wool fabric, generally used for sacks.⁵⁰ This use of the *bašāmu* reminds us of the Biblical *saq*, mentioned in the Prophets' books. In ancient Israel, wearing a sack was a sign of humiliation, mourning and repentance.⁵¹

elītu. The term seems to denote an upper garment or a (fringed) shawl.⁵² Of this textile there were both a red⁵³ and a black variety.⁵⁴ Other qualifications, some of which are very common in Neo-Assyrian lists of textiles, are difficult to explain. The red variety of the *elītu* could be of the country-/mountain-type (KUR).⁵⁵ This overgarment seems to have had a red-coloured front-part, as witnessed by a list of commodities from Nimrud.⁵⁶ It seems that the *elītu* was an integral part of the suit of clothes assigned to chariot-fighters.⁵⁷

erimtu. This designation for wrap⁵⁸ derives from the verb (*ḥ*)*arāmu*, “to stretch, cover”.⁵⁹ The operation expressed by this verb is referred by CAD to the act of stretching or placing a membrane, skin or layer of metal,⁶⁰ but it could also be related to textiles. This item of clothing is already attested in Mari.⁶¹ In the

49 RINAP 4, 33 ii 18–19 *ša-lam* [... *ú*]-*še-piš-ma ú-ḥal-li-pa ba-šā-a-mu / bi-re-[ti ...] id-di-šu-ma ši-mat* ARAD-u-ti.

50 See AHw, 111a; CAD B, 137a; CDA, 40a; AEAD, 14a.

51 See *Is.* 3:24; 58:5; *Jer.* 4:8; *Ez.* 27:31. On the word *saq/saqqā*, “sack, sackcloth”, in Aramaic, see Sokoloff 2009, 1036b; DJBA, 828b.

52 CTN 2, 153:5; 155 r. v 10'; 224:1; 253; SAA 7, 102:4'; 103:2'; 105:9'; 112:6'; 115 ii 19; 127:8'; StAT 3, 1:4; ZTT II, 33:1; 36:1. See AHw, 202a; CAD E, 98b; CDA, 70a. For the meaning “shawl”, see Postgate 2001, 380 and AEAD, 24b.

53 SAA 7, 105:9'.

54 SAA 7, 127:8'.

55 SAA 7, 105:9'.

56 CTN 2, 155 r. v 11'. However, Postgate interprets the logographic writing ZAG.MEŠ as referring to the sleeves, see Postgate 1973a, 172.

57 SAA 7, 115 ii 19 2 GÚ *ṛa'na¹* [AN²].TA² A—SIG, “2 talents for the [upper game]nts(?) of the chariot-fighters” (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

58 AHw, 241a s.v. *erimtu* II: “Bedeckung”; CAD E, 294b s.v. *erimtu* B: “a garment”. See also AEAD, 27: “necklace, cover, covering, envelope”.

59 CAD A/II, 228a.

60 CAD A/II, 228ab.

61 Durand 2009, 175.

Neo-Assyrian text corpus this textile designation occurs only in the lexical list PVA as a synonym for *naḥlaptu* (see below).⁶²

ḥullānu. This name of a cloak or wool or linen wrap⁶³ is documented from Middle Babylonian times onwards. This textile was probably a cover or a wrap, to be used for garments and for beds.⁶⁴ From administrative sources we may see that the *ḥullānus* could be qualified as *šuppu* (treated in a special way?)⁶⁵ and that they were employed for beds,⁶⁶ perhaps as bed-covers. The adjective *šuppu* (in Middle Assyrian *ša'upu*) deserves a few remarks. It is referred to textiles both in Middle and Neo-Assyrian texts. Middle Assyrian attestations clearly show that this qualification applied to textiles of both coarse⁶⁷ and fine fabric.⁶⁸ When applied to textiles, the word *šuppu* could be referred to the thick or compacted structure of the fabric, as suggested in CAD.⁶⁹ The verb *šuppu* means not only “to decorate, inlay”, but also “to rub down”.⁷⁰ Postgate tentatively suggests the translation of *šuppu* as “embroidered?”⁷¹ but I do not think this is the correct meaning of the term. It seems to me highly improbable that battle coats destined to Middle Assyrian soldiers needed to be embroidered.⁷² Instead, the technical operation expressed by the verb *šuppu* had probably to do with some reinforcing procedure executed through rubbing down the fabric in order to make it thicker and compact—a quality fitting for garments to be used outdoors and for military or working purposes. For finer textiles, it is possible that the operation in ques-

⁶² PVA 221.

⁶³ AHW, 354a; CAD Ḥ, 229a; CDA, 119b; AEAD, 38b. But see Postgate 2014, 418 for the generic translation: “a luxury garment”.

⁶⁴ 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'. Perhaps, another attestation is in SAA 7, 103:1' [x TÚG].x' G[Ú].LÁ *bé-te*], “[x pieces of cloth] for(?) a [house-*ḥullānu*(?)].” (Reconstruction of the line by the author). For the meaning of this term, see AHW, 354a; CDA, 119b. In addition to this meaning, CAD Ḥ, 229a also intends this textile item as a blanket, while in AEAD, 38b the entry is translated as “cloak, wrap, hood.”

⁶⁵ SAA 7, 96:6. Fales and Postgate translate the term with “embroidered.”

⁶⁶ SAA 7, 109 iii 3'.

⁶⁷ KAV 99:19 1 TÚG.ḤLA *bi-ir-ša er-qa ša-ú-pa*.

⁶⁸ AfO 19, T.6:9 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52) 1 TÚG.ḤLA *qa-at-nu ša-ú-pa*.

⁶⁹ CAD Ṣ, 249 s.v. *šuppu* 2. CAD also lists an homophonous word, *šuppu*, which only occurs in the Neo-Babylonian dialect and is interpreted as a noun indicating a strip of carded wool. See *ibidem*, 249b s.v. *šuppu* C.

⁷⁰ See AHW, 1112b: “über-, abdecken”; CAD Ṣ, 250a: “to rub, rub down”; CDA, “to decorate, inlay?, overlay?, rub down?”

⁷¹ See Postgate 2014, 425.

⁷² But see Postgate 2014, 421 for a different opinion.

tion consisted in some delicate rubbing of the fabric, in order to make it smooth. It is not clear to me the difference between the operation indicated by the verb *šuppu* and the one expressed by the verb *marāṭu*. The latter verb is translated in the dictionaries as “to rub, scratch, scrape off, overuse”.⁷³ A nominal formation derived from this verb, *mirṭu*, is employed in an administrative list from Nineveh to qualify textiles.⁷⁴ Another Neo-Assyrian list of textiles mentions house-wraps for women.⁷⁵ In this case, it is possible that the item was a cover. On the use of such 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 *ḥullānu* on her neck.⁷⁶ That the *ḥullānu* was an article of clothing is also clear from a look at Middle Assyrian documents.⁷⁷ In the Middle Assyrian period, the luxury variety of *ḥullānu* could have cedar-tree decorations and sleeves (*ša aḥāte*).⁷⁸ A variety with (figures) of (heraldically?) crossed *tešēnu*-animals, without sleeves, is also attested.⁷⁹ In Neo-Babylonian times, it constituted a component of wardrobes for statues of both gods and goddesses.⁸⁰

kitū. This Akkadian term, from Sumerian *gada*, and its derivative forms *kitinnū*,⁸¹ *kititu* (and the variant *qititu*),⁸² has been a culture word for flax and linen products, and perhaps other vegetal fibres. The Ugaritic and Phoenician *ktn*, Hebrew *kūtōnef*, Aramaic *kettān*,⁸³ and, as a loanword, the Linear B *ki-to*, the Greek word *χίτων*, and the Latin *tunic* (with metathesis) all derive from this old Semitic term.⁸⁴ In Neo-Assyrian texts the word *kitū* generally designates a linen textile, a cloth and a garment, probably a tunic.⁸⁵ In the Middle Assyrian

73 AHw, 610b; CAD M/I, 276b; CDA, 197b.

74 SAA 7, 119 r. i' 2', 4', 7', 9'.

75 SAA 7, 107 r.3' [x x (x x) GÚ].LÁ *bé¹-te¹ ša MÍ.MEŠ*.

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

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

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

79 AfO 19, T.6:3-4 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52). Cf. CAD T, 373b s.v. *tešēnu*: “a wild animal.”

80 See Beaulieu 2003, 15.

81 CAD K, 465b. See also Álvarez-Món 2015, 49.

82 CAD K, 466a s.v. *kititu* A. The variant *qititu* is only attested in the Sultantepe tablet STT 393 (Malku VI 85). See CAD Q, 281b.

83 DNWSI, 547-548 s.v. *knt₁* and *ktn₂*; DJBA, 579a; Sokoloff 2009, 352 for references. See also Ben-Yehuda 2017, 141 s.v. *kitūnā*.

84 Michel, Nosch 2010, xi.

85 BIWA, A ii 40; C iii 55; F i 52; 190, II 9'; CTN 2, 155 r. v 12'; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 449; Prunk. 142, 181; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49'; Ki 1904-10-9,154+r.49, 50 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152-153, pl. XXVII); Levine 1972, line ii 18; Mayer 1983, line 366; ND 2672:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387); ND 2687:3, 4, r.6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); PVA 212, 234; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 79, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii

period linen wraps (*nalbētu*)⁸⁶ as well as textiles of thick linen (*kitû kabartu*) were produced.⁸⁷ A Neo-Assyrian list of textile products from Assur mentions one white (or bleached?) linen garment (*kitû pašiu*).⁸⁸ In Assyria, linen cloth was also used to cover beds and chairs.⁸⁹

kusītu. The term has been interpreted as referring to a long garment falling straight to the ground, probably a sort of tunic.⁹⁰ The word is also attested in West Semitic, as witnessed by Aramaic *ksūṭā*, “garment”,⁹¹ and Mandaic *kissūyā*, “veil”⁹² (< Sem. *ksy*, “to cover oneself with”). From Middle Assyrian documents we see that this garment was made of wool⁹³ and that multicoloured cloth (*birmu*) was used by palace weavers to produce the *kusītu*'s hem.⁹⁴ Analogous details we gain from Neo-Assyrian labels and accounts of textiles. The 1st-millennium *kusītu* could be red, of the country-type,⁹⁵ or with *birmu*.⁹⁶ *Kusītus* of

7, 47, 55, 71, 74, 78, 87; A.O.101.2:30, 50; A.O.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.O.101.19:89; A.O.101.73; RIMA 3, A.O.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.O.102.6 iii 13; A.O.102.8:41'; A.O.102.60; A.O.102.90; A.O.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 121', 10'; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22; 42:14'; 47:28, r.12'; 49 r.8; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5'; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii' 20'; SAA 5, 152 r.10; 206 r.7; SAA 7, 62 iv 8; 96 r.3; 97 r.1; 103:4'; 104 r.2'; 108 r. ii' 3', 5', 7'; 109 iii 2', r. iv 3'; 111:7, r.2', 4'; 112:10'; 115 i 1, 11, ii 5, 23, r. ii 3, 13, 15; 128:4; 129:6', 10'; SAA 10, 289 r.5; SAA 11, 26 r.5, 8; 31 r.7; SAA 16, 82 r.5; SAA 20, 32:21; StAT 2, 164:10, 16; StAT 3, 1 r.32. See AHw, 495b; CAD K, 473a; CDA, 163a; AEAD, 51a.

86 KAV 99:16–17. The masculine form of *nalbētu* is *nalwû*, attested in Mari. See Durand 2009, 178.

87 KAV 100 r.23.

88 StAT 3, 1 r.32.

89 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 5.

90 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, Saporetta 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”. For discussion on the etymology of *kusītu* see Michel, Veenhof 2010, 226.

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

92 Drower, Macuch 1963, 220.

93 MARV III, 5:8'. Another attestation of this garment is in MARV X, 3:14 (StAT 5, 3) 1 TÛG.BAR.-DUL ZA.G[ĪN?], “One blu[e] (wool) *kusītu*-garment”. But note that Prechel and Freydank translate the term as “Kopfbedeckung” in the translation of the text in StAT 5, text no. 3, while in the glossary of the same volume (p. 127b) the term is translated as “toga”. That the *kusītu* in MARV X, 3:14 has to be intended as a wool garment is suggested by the mention of wool (SĪG) in the same line in association with *nēbeḥu*-textiles.

94 MARV III, 5 r.38'–39'.

95 SAA 7, 105:7'.

96 SAA 7, 99:1; 105:6'.

various colours also occur among grave gifts in a royal funerary text.⁹⁷ In one inventory of textiles from Nineveh one *kusītu* is associated with an undefined number of LU.MEŠ,⁹⁸ perhaps a logographic writing standing for a technical term based on the verbs *kullu*, “to hold”, or *šabātu*, “to seize, hold”.⁹⁹ In alternative, the term could be the Neo-Assyrian form for *lû’û/lû*, a word attested in Mari and possibly designating a kind of cord associated with articles of clothing.¹⁰⁰ In another Neo-Assyrian textile list, the qualification LU.MEŠ occurs in the context of *kusītu*-garments.¹⁰¹ Middle Assyrian *kusītus* could also be white.¹⁰² In 2nd-millennium BC Assyria, *kusītus* were produced for export, as witnessed by Bābu-aḥa-iddina’s archive.¹⁰³ It was also produced in the textile workshop in Dūr-Katlimmu (Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad), from which we learn that a quantity of eight minas of wool served to produce a pair of these garments¹⁰⁴ and that, consequently, the amount needed for one *kusītu* was four minas, around two kilograms. As it may be observed from a list of textiles from Assur, *kusītus* could be a palm wide (*ša puškāie*), although it is not clear to me the meaning of this measure as regards textiles.¹⁰⁵ A letter of Nabû-šarru-ušur informs us that some *kusītus*, which had to be delivered to King Esarhaddon, were fabricated with red wool by the team of the weavers of (the temple household of) Ištār of Arbela.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ Various examples of more or less elaborate and fringed long robes are depicted in palace reliefs as worn by the king, high ranking civilian and military officers. This item of dress could be worn on its own or in association with a fringed shawl or a

97 K 6323+ iii 23 (Kwasman 2009, 115). In a fragmentary passage of an epical text possibly mourning the death of a king *kusītus* are mentioned along with *sāgu*-textiles. See SAA 3, 23:4’.

98 SAA 7, 99:1 [x+]1 TÚG.BAR.DIB GÜN¹ LU.M[EŠ x x x]. The word LU is not translated by Fales and Postgate in their edition of the text. The entry is also omitted in the glossary of SAA 7 volume.

99 See Borger 1981, 189 no. 537.

100 See Durand 2009, 184. This term is not included in the dictionaries.

101 SAA 7, 105:6’–7’ 10 BAR.DIB GÜN.M[EŠ 0] / [x x x]x GÜN LU.MEŠ 1 BAR.DIB SA₅ KUR.

102 MARV III, 5:8’.

103 Postgate, Collon 1999–2001, text BM 108965:2. See also Postgate 2014, 419.

104 Röllig 2002, text 12.7:8 8 MA.NA 2 TÚG.BAR.DUL.

105 StAt 3, 1 r.22. 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.

106 SAA 16, 84:8–r.11.

107 SAA 16, 95:7–9.

shirt.¹⁰⁸ The use of the *kusītu* by soldiers is witnessed by a Middle Assyrian document which mentions *kusitus* of the king's troops (*kusītu ša šāb šarri*) among other textiles destined to the army.¹⁰⁹

kuzippu. This name refers to a garment, a cloak or a suit (of clothes).¹¹⁰ It is possible that the textile designation *kušiptu* is related to *kuzippu* (see below).¹¹¹ No etymology is provided by dictionaries. The connection of *kuzippu* to the root **kzp/kšp* is doubtful in the 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*),¹¹² an Akkadian loanword in Sumerian (written as *gu zi.ip.pa.tum/zi.ba.tum/zi.ba.tum*), has never been considered by scholars. The compound word seems to be based on the terms *qû*, “thread, string”, and *šippātu*, a term of unknown meaning probably referring to the material or quality of the thread.¹¹³ 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*,¹¹⁴ was a wool garment¹¹⁵ of which both white¹¹⁶ and red types¹¹⁷ were in use in Assyria. A Nimrud dowry list includes *kuzippus* of commercial red wool (“red wool of the port”)¹¹⁸ as well as white *kuzippus*.¹¹⁹ There are other attestations showing

108 Postgate 2001, 379–380.

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

110 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); Radner 2016, texts nos. I.4 r.4; I.47 r.6; I.53:5; 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'; SAA 20, 52 r. ii 41'; StAT 2, 244 s.4; 315 e.10; StAT 3, 1 r.35. See AHw, 519b; CAD K, 615b; CDA, 171b; AEAD, 53b.

111 Faist 2007, 13.

112 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*.

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

114 SAA 7, 115 ii 20; SAA 10, 289 r.3, 10; 294 r.28, 35; 338:13. The preference for voiced forms seems to be due to the voiced context or voiced root-context, see Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 15–16.

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

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

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

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

that this textile designation also served to indicate female clothing. In a letter the term is apparently used to indicate the garment of a pregnant woman,¹²⁰ while in another missive the word occurs as the designation of the clothes of a nurse.¹²¹ Palace weavers in charge of the production of such a garment were able to create very elaborate types of *kuzippus*. A Ninevite textile label mentions a *kuzippu* studded with stones,¹²² 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 carnelian beads discovered in the Nimrud royal burial.¹²³ 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, who received a *kuzippu* and silver bracelets at his arrival.¹²⁴ 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 two talents of madder for making the clothes of the chariot-fighters and the archers' *kuzippus*.¹²⁵ In this connection, it is interesting to note that *kuzippus* were also used as uniforms for soldiers and for the Itu'a troops.¹²⁶ Analogous considerations may be made about the use of *kuzippus* by the king's bodyguards.¹²⁷ 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.¹²⁸ The large circulation of these two items was probably due to the presence of units of the royal army in different

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

120 SAA 10, 293:28'.

121 SAA 10, 275 r.4.

122 SAA 7, 97:13'. Garments studded with stones are documented in the written sources of other periods of Ancient Near Eastern history. For this kind of luxury garments in Mari, see Durand 2009, 72, concerning the item called *nahZaBu*. See also Beaugeard 2010, 288: "une chemise ornée de pierres précieuses". The fact that the *nahZaBu* was richly adorned with *ḥašmānu*, "blue-green stone", and *aiartu*, "white coral, shell", could indicate a Western origin of this textile product. See Durand 2009, 72.

123 Crowfoot 1995, 113. See also Hussein 2016, 39, 140.

124 SAA 15, 91 r.1–2. See also SAA 15, 90:25–26.

125 SAA 7, 115 ii 19–20.

126 SAA 19, 6 r.14'.

127 Ki 1904–10–9,154+ r.36 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152, pl. XXVII) [x+]₆ T[ÚG.k]u-*zip-pi* [ša²] LÚ.qur-bu-te.

128 SAA 11, 67:1.

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.¹²⁹ In Neo-Assyrian letters the term *kuzippu* is also employed to indicate the king's dress¹³⁰ and the garments of the statue representing the substitute king.¹³¹ Various letters deal with the ritual use of the king's *kuzippus*. From a Marduk-šākin-šumi's missive we 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.¹³² 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.¹³³ However, the texts do not specify whether these white clothes were made of wool or linen. In addition, we have already observed that the royal clothes were used as a substitute for the king when he could not participate in the processions of the gods in person.¹³⁴ As a material substitute of the king's person, royal *kuzippus* were manipulated by ritual specialists to obtain the gods' blessings in favour of the monarch and his family. For instance, we are informed of solvents(?) to be cast upon the royal clothes before Šamaš and in the presence of the royal family¹³⁵ as well as of other ritual operations to be performed on unspecified *kuzippus* on the occasion of unusual portents occurred in the eunuchs' wing of the royal palace quarter.¹³⁶ It is also interesting to note that according to some prescriptions quoted in a letter written by Nabû-nādin-šumi to the Assyrian monarch, the king was required to abstain from eating cooked food and to wear the *kuzippus* of a nurse to perform an exorcistic ritual.¹³⁷ From these observations it is clear that the term *kuzippu* was used by the Assyrian scribes to indicate garments in general (see above). Perhaps, this

129 SAA 5, 206 r.6'–8'.

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

131 SAA 10, 189:10–11.

132 SAA 10, 264 6–r.2.

133 SAA 10, 234 r.4–6; 235:6–15.

134 SAA 10, 339:12–13; 340:9–12. See also SAA 10, 338:13. On the king's clothes (*tubussu*) in the city of Arbela see SAA 10, 287:3–6.

135 SAA 10, 246:7'–12'. The act of casting the solvents is also mentioned in SAA 10, 245 r.11–12. The execution of this act before the Sun-god was also prescribed in the Ritual for the Daughter-of-the-River. See SAA 20, 32:8. For a ritual to be performed upon the clothes "of the people", see also the letter SAA 10, 258.

136 SAA 10, 270 r.1–6.

137 SAA 10, 275 e.14–r.4.

meaning also fits many of the attestations quoted above. In one of his letters, Urad-Gula makes use of this term to inform the king that he was in need of clothes and silver.¹³⁸ As already observed, the term is used in total sections of inventory lists; this may be seen in the end of a textile list from Assur, where all the items are totalled and qualified as “Hamathean *kuzippus*”.¹³⁹ From the literary text of the Marduk Ordeal, it is also clear that the generic semantic value of the word *kuzippu* was different from that of *lubussu*; in fact, *kuzippu* denotes the individual character of the garments in question, not just their being clothing.¹⁴⁰ On the contrary, when the term occurs among specific items of clothing, for instance in dowry lists, it probably refers to a very definite article. An administrative document from the central administration in Nineveh informs us that a wooden container, called *bēt kuzippi*, was used to store these textiles.¹⁴¹ 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. In a marriage contract, different *kuzippus* are listed, among which one pair of *kuzippus* qualified by the obscure designation *magarrūti* occurs,¹⁴² perhaps, to be connected to the textile designation *magarru*, attested in a text from Emar.¹⁴³ 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).

lamaḥuššū. This is a Sumerian loanword in Akkadian and denotes a wool precious garment used for ceremonial purposes.¹⁴⁴ This expensive garment is already attested in Ur III period as well as in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian times. This textile name was also known with variants with initial *n*, like, for instance, *namaššuhum* (Old Assyrian) and *namanšū’um* (Old Babylonian).¹⁴⁵ In

138 SAA 10, 294 r.28. See also Adad-šumu-ušur’s letter SAA 10, 226 r.3, mentioning the covering of the needy with *kuzippus*.

139 StAT 3, 1 r.35.

140 SAA 3, 34:30 *la-bu-su-šu ša a-na* ^dGAŠAN—UNUG.KI *ú-še-bal-u-ni ku-zi-pi-šú šu-nu*, “His clothing which they send to the Lady of Uruk is his robes.”

141 SAA 7, 119 i 19’, ii 14’. See Gaspa 2014, 233 for discussion.

142 ND 2307 r.3 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI) *ku-zi-pi ma-ga[r²]-ú-ti*.

143 The Emar occurrence is discussed in Durand 2009, 177–178. However, Durand’s interpretation that the term *magarru/maqarru*—translated by him as “une sorte de sac” (*ibidem*, 600)—is related to Neo-Assyrian *maqarrutu*, “bale”, is not convincing. The occurrence of ND 2307 r.3 is not taken into consideration by Durand.

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

145 See Michel, Veenhof 2010, 229, 237.

Mari it indicated both a sumptuous garment and a precious fabric for furniture.¹⁴⁶ The *lamaḥuššû* was an integral part of the wardrobe of the statues of goddesses in 1st-millennium Babylonia.¹⁴⁷ In a letter sent by Mār-Issār to the Assyrian king and dealing with production of divine statues to be delivered to Babylonian temples we see that the statue of the goddess Ušur-amāssu, that was overlaid with gold, was dressed with a *lamaḥuššû*-robe and equipped with a golden crown.¹⁴⁸ Instructions for the *mīs pî* ritual confirm the central role played by the linen *lamaḥuššû* as a divine garment in activating cult statues.¹⁴⁹

maklulu (*muklulu*) or *muklālu* (*muqlālu*). This term, derived from the verb *qalālu*, “to be light, weak”, is characterized by variation in the prefix *ma-/mu-* and seems to denote a wool shawl or a cape.¹⁵⁰ The feminine form *maklultu* is only attested in PVA.¹⁵¹ In a Middle Assyrian text wool garments (*lubēru*) with their *maklalu* are listed.¹⁵² 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”.¹⁵³ Moreover, it seems that in 2nd-millennium BC Assyria also *maklulus* for work (*ša šipri/KIN*) were in use.¹⁵⁴ The Neo-Assyrian *maklulu* came in two varieties: one with sleeves and one without sleeves.¹⁵⁵ 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,¹⁵⁶ perhaps along the border. Another document specifies that the colour used for the front-part of the *muklālu* was the commer-

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

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

148 SAA 10, 349:15–16.

149 See Walker, Dick 2001, 66 line 192.

150 CTN 2, 152:2, 6, r.11; 224:2; KAN 2, 39:1 (STAT 1, 39); ND 2311:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 250; SAA 7, 96:7'; 102:5'; 105:8', 9'; 112 r.4; 119 r. i' 6'; SAA 10, 289 r.5; ZTT II, 33:2; 36:2. See AHW, 590a; CAD M/I, 137b; CDA, 192a. For the meaning “cape”, see AEAD, 59a.

151 PVA 250. However, this form is not given in CAD M/I, 137b (lexical section).

152 KAV 99:15–16.

153 Postgate 2014, 420.

154 MARV I, 24:7' 1 TÚG.ma-ak-lu-lu ša KIN ši-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 1979a, 7; see Postgate 2014, 425: “for everyday (use)?”) was an alternative way to indicate clothing for work in Assyria.

155 CTN 2, 224:2–3.

156 SAA 7, 96:7'.

cial red.¹⁵⁷ From a record of various commodities we may observe that *muklāhus* could be qualified with the textile designation *mirṭu*,¹⁵⁸ which, in the light of the meaning of the verb *marāṭu*, could be referred to a finishing treatment of the textiles in question consisting in rubbing or to the overused status of these items of clothing.¹⁵⁹

naḥlaptu. The name of this garment, *naḥlaptu*, which is already attested at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC,¹⁶⁰ derives from the verb *ḥalāpu* I, “to cover, clothe (with)”. It probably refers to a wrap for everyday use and to a coat or armour¹⁶¹ for Assyrian soldiers. This designation was also certainly used to indicate the metal scale armours imitating the homonymous wool coats. In fact, a Neo-Assyrian record of copper items mentions a light bronze *naḥlaptu* to be polished,¹⁶² in all likelihood, a soldier’s coat of mail. Assyrian troops dressed in such armour are mentioned in the correspondence of Esarhad-don.¹⁶³ Moreover, the characteristic scale texture of the Assyrian armour is intended in the curse section of two Neo-Assyrian treaties, where we find a simile equating leprosy with the *naḥlaptu*-garment.¹⁶⁴ An alternative logographic form of the word was TÚG.DÛL (= *šulūlu*, literally, “shelter, protection”), attested in a

157 SAA 7, 105:8’.

158 SAA 7, 119 r. i’ 6’–9’ [x x TÚ]G¹.*muk-lal* SA₅ KAR NU / [x x TÚ]G₂.. :. *mir-ṭu* / [x x TÚ]G₂.. ZAG SA₃ KUR / [x x] TÚG₂.. :. :. *mir-ṭu*, “[...] *maklulus*, red of the port, not (*rubbed/overused*); [...] ditto garments, ditto, *rubbed/overused*; [...] ditto garments, the front-part red of the country; [...] ditto garments, ditto, ditto, *rubbed/overused*.” See also *ibidem*, r. i’ 2’, 4’.

159 See Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii. The use of this term in relationship with textiles is not considered in the dictionaries. For the translation of the term see AHw, 646b: “Abschabung?”; CAD M/II, 109b: “scratching”; CDA, 208a: “scrapings?”.

160 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. The masculine form *naḥlapu* is only attested in Old Assyrian texts. See CAD N/I, 140a for references. Concerning the Neo-Assyrian form, in SAA 2, 2 iv 5 the textile term is written as *na-ḥa-lap-ti*.

161 AfO 8 (1932–33), 178:17; CTN 2, 1:10’; Mayer 1983, line 411; ND 2311:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); 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’; SAA 20, 32:17; 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.

162 SAA 7, 89 r.8–9 GÛ.Ë URUDU Q[ÀL]-tú / *ša ka-pa-a-ri*, “a bronze armour, *l[igh]t*, to be polished.”

163 SAA 16, 95 r.8’–9’.

164 SAA 2, 2 r. iv 4–5; 11 r.10’–11’.

document from Tušḫan (Ziyaret Tepe) concerning a set of clothing for soldiers.¹⁶⁵ As clearly shown by two Middle Assyrian documents concerning textiles, it seems that the production and the supply of *naḥlaptu* 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 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 are finely executed and thick coats for battles (*naḥlaptu ša dikāti ša'uptu qatattu*).¹⁶⁶ In contrast, no explicit reference to military use is made concerning the wool *naḥlaptus* recorded in a Middle Assyrian account of work quotas of palace weavers,¹⁶⁷ although the reference to leggings and chariots in the text supports this hypothesis. From another Middle Assyrian text we learn that the *naḥlaptu* formed a clothing ensemble with the *kubšu*-cap and the *išhanabe*-garment. According to this document, the items were received as a gift by an interpreter of the Hittite language.¹⁶⁸ That the *naḥlaptu* constituted a characteristic element of the military uniforms also in the 1st millennium BC is confirmed by the mention of *naḥlaptus* (written as *naḥḥaptu*)¹⁶⁹ of the military unit of the Qurraeans in two Neo-Assyrian lists from Nineveh.¹⁷⁰ In the Middle Assyrian period varieties of *naḥlaptu* of red,¹⁷¹ red-purple,¹⁷² blue,¹⁷³ dark-blue¹⁷⁴ and white wool¹⁷⁵ were produced. The 2nd-millennium *naḥlaptu* could be provided with sleeves (Á.MEŠ) and breast-pieces (GAB.MEŠ) of red wool.¹⁷⁶ Some varieties could be enriched by the presence of *birmus*.¹⁷⁷ Depend-

165 ZTT I, 8:3. The term is translated by Parpola as “coat of mail”. See Parpola 2008, 57 for discussion.

166 Postgate 2001, 376, text MAH 16086; Postgate 2014, 425 (translated as “embroidered”).

167 MARV III, 5:9', 10', 16', 18', 20', e.26'. See also KAM 11, 58:10'.

168 MARV III, 12:1–4.

169 The variant(?) *naḥḥaptu* is already attested in the Middle Assyrian period. See KAJ 77:9 (Postgate 1988, text no. 53) 1 TÚG.na-ḥa-ap-ta.

170 SAA 7, 112 r.1–2; 115 ii 18.

171 KAM 11, 58:10'; MARV III, 71:2 (StAT 5, 92:2); MARV X, 8:1 (StAT 5, 8); 35:1 (StAT 5, 35).

172 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.GIN.MI) are summarised in the total as *šerpu*, “red (wool)”. See *ibidem*, r.13.

173 KAM 11, 96:3; MARV X, 77:1 (StAT 5, 77).

174 MARV III, 71:3 (StAT 5, 92); MARV X, 40:1–3 (StAT 5, 40); 64 r.14 (StAT 5, 64).

175 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).

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

177 KAM 11, 71:1; 96:2–3, 11; MARV III, 71:5 (StAT 5, 92); MARV VIII, 97:5.

ing on the type of *naḥlaptu*, the amount of wool required to fabricate it could range from around half a mina to more than one mina.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, the fact that a *naḥlaptu* occurs in a document listing what seem to be royal gifts for a woman¹⁷⁹ shows that the designation also applied to a wrap or coat used by ladies.¹⁸⁰ In this connection, we may note that ordinary coats occur in a Neo-Assyrian dowry list of a marriage contract from Kalḫu.¹⁸¹ With the same textile designation a wrap for beds was also intended.¹⁸² As far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, we may see that in the 1st millennium BC too the *naḥlaptu* comes in several varieties. The lexical list PVA uses the logographic form of the word *naḥlaptu* (TÚG.GÚ.È) for *erimtu*, “wrap”.¹⁸³ Evidently, these two terms were considered synonyms.¹⁸⁴ The *naḥlaptu* is more frequently attested in Neo-Assyrian texts than the *erimtu*. PVA lists red,¹⁸⁵ red-purple,¹⁸⁶ blue-black (or blue-purple),¹⁸⁷ scarlet,¹⁸⁸ and *ḥuḥḥurāti*-dyed¹⁸⁹ types of TÚG.GÚ.È, as well as varieties with multicoloured trim¹⁹⁰ and with *betāti*,¹⁹¹ a variety used for the breast (or, perhaps, a variety with breast-piece?),¹⁹² and one to be used in association with the obscure *kirnāiu*-garment.¹⁹³ The list also includes a type of TÚG.GÚ.È

178 KAM 11, 58:10' (half a mina and three shekels); MARV X, 40:5–6 (StAT 5, 40, one mina and three *kisallus*). A large variety of *naḥlaptu* occurs in KAM 11, 96:11.

179 MARV VIII, 73:1.

180 This is confirmed by the text KAM 11, 117a. According to this document, one *naḥlaptu* with *ḥīra*—belonging to a group of twenty *naḥlaptus*—was given to the daughter of the chief of ten ladies of the Palace (*ibidem*, 3–7). The qualification *ḥīra* has probably to do with the term *ḥīru*, interpreted as a designation for a garment in the dictionaries (AHw, 348a; CAD Ḥ, 201a; CDA, 117a), but possibly indicating a linen band used to “renforcer ou couvrir” (see Durand 2009, 157–158, 598). Beaugéard defines the *ḥīru* as “une bande de lin de dimension modeste” that was used not only for garments, but also to envelope various goods. See Beaugéard 2010, 289.

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

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

183 PVA 221.

184 See also the synonym list CT 18, 12 K 169 ii 80, cited in CAD E, 294b s.v. *erimtu* B, which explains the word *erimtu* as a *na-aḥ-lap-tum ṣa-lim-tum*, “blue-black *naḥlaptu*.”

185 PVA 229.

186 PVA 227.

187 PVA 228.

188 PVA 230.

189 PVA 226.

190 PVA 222.

191 PVA 223.

192 PVA 224.

193 PVA 233.

with designs (*uṣurtu*)¹⁹⁴ and a linen-variety.¹⁹⁵ Of other two varieties mentioned in this lexical list, one is qualified with the palm-measure (*pušku*),¹⁹⁶ but the use of this unit of measure in connection with textiles escapes us.¹⁹⁷ The same measure also characterizes scraps of textiles in a marriage transaction document from Nimrud¹⁹⁸ and *kusītus* in a list of textiles from Assur.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps, this qualification has nothing to do with measurements. In addition to the above-mentioned varieties, a white type of such a garment was also produced in the Neo-Assyrian period: in fact, an inventory of clothing items from Assur mentions an old white *naḥlaptu*.²⁰⁰ Concerning ritual use, we see that a white wool *naḥlaptu* was used in a ritual related to the “Daughter-of-the-River”.²⁰¹ Assyrian weavers produced both long and short *naḥlaptus*; a short variety is documented in the above-cited list of garments from Assur.²⁰² Another use of this textile was to cover chariot parts. In fact, in a document from Middle Assyrian Assur a *naḥlaptu* is associated with the dust guard of the king’s chariot.²⁰³ It seems that the *naḥlaptu* was a peculiar component of the royal attire. This may be inferred from references to this article of clothing worn by foreign rulers whose defeat is described by Neo-Assyrian kings in their annals: usually, the act of toting the *naḥlaptu* by the vanquished king follows the act of throwing himself to the ground²⁰⁴ or escaping from the defeat.²⁰⁵ Moreover, in the curse section of Aššur-nērārī’s treaty clothing with the *naḥlaptu* is equated via literary imagery to the leprosy that physically clothe the bodies of the enemies.²⁰⁶

194 PVA 225.

195 PVA 234.

196 PVA 232. For the reconstruction of the line, see Postgate 1973a, 28 and CAD P, 543a. Another variety of TÚG.GÚ.È is listed in PVA 231 TÚG : ša še-ʿx-tiʿ, but it is not possible to identify the word.

197 This use of the term *pušku* for textiles may be compared to that of the words *rupšum*, “width”, and *māarakum*, “length”, in a letter from Mari, where blue *patinnu*-textiles are described as “larges d’une paume chaque mais qui n’aient en longueur que les 5/6 de la normale”. For the translation of the letter see Durand 1997, 276; *id.* 2009, 84.

198 CTN 2, 1:5’.

199 StAT 3, 1 r.22.

200 StAT 3, 1 r.26.

201 SAA 20, 32:17.

202 StAT 3, 1 r.33 68 TÚG.GÚ.È *kūr-ri*. For the word *kurrū*, “short”, see CAD K, 565b.

203 MARV X, 5:1-2 (StAT 5, 5) [x x x x] ME 5 ʿŠUʿ.SI GÚ.È / [x x x x GI]Š.ʿsaʿ-ḥar-ge-e GIŠ.GIGIR ʿšaʿ ʿGĪRʿ MA[N].

204 Mayer 1983, line 411.

205 AfO 8 (1932-33), 178:17.

206 SAA 2, 2 r. iv 4ʿ-5ʿ ^d30 EN GAL-u a-šib URU.KASKAL a-na ʿma-ti-iʿ- DINGIR DUM[U.MEŠ-šú] / GAL.MEŠ-šú UN.MEŠ KUR-šú SAḤAR.ŠUB.BA-a GIM na-ḥa-lap-ti [i-ḥal-lip], “May Sin, the great

nēbuḫu. This is a designation for a band, belt or sash,²⁰⁷ derived from the verb *ebēḫu*, “to gird, belt up”.²⁰⁸ From Middle Assyrian documents we see that *nēbuḫus* of both red²⁰⁹ and white wool²¹⁰ were produced. Another text specifies the different purposes for which this item of clothing was fabricated in the state textile workshops:²¹¹ 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.²¹²

nīksu. The word literally means “cut, piece” (from *nakāsu*, “to cut”); it probably designated a standard piece of cloth used as wrap,²¹³ although Middle Assyrian attestations seem to confirm that it was a specific kind of garment. *Nīksus* are listed in a document along with amounts of coloured wool and garments, sug-

lord who dwells in Ḥarrān, clothe Matī-īlu, [his so]ns, his magnates, and the people of his land in leprosy as in a cloak.” Among the other curses in this treaty we also find the following one, still dealing with clothing: *ibidem*, r. iv 15’ *ni-a-ru ana lu-bu-uš-ti-šū-nu*, “(May) papyrus (be) their clothing.” The variant to this motif may be found in Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty. See SAA 2, 6:492 *e-la-pu-u-a šá ÍD lu tak-tim-ku-nu*, “May duckweed be your covering.” The *topos* equating clothing with leprosy also occurs in Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty, although the *nahlaptu* is omitted here. See SAA 2, 6:419–420 ^d30 *na-an-nar AN-e u KI.TIM ina SAḤAR.SUB-pu / li-ḫal-lip-ku-nu*, “May Sîn, the brightness of heaven and earth, clothe you with leprosy.” Another attestation may be found in a Sîn-šarru-iškun’s treaty stipulated with Babylonian allies, where the author follows the same phraseology used in Aššur-nērārī’s treaty. See SAA 2, 11 r.10’–11’ ^d30 ^dŠEŠ.KI A[N-e u KI.TIM] / [SAḤAR].ŠUB-pu *ki-ma na-aḫ-lap-ti lu-u-ḫal-lip-šū-[nu]*, “May Sîn, light of hea[ven and earth], clothe th[em] in leprosy as in a cloak.” Clothing is a frequently used *topos* in curse sections of Neo-Assyrian treaties. Deprivation of clothing from the enemies’ bodies is a motif that occurs in Esarhaddon’s treaty with Ba’al, the king of Tyre. See SAA 2, 5 r. iv 16’ *ku-zip-pi’ ina la-ni-ku-nu*, “(May Melqarth and Eshmun take away) the clothes from your body.” Finally, another curse in Esarhaddon’s Succession Treaty mentions the use of human skins as clothing. See SAA 2, 6:450–451 LÚ KUŠ LÚ *li-la-biš*, “May one man clothe himself in another’s skin.”

207 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.

208 CDA, 64b.

209 MARV X, 3:14 (STAT 5, 3).

210 MARV X, 3:14 (STAT 5, 3).

211 MARV X, 69:4–5 (STAT 5, 69) 6+x² TÚG.ÍB.LÁ r³ša² na[m]-ḫi-ri / 35² TÚG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ / ša lu-uš-me. The meaning of the terms *namḫiru* and *lušmu* is unclear.

212 Beaulieu 2003, 15.

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

gesting that they were specific clothing items.²¹⁴ A Middle Assyrian legal document from Giricano shows that *niksus* and *nahlaptus* could be used as a substitute payment for a slave.²¹⁵ In the Neo-Assyrian period, this textile is attested in a legal document listing materials to be used for the king's *sasuppu*-napkin. The text—dated to 682 BC—mentions a depot of four unknown items, possibly textiles, and four *niksus*, fine work (*dullu qatnu*) belonging to a god and at the disposal of a chief weaver.²¹⁶ In a document from Ziyaret Tepe, two *niksus* occur in the context of clothes for soldiers.²¹⁷ Details on *niksus* are provided by a list from Assur, from which we learn that this kind of wrap could be white²¹⁸ with red sides and front-part (UŠ ZAG SA₅).²¹⁹ The same text also mentions a Babylonian variety,²²⁰ but no indications are given about what differentiates the Babylonian *niksu* from the Assyrian counterpart.

sāgu. This term has been interpreted as a name for “sack” and for a garment.²²¹ In Neo-Assyrian texts²²² it probably represents the Assyrian counterpart of the Neo-Babylonian *saqqu*,²²³ a designation for a sack and a garment, and the Aramaic *saq*, *saqqā*, analogously meaning “sack” and “sackcloth”.²²⁴ In the light of the meaning of the word, it is clear that this garment was made with the coarse cloth of sacks, a cheap and low-quality material fitting for ordinary soldiers. In Assyria, the occupation dealing with the production or trade of these garments

214 MARV I, 24:2, 3, 14. Note that *niksus* and other textiles are summarised as TÚG.lu-bul-tu SIG₅-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/for?] one Assyrian *lubēru*); Radner 2004b, 82, no. 4:30–31; MARV X, 10:1 (StAT 5, 10).

215 Radner 2004b, 82, no. 4:30–31.

216 SAA 6, 190:2.

217 ZTT I, 8:3.

218 StAT 3, 1:10.

219 StAT 3, 1:11. Faist tentatively suggests the translation of “mit roter Borte” for the qualification UŠ ZAG SA₅.

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

221 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, 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.

222 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.

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

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

was called *ša-sāgātēšu*.²²⁵ A letter dealing with Aramaean troops going on a campaign shows that *sāgus* were a component of travel equipment along with leather bags, sandals, food and oil.²²⁶ 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 Assur²²⁷ 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".²²⁸ The *sāgu* occurs along with *gulēnus* in a list of weapons from the provincial capital of Güzāna.²²⁹ Following Postgate's interpretation, it is possible that it designated a garment worn around the hips, what basically makes a kilt.²³⁰

sunābu (or *sunāpu*). The term seems to be derived from *sanāpu*, "to tie on", and designates a bandage or loincloth.²³¹ The translation of the word as "sanitary towel" is suggested in CDA.²³² This textile is only mentioned in PVA.²³³ Durand states that this term is *hapax* in Akkadian.²³⁴ However, another attestation may be found in a Middle Assyrian text from Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta.²³⁵ According to Durand, the word may be explained as an Akkadianisation of Hurrian **sunī-we*, meaning "habit à sūnu" (see below).²³⁶ If this interpretation is valid, the term *sunābu* does not derive from the verb *sanāpu*.²³⁷

šaddīnu. The form *šaddīnu*, with initial <š>, is a peculiarity of the Neo-Assyrian dialect.²³⁸ In the Western Semitic area the same word has initial <s>, as shown by Hebrew *sādīn* and Aramaic *s^eḏīnā*.²³⁹ The 2nd-millennium attestations show that

225 SAA 1, 128:17; NATAPA 2, 67:2.

226 SAA 19, 17 e.12–r.4.

227 MARV X, 3 r.36', 37' (StAT 5, 3); 15:1, e.4 (StAT 5, 15). See also MARV IV, 7:1, 6, concerning the consignment of a number of *sāgus*.

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

229 TH 48:12.

230 Postgate 2001, 385.

231 AHw, 1058b; CAD S, 383b; AEAD, 101a.

232 CDA, 328a.

233 PVA 298.

234 Durand 2009, 95 fn. 133.

235 MARV IV, 89 ii 51".

236 Durand 2009, 95 fn. 133.

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

238 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 9–10; Lipiński 2001, 130 § 14.2.

239 DJBA, 788a; DJPA, 368a; Ben-Yehuda 2017, 141; Katsikadeli 2017, 154.

the form was originally *sadinmu*.²⁴⁰ 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.²⁴¹ As observed by Ben-Yehuda, the Hebrew term occurs only three times in the Old Testament and in no place its material is specified.²⁴² The Aramaic *šdyn*, *šdyn'*, “sheet”, refers to a textile usually made of fine linen.²⁴³ This West Semitic form is probably at the basis of Greek *σινδών*.²⁴⁴ According to Herodotus, it was used to wrap mummies and wounds received in battle.²⁴⁵ The context where this textile appears in the Assyrian texts witnesses to the precious nature of this item of clothing.²⁴⁶ This garment, interpreted by some scholars as a “toga”,²⁴⁷ was made of linen.²⁴⁸ 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 *šaddīnus*, a number of which are said to be made of *būšu*.²⁴⁹ 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*).²⁵⁰ Some of the *šaddīnus* of the Western tribute listed in Sennacherib’s missive are said to be in excess (*ša nāmede*).²⁵¹ The opposite expression may be found in a Nimrud text, where four high quality (SIG₅.MEŠ) *šaddīnus* are qualified as *ša meḫīte*, “of the deficit”.²⁵² Also from Esarhaddon’s royal inscription at Nahr el-Kelb (in Lebanon) we learn that *šaddīnu*-garments were made of byssus;²⁵³ in this case, the

240 See CAD S, 17a.

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

242 Ben-Yehuda 2017, 141.

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

244 Chantraine 1968, 1005b.

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

246 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.

247 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”.

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

249 SAA 1, 34:11 4 TÚG.šad-din bu-ši.

250 Herodotus, *Historiae*, II.86.

251 SAA 1, 34 r.6' 4 TÚG.šad-din š[a n]a-me-di, “Four *šaddīnu*-garments [n ex]cess(?)”. Note that the word *nam'adu* (not *namaddu*, “measure”!) is omitted in Parpola’s translation of this text.

252 ND 2672:12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387).

253 RINAP 4, 103:21.

šaddīnu is one of the valuable objects taken from the treasury of Taharqa's palace during the Assyrian looting of Memphis. In an inventory text from Nineveh enumerating precious items probably donated to the gods, *šaddīnu*-garments of byssus occur among other valuable commodities;²⁵⁴ 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.²⁵⁵

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.²⁵⁶ 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*²⁵⁷ and refers to leggings or socks,²⁵⁸ 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.²⁵⁹ The Middle Assyrian "Harem Edicts" mention *šaharrātu* along with boots (*šuḥuppâte*).²⁶⁰ From another text of the same period we learn about leggings or socks destined to the king's feet.²⁶¹ 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.²⁶² Presumably, wool served to produce felt, a common insulating material that could be used as liner for various clothing items. A Neo-Assyrian document lists leggings among other items of clothing (*i. e.*, reinforced lower garments, sandals, upper garments, and waist-belts) for Urartian envoys.²⁶³ Reinforced lower garments (*šupālitu ḥalluptu*) and waist-belts (*šipirtu*) accompany this item also in another text from the central administration and in an affidavit document from Ziyaret

254 SAA 7, 62 r. iii 3' 1 TÚG.šad-din bu-ši'. Another item of clothing made of byssus, perhaps another set of *šaddīnus*, was mentioned in line r. ii 5'.

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

256 CAD Š/I, 80b.

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

258 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.

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

260 Weidner 1954–56, 274:43. On the use of *šuḥuppātu* by Middle Assyrian soldiers, see Llop 2016, 200.

261 Postgate 1979a, 6.

262 MARV III, 5:32'.

263 SAA 7, 127:4'.

Tepe concerning military garments.²⁶⁴ Details on these leggings may be found only in two texts, which mention red-coloured *šaharrāti*.²⁶⁵ Instead, a white variety is attested in a Middle Assyrian text from Assur.²⁶⁶

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,²⁶⁷ 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 (*kusitum*) in an Old Assyrian text,²⁶⁸ while its association with bedclothes is documented in Mari.²⁶⁹

šuḫattu. Apparently, a nominal form from *šahātu*, “to wash, rinse, wipe down”, although the etymology is not expressed in the dictionaries. CAD distinguishes two *šuḫattu*-textiles: a textile used to wipe clean objects and a luxury piece of apparel when referred to royal dressing.²⁷⁰ In Middle Assyrian perfume-making, *šuḫattu*-textiles were used to clean cooking pots.²⁷¹ The Akkadian reading of the logographic writing TÚG.KUR.RA as *šuḫattu* is uncertain.²⁷² The possibility that the Akkadian reading of TÚG.KUR.RA is *kanzu* has been suggested by Jursa.²⁷³ The nominal form *kanzu* as well as the verb *kanāzu*, “to store away”, are both attested in Neo-Babylonian, and one wonders whether also the textile term *kanzu* derives from Persian.²⁷⁴ However, the reading of the logographic name as *šuḫattu* is preferred by the editors of the Neo-Assyrian texts. The KUR.RA-textile occurs in a Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence, where it

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

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

266 MARV III, 5 r.32'.

267 K 6323+ r. i' 5', 18' (Kwasman 2009, 116).

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

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

270 CAD Š/III, 205b.

271 Ebeling 1952, 18, i 18, 19, ii 16, 20–21, ii 3, 20.

272 Reynolds 2003, 197b.

273 Spar, Jursa 2014, text no. 38:1, r.10.

274 Perhaps, both the verb and the textile term derive from the same Old Persian word. See CDA, 145b for the derivation of *kanāzu* from the Old Persian word *kanz*, “treasure”. The word *kanz* is also at the basis of Official Aramaic *gnz*, “treasure”, and *gnzbr*, “treasurer”. See DNWSI, 229. Instead, in CAD K, 148a s.v. the verb *kanāzu* is tentatively interpreted as an Aramaic loanword. In any case, the Neo-Babylonian word *kanzu* is not included in the dictionaries.

refers to a cloak.²⁷⁵ This piece of evidence confirms that the KUR.RA was peculiar of everyday Babylonian dressing. According to the letter, the cloak is worn by an unnamed individual who is interrogated about the conspiracy against Sennacherib. Šillāya and Nabû-šuma-iškun, the men who question him, cover his face with his cloak and made him stand before Arda-Mullissi. In order to be interrogated by Arda-Mullissi, Šillāya and Nabû-šuma-iškun uncover the man's face.²⁷⁶ From another Middle Assyrian text from Assur it seems that *šuḥattu*-textiles were connected to the activity of felt-makers,²⁷⁷ but conclusive observations on this regard cannot be made in the light of the limited evidence.

6.3.2 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.

ḥarīru. The term is a designation for a type of garment or cloth.²⁷⁸ Only CDA proposes the translation “bedspread”.²⁷⁹ In texts from Mari a textile called *ḥarrum/ḥurrurum* is attested. According to Durand, it is possible that this word is related to the Neo-Assyrian form *ḥarīru*.²⁸⁰ It is not clear whether the Neo-Assyrian term has also some connection with the Old Assyrian *ḥirurum*.²⁸¹ Durand also suggests that the Mari term could have designated a garment with a surface very razed like velvet. The verb *ḥarāru* has to do with early stages of preparation of cloth.²⁸² The few data about the Assyrian *ḥarīru* does not enable us to confirm

275 SAA 18, 100:11 *i-na TÚG.KUR.RA-šú pa-ni-šú i¹-[ter-mu]*, “Th[ey covered] his face with his cloak.”

276 SAA 18, 100 r.5–6.

277 MARV X, 81:1–4 (Stat 5, 81).

278 AHw, 326a; CAD Ḥ, 102b; AEAD, 35b.

279 CDA, 108b.

280 Durand 2009, 41. See also CAD Ḥ, 102b, 121a.

281 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 233.

282 See Durand 2009, 42.

this interpretation. The *ḥarīru* occurs in administrative documents from Nineveh²⁸³ among various *maqaṭṭu*- and *urnutu*-garments as well as after reinforced undergarments. From another list we learn that *ḥarīrus* could be made of multi-coloured cloth (*birmu*).²⁸⁴

muṣiptu. The word, a nominal formation possibly based on the verb *ṣuppu* II, “to decorate, overlay, rub down”, occurs in Neo-Babylonian, where it indicates a (standard) piece of clothing;²⁸⁵ it was employed as a generic term for clothing.²⁸⁶ In a Neo-Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence, the term is employed to designate garments from Tukriš.²⁸⁷ These garments are qualified as *karkēti*. This term may be interpreted as the adjective *karku*, “amassed, gathered, twined”²⁸⁸ or as the substantive *karkītu*, “threaded work”, which is not included in the dictionaries.²⁸⁹ 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”.²⁹⁰ Concerning the place name Tukriš,²⁹¹ it is worth noting that wool and textiles from this place are mentioned in Middle Babylonian texts from Babylonia,²⁹² confirming the importance of the Tukrišean textile manufacture (or of Babylonian imitations of textiles originating from this place) already in the 2nd millennium BC.

naṣbutu. This textile has been interpreted in different ways, *i.e.* as a coat or a sash holder.²⁹³ To judge from the administrative sources, this item of apparel was made of *biršu*-fabric²⁹⁴ and it had an edging that could be commercial

283 SAA 7, 97 r.4; 108 r. ii' 5'; 109 r. iv 6'. Perhaps another occurrence of this term is SAA 7, 104 r.1' x[x TÚG².ḥa²]-ri-[rat² x x] (Reconstruction of the line by the author). It is worth noting that also in SAA 7, 104 *ḥarīrus* are listed along with *urnutus*. See *ibidem*, r.2'.

284 SAA 7, 109 r. iv 6'.

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

286 Roth 1989–90, 29; Joannès 2010, 406.

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

288 CAD K, 217b.

289 Dietrich 2003, 180a.

290 Durand 2009, 50.

291 Groneberg 1980, 239; Fuchs 2014, 174b.

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

293 ABL 866 r.5; 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.

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

red-coloured.²⁹⁵ Of the same colour was also the front-piece of this textile.²⁹⁶ As to function, we may observe that this item appears 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 *maqatutu*-garments.²⁹⁷ In the Neo-Babylonian period it is attested in Amat-Nanâ's dowry list among other items of apparel.²⁹⁸ On the contrary, nothing can be said about the *našbutu*s mentioned in a Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence among amounts of wool, a hat, and other commodities.²⁹⁹ From another Babylonian letter it is clear that *našbutu*-garments were a component of personal sets of clothes. In a missive reporting about an Assyrian royal agent in mission to Nippur we see that the *našbutu*-garment was associated with a *guzguzu*, another article that was peculiar to the 1st-millennium Babylonian clothing.³⁰⁰ In Neo-Babylonian times, *našbutu*s were used to dress the statues of the gods Nanāya, Ušur-amāssu and Nabû.³⁰¹

nēbettu. This word designates a girdle or sash.³⁰² The nominal form derives from the verb *ebētu*, “to bind?”.³⁰³ The dictionaries only list Neo-Babylonian attestations. Texts from Nimrud³⁰⁴ and Assur³⁰⁵ record a variety of *nēbettu* qualified as GÛN, a logogram usually referred to the item called *birmu*. Another document from Nimrud mentions a red variety of this article of clothing.³⁰⁶

qatattu. The name of this fine garment is the feminine adjectival form from *qatnu*, “thin, fine”.³⁰⁷ This adjective qualifies TÛG.Ī.A³⁰⁸ and *naḥlaptu*-textiles³⁰⁹ in Middle Assyrian texts. In the 1st millennium it is used to indicate a spe-

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

296 SAA 7, 96 r.1.

297 StAT 2, 164:13.

298 Roth 1989–90, 31, text CT 49, 165:11.

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

300 ABL 866 r.4–5.

301 Beaulieu 2003, 15.

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

303 CDA, 65a s.v. *ebētu* II.

304 CTN 2, 153:4.

305 StAT 3, 1 r.25.

306 CTN 2, 153:6. The word is also listed in PVA 264.

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

308 AfO 19, T.6:7–9 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52).

309 Postgate 1979a, 6.

cific item of clothing. Dark (*adirtu*) *qatattu*-garments of linen are listed in a Neo-Assyrian inventory text from Nineveh.³¹⁰

qirmu (or *qermu*, *qeremu*). The term, derived from the verb *qarāmu*, “to cover”, seems to designate an overcoat or mantle,³¹¹ if we follow AEAD’s interpretation.³¹² Aramaic *qrām*, *qrāmā* means “covering”.³¹³ In 1st-millennium Assyria, *qirmus* were usually made of wool and could have a red-coloured front-part;³¹⁴ the red dye could be of the commercial type (“red of the port”)³¹⁵ or of the country-type.³¹⁶ This textile product could be enriched by the presence of *birmu*.³¹⁷ A linen variety of *qirmu* is recorded in a list of wraps, shawls and blankets from Nimrud.³¹⁸ In Neo-Babylonian documents the *qirmu* occurs as one component of female wardrobes.³¹⁹ It seems that 2nd-millennium *qirmus* could be very heavy,³²⁰ and this suggests that these textiles were probably used for other purposes outside clothing. On the contrary, an administrative text from Nineveh informs us that the weight of one *qirmu* was five minas.³²¹ The same text also shows that both red and black wool were used to fabricate this item. The use of black wool is also confirmed by a document from Assur, where one black *qirmu* is qualified by the adjective *zakiu*, “clean, bright”.³²² The same adjective is also used in the Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual text to describe the garments for the statues of Adad and Salmānu.³²³ One wonders whether the adjective *zakiu*,³²⁴ connected to the verb *zakā’u*, “to be clear/clean”, may be interpreted as referring to a special treatment of garments that was different from simple

310 SAA 7, 62 iv 8’ 1’ TÚG^l.*qat^l-a^l-tú a^l-dir-tú* GADA. See also *ibidem*, ii 15’.

311 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’; StAT 3, 1:12, r.23. Another occurrence is in SAA 7, 122 i 4’ TÚG.*qi-[ir-mu]* (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author).

312 AEAD, 88b. The other dictionaries simply offer generic translations, see AHw, 918a; CAD Q, 268b; CDA, 288b.

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

314 SAA 7, 97:7’; 98:9’, 10’.

315 SAA 7, 98:9’.

316 SAA 7, 98:10’.

317 StAT 3, 1 r.23.

318 CTN 2, 152 e.10.

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

320 MARV X, 18:1–4 (StAT 5, 18) 1 *qé-er-mu* / 36 1/2 MA.NA KI.L[AL] / 2 *qé-er-mu*.M[EŠ] / 1 GUN 16 MA.NA.

321 SAA 7, 110:7–9 2 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.ĤĒ.MED^l [0] / 2 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.GI₆ [0] / *a-na* TÚG.*qir-mu* [0].

322 StAT 3, 1:12.

323 SAA 20, 7 r. iii 35–36.

324 See CAD Z, 23a s.v. *zakû*.

washing. The operation of *šubātam zukkûm* is found in the didactic dialogue *At the Cleaners*, where it probably refers to treating a clothing article in a wider sense, perhaps using special cleansing materials.³²⁵

ša-ḫīli. 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.³²⁶ In the Neo-Assyrian textile terminology, a number of designations follow this pattern. The term *ša-ḫīli*, which is not listed in the dictionaries,³²⁷ is based on the word *ḫīlu/ḫillu*,³²⁸ “covering, wrapping”.³²⁹ In Assyria the *ḫillu* was used as wrapping or cover for *nēbuḫu*-sashes³³⁰ and constituted an accessory element of *ša-IŠ* garments.³³¹ The *ša-ḫīli* is attested both in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian.³³² It was made of red wool³³³ and accompanied *kusītu*-garments, as may be observed in the description of the clothes of Abu-eriba, a relative of the Assyrian king,³³⁴ as well as in a list of garments from Tell Billa.³³⁵

ša-ḫurdati. The translation of the word as “petticoat, sanitary napkin” is suggested by AEAD on the basis of the term *ḫurdatu*, “female genitals”.³³⁶ The term only occurs in the lexical list PVA.³³⁷ The 2nd millennium forerunner is probably the Middle Assyrian *ḫurdatu*, a designation for loincloth attested in a list of items of clothing brought to a chief steward as audience presents.³³⁸ Analogous designations for undergarments may be found in other Semitic languages, such as Ugaritic *tpṛt*.³³⁹

325 On this aspect, see Wasserman 2013, quoting the use of the verb *zukkûm* in connection with alkali and a kind of salt in the text VS 8, 110.

326 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 80.

327 CDA, 347a and AEAD, 108b list the word in the form *šaḫīlu*.

328 According to AHw, 345b s.v. *ḫillu* and CAD Š/I, 97a s.v. *šaḫīlu*.

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

330 SAA 7, 115 ii 16.

331 ZTT II, 33:4.

332 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.šá-ḫi-il).

333 CTN 2, 1:6'.

334 SAA 17, 122:7–8.

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

336 AEAD, 106a.

337 PVA 283.

338 KAM 11, 111:2 2 "TÚG".ḫur-^rda-tu".

339 Watson 2007, 230.

ša-IŠ. Fales and Postgate tentatively suggest the translation “dust garment” on the basis of the word *eperu* (IŠ/SAḪAR).³⁴⁰ This garment³⁴¹ could also be accompanied by one *sūnu*-piece (see below).³⁴² Another variant of this garment is provided by a document from Ziyaret Tepe, which mentions one ša-IŠ with wrappings(?) (*ša ḫillānu*).³⁴³ Seven large multicoloured ša-IŠ garments are listed in an administrative document along with *kusītu*-garments.³⁴⁴ The same text tells us that this textile could also be red-coloured.³⁴⁵ Its front-part could be commercial red³⁴⁶ or black.³⁴⁷

ša-KĀR. The word is attested in the logographic writing TÚG.KĀR in a fragmentary document from Assur listing iron objects and textiles.³⁴⁸ In the logographic form TÚG.KĀR, the sign TÚG is probably used for the determinative pronoun *ša*. The syllabic reading of the logogram KĀR is unknown.

ša-*muḫḫi*. 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-muḫḫi* of the king.³⁴⁹ 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 head-dress.³⁵⁰

ša-*qabli*. This compound name has been interpreted as a designation for loin-cloth on the basis of the word *qablu*, “middle, middle parts, loins”.³⁵¹ The term only occurs in PVA and in an inventory list of various objects.³⁵² Perhaps, a similar item of clothing was the one worn by King Assurnasirpal II in various

340 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxix.

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

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

343 ZTT II, 33:4 1 TÚG.ša¹-IŠ ša ḫi-[a]²-nu.

344 SAA 7, 105:6'.

345 SAA 7, 105:7'.

346 SAA 7, 119 r. i' 10'.

347 SAA 7, 119 r. i' 11'.

348 StAt 2, 128:7' [x x x x] TÚG.KĀR.MEŠ.

349 StAt 3, 1 r.30 1 TÚG.ša-UGU LUGAL BABBAR SUMUN.

350 Jakob 2003, 435. Note also that a *lubulta ša muḫḫi šari* is mentioned in KAV 99 r.37.

351 AEAD, 106b.

352 PVA 277; SAA 7, 85 r. ii 6'.

palace reliefs in Kalḫu: the item represented in these scenes is constituted by a short cloth girded around the loins and decorated by tassels.³⁵³

ša taluk širri. This unusual textile designation is only attested in PVA³⁵⁴ and in a fragmentary list of textiles from Nineveh, where only the last part of the compound name can be read.³⁵⁵ 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.³⁵⁶

šer’itu. The word designates a garment for the gods’ statues in Neo-Assyrian³⁵⁷ and Neo-Babylonian texts.³⁵⁸ Neo-Assyrian theological commentaries specify that the *šer’itu*-garment was worn by Bēl,³⁵⁹ while Neo-Babylonian texts associate this article of clothing to the gods Šamaš, Aya, and Bunene.³⁶⁰ The Marduk Ordeal text shows that this vestment was stored in the temple’s storeroom (*ka-dammu*).³⁶¹ In the same text, Bēl’s outfit is compared to the primeval “water which was over (the god) Aššur”.³⁶² I wonder whether the textile term has something to do with the word *šur’itu*, attested in PVA and denoting a kind of wool.³⁶³ This is the feminine form of the adjective *šūru*, used to qualify textile products in Old Assyrian, Nuzi and Standard Babylonian texts.³⁶⁴ In Old Assyrian times, *šūru*-textiles played a significant role in cultic practices, since they were donated to the goddess Ištar.³⁶⁵

353 Layard 1849–53, I, pls. 12, 17, 20, 23, 31.

354 PVA 284.

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

356 CAD T, 107a s.v. *tāluku*.

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

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

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

360 BBSt 36 v 44, 52, 54, vi 3.

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

362 SAA 3, 34:53, 55. See also SAA 3, 35:44–45.

363 PVA 216.

364 CAD Š/III, 367b. For the use of this adjective in Old Assyrian texts see Michel, Veenhof 2010, 244–245.

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

šupālitu ḥalluptu. This item of clothing is usually defined with these two words;³⁶⁶ only in few texts we find a *šupālitu* without any other qualification.³⁶⁷ The adjective *šupālû* means “lower”,³⁶⁸ while the D-stem feminine nominal form *ḥalluptu* is translated as “armour” (from *ḥallupu*, “to overlay, cover”).³⁶⁹ AEAD interprets the *šupālitu* as a lower garment, shirt or underwear,³⁷⁰ while the *šupālitu ḥalluptu* was a reinforced or armoured undergarment.³⁷¹ The nature of this article is not clear, and suggestions have been made about the possibility that it was a sort of mail-shirt³⁷² or a felt armour.³⁷³ It is no surprise that felt could be used as an internal layer of protection for armours: felt fabrics are more resistant and insulating than woven fabrics, due to the specific properties of felt. In Assyria, the *šupālitu ḥalluptu* was produced or traded by the professional called *ša-ḥalluptēšu*.³⁷⁴ This worker receives one talent of madder, according to a Ninevite account of fibres and red colourant.³⁷⁵ Perhaps, manufacturing *ḥalluptus* required this material. Texts from the central administration in Nineveh clearly show that the *šupālitu ḥalluptu* was made of linen³⁷⁶ as well as of *biršu*.³⁷⁷ Presumably, only the linen variety may be interpreted as underwear, while the *biršu*-variety may be understood as an armoured shirt or coat. Different varieties of such a garment were in use; a Phrygian type is mentioned in a record which

366 CTN 2, 153:7; K 6323+ iii 25, r. i' 12', 14' (Kwasman 2009, 115); KAN 2, 39:4, r.9 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2097:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18–19, pl. IX); Radner 2016, text no. I.12:2; 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. Two *šupālitu ḥalluptus* are also attested in As 106 (cited in Radner 1999c, 77). Another occurrence of this textile designation is in ND 2687 r.9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII) 3 TÚG.KI—*ḥal-pat*¹ (Reconstruction by the author).

367 KAN 2, 12:3 (StAT 1, 12); NATAPA 1, 45 A:3'; 45B:1, 6; Radner 2016, text no. I.53:6; SAA 7, 94:1.

368 CAD Š/III, 316b.

369 AEAD, 33b. A *šubātu ša ḥallupte* is mentioned in ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X). In AEAD, 33b *ša-ḥallupti* is interpreted as a different word meaning “harness-suit”. Another word based on the same root is *ḥāliptu*, occurring in SAA 11, 36 r. i 1 and tentatively translated by Fales and Postgate as “wrapping?”, and in AEAD, 33b as “an object”. The meaning of this word is uncertain.

370 AEAD, 119a.

371 AEAD, 33b.

372 Postgate 2001, 386.

373 AEAD, 33b; Parpola 2008, 56.

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

375 SAA 7, 115 r. i 8.

376 SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 5'. Note that Parpola's interpretation of the *šupālitu ḥalluptu* 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 him in his discussion in Parpola 2008, 56.

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

enumerates precious commodities, some of which of foreign origin, in connection with state officials.³⁷⁸ Of the *šupālitu*-garment, black³⁷⁹ and white³⁸⁰ varieties were known. In addition, this garment could be associated with straps or girdles: one text mentions one *šupālitu ḫalluptu* with straps or a girdle (*šibbu*), probably to be identified with the shirts with crossed straps and waist-belt worn by Assyrian soldiers.³⁸¹ The connection of this garment with military staff is evident from the mention of nine *šupālitu ḫalluptus* for chariot drivers in a text from Assur.³⁸² According to another administrative record a soldier performing *ilku*-service received one *šupālitu ḫalluptu* along with a *gulēnu*, a *kubšu*-head-dress, a *šipirtu*, an *umutu*, a *sāgu* and new pairs of sandals.³⁸³ In light of the set of clothing articles which formed the equipment of envoys in a document from Nineveh, we may suggest that a *šupālitu ḫalluptu* was usually worn in association with a waist-belt (*šipirtu*), an upper garment (*elītu*), and a *ša-IŠ* garment.³⁸⁴ This clothing ensemble, whose basic components were the *šupālitu ḫalluptu* and the *šipirtu*,³⁸⁵ could be enriched by the presence of *maklulus*.³⁸⁶ This may be seen in a document from Tušḫan, according to which these articles of military clothing were temporarily entrusted to a boatman, probably embarking on a journey directed downstream the Tigris river.³⁸⁷ In addition, the *šupālitu ḫalluptu* was characterized by the presence of *nītu*-elements³⁸⁸ and edging (NIGÍN).³⁸⁹ Legal documents concerning textiles are rarely attested in Assyria. The few extant texts in the Neo-Assyrian legal corpus probably concern the obligation to produce and

378 SAA 7, 126:4–5 2 TÚG.KI.TA—*ḫal^l-lu^l-pat mu^l-us-ki / ^lab-di—mil^l-ki LÚ*.GAL—ka^l-šir*, “Two Phrygian reinforced undergarments—Abdi-milki, the chief *kāširu*.”

379 SAA 7, 127:9’.

380 SAA 7, 94:1 (only designated as *šupālitu*).

381 Postgate 2001, 382, 386 and fig. 9; Faist 2007, 14. For the word *šibbu*, “belt, girdle”, see CAD Š/II, 375b s.v. *šibbu* B.

382 StAT 3, 1:7.

383 SAA 11, 28:11–15.

384 SAA 7, 127:8’–10’ 2 AN.TA.MEŠ GI₆ / 2 *šá-IŠ* 2 KI—*ḫal^l*.MEŠ^l GI₆ / 2 *šip-rat*, “Two black upper garments, two *ša-IŠ* garments, two black reinforced undergarments (with) two waist-belts”.

385 See ZTT I, 8:1 3 TÚG^l.KI.TA—*ḫal^l-pa-te TÚG^l.š^l-pi-tú*, “Three reinforced undergarments, one waist-belt”.

386 ZTT II, 33:1–4 7 TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ / 4 TÚG.ma-ak-[ul.MEŠ] / 2 TÚG.KI.TA—*ḫal-lu-pat^l* / 1 TÚG.šá^l—*IŠ ša ḫi-[l]a²-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.MEŠ²] / [x] TÚG.ma-[ak-lul.MEŠ²] (Reconstruction of the lines by the author).

387 Parpola 2008, 59.

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

389 SAA 7, 105:9’, 10’.

provide textiles for given creditors.³⁹⁰ In a document from Assur, a certain Mušē-zib-Aššur is owed five *šupālitus* by Aššur-aplu-iddina, a tiller of the temples.³⁹¹ Analogous documents concerning the provision of this item of clothing were found in Assur.³⁹² According to a legal document dated to 647 BC, an individual called Ešarra-šarru-ušur owed two reinforced undergarments to a certain Aššur-mukīn.³⁹³ Other textiles occurring in similar legal texts are *niksus* and *iarītus*.

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.³⁹⁴ We cannot exclude a West Semitic provenance. In Syriac, the adjective based on the root ‘*rn* means “hard, harsh”.³⁹⁵ This is a textile product which frequently occurs in Neo-Assyrian texts.³⁹⁶ The materials used for this garment were wool,³⁹⁷ linen,³⁹⁸ and *biršu*.³⁹⁹ 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 multicoloured,⁴⁰⁰ red,⁴⁰¹ violet,⁴⁰² black,⁴⁰³ and with a red front-piece.⁴⁰⁴ The red front-part is sometimes specified

390 Radner 1999c, 77.

391 KAN 2, 12:3–e.8 (Stat 1, 12).

392 See NATAPA 1, 45 A:3'; 45B:1, 6 and As 106 (cited in Radner 1999c, 77), now re-edited in Radner 2016, 92.

393 Radner 2016, 92, text no. I.12:2.

394 See AHW, 1431b; CAD U-W, 233b.

395 Sokoloff 2009, 1140b.

396 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.

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

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

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

400 SAA 7, 97 r.6.

401 SAA 7, 109 ii 6', 7'.

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

403 SAA 7, 109 r. iii 11'.

404 SAA 7, 95:3, 4, 5; 97:10'; 98:5', 6', 7'; 109 r. iii 9'. See also SAA 7, 94:5. The *urnutu*'s front-part is also mentioned in SAA 7, 109 ii 3'.

as “red of the country”⁴⁰⁵ or “red of the port”.⁴⁰⁶ This garment also had an edging,⁴⁰⁷ often red-coloured.⁴⁰⁸ Also the red-coloured edging could come in two varieties: the country-type⁴⁰⁹ and the port-type.⁴¹⁰ A Nimrud document lists a densely-woven(?) or a good(-quality) *urnutu* (KAL/*dannu* or SIG₁₅/*damqu*).⁴¹¹ The Assyrian elite also imported *urnutus* from the Levantine coast; a number of *urnutus* from Byblos are recorded in an administrative list from Nineveh.⁴¹² Decoration in form of animals adorned this garment; in fact, decorations representing bulls⁴¹³ and goats⁴¹⁴ are mentioned in a textile list. In another text, *urnutu*-garments are qualified by the word *šippu*,⁴¹⁵ not translated by Fales and Postgate.⁴¹⁶ Presumably, the *šippus* were decorative elements of these articles of clothing. The mention of one *urnutu* “covering the entire figure” (*ša muḥḥi lāni*)⁴¹⁷ could be referring to a feet-length type. 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;⁴¹⁸ the same qualification occurs for the textiles called *gulēnu*, *ḥullānu*, *maqaṭtu* and *naḥlap-tu*. 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.ḪI.A, “of the house”, in a text from Assur.⁴¹⁹ In a number of Neo-Assyrian attestations the *urnutu*-garment is also qualified with the term *sāiu*.⁴²⁰ It seems that this technical

405 SAA 7, 94:5. But see Radner 2012, 690, where this line is transliterated as 1 TÚG.ur-nat ZAG G[L₆], “one tunic (with a) dark(?) front.”

406 SAA 7, 97 r.2.

407 SAA 7, 102:2'; 109 ii 2'.

408 SAA 7, 96 r.2; 97:12'.

409 SAA 7, 98:7'; 109 r. iii 10'.

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

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

412 SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 4' [x+]2 *ur-nat gu-ub-li*. See also *ibidem*, ii' 6' *ur-nat g[u-ub-li]* (Reconstruction of the line by the author). For textiles imported from Byblos in Mari texts (*šubātum gublāyūm*), see Durand 2009, 100.

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

414 SAA 7, 109 ii 5'.

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

416 Fales, Postgate 1992, 110, 223a.

417 SAA 7, 112 e.11'.

418 StAT 2, 164:11.

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

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

detail also referred to the *urnutu*'s fringe.⁴²¹ In one case, this *urnutu* was associated with a *sūnu*-textile.⁴²²

6.3.3 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 West Semitic origin, namely Aramaic, are included.

gammīdu (and *gammīdutu*). This textile is generically intended as a kind of garment.⁴²³ The term, which Kaufman considered as a possible old Aramaic loanword in Akkadian,⁴²⁴ probably derived from the Aramaic passive participle *gam-mīd*, has also been interpreted as meaning “mangled garment”⁴²⁵ and “smooth gown or cloak”.⁴²⁶ In fact, Syriac *gmd* means “to mangle, smooth”, and refers to linen.⁴²⁷ The verb is listed in Sokoloff’s Syriac dictionary as meaning “to press” and refers to the fulling process which follows washing.⁴²⁸ In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic the adjective *gmd*, “shrunk”, qualifies felt.⁴²⁹ On the same root is based the Official Aramaic word *gmydh*, indicating a type of garment.⁴³⁰ Another possibility is that we have here a type of rug or blanket, thus not properly a garment.⁴³¹ It seems that the *gammīdu* was made of linen.⁴³² It is not clear

421 SAA 7, 109 ii 4’ 2 : . : NIGIN :. KA ṾMA sa^Ṿ-a.

422 SAA 7, 109 ii 5’ 1 : . : NIGIN^{II} MĀŠ sa^Ṿ-a^Ṿ su^Ṿ-ni^Ṿ.

423 CTN 2, 1:12; K 6323+ r. i’ 13’ (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:3, 10 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2687:1, r.7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); PVA 248; SAA 7, 97 r.8; 104:6; 115 r. ii 18; StAT 3, 1:14. The word is also mentioned in VAT 8659 (unpubl., but cited in Parpola 2008, 57). See AHw, 279b; CAD G, 36b; CDA, 89b.

424 Kaufman 1974, 51.

425 AEAD, 29b.

426 Parpola 2008, 57.

427 Parpola 2008, 57.

428 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”.

429 DJBA, 289a.

430 Porten, Yardeni 1986, B3.8 r.7; D2.19 r.2. See also DRS, 137, which connects the Akkadian and Aramaic forms with Canaanite *gōmed*, “voile”, as well as Arabic *ġamād*- and Amharic *gəmġa*, meaning “sorte d’étoffe fine”.

431 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxix.

432 SAA 7, 97 r.8; 115 r. ii 17–18.

whether the grammatical differentiation of the masculine form (*gammīdu*) and the feminine form (*gammīdutu*), an aspect which also characterizes the word *maqaṭṭu/maqaṭṭutu* (see below), witnesses 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 two minas of linen for the hind-part (*aqqābu*) of one *gammīdu*.⁴³³ From a Neo-Babylonian text concerning manufacture of garments for the Babylonian gods we learn that ten 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.⁴³⁴ In Assyria, the *gammīdu* was associated with various items of clothing, as suggested by an inventory text from Assur that mentions one mitre, one wrap and one reinforced undergarment for one *gammīdu*.⁴³⁵ Perhaps, this article of clothing was traditionally worn with these accessories.

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'*).⁴³⁶ This term refers to a coverlet, mantle, or cloak, in any case to a sleeveless item of clothing.⁴³⁷ The change of <*m*> into <*n*> is a phenomenon occurring in Akkadian, Aramaic and Hebrew also in final position.⁴³⁸ Another possibility is that the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian form derives from another West Semitic textile designation. In Syriac we find the words *gallōn*, *gallōnā* (*glwn*, *glwn'*), which are usually translated as meaning “garment”.⁴³⁹ These terms are connected to the basic word *gall*, *gallā* (*gl*, *gl'*), which means “covering, cloak, horse-blanket, and saddle” in Syriac.⁴⁴⁰ The Assyrian term is tentatively translated as referring to a cloak, coat, or tunic.⁴⁴¹ Another candidate for this designation could also be “shirt”.⁴⁴² The

433 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 18.

434 Zawadzki 2013, 419, no. 453:1–6 ʿ1/3ʿ MA.NA SÍG.ta-bar-ri / 5/6 MA.NA SÍG.ta-kil-tu₄ / ʿ1ʿ MA.NA NA₄.gab-bu-ú / [1 MA.]NA GIŠ.ḤAŠḤUR a-na / [ši]-bu-tu₄ šá 2-[ta] / [TÚG.g]la-mi-da^ctu₄.

435 KAN 2, 39:7–r.10 (StAT 1, 39).

436 CAD G, 127b.

437 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”).

438 Lipiński 2001, 118 § 11.7.

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

440 LS, 114b–115a; Sokoloff 2009, 231b–232a.

441 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; Radner 2016, text no. I.63:2; 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,

gulēnu was a linen garment⁴⁴³ characterized by a red front-piece,⁴⁴⁴ which could be of the country.⁴⁴⁵ or of the port-type.⁴⁴⁶ Neo-Babylonian documents show that this item of clothing could be made of wool or *biršu*-material.⁴⁴⁷ *Gulēnus* were an important component of dowries in Babylonia.⁴⁴⁸ 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).⁴⁴⁹ This textile often occurs as a standard item of apparel in documents concerning uniforms to be supplied to troops and clothes to palace personnel,⁴⁵⁰ 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.⁴⁵¹

maqatṭu (and *maqatṭutu*). The Assyrian form derives from the Pa“el participle present from Aramaic *qtʿ*, “to cut short”.⁴⁵² The form *muqatṭutu*⁴⁵³ 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.⁴⁵⁴ The item is also known with the variant *maqatṭutu*,⁴⁵⁵ also spelled as *muqatṭutu*,⁴⁵⁶ and it is tempting to see in this feminine designation a variety of the basic *maqatṭu*. Of this textile, both a linen⁴⁵⁷ and a *biršu*-variety are known.⁴⁵⁸ The former is qualified as having

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 54 r.7, 8; TH 63:7. See AHW, 296b; CAD G, 127a; CDA, 96a; AEAD, 31b.

442 See Postgate 2001, 385.

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

444 PVA 247; SAA 7, 96:5'; 98:8'; 107 r.8'. But note that in PVA the *gulēnu* is characterized by a plurality of *pūtus*: PVA 247 ZAG.MEŠ-šú SA₅, “with red front-parts”.

445 SAA 7, 96:5'.

446 SAA 7, 107 r.8'.

447 See CAD G, 127b s.v. *gulēnu* b.

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

449 SAA 17, 69 r.21.

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

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

452 DJBA, 1007b; LS, 660a.

453 KAN 2, 39:2 (StAT 1, 39); StAT 2, 164:12; 255:6'; VAT 8659:2 (quoted in Parpola 2008, 57).

454 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. For the interpretation of the term as meaning “gown”, see AEAD, 60a, which distinguishes two lemmata, *maqatṭu*, “(short) gown”, and *maqatṭutu*, “(short) felt-gown”. A discussion on these terms is in Parpola 2008, 56–57.

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

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

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

a red coloured front-piece,⁴⁵⁹ in one case specified as commercial red.⁴⁶⁰ Linen *maqatṭu* could also be multicoloured.⁴⁶¹ The variety made with *biršu* could have a black⁴⁶² or red⁴⁶³ front-part. The material called *biršu* (see also above) was probably a coarse fabric,⁴⁶⁴ but some authors think it has to be understood as felt.⁴⁶⁵ However, the term for felt in Assyrian was *taḥapšu*.⁴⁶⁶ According to CAD, the word *biršu* indicates a “woolen fabric with raised nap”.⁴⁶⁷ Villard observes that this word referred to wool products and that it probably indicated a finishing process which was executed on textiles of ordinary type.⁴⁶⁸ With this coarse cloth other kinds of garments were produced in the Neo-Assyrian period, such as the *muklālu*, the *našbutu*, the *šupālitu ḥalluptu*, and the *urnutu*.⁴⁶⁹ A group of textile labels from Nineveh also documents the existence of a “*maqatṭu* of the house”,⁴⁷⁰ perhaps an ordinary variety of this textile to be used indoors;⁴⁷¹ it could be red⁴⁷² with a (commercial) red-coloured front-part.⁴⁷³ Interestingly, three examples 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-ḥammat as dowry there are also one house-quality *muqaṭṭutu*, one clean *muqaṭṭutu*, and a third-one of good-quality.⁴⁷⁴ This shows that this garment was used by ladies. In another administrative

458 SAA 7, 95:1, 2; 97 r.3; 98:4’.

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

460 SAA 7, 97 r.1.

461 SAA 7, 97 r.5.

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

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

464 See Postgate 2001, 386. In Villard 2010, 395 the term *biršu* is translated as “de texture grossière” and, alternatively, “feutré”.

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

466 See Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999, 85–87; Postgate 2000, 213–217; Postgate 2014, 406–407.

467 CAD B, 261a s.v. *biršu* 2.

468 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. Postgate prefers to translate the word *biršu* as “rug”. See Postgate 2014, 418.

469 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’.

470 SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4; 99:2; 104:2’.

471 See Fales, Postgate 1992, xxvii.

472 SAA 7, 99:2.

473 SAA 7, 93:1–2; 94:4.

474 StAT 2, 164:12–13.

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.⁴⁷⁵ 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*.⁴⁷⁶ 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*.⁴⁷⁷ The same text also mentions officials who were expected to provide garments to the central administration⁴⁷⁸ and were in connection with a *rab ḫanšê*, “commander-of-fifty”.⁴⁷⁹ 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 two minas of red wool for the production of gowns for some sheikhs in a short record of wool and flax from Nineveh.⁴⁸⁰

6.3.4 Other Neo-Assyrian terms for items of clothing: designations 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 characterized by the presence of non-Semitic terms.

475 SAA 7, 107 r.9' [x x (x x) *ma-qa*]-*tī*² NU ZAG.

476 SAA 7, 115 ii 9–10.

477 SAA 7, 112:10'-e.12'.

478 SAA 7, 112:3'-7', r.1–5.

479 SAA 7, 112 s.1–3.

480 SAA 7, 111:1–2.

ḥulsu. The term only occurs in the lexical list PVA⁴⁸¹ and in a document from Nimrud.⁴⁸² No etymology is proposed in the dictionaries, which translate the term as “a type of garment”.⁴⁸³ The term is omitted in CAD and AEAD. In Syriac, the word *ḥelsā* (*ḥls*, *ḥlsʿ*) refers to a horse-cloth or saddle.⁴⁸⁴

ḥuzīqutu. The word is attested in the form *ḥazīqatu* only in Akkadian lexical lists as a designation for a head covering.⁴⁸⁵ The same form is also documented in Mari.⁴⁸⁶ In an administrative text from Nineveh it is attested in the form *ḥuzīqutu*.⁴⁸⁷ In this document the term occurs among *ṣipirtu*-textiles and head-cloths. It has been tentatively interpreted as a nominal form derived from the verb *ḥazāqu*, whose meaning, however, is unknown.⁴⁸⁸ As a working hypothesis, we may suppose that this verb also had the meaning “to gird”, as in Aramaic.⁴⁸⁹ A textile designation based on this root is attested in Syriac in the form *ḥzāq*, *ḥzāqā* (*ḥzq*, *ḥzqʿ*), which means “belt, bond”.⁴⁹⁰

ḥuzūnu. The Neo-Assyrian term occurs in a lexical list and in various administrative and legal documents.⁴⁹¹ The word presents a plural *ḥuzunāte*, also attested in the form *ḥuzuʿāte*,⁴⁹² with disappearance of [n] in intervocalic position.⁴⁹³ CDA connects the term to the word *ḥuṣannu*, “sash, belt”, attested in Neo-Babylonian.⁴⁹⁴ In Aramaic, the verb *ḥsn* (<*ḥzn*) means “to be strong”.⁴⁹⁵ 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*,⁴⁹⁶ while in

481 PVA 242.

482 CTN 2, 1:11ʿ.

483 AHw, 354b; CDA, 119b.

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

485 CAD Ḥ, 166a and P, 203a.

486 Durand 2009, 44.

487 SAA 7, 120 iiʿ 15.

488 CDA, 113b.

489 See DJPA, 194: “to wrap around”; Sokoloff 2009, 440a: “to gird”.

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

491 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, 98:13ʿ; 102:3ʿ; StAT 2, 164:14.

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

493 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 24.

494 CDA, 123b s.v. *ḥuzūnu* II and 122b s.v. *ḥuṣannu*.

495 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.

496 SAA 7, 98:13ʿ.

another document which originates from the same bureaucratic context it occurs between *urnutus* and *elitu*-garments.⁴⁹⁷ In a marriage contract from the archive of the Egyptians of Assur the *ḫuzūnu* follows *muqaṭṭutus* and *našbutu*-garments.⁴⁹⁸ Neo-Babylonian texts show that it was a component of wardrobes of statues of divinities and other divine beings.⁴⁹⁹

iarītu. The term, which is attested in documents from the Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud,⁵⁰⁰ is only listed in CDA and AEAD.⁵⁰¹ 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?)”.⁵⁰² Golden *aiaru*-ornaments are documented in the administrative texts from Nineveh in connection with garments.⁵⁰³ In addition, hundreds of rosette-shaped appliquéés were found in the Nimrud tombs; they served to decorate the garments of the buried Assyrian queens.⁵⁰⁴ 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.⁵⁰⁵ This term is also attested in Jewish and Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Syriac in the forms *yārī’ā* and *yārī’tā*.⁵⁰⁶ The fact that *iarītu*-textiles also occur in a document from Kalḫu dealing with provision of amounts of goat hair⁵⁰⁷ argues against the hypothesis that the *iarītu* was a finely decorated garment. An obligation document and two letters from Nimrud show that some people had the obligation to produce and provide *iarītus* to the Palace. The legal document in question deals with 14 *iarītus* to be delivered by the scribe Šēp-šarri to Isseme-ili, the palace manager of the Review Palace in Kalḫu.⁵⁰⁸ One of the two letters, sent by Šēp-šarri to the *rab ekalli*, informs the recipient that the scribe had delivered a total amount of two talents of goat hair and a stock of

497 SAA 7, 102:3’.

498 StAT 2, 164:14.

499 Beaulieu 2003, 15.

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

501 CDA, 440b; AEAD, 39b.

502 CDA, 440b.

503 See, e.g., SAA 7, 60 i 5–6.

504 Collon 2008, 105–118; Hussein 2016, 21, 37.

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

506 See DJPA, 245b and Sokoloff 2009, 584b for further references.

507 CTN 3, 4:7–r.10.

508 CTN 3, 6:1–4.

17 *iarītus*.⁵⁰⁹ From the second epistle we learn that Šēp-šarri had to provide a lot of *iarītus* and that some of the creditors were Marduk-zēru-ibni and Sāsī.⁵¹⁰

išhu. This word is interpreted as a designation for a cloth or a leather item.⁵¹¹ CAD only mentions the Neo-Babylonian occurrences, where the word is preceded by the determinative for leather objects (KUŠ).⁵¹² It may be suggested that the Hurrian textile designation *išhenabe*, which is attested in Middle Assyrian texts,⁵¹³ and in Neo-Babylonian texts,⁵¹⁴ 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 (*maqat̃tu*, *urnutu*, *hīlu* and *nahḫaptu*).⁵¹⁵

kandiršu. This item of apparel is listed in the dictionaries in different forms, *i. e.*, as *kundirāšu/kundirāšu*, *kundirašši*, *kandiršu* and *kandirši*.⁵¹⁶ The origin of this textile designation, only attested in Neo-Assyrian documents, is unknown.⁵¹⁷ Apparently, the ending in *-(a)šše* seems to point at Hurrian as the language of derivation.⁵¹⁸ Another plausible hypothesis is that the term entered Assyrian via another language. In Middle Assyrian a textile designation *kuddilu* is attested.⁵¹⁹ Perhaps, this term re-entered Akkadian through the mediation of a Hurrian form with *<r>* and ending in *-(a)šše*. Instead, the word *kandarasānu*,⁵²⁰ attested in Neo-Babylonian, has nothing to do with *kandiršu*. Neo-Babylonian texts document linen *g/kandarasānu*,⁵²¹ probably coming from *Gandar/Kandara(š)*, a

509 CTN 3, 4:7–r.12.

510 CTN 3, 5:6–r.12, 16, 17.

511 AHw, 394b; CAD I–J, 242a; CDA, 133b; AEAD, 42b.

512 CAD I–J, 242a: “a leather object”.

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

514 See Beaulieu 2003, 15, concerning garments for the statues of goddesses Ištar and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

515 SAA 7, 115 ii 15.

516 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.

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

518 Wegner 2000, 49.

519 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.

520 CAD K, 148b.

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

north-eastern region of the Iranian Plateau.⁵²² The Neo-Assyrian attestations of the term *kandiršu* are limited to three administrative documents from Nineveh⁵²³ and a marriage contract from Assur.⁵²⁴ In an inventory text listing various objects, especially metal vessels, a section, unfortunately in fragmentary condition, is devoted to textile products. The preserved lines include names for items of clothing, among which a number of *kundirašši*-garments.⁵²⁵ 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.⁵²⁶ The second Ninevite inventory list seems to connect this item of clothing to a cultic milieu.⁵²⁷ In fact, all the listed objects and foodstuffs were used in the Aššur Temple cultic rituals. The mention of a tuft of red wool in the same passage⁵²⁸ 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 rituals⁵²⁹ as well as in ceremonial banquets.⁵³⁰ The *sasuppu* and the *kandiršu*-garment occur together also in PVA;⁵³¹ 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 Archive N31 of Assur shows that *kandiršu*-garments (written as pl. *kundaraššāni*)⁵³² occur as a precious item of clothing among various types of garments belonging to the woman Mullissu-ḥammat. 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.

522 Zadok 1985, 138; Vallat 1993, 125.

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

524 StAT 2, 164:10.

525 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).

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

527 SAA 7, 174:5' TÚG.sa-su-up-pu' TÚG.kan¹-dir¹-še¹.

528 SAA 7, 174:6' ni-ip-šú SÍG.ĤÉ.MED¹.

529 SAA 20, 1:10; 2 i 14'; 9 i 16; 11:6.

530 SAA 20, 33 ii 17.

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

532 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.

kindabasi.⁵³³ This Middle and Neo-Assyrian word derives from Hurrian *kindabašše*.⁵³⁴ The 1st-millennium form in Assyrian is *kindabasi*, while the Middle Assyrian shows the forms *kindabaše*⁵³⁵ and *kiddapaše* (with assimilation *nd>dd*).⁵³⁶ The latter can be compared with the Ugaritic textile designation *kdwṭ*, which has been explained as an assimilated variant of *kndpnt* (*/kiddawat(t)-/ < /kindapant-/*).⁵³⁷ The change <š> to <s> from Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian may be explained in the light of the treatment of sibilants in the Neo-Assyrian dialect. I wonder whether the term *kindabasi* has something to do with the word *kamdu/kindu*, attested in Akkadian⁵³⁸ and Ugaritic⁵³⁹ as a designation derived from the verb *kamādu*, possibly referring to a special technique of treatment of clothing. From the Middle Assyrian “Harem Edicts” it seems that it was a woman’s undergarment.⁵⁴⁰ This interpretation is also followed by Postgate, who translates the Middle Assyrian term as “loincloth”.⁵⁴¹ Neo-Assyrian occurrences are in PVA and in two administrative documents.⁵⁴² One of these texts deals with the consignment of an unspecified number of *kindabasi*-garments,⁵⁴³ presumably for internal palace distribution, while the second document states that this item of apparel was presented as offering material for the gods.⁵⁴⁴ 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)”.⁵⁴⁵

533 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-šī’).

534 Watson 2007, 88.

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

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

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

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

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

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

541 Postgate 2014, 418.

542 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]a²-si GADA (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author).

543 SAA 7, 166:2 *ša¹-az-bu-su* / *ša* TÚG.kin-da-ba-si, “A consignment of *kindabasi*-garments.”

544 SAA 7, 176 r.5’–7’.

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

nimrā'u. This textile designation occurs in PVA in the logographic form TÚ-G.LUM.LUM and in the phonetic writing *nimrā'u*.⁵⁴⁶ The Neo-Babylonian syllabic attestations confirm the reading of the word as TÚG.GUZ.GUZ/*guzguzu*,⁵⁴⁷ of which the Assyrian word *nimrā'u* was probably a synonym. The Assyrian reading of the logogram as *nimrā'u* is not attested in the Neo-Assyrian corpus outside the PVA occurrence. Perhaps, it could be explained as a nominal formation in *-ānu* from *namāru*, “to be bright”, or as a foreign word of unknown origin. We may also note that the adjective *namru*, “bright(ly coloured)”, is used as a name for a garment in the 2nd millennium BC.⁵⁴⁸ The word *nimrā'u* could be tentatively explained as a form affected by a change of the [n] of the adjectival ending *-ānu* into [ʾ] for the intervocalic position of the nasal.⁵⁴⁹ However, the fact that the word is written as *nim-ra-aḥ* in the tablet could indicate that the term is actually *nimraḥ*.⁵⁵⁰ The logographic form used for this term also occurs as a qualification for wool in a letter dealing with the tribute of Kummuhēans.⁵⁵¹ Presumably, from this kind of wool the *guzguzu* (or *nimrā'u*) garment was produced in the 1st millennium. This is confirmed by a Neo-Babylonian administrative document from the Eanna archive which mentions an amount of red wool (*tabarru*) assigned to temple craftsmen for the production of *guzguzu*-cloth to be used as the covering of the base or the pedestal of a chariot.⁵⁵² A letter sent by Nabû-ušabši, governor of Uruk, to King Assurbanipal, reports that Urad-Nanāya, a royal bodyguard, was abandoned by escort men during his mission to Nippur. In the same message, a *guzguzu*-garment along with a *našbutu*-garment is mentioned,⁵⁵³ presumably as pertaining to the set of clothing belonging to the king's bodyguard in Babylonia.⁵⁵⁴ According to the Neo-Babylonian attestations, the *guzguzu* was used both as a textile for furniture and as a valuable item of clothing.⁵⁵⁵

546 PVA 255. See CAD N/II, 234b s.v. *nimra'u*.

547 For the reading of the logographic writing TÚG.LUM.LUM as TÚG.GUZ.GUZ see Quillien 2013. The word *guzguzu* is included in CAD G, 147a, but the dictionary does offer any translation.

548 See CAD N/I, 241a s.v. *namru* 1 a 4'.

549 See von Soden 1995, 42; Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 24.

550 Akkadian terms ending in *-aḥ*, like *dardaraḥ* (an ornament), *pirizaḥ* (a plant), and *sirnaḥ* (a garment), are Kassite loanwords. See Streck 2011a, 375.

551 SAA 1, 33:19 SÍG.MEŠ LUM.LUM.MEŠ/GUZ.GUZ.MEŠ.

552 Quillien 2013, 21.

553 ABL 866 r.4–6 1-en TÚG.gu¹-uz-gu¹-uz / ù 1-en TÚG.na-aš-ba-tu / i-na ŠĀ-bi. The letter is undated, but it belongs to the royal correspondence of Assurbanipal. The king's bodyguard, Urad-Nanāya, is also mentioned in a Ninevite list of court officials. See SAA 7, 5 ii 9.

554 See Quillien 2013, 22.

555 Quillien 2013, 22.

NIN.SU. In a passage of a record of cultic activities dated to the reign of Sennacherib the textile designation NIN.SU occurs.⁵⁵⁶ The Akkadian reading of this logographic form is unknown at present and no translation has been suggested by scholars. The text contains cultic prescriptions and specifies the proper days for the execution of ritual baths for the gods, as well as practical information regarding the position of divine statues on the occasion of the *akītu*-procession and their seats in the sanctuaries. The above-mentioned passage gives instructions about the covering of the statue of Bēlet-ilī with a TŪG.NIN.SU. These instructions are addressed to the temple priests, who had to know how to dress this deity for the cultic celebrations in question. Details on the items of clothing used for divine statues are rare in Neo-Assyrian texts. For instance, from a letter by Mar-Issār we learn that the Babylonian goddess Uṣur-amāssu wore a *lama-ḥuššū*-robe.⁵⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the cultic text in question also informs us that *kuzippī* were used as vestments of the god Aššur⁵⁵⁸ and that the aforementioned item of clothing for Bēlet-ilī belonged to the attire of another goddess whose name is broken in the tablet, perhaps to be identified with Amurrītu, “the Amorite goddess.”⁵⁵⁹ In addition, these cultic instructions specify that the NIN.SU-textile was used for the goddess Šērū’a and that Bēlet-ilī’s clothing had to conform to that of the goddess of the morning star.⁵⁶⁰ Since this text enumerates the hierarchical position that each god had to observe within the groups of gods, one wonders whether the rank of each god was made manifest by means of dress. Bēlet-ilī’s position in the Aššur Temple is specified both as regards her seat within the group of fifteen deities who are on the left of Aššur⁵⁶¹ and as regards the position reserved to her after the *akītu*-procession. According to the order of position established by Sennacherib for the seats that deities had to take in their shrines after this cultic event, Bēlet-ilī followed Zabāba, Bābu and Ea,⁵⁶² and preceded Damkina, Ninurta, Kakka, Nergal and Marduk.⁵⁶³ If

556 SAA 20, 52 r. iii 52’–54’ ^d*be-let*—DINGIR.MEŠ TŪG. NIN’.SU’ šá¹ ^{dl}’[x-r]i²-tu / KUR-u¹-r¹ni²-ma lu ka-tu¹-ma-at ^d*b[e¹-let*—D]INGIR’.MEŠ / TŪG.NIN’.SU ki-i šá ^d*še-ru-u-a is-si-šá lab²-[š]at¹-u¹-n[i¹]*, “Bēlet-ilī should be ... covered with the NIN.SU-garment o[f the Amorite godde]ss(?). Bēlet-ilī (shall wear) the NIN.SU-garment just as Šērū’a is dressed with it.”

557 SAA 10, 349:15.

558 SAA 20, 52 r. ii 41’.

559 SAA 20, 52 r. iii 52’. Amurrītu is mentioned in SAA 20, 16 r. iv 25, 26. Her name—another appellation of Ištar—is probably intended also in SAA 20, 15 ii 51’.

560 SAA 20, 52 r. iii 54’.

561 SAA 20, 52 v 14’. Note that in SAA 20, 53 i 12–15’ Bēlet-ilī belongs to a group of eleven gods, not fifteen.

562 SAA 20, 52 r. iv 32’–33’.

563 SAA 20, 52 r. iv 33’–34’.

the NIN.SU was an item of clothing peculiar to women, it is possible that the statues of Bēlet-ilī and of other female deities in the Aššur Temple were covered with a veil or analogous head-covering.

pazibdu. This designation for garment is only attested in a document from Assur⁵⁶⁴ and in an inventory text from Nineveh.⁵⁶⁵ 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 simply 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.⁵⁶⁶

pītu. This term, which is not included in the dictionaries, occurs in a letter from 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,⁵⁶⁷ but the reading is far from certain.

sibrītu. The term *sibrītu* or *siprītu* occurs in a document from Kalḫu,⁵⁶⁸ 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).⁵⁶⁹

šipirtu. The word is also attested in Neo-Assyrian in the form *šipittu*,⁵⁷⁰ resulting from the assimilation *rt>tt*. No etymology is given in the dictionaries. In CAD, which explains the term as possibly referring to a special weaving technique or treatment, a possible connection with the verb *šepēru*, “to strand (hair or linen), trim, decorate”, is suggested.⁵⁷¹ Instead, a possible Aramaic origin is tentatively proposed in CDA,⁵⁷² probably on the authority of von Soden, who sug-

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

565 SAA 7, 120 ii' 1 1 TÚG.*pa-zi*²-[*ib-du*] (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author). The second sign of the word may be read as ZI.

566 SAA 7, 120 ii' 2–3.

567 SAA 13, 181:7.

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

569 CDA, 324b.

570 ZTT I, 8:1 "TÚG¹.*ši-pi-tú*.

571 CAD Š, 201b.

572 CDA, 339a.

gested a possible derivation from Aramaic *špr*, “flechten”.⁵⁷³ This West Semitic form has also been related to Arabic *dfr*, “to weave, braid, twist”.⁵⁷⁴ However, the Aramaic-oriented etymology of the Akkadian word has recently been rejected in the light of the fact that a root **špr* is not attested in Jewish Aramaic.⁵⁷⁵ 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.⁵⁷⁶ The *šipirtu* was a peculiar element of the Neo-Assyrian clothing.⁵⁷⁷ 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.⁵⁷⁸ In many pictorial representations of such waist-belts, the textiles in question are characterized by trims bordering them.⁵⁷⁹ A red-coloured variety “of the port” is attested in a label from Nineveh,⁵⁸⁰ while a Nimrud label shows that also a white variety of *šipirtu* was in use.⁵⁸¹ This term also designated a drape used to cover chairs, probably characterized 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.⁵⁸² This recalls the issues of wool for stuffing stools of the royal palace in a document from the archive of Tell Ali,⁵⁸³ 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 *šipirtus* for furniture; in this case, a number of these textile products appear in association with beds of the royal palace furniture.⁵⁸⁴ The same use of *šipirtus* continues in Babylonia in later times, as shown by a Neo-Babylonian contract mentioning a linen *šipirtu*

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

574 See AHW, 1103b.

575 Abraham, Sokoloff 2011, 51, no. 225.

576 AHW, 1103b; CAD Š, 201b; CDA, 339a; AEAD, 105a.

577 K 6323+ r. i' 8' (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:5 (StAT 1, 39); PVA 244; SAA 7, 96:8'; 120 i' 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).

578 Postgate 2001, 385.

579 See, e.g., Fales, Postgate 1992, 124 fig. 30.

580 SAA 7, 96:8'.

581 ND 2086 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18) 50 TÚG.šip-rat BABBAR.MEŠ.

582 SAA 7, 120 ii' 12–14. See *ibidem*, i' 14 for another occurrence of *šipirtu*-textiles.

583 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.

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

related to a bed.⁵⁸⁵ Attestations of coverings for pieces of furniture in the Neo-Assyrian visual art may give us an idea about the *šipirtu* for chairs and beds. Chairs or thrones covered with textiles are attested in palace reliefs, as may be seen as regards the evidence discussed by Kubba.⁵⁸⁶ A stool or a backless throne, whose seat is curved and adorned with rams' heads, is represented in a relief from the North-West palace of Assurnāširpal in Kalḫu.⁵⁸⁷ The top part of the seat is covered by a cushion or rug of woven material with fringes. The pattern of its design is characterized by hexagonal motifs. 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 sitting, and a fringed cushion or blanket with a similar design.⁵⁸⁸ For this second usage of the *šipirtu*-textile, Postgate suggested the translation "rug, blanket".⁵⁸⁹ In Assyria, this textile was produced by a specialised weaver, called *ušpār šiprāti*.⁵⁹⁰

Other terms of the Neo-Assyrian terminology of garments and parts of clothing remain obscure. These are *bur*[...] (referring to a red-coloured article of clothing),⁵⁹¹ *datāiu* (perhaps, formed with a toponym and the nisbe *-āiu*),⁵⁹² *iamnuqu*,⁵⁹³ *iaḫilu*,⁵⁹⁴ *kirnāiu* (perhaps yet another word formed by a toponym and the nisbe *-āiu*; it has been compared to Eblaic *kirnānu*, designation of a linen textile, by Pasquali),⁵⁹⁵ *supāqu* (from the verb *sapāqu*, "to be sufficient?"),⁵⁹⁶ [...]rak-

585 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.

586 Kubba 2006, 83, 84, 102–104, 112–115.

587 Layard 1849–53, pl. 5. See also Kubba 2006, 104 for discussion. A similar stool is also represented on a bronze band of the Balawat gates. In this case, the stool is being used by an Assyrian inspector. However, details on the cloth covering this piece of furniture are not visible in the scene. See Kubba 2006, 111 fig. 9.2.6.

588 Albenda 2005, 63, fig. 23.

589 Postgate 2014, 423.

590 CTN 3, 145 r. ii 14; MSL 12, 233 ii 12'; SAA 6, 301:4; SAA 7, 115 r. i 7; SAA 11, 202 ii 17'; SAA 12, 83 r.8; SAA 16, 55:2.

591 CTN 2, 154 r.4' [x] TÚG.bur².[x x] HÉ.MED.

592 ZTT II, 33:6 4 TÚG.da-ta-'-a-a, "Four datean garments." This textile name is not explained by MacGinnis and Willis Monroe. The only comparable words in the Neo-Assyrian corpus are two non-Assyrian personal names, namely *Datâ* and *Dātāna* (with shortened form *Dātā*). The origin of the former name is unknown, while the latter is explained as a name of Old Iranian origin. See PNA 1/II, 381b–382a.

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

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

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

katum (the occurrence is broken in the tablet, but it refers to a linen textile, perhaps **aparakkatu?*),⁵⁹⁷ *zanu*[...] (perhaps, to be connected to the verb *zānu*, “to stud [garments] with precious stones?”),⁵⁹⁸ and *zazabtu*⁵⁹⁹ (a variant form with allophone [z] from **zabzabtu/sabsabtu?* Cf. Middle Assyrian *sapsapu*, “fringe of a garment”).⁶⁰⁰

6.3.5 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.

aḫāte. The plural term refers to sleeves of garments. Pieces of clothing for arms were also called by the compound word *bēt aḫi* (TÚG.É—Á.MEŠ) in the Neo-Assyrian dialect.⁶⁰¹ Only in a text from Ziyaret Tepe we find the logographic singular form Á.⁶⁰² The qualification *ša aḫāte* refers to *ḫullānu*.⁶⁰³ The word *aḫāte* was also used in the Middle Assyrian period as an abbreviated form to indicate “garments with sleeves”.⁶⁰⁴ 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.⁶⁰⁵ From a look at Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs it is clear that short sleeves characterized

596 PVA 279. See CAD S, 392a.

597 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 head-dress called *aparakku*, attested in PVA 276, see CAD A/II, 166b.

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

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

600 MARV I, 24:11 ½ MA.NA SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA₅ *a-na sa-ap-si-pi* TÚG.lu-bul-tu.

601 K 6323+ r. i' 7' (Kwasman 2009, 116); PVA 282; SAA 7, 120 i' 6 (not translated by Fales and Postgate). See AEAD, 5a: “arm piece”.

602 ZTT I, 8:3.

603 AfO 19, T.6:1–2 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52).

604 KAV 105 r.24 TÚG.a-ḫa-te, “(garments with) sleeves”.

605 Durand 2009, 29. The French scholar translates the term *aḫatum* as “manche amovible”.

royal and, in general, male dresses,⁶⁰⁶ while long sleeves were a characteristic of queen's garments.⁶⁰⁷

appu, “fringe”.⁶⁰⁸ This term is usually written with the logogram KA, followed by the obscure sign MA,⁶⁰⁹ probably an abbreviation for a word indicating a special feature of the fringe. In another administrative list from Nineveh the *appu* of a garment is followed by the logographic qualification GIŠ⁷.MEŠ,⁶¹⁰ perhaps indicating a number of decorative elements of the article of clothing described in the text. Are these GIŠ⁷.MEŠ to be referred to elements representing trees in the decoration of the garment's fringed border? If this working hypothesis is valid, a possible candidate could be the motif of the Assyrian sacred tree that is represented in the decoration of the Neo-Assyrian king's garment, as may be seen in the case of Assurnāṣirpal II's royal dress in reliefs from Kalḫu.⁶¹¹ It seems that *appus* were characteristic elements of *urnutu*-garments⁶¹² and linen *maqat-tu*-garments.⁶¹³ Other words for fringe are *qannu* and *sissiqtu* (see below).⁶¹⁴ Representations of fringed garments are ubiquitous in Neo-Assyrian visual art.⁶¹⁵ 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.⁶¹⁶

aqqābu, “hind-part”.⁶¹⁷ This textile component occurs in association with *gammīdu*-garments.⁶¹⁸ Perhaps, another occurrence of the word may be found in a

606 See, e.g., Barnett 1976, pls. 49–53.

607 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

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

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

610 SAA 7, 108 i' 5'.

611 Layard 1849–53, pls. 6, 8, 9.

612 SAA 7, 109 ii 4'.

613 SAA 7, 109 iii 4'.

614 The word *ṭamūtu*, “band, fringe”, derived from the verb *ṭamū*, “to spin”, is only attested in the lexical list An VII 269. See CAD T, 46b s.v. Perhaps, an occurrence of the word is also in K 6323+ iii 24 (Kwasman 2009, 115) 4 *ṭam^lr⁷mu²te⁷*. The word is read as *dam^lr⁷x x⁷* by Kwasman. The scholar suggests the possibility that the word in question is *ṭamūtu*, although a form **ṭam-mūtu*, with a double *m*, is unattested.

615 See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 25 and *passim*.

616 Guralnick 2004, 223.

617 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”.

618 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 17–18.

list of textiles.⁶¹⁹ Von Soden connects this Assyrian word to Jewish Aramaic ‘*aq-qābā*, which he translates as “Überbleibsel”.⁶²⁰ However, as pointed out by Abraham and Sokoloff, no such word with such a meaning exists in Aramaic.⁶²¹

betātu, “strings(?)”.⁶²² This item is interpreted by CAD as a decoration used on garments and leather objects.⁶²³ It is worth noting that this textile term occurs in connection with *naḥlaptu*. In fact, PVA also lists a *naḥlaptu ša betāti* among different types of *naḥlaptu*.⁶²⁴ The interpretation by MacGinnis and Willis Monroe that the *betātus* mentioned in a Neo-Assyrian document from Ziyaret Tepe refer to “slippers”⁶²⁵ is only based on El-Amarna attestations concerning leather objects.⁶²⁶ The editors do not consider that the word is also used in Middle Assyrian times not only in connection with leather containers but also as a qualification for articles of clothing.⁶²⁷ As far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, the term is used to qualify cloaks. Instead of “decoration” or “slippers”, it is possible that shoelaces and purse strings were named with this term. In the case of *naḥlaptu*, 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.⁶²⁸

birnu, “multicoloured trim/border?”.⁶²⁹ This word is a nominal form from the verb *barāmu*, “to be multicoloured”.⁶³⁰ The adjective *barmu*, “multicoloured”,

619 SAA 7, 109 r. iv 1’–2’ [*aq-qa*]-*bi x x[x x x x] / [x] KUN² GÛN.A KUR²*, “[The hind-pa]rt of [...-textile(s)], [...] the rear, (equipped with) *birnu* (or multicoloured?), of the country” (Reconstruction of the broken part of the occurrence by the author).

620 von Soden 1966, 6.

621 Abraham, Sokoloff 2011, 26, no. 13.

622 PVA 223; ZTT II, 33:7.

623 CAD B, 214b.

624 PVA 223.

625 MacGinnis, Willis Monroe 2013–2014, 52.

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

627 MARV III, 13:2’, 7’.

628 ZTT II, 33:1–7 7 TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ / 4 TÚG.ma-ak-[ul.MEŠ] / 2 TÚG.KI.TA—‘*ḥal-lu-pat*’ / 1 TÚG.ša’—IŠ *ša ḥi-[l]a²-nu* / 2 TÚG.ia-ḥi-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 *iḥilus*, four *datean* garments for five pairs of *betātus*.”

629 Billa 71:1, 5 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); BIWA, A ii 10, 40, 93, iii 91; B ii 91; C iii 10b, 55, 126; F i 52, ii 8; 190, ii 9’; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 449; Prunk. 142, 181; K 6323+ ii 17’ (Kwasman 2009, 114); Levine 1972, line ii 18; Mayer 1983, line 366; RIMA 2, A.O.100.5:72, 107, 109; A.O.101.1 i 79, 87, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 74, 78, 87; A.O.101.2:30, 50; A.O.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.O.101.19:89; A.O.101.73; RIMA 3, A.O.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.O.102.60; A.O.102.90; A.O.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 12:1’, 10’; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22;

is used to qualify wool in PVA.⁶³¹ The item called *birmu* is peculiar to the textiles called *kusītu*, *maqaṭṭu* and *qarrāru*.⁶³² Also the *nēbettu*, the *qirmu* and the *sasuppu* could be characterized by the presence of *birmu*,⁶³³ if we accept the reading of the logogram GÛN/GÛN.A as *birmu* instead of *barmu*, “multicoloured”.⁶³⁴ Albenda interprets the word *birmu* as referring to patterned cloths.⁶³⁵ 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.⁶³⁶ In Middle Assyrian Assur the weavers fabricated the *birmu* for the *kusītu*'s hem.⁶³⁷ It is interesting to observe that a Middle Assyrian text mentions a *birmu* for the statue of the king;⁶³⁸ presumably, it served to embellish the vestments that covered the king's statue. In alternative, it is possible that the *birmu ša šalam šarri* was a *birmu* decorated with images of the king. A text from the archive 13058 mentions a *birmu* with *erēnu*, “cedar(-decorations?)”.⁶³⁹ This reminds us of the cedar-tree decorations of *ḥullānus* in another Middle Assyrian document from Assur.⁶⁴⁰ This not only confirms that the *birmu* was characterized by a decorative design, but also that the cedar-based decorative motif was peculiar to this item. In Assyria and Babylonia the *birmu* was produced by a specialised weaver called *ušpār birmi*.⁶⁴¹ That the *birmu* had to do with sewing seams (*šibītu*) is confirmed by

42:14'; 47:28, r.12'; 49 r.8; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5'; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii' 20'; 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.

630 CAD B, 103a s.v. *barāmu* B. In DRS, 85a the root **brm* has been connected with the Hebrew word *b^ṣromîm*, indicating multicoloured fabrics in *Ez.* 27:24. The same root means “to weave” in Gaonic Babylonian Aramaic. See DJBA, 247a.

631 PVA 219 SĪG.GÛN = *ba-aḥ-ma-a-du* (variant in manuscript D: [*ba-a*]r-ma-a-tū). See CAD B, 112b s.v. *barmu* (lexical section).

632 SAA 7, 97 r.5; 99:1; 105:6', 7'.

633 StAT 3, 1 r.23, 25, 28.

634 We cannot exclude that the logogram is used for the adjective *barmu* in many of the Neo-Assyrian attestations. The form GÛN.A is attested in SAA 7, 109 r. iv 2'. The translation of *birmu* as “multicoloured” is followed in the editions of Neo-Assyrian texts. See Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii.

635 Albenda 2005, 56.

636 Postgate 2014, 409–410.

637 MARV III, 5 r.38'–39'.

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

639 KAM 11, 71:2 *bir-mu ša e-re-nu*.

640 AfO 19, T.6:1–2 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52).

641 ADW 9:4; 27 r.8'; CTN 2, 91:2; SAA 6, 42 r.8; SAA 12, 27:24; 94:5.

a Middle Assyrian occurrence concerning blue-coloured *naḥlaptus*.⁶⁴² The *birmu*-cloth was woven separately and then sewn onto the garment. The fact that Neo-Babylonian texts distinguish between weavers of linen and weavers of *birmu*⁶⁴³ confirms that the *birmu* was made of wool. Other Neo-Babylonian texts show that the weaver of *birmu* was the recipient of amounts of different coloured wools with which he had to fabricate various items of multicoloured clothing, such as sashes.⁶⁴⁴ Another plausible hypothesis is that *birmu* indicated a polychromatic breast-piece which was added to vestments. In a Neo-Assyrian letter of Nabû-šarru-ušur, the *birmu* is said to have been placed before the breast of Adad's statue,⁶⁴⁵ perhaps as a decorative piece for his garments. Assyrian royal garments are usually represented in palace reliefs as having a finely-executed round- or rectangular-shaped decorative part in the breast-area,⁶⁴⁶ although it is not certain whether such breast-pieces were made of fabric or metal plaques. If these breast-pieces were made of fabric, it is possible that thin needles were used to embroider these decorative parts of garments with figurative and geometrical designs. The use of needles for embroidery has been suggested by Crowfoot in the case of some loose threads of embroidery discovered in the Nimrud tombs.⁶⁴⁷ Also the ornamental design of tassels from Nimrud must have been made by needle.⁶⁴⁸ Multicoloured and decorated border strips are a peculiarity of Assyrian garments, especially those worn by kings. In all likelihood, the artisan who produced these strips was probably engaged in the decoration of a wide variety of textile products, from sleeves to garments' borders, from breast pieces to ribbons for the royal fez. Following Dalley's hypothesis, it is possible that such border strips or trims, characterized by a very narrow width, were woven on the horizontal loom, band loom or tablet card.⁶⁴⁹ PVA lists another entry related to this word, *ša-birme*,⁶⁵⁰ possibly a designation for the fabric used to weave the *birmu*. It is interesting to observe that in this lexical list a variety of *ša-birme* is called *ša-lišānāte* (from *lišānu*, "tongue"),⁶⁵¹ perhaps referring to the pattern of the *ša-birme* fabric.⁶⁵²

642 KAM 11, 96:2–3 *bir-mu* "ša" ši-pi-ya₈-a-tu / a-na TÚG.ĜÚ'.È-te NA₄.ZA¹.[GÌN].

643 CT 22, 57:5–6. Cited in CAD I-J, 253b.

644 See references quoted in CAD I-J, 254a.

645 SAA 16, 84 r.12 *bir-me ina* IGI *ir-te*.

646 See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pls. 5–6, 19; Fales, Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27.

647 Crowfoot 1995, 114, 117.

648 Crowfoot 1995, 114.

649 Dalley 1991, 126.

650 PVA 266 TÚG.ša–*bir-me*.

651 PVA 267 TÚG.: *ša* EME.MEŠ.

652 This meaning as regards textiles is not included in CAD L, 214b–215a s.v. *lišānu* 6.

ēnu (eye-shaped ornament or pattern of garments). In a document from Tell Ḥalaf dealing with distribution of articles of clothing to palace personnel there is a number of *gulēnus* and twenty garments called IGI.2.MEŠ.⁶⁵³ As shown by an inventory of textiles from Nineveh, also *urnutus* could be decorated by *ēnu*-elements.⁶⁵⁴ Perhaps, this qualification refers to eye-shaped ornaments of woven fabric or metal that decorated the surface of these clothes.⁶⁵⁵ This use of the word *ēnu* is not included in the dictionaries. It is tempting to identify these eye-shaped items with the concentric circles characterizing the decorative pattern of royal garments represented in some Neo-Assyrian wall paintings and stone reliefs. In a wall painting from Til Barsip, Tiglath-pileser III wears a fighting garment decorated with black circles enclosing small red circles.⁶⁵⁶ An analogous design adorns the garment of a male figure on a bronze frieze from a standard from Sargon's palace in Khorsabad.⁶⁵⁷ The motif of the concentric circle, usually enriched by a central dot, is frequently attested in the patterned fabric of garments worn by late Assyrian kings, such as Sennacherib and especially Assurbanipal.⁶⁵⁸ Rows of small concentric circles are shown in the elaborate garments worn by Assurbanipal and his palace assistants in various stone reliefs from Nineveh.⁶⁵⁹ The same pattern may be seen also in the royal umbrella of this king, decorated with alternating bands of large rosettes and concentric circles.⁶⁶⁰ According to Guralnick, it is possible that elaborate motifs, such as the encircled rosettes and the concentric circles, had a symbolic meaning related to kingship.⁶⁶¹ Possible candidates for the *ēnu*-elements could also be some of the appliqués discovered in Nimrud. Gold discs with raised centres were among the dress ornaments that decorated the luxury clothes of the Assyrian queens from Kalḫu.⁶⁶² A decorated variant of the golden hollow buttons that adorned the queens' garments was enriched by the presence of an eye stone in the middle.⁶⁶³

653 TH 63 r.11 20 TÚG IGI.2.MEŠ. This logographic form is tentatively interpreted by Dornauer as *šubat ēnē* and translated as "IGI.II-Stoff". See Dornauer 2014, 87.

654 SAA 7, 109 ii 2'-3' 1 *ur-nat* GI₆¹ NIGIN ZA[G x] / *sa-a* GUD IGI.2 'GÚ'.[LÁ].

655 In Friedrich *et al.* 1940, 41 fn. *ad* l.11 the editors of this text tentatively suggest a possible use of these textiles to protect eyes from the sun.

656 Guralnick 2004, 223 and fig. 2.

657 Guralnick 2004, 227 and fig. 9.

658 Guralnick 2004, 228, 230–231.

659 Guralnick 2004, 228.

660 Guralnick 2004, 228 and fig. 11.

661 Guralnick 2004, 231.

662 See Hussein 2016, 90, 133 and pls. 80d, 151i.

663 See Hussein 2016, 95 and 80e. Red and white carnelian stones were used for these buttons.

kišiptu, “cut-off piece (of a garment)”.⁶⁶⁴ This meaning is not included in the dictionaries, which only record the meaning “calculation” (from the verb *kašāpu/kešēpu*, “to think, estimate”).⁶⁶⁵ However, it is clear that the textile-related meaning of *kišiptu* hardly derives from the verb *kašāpu/kešēpu*,⁶⁶⁶ while the best candidate seems to be *kašāpu* (II), which seems to be a Neo-Assyrian form of *kasāpu*, “to cut off”.⁶⁶⁷

libānu, “collar of garments”.⁶⁶⁸ This part of garment is mentioned in two textile lists from Nineveh describing linen *maqaṭtus*.⁶⁶⁹ The collar in the Neo-Assyrian royal garment could be decorated by a row of rosettes,⁶⁷⁰ buds,⁶⁷¹ or concentric circles and rosettes in alternation.⁶⁷² The Nimrud dress ornaments show that the neck of the more elaborate luxury garments could be adorned with woven gold bands.⁶⁷³

libbu, “inner side of a garment”.⁶⁷⁴ Durand has shown that in Mari administrative texts cloths are described as having two “faces” (*pānū*).⁶⁷⁵ Other Old Babylonian descriptions of textiles confirm that cloths had two sides, an outer side, called *pānum*, and an inner side, called *lā pānum*⁶⁷⁶ or *libbum*.⁶⁷⁷ These qualifications especially applied to cloths that were not yet sewn to a particular article of clothing.⁶⁷⁸ An account of various commodities from Nineveh records an inner side of an item of clothing. Since the item in question is followed by

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

665 CDA, 161b.

666 CAD K, 314a.

667 Postgate 1973a, 27 fn. *ad* 5'.

668 For the word *labānu/libānu*, “neck”, see CAD L, 12a.

669 SAA 7, 97 r.1 '4' TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi GADA ZAG 'SA₅'¹ KAR¹ G[Ú?] (x)]. The sign GÚ is also visible in another administrative text, although it could be the word GÚ.LÁ/hullānu, see SAA 7, 103:1' [x TÚG]. 'x' G[Ú].LÁ *bé-te*] (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

670 Layard 1848–53, pl. 25.

671 Layard 1849–53, pl. 6.

672 Barnett 1976, pl. 8. For details, see the photograph reproduced in Fales, Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27. See also Barnett 1976, pls. 12, 65.

673 See Hussein 2016, 29, 107 and pl. 103b.

674 For the word *libbu* see CAD L, 164b. The use of this word in connection with textiles is not mentioned in CAD, with the exception of the occurrence of UET 6, 414:5.

675 Durand 2009, 77–78.

676 Lackenbacher 1982, 132, 144.

677 Wasserman 2013, 262, 273 line 5.

678 Wasserman 2013, 262.

the plural form U.SAG.MEŠ,⁶⁷⁹ it is reasonable to think that the inner cloth was that of the *kubšus*. Therefore, what the text is listing is one cloth for the inner side of head coverings.

libītu. This term, derived from *labû* (*lamû*, *lawû*), “to encircle”, probably designated the rim or border of garments.⁶⁸⁰ It is attested in the logographic form NIGÍN in lists of textiles from Nineveh as a descriptive element of *našbutus*,⁶⁸¹ *urnutus*,⁶⁸² and *šupālītu ḥalluptu*-garments.⁶⁸³ In the case of *urnutu*, the border of this garment was also indicated as *siḥru* (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.⁶⁸⁴ 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.⁶⁸⁵ The Nimrud textile remains show that tassels were used to embellish the border of one or more garments of the Assyrian queens buried there.⁶⁸⁶

nītu. A Nimrud document shows that *nītu*-element(s) characterized the garment called *šupālītu ḥalluptu* in Neo-Assyrian.⁶⁸⁷ In a Middle Assyrian text from Tell Billa this item occurs in association with *naḥlaptu*-garments.⁶⁸⁸ The meaning of the word *nītu* is not clear: AEAD suggests that it was a precious item,⁶⁸⁹ perhaps used as a decoration for this garment. The verb *nētu* means “to enclose, surround” and the idea of enclosure seems to fit well 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 ḥalluptus* and *naḥlaptus*.

679 SAA 7, 120 ii' 16–17 1 TÚG.[Š]À² U.SAG.MEŠ / [x x S]A₅² KUR.

680 CAD L, 191a.

681 SAA 7, 96:11'; 97:11'; 102:1'.

682 SAA 7, 96 r.2; 102:2'.

683 SAA 7, 105:9', 10'.

684 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 241.

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

686 See Crowfoot 1995, 115 fig. 4.

687 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).

688 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-ḥi-šu*, “[... *n*]aḥlaptu-garment(s) [of ..., with] 12 *nītu*-elements(?), [...] the weaver [...]”.

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

pūtu, “front-part”.⁶⁹⁰ This element, which is indicated in the texts with the logogram ZAG, occurs in descriptions of the items of clothing called *elītu*, *gulēnu*, *ma-klulu*, *maqaṭtu*, *našbutu*, *qirmu*, *raddidu*, *ša-GIL* and *urnutu*, as well as the *sasuppu*-napkin.⁶⁹¹ 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 *nīksu*-textiles mentioned in a list from Assur, the red *pūtu* is associated with red sides (braids?).⁶⁹² It seems that some articles of clothing were characterized by more than one *pūtu*.⁶⁹³ The *pūtu*-element of Neo-Assyrian garments is usually red, except for some attestations where it is black.⁶⁹⁴ 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. As already discussed above, in this composition there is a passage concerning the goddess Ištar, precisely her manifestation in Babylon, who was called “The Lady of Babylon”.⁶⁹⁵ 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.⁶⁹⁶ Accordingly, it is possible that the mention of coloured “front-parts” in Assyria was analogously used to indicate lined textiles.

qannu, “hem”. This designation for hem⁶⁹⁷ is only used in the scholarly language, since the common term for hem or fringe in Neo-Assyrian was *sissiqtu* (see below). In a hymn to Nanāya, the blessing of the goddess in favour of King Sargon is invoked. In this literary composition, the king is referred to as the one who holds the hem of her divine garment,⁶⁹⁸ as a symbol of the king’s

690 K 6323+ ii 2 (Kwasman 2009, 114); PVA 247; 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.

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

692 StAT 3, 1:10–11.

693 In the case of *elītu* and *gulēnu* the texts show the plural form ZAG.MEŠ, see CTN 2, 155 r. v 11’ and PVA 247.

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

695 SAA 3, 34:42–43.

696 Durand 2009, 78.

697 AHw, 897a; CAD Q, 83a s.v. *qannu* B.

698 SAA 3, 4 r. ii 18’–19’ *kur-bi* ¹LUGAL—GI.NA *ša-bit qa-ni-ki / re-’u-ú* KUR—aš-šur.KI *a-lik ar-ke-e-ki*, “Bless Sargon, who holds fast the hem of your garment, the shepherd of Assyria, who walks behind you!”.

devotion to the goddess. In a letter by Issār-šumu-ereš, a hem, possibly belonging to the royal garment, is mentioned in the context of the substitute king ritual.⁶⁹⁹

sāiu. This term is always attested in the plural form *sāiāte*⁷⁰⁰ and in connection to *urnutu*-garments.⁷⁰¹ However, *urnutus* could also be defined as “not *sāiu*” (NU *sa-a*).⁷⁰² 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.⁷⁰³ Fales and Postgate prefer translating this term as meaning “knotted”.⁷⁰⁴ Villard follows this interpretation and suggests the translation “à point noué”.⁷⁰⁵ But this is far from certain. I am not sure that the word is used here to denote a specific technical characteristic of the garment’s fabric. Another possibility is considering the form *sāiu* as a variant for *samītu*, a word which refers to an architectural element.⁷⁰⁶ The form *sāiu* as referring 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”.⁷⁰⁷ In fact, in CAD it is suggested that the Neo-Assyrian plural form *sa-a-a-te*, attested in connection to textiles, could be a rendering of the word *samītu*, “battlement parapet”, or (*a*)*sa’ittu*, “tower”.⁷⁰⁸ In addition, we cannot rule out that the singular form was *sa’ītu*, not *sāiu*. In light of the possible semantic connection with the architectural terminology, it is tempting to identify these *sa’ītu*-elements in wool and linen garments with towers or crenellated structures, an ubiquitous motif in Neo-Assyrian art. Crenellated elements decorated the whole surface of male and female garments⁷⁰⁹ as well as their border and tassels.⁷¹⁰ This characteristic element of

699 SAA 10, 12 r.8.

700 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*²-*te*¹ 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).

701 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’.

702 SAA 7, 109 r. iii 7’–8’.

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

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

705 Villard 2010, 395.

706 CAD S, 117a.

707 SAA 11, 15 r. i 2, 7, 8, r. ii 7’; 21:9.

708 CAD S, 117b.

709 See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 20; Fales, Postgate 1992, 116 fig. 27.

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

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 walls⁷¹¹ and the Pazyryk *shabrak* of the 4th century BC discovered in Siberia.⁷¹²

siḫru. With this term, derived from the verb *saḫāru*, “to go around, turn”, the edging or border of garments was probably indicated.⁷¹³ In the Neo-Assyrian texts, it is attested in its logographic form NIGÍN in connection with *našbutus*,⁷¹⁴ *šaddīnus*⁷¹⁵ and *urnutu*-garments.⁷¹⁶ It is not clear whether *siḫru* 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.⁷¹⁷

sissiqtu (also *zizziqtu*), “hem, fringe”.⁷¹⁸ The form with emphatic velar is confirmed by a Middle Assyrian attestation⁷¹⁹ and suggests to normalize the Babylonian and Assyrian form as *sissiqtu* (from **sigsiqtu*), instead of *sissiktu*.⁷²⁰ The phonetical rendering *zizziqtu* in a letter from the royal correspondence of Esarhaddon⁷²¹ shows that [z] was an allophone for <š>. ⁷²² In a Neo-Babylonian letter of the Assyrian royal correspondence we also find the form *siksistu*, affected by syllabic metathesis or, perhaps, simple inversion of the signs.⁷²³ From PVA we learn that TÚG.BAR.SIG was an alternative logographic writing for this textile term.⁷²⁴ The *kusitu*'s hem is only attested in Middle Assyrian texts.⁷²⁵ It seems

711 Muscarella *et al.* 1992, 226.

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

713 CAD S, 239a.

714 SAA 7, 96:11'.

715 SAA 7, 96 r.2; 97:11'; 102:1', 2'; 109 ii 2'.

716 SAA 7, 109 ii 4', 5', 6'.

717 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxviii.

718 PVA 299; SAA 3, 11 r.14; SAA 10, 298:17; SAA 16, 36 r.16; SAA 17, 38:6; 57:13.

719 MARV III, 8 r.25' *zi-zi-qa-tu-šu-n[u]*.

720 See Postgate 2014, 425–426 for discussion and references.

721 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*.

722 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 10.

723 SAA 17, 57:13 *sik-sis-ti*.

724 PVA 300. The preceding line mentions the entry TÚG.SÍG = *zizziktu*.

725 MARV III, 5 r.38'–39'.

that hems of garments were managed as separate items by the state administration, as shown by an attestation in a document from the palace administrator's archive in Assur.⁷²⁶ According to the Old Babylonian laundering terminology, it seems that the word *sissiqtum* was the general term for any border of the cloth, while the selvage or raw edge of the cloth was called *qapsidum*.⁷²⁷ The hem of a garment played an important role in Mesopotamian legal transactions. The practice of sealing legal documents with the garment's *sissiqtu*⁷²⁸ 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.⁷²⁹ As an extension of the personal identity and as the materialisation of an individual's social role, the *sissiqtu* becomes the physical expression of reputation. This may be observed in the curse section of Assurbanipal's Coronation Hymn, where the social status and reputation of the one who utters improprieties against the king are described in terms of "foundation" (*išdu*) and "garment's hem" (*sissiqtu*).⁷³⁰

sūnu. This term designates a part of a garment. In Mari texts it refers to a textile end product and a type of wool.⁷³¹ When referring to a textile, Durand translates it as "gigot, galon, ourlet".⁷³² Also in Nuzi and Kassite Babylonia the *sūnu* was a component of a garment. In Middle Assyrian times, *išhanabe*- and *ašianu*-garments, as well as *tusahhūri*-wrappings, are mentioned with their own *sūnu*.⁷³³ This cloth-piece could be of *takiltu*-wool, according to Bābu-aḥa-iddina's archive.⁷³⁴ In 1st-millennium BC Assyria this textile was associated with other garments. In a document from Kalḫu it occurs with a garment called *ša-IŠ* (see above).⁷³⁵ In that case, Postgate translates the term as "breast-piece".⁷³⁶ In an ad-

726 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.sí-sik-k[a²¹-tu].

727 See Wasserman 2013, 260–261.

728 Petschow 1957–71, 319b–320a; CAD S, 323a s.v. *sissiktu* b. For a hem impression on an Old Babylonian tablet from the British Museum see Taylor 2011, 16 fig. 1.5 (right: BM 81023).

729 Bunnens 2012, 79 and fig. 13.

730 SAA 3, 11 r.13–15 *šá a-na LUGAL ina ŠÀ-bi-šú i-ta-mu-ú nu-ul-la-a-ti / i-šid-su me-ḫu-ú si-si[q-ṭ]a-šú ḫa-a-m[u⁷]*, "He who in his heart utters improprieties against the king - his foundation is (but) wind, the hem of his garment is (but) litter."

731 Durand 2009, 93–95, 149.

732 Durand 2009, 94.

733 Donbaz 1991, 77, A 70:1–2 1 TÚG.iš-ḫa-na-be / *ša ÚR BABBAR*. See also Postgate 1979a, 7.

734 Donbaz 1991, 74–75, A 1722:1–2; AFO 19, T.6:9–10 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 52).

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

736 Postgate 1973a, 166.

ministrative text from Nineveh *sūnu* denotes a part of an *urnutu*-garment.⁷³⁷ Dalley's interpretation of the *sūnu* as a trimming⁷³⁸ seems to accord with the Middle Assyrian attestations.⁷³⁹ In contrast, in a Neo-Babylonian letter from the royal correspondence *sūnu* is used as a commodity of its own; in fact, the sender of the message states to have sent one *sūnu* of very good quality,⁷⁴⁰ which was probably destined to the gods' statues.⁷⁴¹ In this case, the item in question is translated by Dietrich as "sash".⁷⁴² In Neo-Babylonian sources the *sūnu* occurs among the items of dress used to cover the statues of gods Dumuzi, ^dIGI.DU, and "the Goddesses".⁷⁴³

šippu. The word *šippu* is used in textile labels and lists from Nineveh to describe linen *urnutus*,⁷⁴⁴ *gammīdus*⁷⁴⁵ and possibly other textiles.⁷⁴⁶ If this is a designation for a vegetal element,⁷⁴⁷ the word is probably to be related to the terms *šippatu* (a vegetable)⁷⁴⁸ and *šippūtu* (a tree?).⁷⁴⁹ Accordingly, the garments in question would have been decorated with vegetal motifs similar to those adorning the king's dress represented in palace reliefs.⁷⁵⁰ On linen garments, these motifs could have been embroidered with threads of coloured wool.

šiddu, "side of a garment".⁷⁵¹ This designation for a part of a garment is only attested in the logographic form UŠ. Various articles of clothing are described as having *šiddus*. In a list from Assur, textiles called *nixsus* are described as characterized by different coloured parts: a (main) part of the textile is white,

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

738 Dalley 1980, 72–73.

739 Postgate 2014, 422–423.

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

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

742 Dietrich 2003, 71.

743 Beaulieu 2003, 15.

744 SAA 7, 96 r.3 3 TÚG.ur-nat GADA *šip-pi* [0].

745 SAA 7, 97 r.8 1 TÚG.ga-mid :. šit'-[ip-pi] (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

746 SAA 7, 109 r. iv 5' [x x] ZAG :. 'šip⁷³-pi' (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

747 See AHw, 1104b; CAD Š, 204a s.v. *šippu* B; CDA, 339a.

748 CAD Š, 203a s.v. *šippatu* B: "a vegetable".

749 ND 2424:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 24, pl. XII). See CAD Š, 204a.

750 For 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.

751 ND 2307:16, 19, r.5 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); PVA 258, 289; StAT 3, 1:10; TH 52 r.11.

while the sides and the front-part are red (UŠ ZAG SA₅).⁷⁵² Also SI.LUH-textiles could be equipped with sides whose colour differed from that of the main part of the cloth.⁷⁵³ It is interesting to observe that in a document from Tell Ḥalaf the *šiddu* is listed not as a part of garments, but as a specific textile item; twelve of this article are listed among other garments and objects.⁷⁵⁴ Analogous considerations may be made about the *šiddus* enumerated in a dowry list from Kalḫu, where this article always occurs between *urnutus* and *ḫuzūnus*,⁷⁵⁵ two kinds of garments.

uṣurtu. The term indicates the design or pattern of garments.⁷⁵⁶ The cloth with designs or patterned fabric, called *ša-parāki*(?), was probably added to various areas of garments, especially on the chest, the sleeves and the border.⁷⁵⁷ We also know that the *naḥlaptus* could be enriched by decorative designs.⁷⁵⁸ Different elements of the decorative design characterising Assyrian lavish garments are explicitly mentioned in an administrative text from Nineveh: unfortunately, the name of the garment decorated with pomegranates (*nurmû*) is not preserved in the document,⁷⁵⁹ while a bull (*alpu*),⁷⁶⁰ an eye-shaped element (*ēnu*)⁷⁶¹ and a goat (*šibtu*)⁷⁶² 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.⁷⁶³ It seems that fabrics decorated with mythological beings and religious scenes were limited to the reign periods of Assurnāširpal II and Assurbanipal.⁷⁶⁴ As regards vegetal motifs, petals and leaves have been detected on the tiny fragments of patterned textiles found in

752 StAt 3, 1:11. Faist tentatively suggests the translation of “mit roter Borte” for the qualification UŠ ZAG SA₅.

753 PVA 258 *ša* UŠ.MEŠ-šú ‘x x x’, “with ...-coloured sides”.

754 TH 52 r.11 12 TÚG.UŠ.MEŠ.

755 ND 2307:16, 19, r.5 (*traq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

756 This meaning is not included in CAD U-W, 290b s.v. *uṣurtu* A.

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

758 See PVA 225 TÚG : *ša* ‘GIŠ.ḪUR’.MEŠ.

759 SAA 7, 109 i 2’.

760 SAA 7, 109 ii 3’.

761 SAA 7, 109 ii 3’.

762 SAA 7, 109 ii 5’.

763 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.

764 Guralnick 2004, 231.

the Tomb 1 at Nimrud;⁷⁶⁵ these ornamental designs could have been made by using a needle, according to Crowfoot.⁷⁶⁶ Discs and concentric discs are other peculiar elements that decorated Assyrian kings' garments, as may be observed from a look to palatine reliefs, and are a possible candidate for the eye-shaped elements mentioned in the texts (see above).

uznu (lit. "ear", an element of the textile's border?). One of varieties of the SI.LUḪ-textile was characterized by *uznu*-elements.⁷⁶⁷ Perhaps, the *uznus* were protruding elements of the border of the textile or decorative elements of it. A candidate for these ear-shaped decorations are probably the half-circles that occur in the design of certain textiles in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs.⁷⁶⁸ This meaning of the word in connection with textiles is not listed in the dictionaries.⁷⁶⁹

zibbutu, "tail, tail-end". This term, logographically written as KUN,⁷⁷⁰ is interpreted as referring to the rear part of garments.⁷⁷¹ From the extant attestations in the Nineveh administrative text corpus, it seems that the *zibbutu*-element characterized red garments.⁷⁷² In one case, both the front-part (*pūtu*) and the rear part of a garment are mentioned.⁷⁷³ We also know that garments with a *zibbutu*-element also had fringes.⁷⁷⁴ It is also possible that this designation referred to 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 Nineveh⁷⁷⁵ as wearing a high-long or 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.

765 Crowfoot 1995, 114, 117.

766 Crowfoot 1995, 114.

767 PVA 259 ša PL.2.MEŠ.

768 See, e.g., Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 30.

769 Among the various meanings of the word *uznu*, CAD includes that of "handle" when referred to objects. See CAD U-W, 371a s.v. *uznu* 5.

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

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

772 SAA 7, 106:2, 4.

773 SAA 7, 107:2'.

774 SAA 7, 108 i' 5'.

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

The administrative lists of textiles from Nineveh include other qualifications possibly to be referred to technical peculiarities or decorative elements of the items of clothing mentioned in the texts. Unfortunately, these words are only in part readable in the tablets, as in the case of the words *gi[...]* (in connection with *ša-ḫartus* and *urnutus*).⁷⁷⁶ Other terms, instead, are only attested in logographic writing, such as GIŠ(?) (always written in the plural form GIŠ.MEŠ, “trees?”, in one case qualifying the fringed rear part of a garment)⁷⁷⁷ and ÍD (qualifying garments, in one case of red wool and in another case written in the plural form ÍD.MEŠ).⁷⁷⁸

6.4 Head-dresses

Head coverings were of different types in Assyria. Some designations relate to bands or diadems, other terms to more elaborate items, possibly turbans or fezzes.

aparakku. This designation for headgear is only attested in PVA,⁷⁷⁹ in a section concerning head coverings.⁷⁸⁰

i'lu, “band (for head or feet)”.⁷⁸¹ This is a nominal form from the verb *e'ēlu* (Ass. *e'ālu*), “to bind”.⁷⁸² Middle Assyrian attestations show different writings for this textile term, namely *ia'lu*,⁷⁸³ *a'lu*⁷⁸⁴ and *alu*.⁷⁸⁵ The lexical list PVA mentions this kind of headgear,⁷⁸⁶ whose name is also indicated with the logographic writing

⁷⁷⁶ SAA 7, 96:9'; 97 r.9.

⁷⁷⁷ SAA 7, 108 i' 2', 5'.

⁷⁷⁸ SAA 7, 105:12', 13'. The word *nāru* (ÍD), “river”, is also used in Akkadian as a mathematical term meaning “strip”. See CAD N/I, 376b s.v. *nāru* 3a. Perhaps, this meaning was also used in textile terminology to indicate peculiarities of the structure of a kind of fabric or decorative elements of a garment. Alternatively, it is possible that the logogram ÍD was an abbreviation for a different word. See the obscure term ÍD-*la-te* in CTN 2, 1:3', mentioned among textiles.

⁷⁷⁹ PVA 276. See AHw, 57a; CAD A/II, 166b; CDA, 19b; AEAD, 8b.

⁷⁸⁰ PVA 271–276.

⁷⁸¹ AHw, 373b s.v. *i'lu* 2: “eine Binde?”; CAD I-J, 90b s.v. *i'lu* A: “a garment”; CDA, 127b: “band, binding”. AEAD, 41a: “band (for head or feet)”. See also Postgate 2014, 417: “a band, sash?”.

⁷⁸² CAD E, 40a.

⁷⁸³ KAM 11, 55:2; 111:3; MARV X, 36:2 (StAT 5, 36); 59 r.11 (StAT 5, 59); 82:1 (StAT 5, 82).

⁷⁸⁴ KAJ 256:5; MARV III, 5 e.26'; 13:1'; MARV VII, 102 r.20'; MARV IX, 89:7'.

⁷⁸⁵ MARV III, 8 r.27'.

⁷⁸⁶ PVA 251–252.

TÚG.SIG₄^{tu-na-ni-barZA}.⁷⁸⁷ From glosses in other lexical lists we may observe that the *i'lu* was a linen textile.⁷⁸⁸ Of this item of clothing two varieties are known to the compiler of PVA, *i. e.*, *ša musarri*, “(equipped) with a girdle”,⁷⁸⁹ and *ša sāhiri*, “of the petty merchant”.⁷⁹⁰ The variety of *i'lu* with girdle is also documented in 2nd-millennium Assyria.⁷⁹¹ In addition, the *i'lu* is attested in the 2nd millennium in Mari, Nuzi and Ugarit.⁷⁹² Durand interprets this item as an article of clothing “à trame serrée”.⁷⁹³ Middle Assyrian texts show that the *i'lu* was a supplementary article accompanying various garments.⁷⁹⁴

karballutu, “cap, head-cloth, (pointed) hat”.⁷⁹⁵ This head covering is documented in texts from Kalḫu and Nineveh. The word, whose origin is unknown, is also attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian texts which describe it as a linen textile.⁷⁹⁶ The Aram. *karbālā/karbāltā*,⁷⁹⁷ designating a type of head covering, is probably a loanword from Akkadian. As regards Neo-Assyrian attestations, a linen *karballutu* is mentioned in a short record of possible contributions brought by officials; it is associated to the name of Nabû-aḥḥē-erība, the delegate of Tyre.⁷⁹⁸ Presumably, also the *karballutu* mentioned in the inventory of domestic commodities of Ṭāb-šār-papāḫi was of linen, since it occurs among other textiles made of this material.⁷⁹⁹

787 PVA 251.

788 See CAD I-J, 90b (lexical section). See Durand 2009, 35.

789 PVA 253. For the Assyrian word *musarru/meserru*, see CAD M/II, 110b s.v. *miserru* 1. According to TH 48, *meserrus* were used by Assyrian soldiers in combination with *gulēnus* and *sāgus*.

790 PVA 254. See CAD S, 60b s.v. *sāhiru* A.

791 An *i'lu ša mu-ša-ri* occurs in MARV VII, 102 r.20'.

792 See CAD I-J, 90b for references. For attestations of the term in texts from Ugarit see Vita 2010, 332.

793 Durand 2009, 35.

794 For the association of the *i'lu* with *naḥlaptus* see MARV III, 5 e.26'. In the administrative list KAM 11, 111 the *i'lu* occurs among *ḥurdatus*, *naḥlaptus* and *nēbeḥus*. In MARV X, 82:1 twenty *i'lus* are listed together with ten garments (TÚG.ḪI.A.MEŠ). This means that each garment was accompanied by a pair of *i'lus*. See Postgate 2014, 417.

795 Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.49 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII); ND 2687 e.12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); SAA 7, 97 r.11; 121 i 5'; 128:4; 129:10'. See AHW, 449a; CAD K, 215b; CDA, 149a; AEAD, 47a.

796 TCL 9, 117:13; Cyr 183:17. See CAD K, 215b s.v.

797 DJBA, 599a; Sokoloff 2009, 647a. On the term *karbāltā* in the Babylonian Talmud see Katsikadeli 2017, 161.

798 SAA 7, 128:4.

799 Ki 1904–10–9, 154+ r.49 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 153, pl. XXVII). Note also that in line r.50 all these textiles are counted as woven textiles of linen (TÚG.PA.MEŠ GADA). See also SAA 7, 129:10' for a *karballutu* following a linen garment.

kubšu, “cap, mitre, fez”.⁸⁰⁰ This head covering is already attested in the 2nd millennium BC, as shown by attestations in Mari, Ugarit and Assyria.⁸⁰¹ No etymology is known for this textile designation in Akkadian. From this word the verb *kabāšu*, “to put headgear on”, is derived.⁸⁰² In the Neo-Assyrian terminology of extispicy, *kubšu* is used as a technical term to indicate a part of exta.⁸⁰³ The *kubšu* was a characteristic element of the royal dress and insignia.⁸⁰⁴ According to Durand, this item must have had “une structure solide”, a peculiarity that made it a textile “assez volumineux”.⁸⁰⁵ In Middle Assyrian times, *kubšus* weighing twenty shekels are known.⁸⁰⁶ A smaller variety of *kubšu* is documented in another 2nd-millennium text from Assur, according to which the weight of this kind of cap was 75 g each.⁸⁰⁷ Postgate suggests that this item was also indicated in Middle Assyrian texts as TÚG.UGU, a designation for a felt headgear.⁸⁰⁸ According to the Middle Assyrian documentary evidence, *kubšus* were made of felt.⁸⁰⁹ From a list of royal funeral goods and an administrative document we learn that Neo-Assyrian *kubšus* could be white,⁸¹⁰ as their 2nd-millennium counterparts.⁸¹¹ It seems that the cloth used for the inner part of the *kubšu* was of different colour.⁸¹² In the section concerning head coverings in PVA we may see that different varieties were in use in 1st-millennium Assyria. The U.SAG-section includes varieties called NIM.MA.KI, “Elamite(-styled)”,⁸¹³ *ša ÚR*, “with *sūnu*”,⁸¹⁴ *ša meḥsi*,

800 CTN 2, 155 r. v 14'; K 6323+ r. i' 4', 15' (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:6, 7 (StAT 1, 39); KAR 98:9; Mayer 1983, line 412; PVA 271; Radner 2016, text no. I.5 e.5; SAA 7, 74:4; 96:8'; 105:11'; 120 ii' 16; SAA 10, 96 r.10, 16, 21; 184 r.6; SAA 11, 28:12; SAA 18, 19:8; 183 r.7, 8. See AHw, 497b; CAD K, 485b; CDA, 164a; AEAD, 51a.

801 Durand 2009, 51–53; Vita 2010, 333; Postgate 2014, 418.

802 CAD K, 11b.

803 See SAA 4, 7 r.11; 14 s.2; 51 r.8; 66 r.5; 71 r.9; 77 r.6; 130 r.12; 156 r.20; 229 r.7; 232 s.3; 258 r.5; 266 r.10; 280:11, 17; 282:9; 287:8; 290:10; 292:5; 295:3; 300:2; 304:9, 10; 305:6; 307:8, 10; 308:8; 312:3; 316:7; 320 r.1, 9; 323:7; 326:5; 331:4; 343:2; 349:6; 352:5. See also SAA 10, 184 r.6.

804 For references to the *kubšu* worn by foreign kings in Neo-Assyrian texts, see Mayer 1983, line 412, KAR 98:9, and CAD K, 485b s.v. *kubšu* 1b.

805 Durand 2009, 52.

806 MARV III, 5 r.33'.

807 MARV III, 53:1–2. See Postgate 2000, 214 and Llop 2016, 202 for discussion.

808 Postgate 2014, 418.

809 MARV III, 53:1–2. See Postgate 2000, 214; Jakob 2003, 27–28; Llop 2016, 201.

810 K 6323+ r. i' 4', 15' (Kwasman 2009, p. 116); SAA 7, 105:11'.

811 See MARV III, 5 r.33'.

812 KUR-red is mentioned in SAA 7, 120 ii' 16–17.

813 PVA 272.

814 PVA 273.

“of woven cloth?”,⁸¹⁵ *ša IM.MEŠ*, “for the wind”.⁸¹⁶ An Elamite gold mitre (U.SAG NIM KUG.GI) is also attested in the aforementioned list of funeral goods dedicated to the Assyrian king.⁸¹⁷ Presumably, it was a mitre decorated with golden sequins. This is witnessed by a Ninevite record listing two star-shaped ornaments for a *kubšu*.⁸¹⁸ The clearest piece of evidence about the decoration of this headgear is provided by a letter from Mari cited by Durand, where rock crystal, precious stones and gold are used to adorn this item of royal clothing.⁸¹⁹ Elamite head coverings are represented in scenes of prisoners in palace reliefs. The room of Assurbanipal’s North Palace housing the scene of the triumphal banquet following the defeat of the Elamites shows that the Elamite headgear was bulbous-shaped.⁸²⁰ Worn mitres are mentioned in an inventory text from Nimrud,⁸²¹ presumably to be repaired. The *kubšu* came in different shapes. The variety worn by Assyrian priests was a tall cap shaped as a caudal fin, as witnessed by some Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs.⁸²² Two letters of Akkullānu, astrologer and priest of the Aššur Temple, show that consecration of priests required shaving and wearing this head covering.⁸²³ Shaving presumably denoted the achievement of a state of pureness, while by wearing the *kubšu* the appointed person was recognized as a member of the priestly class.⁸²⁴ Appointing priests was an exclusive prerogative of the king. Presumably, the colour of the *kubšu* and that of the clothes worn by the Assyrian priests varied according to the hierarchical position

815 PVA 274. According to CAD S, 388b s.v. *sūnu* B, this is a possible form for *ša miḫši*, “of woven cloth?”. But see also CAD M/II, 4b which lists the entry *meḫsu* as having an unknown meaning.

816 PVA 275. See CAD S/II, 133a s.v. *šāru* A.

817 K 6323+ iii 22 (Kwasman 2009, 115).

818 SAA 7, 74:3–4 1 2/3 MA.NA *x[x x]* / TA 2 MUL¹ U.SAG¹ [*x x*].

819 See the translation of the king’s letter to Mukannišum (XVIII, 8) in Durand 2009, 53: “Vrai, Je t’ai dit un nombre incalculable de fois, à propos du cristal de roche, des pierres fines et de l’or du bonnet: ‘Fais-moi penser que cette coiffe doit recevoir sa décoration!’ Tu ne m’as pas fait penser à cette coiffe! Je suis resté huit jours à Terqa sans que tu me fasses porter cristal de roche, pierres fines ni or! Cette coiffe n’a pas reçu ses enfilages. Aujourd’hui les rois vont arriver et cette coiffe se trouve sans ses enfilages! Le jour même où tu écouteras cette tablette de moi, fais-moi porter cristal de roche, pierres fines, or et coiffe rapidement afin qu’elle reçoive ses enfilages à Saggāratum, avant que n’arrivent les rois!”

820 Barnett 1976, pls. 63–64 (Room S’, slab A).

821 CTN 2, 155 r. v 14’.

822 Barnett 1976, pl. 62e; Luukko, Van Buylaere 2002, 59, fig. 12.

823 SAA 10, 96 r.6–17; 97:5’-e.13’.

824 Löhnert 2007, 276.

of the wearer within the cultic staff.⁸²⁵ A message sent to Assurbanipal by Aplāya, a high official in Dilbat, informs the monarch about the crimes of Zabāba-erība, who killed the recruitment officer and took his clothes, including his *kubšu*.⁸²⁶ The provision of *kubšus* was part of the *ilku*-contributions to be delivered to the palace.⁸²⁷ As already observed, the occupation of the *ša-kubšišu*⁸²⁸ probably consisted in producing or selling this item of clothing. Makers of this kind of headwear are already attested in the 2nd millennium BC, as shown by the occupation of the *kubšuhuli* (with Hurrian ending *-uhuli/uhli*), documented in Alalakh.⁸²⁹ One wonders whether the Neo-Assyrian place named *Āl ša kubšātēšu*, “Hatter’s Town”,⁸³⁰ which occurs in a fragment belonging to a schedule to land grant in favour of Nabû-šarru-ušur, chief eunuch of Assurbanipal (657 BC), is to be interpreted as a centre of production of *kubšus* located in a district of the urban area or, following a working hypothesis recently suggested by Baker,⁸³¹ to land-holdings assigned for sustenance to a collective of artisans who produced this kind of headgear in the city. In the case of the craftsmen who fabricated *kubšus*, it is reasonable to think that their working place was located in proximity of those who provided them the raw materials needed for their occupation—dyed wool, felt, metal sequins and so on. It is also clear that their working place had to be close to those whom they served, namely palace and temple households, as well as private households. These considerations lead us to conclude that *kubšu*-specialists worked in the urban context, not in the countryside. The context of the land grant is clearly related to settlements in the countryside, since the document lists large estates with fields, vineyards and gardens.⁸³² Pal-

825 Reade 2005, 8. However, no colour is currently visible in Neo-Assyrian visual art concerning ritual scenes and priests. According to SAA 10, 182, it seems that dressing in purple served to mark such hierarchical distinctions. See Löhnert 2007, 283.

826 SAA 18, 183 r.3’–9’.

827 SAA 11, 28:12.

828 Radner 2016, texts nos. I.37 e.12’; I.42:15; I.56:7; SAA 6, 342:4’; SAA 11, 213 iii 2’; SAA 12, 63:2’; SAA 14, 155:8; SAA 15, 73 r.11, 12.

829 JCS 13, 26, 263:18. Cited in CAD K, 487a.

830 SAA 12, 28:35.

831 Baker 2016, 60–64. If these towns were rural settlements of artisans who actually worked in the city, then it is possible that the working of the land and the everyday running of the rural settlement was conducted by local tenants who worked for the landowners, as suggested by Baker.

832 See SAA 12, 28:29–35, r.4’–8’. The document dealing with the land grant in favour of Nabû-šarru-ušur also lists textile craftsmen among other people belonging to the estates. See SAA 12, 27:24 *’in-DINGIR LÚ.UŠ.BAR-GÜN 2 ZI.MEŠ ’PAB-le-i LÚ.[U]Š.BAR-GÜN 2 ZI.MEŠ ’[x x x x x x x]x 3 ZI.MEŠ ’[x x x]*, “In-ili, weaver of multicoloured trim, two persons; Aḫu-lē’i, weaver of multi-coloured trim, two persons; [...], three persons; [...]” Textile artisans also occur in lists of the

ace reliefs and monuments shows that the king's mitre or fez was an important element of the royal dress. The most attested type of royal head-dress since the Middle Assyrian period is shaped as a truncated cone. Ribbons, consisting in a pair of long strips of fringed cloth attached to the back and hanging down the shoulders, were also present in this cap. Decorative narrow bands along the top and the bottom occur in some varieties of this head covering. In more elaborate variants, an upturned brim or a diadem in the front part is also represented. Sometimes, the tall cap is topped by a small knob or pointed cone. In scenes represented in palace reliefs and monuments, wearing this headgear distinguished the king's person from his entourage, whose members do not wear any head-dress or, in alternative, wear different head coverings, generally in the form of headbands. By the 9th century BC, the type of tall fez shaped as a truncated cone with conical top, diadem in the front and ribbons at back became a peculiar element of the Assyrian royal dress.⁸³³ The one worn by Assurnasirpal II shows a band of small rosettes on the upper part, while the diadem wrapping the fez is adorned with a big rosette in the front-part.⁸³⁴ The fez in the shape of a truncated cone is depicted in a scene of royal investiture of a Neo-Assyrian helmet of the 9th century BC. This is the only visual representation of the Neo-Assyrian royal investiture. In the scene, the king is portrayed in the act of receiving the ceremonial weapon from Aššur and the royal *kubšu* from Ištar.⁸³⁵ Surviving painted sculptures show that red was used as the colour for the royal headgear in the front part and the brim, while white occurs in the bands hanging down and green in the rosette-shaped ornaments.⁸³⁶ In the reign period of Tiglath-pileser III the royal headgear shows three horizontal bands, each of them decorated by a row of rosettes. This fez became the standard head-dress of the Assyrian kings throughout the 7th century BC. Assurbanipal's fez also shows a series of decorative bands in the pointed cone at the top.⁸³⁷ As observed by Reade, remains of painted reliefs attest to the use of different colour-schemes in royal fezzes. White is used in Sargon's headgear depicted on the Khorsabad panels, while its decorative red bands are adorned with white rosettes. The fez could

state administration dealing with land. See SAA 11, 177:6', r.7, which lists *kāširus* among vegetable gardeners and other people, possibly part of a land-holding.

833 Reade 2009, 248–250.

834 See, e.g., the slab 7 of Room C of Assurnasirpal's palace in Kalḫu in Møller 1995, 81.

835 Born, Seidl 1995, 36.

836 Reade 2009, 250.

837 Reade 2009, 256 fig. 16. See also Barnett 1976, pls. 5, 8, 10–12, 16, 28, 35, 59, 60, 68. The top of the pointed cone is characterized by triangular shapes converging towards the cap's pointed extremity. See Barnett 1976, pl. 11.

also be red with white bands and yellow rosettes. Other variants include the use of yellow for the fez and blue for the circle-shaped ornaments.⁸³⁸ The royal fez is completely red or brown in a Til Barsip painting depicting a royal hunt. Blue and red ribbons are attached to its back and it has no decorative bands at all.⁸³⁹ The royal fez with pointed cone is shown by Assurbanipal on carved images portraying him as a basket-carrier in his stelae commemorating the rebuilding of Babylonian temples.⁸⁴⁰ In contrast, in scenes in palace reliefs illustrating his royal hunts, Assurbanipal only wears a headband decorated with rosettes.⁸⁴¹ This was an item more suitable for hunting activities in comparison with the cumbersome tiara, but one cannot exclude that representations of Assurbanipal wearing the diadem were reminiscent of the period when he was crown prince. A headband similar to that shown in the hunt scenes is worn by this king in the well-known banquet in the royal garden depicted in a room of the North Palace in Nineveh.⁸⁴² Instead, in scenes of royal rituals Assurbanipal acts as the high priest of the god Aššur and, consequently, he wears the usual tall fez with pointed cone and ribbons as in usual official and public occasions.⁸⁴³

kulūlu, “headband, diadem”.⁸⁴⁴ As far as the Neo-Assyrian period is concerned, this word is only attested in a royal inscription of Adad-nērārī II, where the king defines Šamaš as the “lord of my *kulūlu*”,⁸⁴⁵ and in a query to the Sun-god.⁸⁴⁶ Von Soden connected the word *kulūlu* to *kilīlu*, “mural crown, cornice”.⁸⁴⁷ From these names the verb *kullulu*, “to veil, crown” is derived. The connection to *kilīlu* suggests that it consisted of a head-dress with a crenellated structure, what makes a crown. Accordingly, the term probably refers to both a headband (of fabric or metal) and a crown. A crenellated crown is worn by the Assyrian queen portrayed in the scene of the banquet in the royal garden with Assurba-

838 Reade 2009, 256.

839 See Reade 2009, 256 for discussion.

840 For the stele commemorating the rebuilding of Esagil, see Barnett 1976, pl. 1 (BM 90864). For the stele concerning the rebuilding of the Nabû temple in Borsippa, see Parpola 1993, 291 fig. 39 (BM 90865).

841 Barnett 1976, pls. 46, 47, 49, 50–52, 53, 56, 57. But see in *ibidem*, pl. 59 (hunting scene on the top of the relief), where the tall pointed fez is used instead of the headband.

842 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

843 See the scene representing Assurbanipal in the act of pouring a libation on some killed lions in Barnett 1976, pl. 59 (scene at the bottom of the relief).

844 For the word see AHw, 505a; CAD K, 527a; CDA, 166b; AEAD, 51b.

845 RIMA 2, A.0.99.2:102.

846 SAA 4, 307:12'.

847 AHw, 505a.

nipal in a relief of the North Palace.⁸⁴⁸ Different varieties of gold crown were recovered from the Nimrud tombs: one was discovered in Tomb 2, near the heads of the two skeletons, and is formed by three registers of twelve-petalled rosettes,⁸⁴⁹ while the second crown was found in Coffin 2 of Tomb 3 and consists of golden wires, rosettes, winged figures and leaves studded with precious stones.⁸⁵⁰ A golden crown is among the jewels of gold and precious stones donated by Sennacherib to his son Esarhaddon.⁸⁵¹ A crown of stone(?), or perhaps a crown decorated with stones, is mentioned in a document among textiles and jewellery.⁸⁵² In the Middle Assyrian Coronation Ritual, the gods Aššur and Mullissu are invoked as the lords of the king's *kulūlu* and the ones who are in charge of putting the *kulūlu* on the king's head.⁸⁵³ The act of crowning with the *kulūlu* marked the entering of the king in the office of high *sangū* of the god Aššur.⁸⁵⁴ It is worth noting that the term *kulūlu* is given in this text in the plural form (*kulūli*), possibly because it refers to two different crowns that formed a unique royal head-dress. This is suggested by a letter of Marduk-šumu-ušur, the chief exorcist, who describes the statue of the god Sîn in Ḥarrân as wearing two crowns (AGA.MEŠ). According to the author of this letter, these crowns were placed by the Assyrian king on his head.⁸⁵⁵ Moreover, it is also interesting to observe that in the Coronation Ritual text the *agû*, “tiara, crown”, is also mentioned, but it is referred to as the head covering of the god Aššur.⁸⁵⁶ The term *agû* is generally used to indicate the crown of gods' statues and that of kings.⁸⁵⁷ From various letters of the Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence we learn that the crown for the statues of gods was made of gold and precious stones.⁸⁵⁸ In his Eighth Cam-

848 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

849 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 289; Hussein 2016, 14, 69 and pl. 37a. This crown was found on the eastern side of the head of one of the two skeletons buried there. Possibly, it was associated with the upper skeleton.

850 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 373–374 figs. 159–160; Hussein 2016, 123 pls. 129–132.

851 SAA 12, 88:3.

852 CTN 2, 1:14'.

853 SAA 20, 7 ii 30–31. The invocation is made by the magnates and the eunuchs (see *ibidem*, 37–38) when the priest of the Aššur Temple brings the crown and put it on the king's head.

854 Löhnert 2007, 285.

855 SAA 10, 174:10–14. “Double crowns” are also attested in the Neo-Babylonian documentation. For the “double crown” of Zabāba, see UCP 9, 108, 53:3.

856 SAA 20, 7 ii 15.

857 See CAD A/I, 154a–156a s.v. *agû* A 1a-b for references.

858 Eye-stones of serpentine and gold for the *agû* of the god Nabû are mentioned in SAA 10, 348:11–17. For eye-stones to be used for the tiara of the same god, see SAA 10, 41:6. For the tiara of Nabû see also SAA 10, 353:5. The crown of Ušur-amāssu was made of gold. See SAA

paign account, Sargon describes the *agû* worn by a statue of the king of Urarţu as adorned with star-shaped elements.⁸⁵⁹ Presumably, also the Assyrian royal *agû* was made of metal and stones. No indications about the use of fabric for the *agû* are given in the Neo-Assyrian texts. Headbands are often represented in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs and monuments as head-dress worn by kings, court members and palace attendants. The crown prince is usually represented as wearing a diadem consisting of a band with ribbons.⁸⁶⁰ A variety of turban or bandanna is used by courtiers identified as eunuchs.⁸⁶¹ The colour-scheme of the crown prince's diadem on paintings at Til Barsip is given by red, white and blue.⁸⁶² In the well-known relief of Façade L of the Khorsabad Palace representing Sargon and the crown prince the latter wears a red diadem with red ribbons, and its decoration is characterized by rosettes, apparently white.⁸⁶³ Palace attendants wearing a simple headband without decoration are depicted in the aforementioned relief concerning the royal meal in the garden.⁸⁶⁴ In the same relief, Assurbanipal is wearing a headband with large concentric circles and fringed ribbons. Naqī'a, the queen mother, is represented as wearing a headband in a bronze relief kept at the Louvre Museum.⁸⁶⁵ The Assyrian queens also wear diadems. The gold version of female diadems is represented by the item that was recovered in the east end of the sarcophagus in Tomb 2; it consists of woven gold bands with a rectangular frontlet, headband with rosettes and tassel.⁸⁶⁶ Details on the materials used to fabricate the *kulûlu* only come from Neo-Babylonian texts concerning clothes for the gods' statues. Purple wool⁸⁶⁷ and red wool⁸⁶⁸

10, 349:16. Gold for a crown, possibly of a divine statue, is mentioned in SAA 13, 51:2'–4'. Gems for Anu's tiara and its sun discs are mentioned in SAA 13, 174:16–17.

859 Mayer 1983, line 402.

860 For the crown prince's diadem in reliefs from Kalḫu see Reade 2009, 249 fig. 11, 251 fig. 12. Crown prince Sennacherib wears an analogous diadem decorated with rosette-shaped motifs in a wall panel from Courtyard III, Façade L, of the royal palace of Khorsabad. See Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 12. In Esarhaddon's stele from Sam'al, Šamas-šumu-ukin and his brother Assurbanipal are represented as wearing a Babylonian and an Assyrian diadem respectively. Both the diadems have ribbons, but the one worn by Assurbanipal is decorated with concentric discs and its ribbons are fringed. See Matthiae 1998, 129.

861 Reade 2009, 249 fig. 11, 251 fig. 12.

862 Reade 2009, 256.

863 Reade 2009, 256.

864 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

865 Leichty 2011, 324 fig. 19.

866 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 234; Hussein 2016, 14–15, 70 and pl. 37b.

867 Cyr. 202:7; Camb. 382:2; CT 4, 38a:17; CT 44, 73:23. See CAD K, 527b.

868 UCP 9, 85, 12:3. See CAD K, 527b.

were used to produce the *kulūlu* for divine statues. *Inzaḥurētu*-dye was also needed to dye this item of clothing.⁸⁶⁹

parsīgu, “headband, turban”.⁸⁷⁰ This Sumerian loanword (< *bar-si*/*bar-sig*) indicated a sash used as turban. Following Durand, who discussed the attestations of the *parsikkum* in Mari, this headgear probably consisted in a versatile item of dress.⁸⁷¹ The item occurs in a fragmentary Middle Assyrian letter from Tell Billa, possibly concerning textiles.⁸⁷² In the Neo-Assyrian corpus the *parsīgu* is documented only in PVA.⁸⁷³ From the lexical list Hh V 303, it seems that a special shuttle or bobbin (*šīšītu*) was used to fabricate the fabric for this item of clothing.⁸⁷⁴ In Old Assyrian times this headband—made of goat hair—was not produced for trade but for personal use.⁸⁷⁵ *Parsīgus* were usually made of wool, especially those produced for trade. In Old Babylonian the woven fabric used for this headgear is called *šutū*, a term which also indicates the warp.⁸⁷⁶ According to Neo-Babylonian documents from temple archives, the *paršīgu* was one of the head-dresses used to clothe statues of both female and male deities. In Sippar, it was fabricated for the *simulacra* of Adad, Aya, Anunnītu, Bunene, Gula, the “Daughter of Ebabbar”, Šamaš, Šala and Šarrat Sippar. The *paršīgu* used to clothe the statue of Šarrat Sippar was made of blue-purple wool,⁸⁷⁷ while that of Bunene could only be dressed with a white headband.⁸⁷⁸ For other deities of the Sipparean pantheon, red *paršīgus* were fabricated.⁸⁷⁹

869 Cyr. 253:6, 8. See CAD K, 527b.

870 See AHW, 836a; CAD P, 203a; CDA, 267a; AEAD, 81a. Note that Middle and Neo-Assyrian evidence is omitted in CAD.

871 Durand 2009, 82: “Il devait s’agir, à en croire l’étymologie sumérienne, du foulard par excellence, du genre du *keffieh* actuel, lequel est d’ailleurs susceptible d’être porté de différentes façons. Il s’agissait donc bien d’une pièce essentielle de l’habillement.”

872 Billa 61:16 (JCS 7 [1953], 135) TUG⁷.BAR.SI.IG. See Postgate 2014, 422 for the reading and discussion.

873 PVA 300.

874 See CAD P, 203a (lexical section). However, the term *šīšītu* is translated as “loom” in the dictionary.

875 Michel, Veenhof 2010, 238.

876 See the references in CAD P, 204a s.v. *paršīgu* A b and CAD Š/III, 408a s.v. *šutū* A b.

877 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 43:2; 47:2; 67 r.23; 170:12.

878 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 87 r.12; 293 r. ii 5’; 294 i 9’; 295 i 6’; 297 i 4’, r. ii 4’.

879 See, e.g., Zawadzki 2013, nos. 170:8, r.14, 20; 178:7, r.21, 29; 210:9; 214:5’; 229:7; 290 r.15; 291:6.

pitūtu, “diadem, (royal) headband”.⁸⁸⁰ This royal headgear is mentioned in the prophecy uttered by the *raggimtu* Mullissu-kabtat in favour of Assurbanipal.⁸⁸¹ In Assyria, the official investiture of the crown prince was signaled by the girding (*rakāsu*) of the diadem, as witnessed by a letter dealing with the promotion of Assurbanipal.⁸⁸² In a fragmentary letter, possibly sent to the king by Ṭāb-šār-Aššur, the sender describes to the monarch the content of some reliefs decorating the walls of the Old Palace; according to his words, it seems that some figures represented in these reliefs worn diadems.⁸⁸³

raddīdu. This term has been interpreted as referring to an article of clothing, perhaps a veil.⁸⁸⁴ A connection with Aramaic *rəḏīdā* is not indicated in the dictionaries. In Aramaic, this textile designation was used to indicate a light veil.⁸⁸⁵ The Neo-Assyrian *raddīdu* was characterized by a front-piece dyed with red “of the port”.⁸⁸⁶ A textile label from Nineveh lists *raddīdus* in a group of wraps and shawls. This probably indicates that the item in question belonged to this category of textiles.⁸⁸⁷ In another textile label it is mentioned along with *gulēnus* and *huzūnus*.⁸⁸⁸ Veils were a characteristic piece of female clothing in Assyria, but evidence on this component of women’s wardrobe predominantly comes from Middle Assyrian sources. It seems that veils marked the social status of women and were a sign of good reputation and dignity. This concept is clearly expressed in a Middle Assyrian incantation text, according to which a woman wearing no veil (*pušunnu*) was considered as shameless.⁸⁸⁹ According to the Middle Assyrian Laws, the head of a woman had to be covered in the public during the daytime. This applied to various social categories of women: unmarried

880 PVA 296; SAA 5, 282 r.3’; SAA 9, 7:7; SAA 10, 185:8. See AHw, 871a; CAD P, 448a; CDA, 276b; AEAD, 84a.

881 SAA 9, 7:7 [ma-a AD-ka x x]x-a-ti TŪG.pi-tu-tu i-rak-kas, “[Your father] shall gird the diadem [...]”

882 SAA 10, 185:7–9 DUMU-ka / TŪG.pi-tu-tu tar-ta-kas LUGAL-ú-tú / ša KUR—aš-šur ina pa-ni-šú tu-us-sa-ad-gi-il, “You have girded a son of yours with headband and entrusted to him the kingship of Assyria.” See Parpola 1997a, 38 ad no. 7:7.

883 SAA 5, 282 r.3’ [p]i-tu-a-te ina I[GI x x x x], “[di]adems in fr[ont of ...]”

884 SAA 7, 96:6’; 98:11’; 105:3’. On this term, see AHw, 941a; CAD R, 60a; CDA, 295a; AEAD, 91a.

885 DJPA, 517a s.v. 1; Sokoloff 2009, 1438b. The derivative *rəḏīdā* designated in Syriac the vestment of deacon without sleeves. See *ibidem*.

886 SAA 7, 105:3’.

887 SAA 7, 96:6’–7’.

888 SAA 7, 98:11’–13’.

889 Iraq 31 (1969), 31:45 pu-šu-ni ul pa-šu-na-at, “She wears no veil, she has no shame”. See CAD P, 537b s.v. *pusummu*.

daughters, wives, and widows. Also concubines had to be veiled. This regulation about women's dress also applied to *qadiltu*-priestesses taken in marriage. Only prostitutes and slave women could go in the main thoroughfare bareheaded.⁸⁹⁰ Veiling a woman was a public act and required the assembling of witnesses and the man's declaration that she was his wife.⁸⁹¹ Through this act the married girl entered the family of the husband.⁸⁹² The word used in the incantation text to indicate the veil is *pušunnu*, a variant of *pusummu* (< *pasāmu*, "to veil").⁸⁹³ This textile designation for veils and the act of veiling in the context of marriage ceremonies are already attested in the Old Assyrian period.⁸⁹⁴ Instead, in the Middle Assyrian law collection we find the adjective *paššuntu*, "veiled", which is the Assyrian feminine form of the word *pussunu*.⁸⁹⁵ These terms do not appear in the late stage of the Assyrian dialect.⁸⁹⁶ Veils in divine dressing can give us further evidence about the use of this item of clothing by Mesopotamian women. Some female deities are described as veiled in Assyrian and Babylonian texts of the 1st-millennium BC, such as Nanāya⁸⁹⁷ and Šarrat Sippar.⁸⁹⁸ Pictorial evidence for veils worn by women can be found in representations of deportees in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs. Perhaps, the Assyrian veil was a sort of long shawl that was used to cover both the head and the body.⁸⁹⁹ Shorter veils were probably worn by using headbands of fabric or metal. The gold crown dis-

890 Roth 2014, 165–166, A § 40.

891 Roth 2014, 166, A § 41.

892 On this aspect see Michel 1997, 38 with references to this act in texts from Mari and in the Bible.

893 CAD P, 537b s.v. *pusummu*.

894 See AKT 3, 80:22–24 *pu-sū-nam / i-na qā-qā-ad šū-ḥa-ar-tim / a-ša-kān-ma*, "(When Laliya will arrive), I will place the veil on the girl's head." See Michel 1997, 38 for discussion.

895 CAD P, 537a s.v. *pussunu*. In some lexical lists, the adjective *pussuntum/puššuntum* is used as a synonym for *kallātum*, "daughter-in-law, bride". See *ibidem* (lexical section).

896 CAD P, 537b quotes Old and Middle Assyrian attestations.

897 RINAP 4, 135:1.

898 Zawadzki 2013, nos. 193 r.15; 195:11; 196 r.20; 200:11; 203 r.13; 205 r.11'; 210 r.17; 212 r.14; 228:13; 231:15; 237 r.6'; 254 r.8'; 262 r.6'; 274:4'; 452:2; 495:2. On the veil as a component of the clothing ensemble of the Babylonian goddesses see also TCL 13, 233:4.

899 See, e.g., Matthiae 1996, fig. 4.4 for the scene from the North-West Palace in Nimrud depicting Babylonian female deportees and cattle. This clothing item was also used by Arab women, as witnessed by a scene shown in the Central Palace. See *ibidem*, fig. 4.6. A similar shawl covering the head is also represented in the relief concerning the siege of Lachish in the South-West Palace in Nineveh. See *ibid.*, fig. 8.25. In a relief from Sargon's royal palace in Khorsabad both men and women from Philistia wear this item of clothing. See *ibid.*, figs. 6.21, 6.22.

covered in Tomb 2 at Nimrud⁹⁰⁰ could have been used for this purpose for one of the queens buried there.⁹⁰¹

ša-kaqqidi, “head covering, head-scarf”.⁹⁰² This is another designation for headgear, only mentioned in PVA.⁹⁰³ This head covering is already attested in Mari, where it is used as a generic designation for female headgear.⁹⁰⁴

6.5 Textiles of different use

6.5.1 Bandages and other wrapping cloths

In this group, bandages and types of wrapping cloths are listed, although it is not certain whether some of them were also used as pieces of clothing.

kišru. This word derives from the verb *kašāru*, “to tie, knot”.⁹⁰⁵ According to Parpola, the term indicates a bandage.⁹⁰⁶ This word occurs in the compound *bēt-kišri*, a designation possibly referring to a container for (linen?) bandages.⁹⁰⁷ However, this meaning is not included in the dictionaries. The possibility that the item in question was a textile is suggested by a text that gives instructions for the arrangement of a royal dinner, in the context of which a palace attendant, called *ša-bēt-kišri*,⁹⁰⁸ was in charge of receiving dirty linen napkins and hand-towels from the king’s guests and of giving out clean ones.⁹⁰⁹

900 Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 289; Hussein 2016, 14, 69 and pl. 37a.

901 For the possibility that the crown IM 105692 (ND 1989.1) was used as headband for a veil see Hussein 2016, 69.

902 CAD Q, 113a; AEAD, 106a. Note that CAD lists s.v. *ša qaqqadi* also the references concerning the Neo-Babylonian *lubar mē qaqqadi*.

903 PVA 280.

904 See Durand 2009, 113 on the item called *ša qaqqadim*.

905 CAD K, 257b.

906 AEAD, 50b.

907 CTN 2, 155 r. iii 9’; ZTT I, 22 r.6. See Gaspa 2014, 232–233. For a different interpretation, see CAD K, 442a and 443a, where the compounds *bīt kišri* and the *nomen professionis* *ša-bīt-kišri* are intended as “storeroom(?)” and “footman” respectively. In Parpola 2017, 91 *ad* no. 33 and 188b this professional name is translated as “special stock-room assistant, footman”.

908 SAA 20, 33 ii 16.

909 Gaspa 2014, 232–233.

lippu. This textile designation derives from the verb *lapāpu*, “to wrap around, roll up”, and it is translated in the dictionaries as “wrap, wrapping, tampon, wad”.⁹¹⁰ Middle Assyrian attestations seem to indicate that the word was used as a term for a wrap of roll of cloth, although this is far from certain.⁹¹¹ According to a work-assignment contract from Assur, two weavers were in charge of producing five *lippus* with a given amount of wool.⁹¹² In the Neo-Assyrian period, the word *lippu* designates a tampon, as witnessed by two letters sent by Urad-Nanāya to the king and dealing with remedies for nosebleed.⁹¹³ To this aim, tampons of *martakal*-seed were prepared. The sender gives instructions to prepare the *lip-pus*.⁹¹⁴ First of all, *martakal*-seeds were crushed and mixed with cedar. The resulting mixture was wrapped in red wool (*ina tabriḫi karāku*) and the tampons were inserted in the nostrils after the recitation of an incantation. From Urad-Nanāya’s letter, it is clear that the operation had to be repeated using other unspecified tufts of wool (*nipšu*).⁹¹⁵

sīqu. A textile called *sīqu* occurs in PVA among various items of clothing, some of which concerning warfare (*bēt qassi, nakbusu*).⁹¹⁶ This could be the adjective *sīqu*, “tight”,⁹¹⁷ derived from the verb *siāqu*, “to become narrow, tight”.⁹¹⁸ An alternative hypothesis is that the textile in question was a cloth for *sīqu*, “thigh, lap”,⁹¹⁹ therefore a sort of loincloth.

šimdu. This item, whose name is derived from the verb *šamādu*, “to gird, tie on, put on a bandage”,⁹²⁰ was a bandage.⁹²¹ From a Neo-Assyrian letter we learn that *šimdu*s were used for bandaging wounds.⁹²² It is interesting to observe that Sy-

910 AHw, 554b; CAD L, 200a; CDA, 183a; AEAD, 56a.

911 See Postgate 2014, 419. The Middle Assyrian attestations of this term are omitted in CAD L, 200a and AHw, 554b.

912 MARV III, 5 r.36–37.

913 SAA 10, 321:8; 322 r.7.

914 SAA 10, 321:13–17.

915 SAA 10, 321 r.4–15.

916 PVA 291.

917 CAD S, 305a. This interpretation is followed in AHw, 1049b and CDA, 325a.

918 CAD S, 169b.

919 CAD S, 305b.

920 CAD Š, 89b.

921 AHw, 1102b; CAD Š, 196b; CDA, 338b; AEAD, 105a. According to Durand, in Mari the term *šimdu* means “bandeau de force”, see Durand 2009, 96.

922 SAA 10, 335:4. But see SAA 19, 52:13, where the term occurs in the context of building work allotments.

riac *šemdā* occurs in the Pešitta as a possible designation for a garment, perhaps an exterior cloak.⁹²³

ulāpu, “sanitary napkin, rag”. This textile, documented in Old Assyrian as *ḫulāpu* and possibly based on the root **hlp*/*lp*,⁹²⁴ is only attested in the Neo-Assyrian corpus in the lexical list PVA, according to which it was analogous to the item called *sunābu* (see above).⁹²⁵

6.5.2 Blankets, bedspreads, bedcovers, rugs, mats, carpets and curtains

Textile artisans working in the Neo-Assyrian workshops were also engaged in the production of a variety of textile products not related to clothing. These items appear to be used to cover and adorn beds and other pieces of furniture as well as the interior spaces of royal residences, temples and private houses.

bēt rēši (or *bēt rēšti*?). Ten TÚG.É.SAG are mentioned among other luxury textiles in a dowry list from Kalḫu.⁹²⁶ In CAD the compound name *bīt rēšēti*, attested in a Neo-Babylonian text,⁹²⁷ is interpreted as referring to a “container for offerings”.⁹²⁸ However, an occurrence of this word may also be found in another Neo-Babylonian text, but in this case the item in question is a textile product. The Neo-Babylonian *bīt rēšētu* was a pillow for the headboard.⁹²⁹ The Neo-Assyrian term is generically intended in AEAD as a garment or a cloth.⁹³⁰ In the above-mentioned Nimrud dowry list the *bēt rēši* is mentioned between a linen *šaddīnu* and a pair of *kuzīppu*-garments. Perhaps, the *bēt rēši* was the Neo-Assyrian counterpart of the Neo-Babylonian *bīt rēšētu*. If so, the item in question was probably a pillow.

923 Pešitta, *Is.* 3:23. See Sokoloff 2009, 1292a.

924 Durand 2009, 48 fn. 52. On *ḫulāpu* see Michel, Veenhof 2010, 227 fn. 120.

925 PVA 297. For the term see AHW,1408a; CAD U-W, 71a; CDA, 420a; AEAD, 128b.

926 ND 2307 r.2–3 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

927 YOS 3, 193:22.

928 CAD R, 274b.

929 Jursa 2003, 230–231.

930 AEAD, 16b.

dappastu. This term designated a sort of rug, blanket or bedcover.⁹³¹ An inventory text from Kalḫu records a large amount of wool cloth to be used for the production of *dappastus*, namely three talents of black cloth and three talents of red cloth for ten *dappastus*.⁹³² This means that with 36 minas the Assyrian weavers were able to produce one *dappastu*. Red *dappastus* are also attested at Tell Ḫalaf and Nineveh.⁹³³ Administrative records inform us that some varieties were finely decorated with elements of precious metal, as already observed above.⁹³⁴ Apart from wool *dappastus*, a linen variety was also produced. In a large account of wool and flax from Nineveh an amount of linen is recorded as the quantity needed to produce six *dappastus* of linen, evidently a fine variety of blanket or bed-linen.⁹³⁵ From another document from Nimrud we learn that this textile was used to cover a plaque of a piece of furniture (*taḫlipu*).⁹³⁶ Two *dappastus* for chairs are listed in another inventory text.⁹³⁷ This use of *dappastus* is confirmed by a list from a private archive of Assur recording money sums of various investors who took part to the trading missions of the businessman Dūri-Aššur. The list mentions two *dappastus* for chairs whose value corresponds to ten shekels of silver.⁹³⁸ Among the pieces of furniture looted in Urartu, Sargon also mentions an unspecified number of *taḫlipus* of chairs, presumably covered with luxury textiles.⁹³⁹ It is tempting to identify the *taḫlipu* with the back of the king's high-back chair or throne. In a Til Barsip painting the back of the king's high-back chair is covered with a small fringed blanket showing an elaborate pattern of red and blue checks, bordered by a white trim. Also the trim is decorated with a checkerboard pattern, with red and blue squares in alternation. The possibility that the fabric folded over the back of the king's chair is a *dappastu* was suggest-

931 CTN 2, 1:3'; 152:5; 154 r.3'; K 6323+ ii 1 (Kwasman 2009, 114); ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); ND 2691:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 44, pl. XXIII); ND 2758:7' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); Radner 2016, text no. I.68:9': TÚG.dápa-sa-a-te; SAA 7, 64 r. i' 7'; 66 r. i' 1', 6'; 96:3'; 97:9'; 105:4'; 115 i 11; 117 r.3; 168:5'; SAA 16, 53:9; StAT 3, 1 r.18; TH 52:6; TH 64:4. See CAD D, 104b; AEAD, 21a. In other dictionaries the word is registered as *tappaštu*, see AHw, 1320b; CDA, 398a.

932 ND 2758:5'-7' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI).

933 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 7'; 96:3'; TH 52:6.

934 SAA 7, 64 r. i' 7'-10'; 66 r. i' 1'-8'.

935 SAA 7, 115 i 11.

936 ND 2311:7-8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X) TÚG.dápa-as-tu / [š]a GiŠ.taḫlip'. See CAD T, 51a s.v. *taḫlipu*.

937 ND 2758:8' (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI).

938 Radner 2016, 117, text no. I.68:9' 2 TÚG.dápa-sa-a-te GiŠ.GU.ZA ki-i 10 GÍN K[UG.UD].

939 Mayer 1983, line 356.

ed by Albenda.⁹⁴⁰ From the iconographic evidence about Assyrian thrones of the 8th and 7th centuries BC, it is clear that both the back and the seat of these royal chairs were covered with fringed textiles.⁹⁴¹ In a bas-relief from the South-West Palace in Nineveh, related to the defeat of the city of Lachish, Sennacherib is portrayed as seated on a throne with a high back rest and arm rests. Interestingly, the back is covered with a fringed blanket decorated with rosette-shaped motifs.⁹⁴² A fringed blanket on the back of the Assyrian queen's chair is represented in the garden meal scene in Room S' of Assurbanipal's North Palace in Nineveh.⁹⁴³ That the *dappastu* was a component of the king's belongings may also be seen in a list of goods mentioned in connection with a royal funeral. The textile used for this purpose had a black front part,⁹⁴⁴ an indication suggesting that the main piece of the fabric had a different colour, perhaps red. Also in this case, it is possible that the item in question was used for some piece of royal furniture.⁹⁴⁵ This textile was also used in cultic contexts, as may be surmised in the case of the four *dappastus* of red wool and the four *dappastus* of black wool listed in an inventory of textiles from the Aššur Temple in Assur⁹⁴⁶ and of the reference to the bed of the goddess Šērū'a in a memorandum concerning pieces of temple furniture.⁹⁴⁷ The *dappastu* was also a common textile in Assyrian houses. A private letter mentions what formed the domestic belongings of a family. The items include a bed, three *dappastus*, a *qarrāru*, chairs and a table.⁹⁴⁸ The association of *dappastu* with *qarrāru* and the use of *dappastus* for beds also occurs in administrative texts from Nineveh.⁹⁴⁹ The domestic equipment of a house in Kalḫu also includes a number of *dappastus* among other textiles.⁹⁵⁰ Assyrian upper-class women received this textile among other marriage gifts. In a dowry list from Kalḫu two *dappastus* occur along with four bedspreads.⁹⁵¹ Pictorial representations of blankets for the king's couch may be found in the afore-

940 Albenda 2005, 65.

941 See Kubba 2006, 112–115, 116, 122–124, 129.

942 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 23. See Kubba 2006, 122 for a description of this piece of furniture.

943 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

944 K 6323+ ii 1 (Kwasman 2009, 114).

945 In the same text a bed and a chair are also mentioned. See K 6323+ ii 19', 21' (Kwasman 2009, 114).

946 StAT 3, 1 r.18–19.

947 SAA 7, 117 r.3.

948 SAA 16, 53:8–11.

949 SAA 7, 97:8'–9'; 105:4'; 117 r.3–5. *Dappastus* and *qarrārus* are also mentioned in ND 2307 e.24 (Iraq 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

950 CTN 2, 154 r.3'.

951 ND 2307 e.24 (Iraq 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

mentioned relief from Room S' of the North Palace. It is worth noting that the blankets depicted in the garden meal scene are different: the one covering Assurbanipal has four angular tassels with a border characterized by a row of small squares or round elements and an outer border with a row of half circles. Instead, in the decorative border of the blanket covering the royal couch there are no tassels and half circles.⁹⁵²

ḫabû, “cushion?”. This textile designation is also attested in Akkadian in the variants *ḫawû*, *ḫayyû* and *ḫa'û*. In the Neo-Assyrian corpus it is only attested in PVA.⁹⁵³ In CAD H the occurrence of PVA is connected to the adjective *ḫabû*, “thick”, while no reference are made to the word *ḫawû*, interpreted as a designation for a kind of cloth.⁹⁵⁴ In AEAD the meaning “cushion” is tentatively suggested.⁹⁵⁵ In the Middle Assyrian period, the word *ḫa'û* is used as a qualification for clothes.⁹⁵⁶ As observed by Durand, the aforementioned variant forms reveal two different dialectal pronunciation of the word in question: an eastern pronunciation /ḫawu/ and a western pronunciation /ḫa(y)yu/.⁹⁵⁷ In Mari the *ḫa(y)yû* was used for pieces of furniture, especially for the throne, as well as as an internal covering for chariots.⁹⁵⁸ These attestations lead Durand to interpret the term as referring to a “tapis”.⁹⁵⁹ The logographic writing of this term given in the lexical list PVA is TÚG.ŠĀ.ĪA. It is interesting to observe that the compiler of this vocabulary opted for the word *ḫabû* instead of *šaḫ(h)û* as the phonetic equivalent of the logographic form. In fact, the Sumerian loanword *šaḫḫû*⁹⁶⁰ was not used in the Assyrian dialect. Attestations of this textile term in 1st-millennium Akkadian only occur in Neo-Babylonian texts. Zawadzki has demonstrated that the meaning given in the dictionaries for this textile term are inadequate. Documents from the Ebabbar archive clearly show that the *šaḫḫû* could be a wool as well as a linen cloth, to be used to fabricate various articles of clothing—some of which white—for the *lubuštu*-ceremony of the local deities.⁹⁶¹ We may therefore con-

952 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

953 PVA 263.

954 See CAD H, 18b s.v. *ḫabû* and *ibidem*, 162b s.v. *ḫawû*. See also AHW, 338b and CDA, 113a.

955 AEAD, 32b.

956 KAV 103:23.

957 Durand 2009, 43.

958 Durand 2009, 42–43.

959 Durand 2009, 43–44.

960 See AHW, 1131b; CAD S/I, 96a; CDA, 347a.

961 On this term, see Zawadzki 2006, 11 for discussion. For attestations of this textile designation, see Zawadzki 2013, nos. 70:1; 79:1; 117:1; 168:1.

clude that the cloth used to fabricate the *ḥabû* was considered similar to that of the Babylonian *šahhû*.

ḥa'ûtu, “cushion, pillow”. This is a nominal form with feminine ending derived from the word *ḥabû/ḥa'û* (see above). According to AEAD, the word designated a kind of pillow.⁹⁶² As described in the tablet containing the oracles related to Aššur's covenant with King Esarhaddon, the tablet of the covenant of Aššur was brought in the king's presence on a *ḥa'ûtu*, while oil was sprinkled, sacrificial sheep were slaughtered and incense was burnt.⁹⁶³

maldudu, “curtain?”. This textile term is a nominal formation from the verb *šadādu*, “to drag”.⁹⁶⁴ In an account from Nineveh, an amount of linen fibre issued by the palace is recorded. According to the text, this material was assigned for the production of an unspecified number of *maldudu*-textiles for the temple of Ištar.⁹⁶⁵

mardutu. Possibly, this is a name for curtain in Neo-Assyrian, although it could also designate tapestries.⁹⁶⁶ This term is already documented in the 2nd millennium, as witnessed by the attestations in texts from Mari, Nuzi, Ugarit and Assyria.⁹⁶⁷ In CAD this term is considered a foreign word.⁹⁶⁸ Instead, Durand suggests the possibility that it is based on the Semitic root **mrd/wrd*, leading to the interpretation of the item in question as a “(tissu) qui descend”.⁹⁶⁹ According to the interpretation given in CAD, the term *mardutu* designated a multicoloured fabric woven in a special technique, to be used for various textile products, for example

962 AEAD, 37a. In CAD H, 162a the term is not translated, although it is considered in relationship with the word *ḥawû*. AHW, 338b and CDA, 113a only list the entry *ḥa'û*.

963 SAA 9, 3 ii 27–32 *ṭup-pi a-de-e an-ni'-u šá^d aš-šur / ina UGU ḥa-'u-u-ti ina IGI LUGAL e-rab / ĩ —DÛG.GA i-za-ar-ri-qu / UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ ep-pu-šú / ŠEM.ĪI.A il-lu-ku / ina IGI LUGAL i-sa-as-si-u*.

964 CDA, 193b. On the same lexical root is based the Neo-Babylonian *šiddu*, another term for curtain. The word *maldudu* is only included in CDA, 193b and AEAD, 59a.

965 SAA 7, 115 r. ii 3–4. But note that Fales and Postgate translate the term as “veils”.

966 See AHW, 611a; CAD M/I, 277a; CDA, 197b; AEAD, 61a. See also Postgate 2014, 420 for the interpretation of the *mardutu* as a term for tapestry and carpets.

967 See CAD M/I, 277a for references. See also Vita 2010, 330–331 on the attestations of the word in texts from Ugarit and Postgate 2014, 420 on the Middle Assyrian occurrences.

968 CAD M/I, 277a.

969 Durand 2009, 64.

curtains.⁹⁷⁰ The possibility that the term also refers to a carpet cannot be ruled out, although the word seems to refer more to the appearance (and to the weave?) of the textile than to its final destination in form of end product. In the light of the texts from the city of Mari, Durand concludes that this textile was a sort of wall hanging. Smith, who has recently reviewed the evidence for this term, suggests that the meaning of the root **mrd* probably refers to the closely-packed weave which served to create unbroken fields of colour in the designs of the textile.⁹⁷¹ What is certain is that *mardatu*-textiles were used to adorn palaces and temples; its use in religious buildings may be seen in the case of the sanctuary of Ištar of Arbela: a Middle Assyrian text from Assur mentions two *mardatus*, probably to be identified with the curtains at the entrance of the cella, which needed to be repaired.⁹⁷² The 2nd-millennium attestations reveal that this polychromatic textile could be decorated with figural designs: the one described in a Middle Assyrian text from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta was decorated with figures of people, wild animals or monsters, fortified towns and images of the king.⁹⁷³ The Middle Assyrian *mardutus* could be of two varieties according to the technique used: knotted textiles or woven textiles. The former type of *mardutus* was produced by *kāširus*, the latter by *ušpārus*. A text from Kār-Tukultī-Ninurta shows that *mardutus* could have a very elaborate design, although not so rich as the one characterizing the woven *mardutus*: the knotted *mardutu* could be decorated with images of ibex and rosettes.⁹⁷⁴ Of the Neo-Assyrian *mardutu* we are informed thanks to a letter from the royal correspondence. Urdu-Nabû is the sender of a message dealing with arrangements for the preparation of Ištar's statue for an imminent festival. He informs the king that on the 29th day of the

970 CAD M/I, 277a s.v. For the interpretation that it designated a rug or tapestry see CDA, 197b and AEAD, 61a.

971 Smith 2013, 162.

972 MARV III, 8 r.35'–36' [x +]3' TÚG.ḪIA.ṾMEŠ' ù 2 TÚG.mar-da-a-tú / [x x] 'a'-na e-pa-še, "[...] three textiles and two curtains to be repaired." Freydanck prefers to translate the term with "Teppich", probably on the authority of von Soden (AHw, 611a: "ein Teppich?").

973 Köcher 1957–58, 306–307, lines iii 32–38 1 TÚG.mar-du-tu ša 5 pi-x-[x / ša ši-pár UŠ.BAR bir-mu-šu x[x / ni-še ù ú-ma-ma-ni a-x[x / ša URU.DIDLI du-un-nu [ù] [x / ša-lam LUGAL i-na GIŠ.mas-[x / GIŠ.x-a-[ḫun] a-ḫa-x-[x / ša-lam LUGAL i-na x x x, "One *mardatu* with five ..[...], the work of a weaver of *birmu* ..[...], decorated with figures] of people and beasts [...], (images) of different towns and fortresses, and ..[...], the image of the king on a wooden ..[...], ..[...], the image of the king on a [...]." See also the discussion in Smith 2013, 169, 170.

974 Köcher 1957–58, 306–307, lines iii 27–31 [1 TÚG.mar-du-tu] ša ši-pár ka-ši-ri 'ù' [/ x [x x x] 'lu'-ri-DU-e i-na ša-x-x [/ ù ú-ma-am-tu tu-ra-ḫa ù x-[/ te-qi-a-tu-šu zi-qu ia-ù-r[u] / gu-ḫa-šu-šu ša šir-pa-ni eš-r[u], "[One *mardatu*], the work of a knoter, [... depicting] ..., a female ibex un[der a tree?]. Its design (consists of) a crest of battlement, roset[tes and ...]. The braided wire of polychromatic dyed wool [...]"

month the curtain will be drawn. In all likelihood, the curtain in question is the one that closes the access to the cella of the goddess. In fact, after the act of drawing the *mardutu*, the operations concern the removal of the jewellery from the statue and the removal of the divine *simulacrum* itself from the lion-shaped pedestal.⁹⁷⁵

massuku. According to the dictionaries, the word derives from the verb *nasāku*, “to throw (down)”, and designates a textile.⁹⁷⁶ An alternative and more plausible hypothesis is that the verb in question is *nasāku*, “to weave”, which is attested in the language of Mari;⁹⁷⁷ it has been interpreted as an Amorite loanword in the Old Babylonian dialect.⁹⁷⁸ Von Soden considered this word as a designation for a carpet, while other dictionaries offer a more generic meaning for this term.⁹⁷⁹ The *massuku*, which comes in pairs, is mentioned in two letters of the Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence.⁹⁸⁰ In one of these letters, a temple steward informs another temple steward that he has sent him an unspecified number of *ḥundurāius*,⁹⁸¹ a professional group involved in overland trade and possibly to be intended as transporters, if we follow Postgate’s suggestion.⁹⁸² The sender of this missive asks his colleague to give the *ḥundurāius* two sets of *massuku*-textiles in order to enable them to perform their work.⁹⁸³ Some scholars have suggested that these craftsmen might have been involved in the production of carpets.⁹⁸⁴ However, other interpretations may be formulated. Postgate’s hypothesis that these *massukus* were items needed to perform the *ḥundurāius*’ work, presumably saddlebags, nets or ropes is convincing.⁹⁸⁵ We can also suggest that these *massukus* were large pieces of a coarse fabric with which commodities were enveloped. In a letter from Kalḫu, some *massukus* are mentioned in the context of instructions about building activities. From the sender’s words, it seems that some of these *massukus* had to be used by workers for their work on the outer city wall,

975 SAA 13, 59:9–13.

976 AHW, 619a; CAD M/I, 326b; CDA, 200a.

977 Durand 2009, 145.

978 See Streck 2011a, 366.

979 AHW, 619a: “ein Teppich für Tempel”; CAD M/I, 326b: “towing rope” (the possibility that it designates a textile is also suggested); CDA, 200a: “textile item”; AEAD, 61b: “a textile”.

980 SAA 13, 41:9; SAA 19, 156:14’.

981 SAA 13, 41:5.

982 Postgate 1995, 405.

983 SAA 13, 41:9–12 *a-na 2-šu TÚG.ma-si-ki / ár-ḫiš di-na-šú-nu / dul-lu ina IGI-at LUGAL / ina ŠĀ-bi le-pu-šú*.

984 Fales, Jakob-Rost 1991, 23–24.

985 Postgate 1995, 406.

while others for the work on the wall in the centre of the city.⁹⁸⁶ It is not easy to understand the function of these textiles, but it is possible that these were large sheets of canvas to be used by people working outdoors, perhaps as a protective covering for workers or unfinished building structures.

nakbusu. The term derives from the verb *kabāsu*, “to tread”, and literally means “what one treads on”, as already observed by Postgate.⁹⁸⁷ Nuzi attestations show that the textile in question was used in connection with furniture, namely as a carpet or mat.⁹⁸⁸ In 2nd-millennium Assyria and in Mari the *nakbasu* served to cover the inner part of chariots.⁹⁸⁹ The term is scarcely attested in Neo-Assyrian texts.⁹⁹⁰ In one of the textile labels from Nineveh the *nakbusu* is used as a qualification for *qarrāru*-textiles, possibly to indicate that these items were used as carpets or mats (see below).⁹⁹¹ It seems that various parts of the chariot’s structure were covered with textiles in Assyria, as we have seen in the case of *naḥlap-tus* (see above).

pariktu, “curtain, drapes”.⁹⁹² This word is from the verb *parāku*, “to lay across, bar, obstruct”. The *pariktu* was used to close the entrance of temples and chapels, as may be seen in a ritual text concerning the *Bēt ēqi*.⁹⁹³ Three *pariktus* of blue wool are mentioned in an inventory text from the Aššur Temple in Assur.⁹⁹⁴ It seems that both wool and linen varieties were used in 1st-millennium Assyria. In a document from Kalḫu a *pariktu* of linen is listed among various textiles.⁹⁹⁵ Two letters from the royal correspondence inform us that access to the

986 SAA 19, 156:14’–17’ *ṛma-si⁷-ki ša gi-in-d[a⁷]-ṛdi⁷ x x x x x-an⁷-ni [0⁷] / a-na du[l-l]i-ka ṛe⁷-pu-uš 20 x[x x x x x x x] / te-pa-á[š] ṛmi⁷-šil⁷ ina ŠĀ BĀD ša qa-ni t[a-šak-kan⁷ mi-šil-ma⁷] / ina ŠĀ BĀD ša MURUB₄—URU ta-ṛak-kan. However, Luukko prefers to translate the term *massuku* with “tent”.*

987 Postgate 2014, 421. For the word, see AHw, 721b; CAD N/I, 181a; CDA, 233b; AEAD, 72a.

988 See CAD N/I, 181a s.v. *nakbasu* B and Durand 2009, 73 for discussion. Note that in CAD only occurrences in Nuzi texts are mentioned.

989 MARV III, 5 r.34’ ṛ3’ [x]-ṛú⁷-tu TÚG.na-ak-bu-su ša GIŠ.GIGIR. For a chariot not equipped with a *nakbusu*, see MARV X, 3:18 *la-a na-ak-bu-su*. See Postgate 2014, 421 for discussion. For Mari attestations, see Durand 2009, 44, 73.

990 PVA 292; SAA 7, 105:4’.

991 SAA 7, 105:4’ [x x x]x 7 qar-PA nak-ba-si.

992 ND 2311:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); SAA 10, 247 r.4; 315 r.12; SAA 20, 16 i 16’; StAT 3, 1 r.29. See AHw, 833b (translated as “Absperrung”); CAD P, 185b; CDA, 244b (translated as “blockage, barrier”); AEAD, 81a.

993 See SAA 20, 16 i 16’.

994 StAT 3, 1 r.29.

995 ND 2311:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X).

Assyrian king's room and to other places in the royal palaces was closed by a *pariktu*.⁹⁹⁶

qarrāru, “bedspread, bedcover”.⁹⁹⁷ No etymology for this 1st-millennium word is given in the dictionaries, if we exclude the connection with the verb *q/garāru*, “to roll (over)”, already suggested by von Soden.⁹⁹⁸ This textile is usually mentioned in administrative documents in association with *dappastus* and *gulēnu*-garments.⁹⁹⁹ In a letter it occurs along with blankets and furniture belonging to a private household.¹⁰⁰⁰ A similar case is given by a text from Nimrud, where a number of such textiles are recorded as part of a house equipment in Kalḫu.¹⁰⁰¹ *Qarrārus* were included in dowries of Assyrian women, as may be seen in a marriage contract from Kalḫu¹⁰⁰² and in a fragmentary legal document from Assur possibly related to a marriage.¹⁰⁰³ A record of wool amounts informs us that with one and a half minas of red wool and an analogous quantity of black wool one or more *qarrārus* were produced.¹⁰⁰⁴ A record concerning textiles includes two *qarrārus* decorated with a *birnu*,¹⁰⁰⁵ presumably to be used in the Aššur Temple. Interestingly, in two textile labels *qarrārus* are described as characterized by *siggu*, “tuft”.¹⁰⁰⁶ Perhaps, the fabric of this textile was characterized by raised nap. In antiquity, the nap of clothes was raised by brushing the fabric with special tools.¹⁰⁰⁷ A gentle way of brushing wool clothes to raise the nap

996 SAA 10, 315 r.9–15 *ki-ma ši-il-ba-ni / ina pa-an LUGAL ú-še-rab-u-ni / ki-i ša ma-a-la 2-šú e-pu-šu-u-ni / pa-ri-ik-tú lip-ri-ku / le-ru-ba lu-šá-aḫ-ki-im*, “When they bring the *šilbānu*-medication to the king, let them draw the curtain as they have done once and twice (before); I will enter and give instructions.” See also SAA 10, 247 r.2–4 *tak-pir-tu KALAG-tú / ina UGU É-ŠU.2 ša LÚ.SAG.MEŠ-ni / us-se-ti-iq pa-rik-tú par-kât*, “I went through an effective purification ritual in the eunuchs’ wing, and it is (now) closed off.”

997 CTN 2, 154 r.5’; ND 2307 e.23 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:4 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X: 2 TÚG.*qa-ra-’rat*.MES); Radner 2016, text no. II.11:9’; SAA 7, 95:7; 96:1’, 9’; 97:8’; 105:4’; 110:6; 117 r.4; SAA 16, 53:10; StAT 3, 1:9. See AHw, 905b; CAD Q, 127a; CDA, 285b; AEAD, 87b.

998 AHw, 905b. See also CDA, 285b.

999 SAA 7, 96:1’–3’; 97:8’–9’; 105:4’; 117 r.3–5. See also CTN 2, 154 r.2’–5’ and the legal document ND 2307 e.23–25 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

1000 SAA 16, 53:10.

1001 CTN 2, 154 r.1’–5’.

1002 ND 2307 e.23–25 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).

1003 Radner 2016, 125, text no. II.11:9’ *qar-a-ru*.

1004 SAA 7, 110:4–6.

1005 StAT 3, 1:9.

1006 SAA 7, 96:9’ 4 *qar-PA si-gi*!. See also SAA 7, 97:8’ 1 TÚG.[*qar*]-PA *si²-gi² x x*] (Reconstruction of the line by the author).

1007 See Wasserman 2013, 258, citing Rabbinic and Classical attestations.

probably consisted in using thorny plants like thistles.¹⁰⁰⁸ As observed above, in Assyria the *qarrānus* were not only used in connection with beds, but also as carpets or mats.¹⁰⁰⁹

SI.LUḪ. The meaning of this textile designation, whose syllabic reading is unknown at present, is elusive, but it is clear that it is derived from a qualification for a variety of sheep, called UDU.SI.LUḪ.¹⁰¹⁰ The term is not included in the dictionaries, with the exception of AEAD.¹⁰¹¹ I wonder whether the SI.LUḪ-textile¹⁰¹² has to be identified with the Middle Assyrian *siraḫ*-garment which is attested in syllabic writing in a Middle Assyrian text from Assur.¹⁰¹³ Jakob explains the word *siraḫ* as a variant of the textile qualification *simah*.¹⁰¹⁴ However, the sign LUḪ may also be read as RAḪ; accordingly, the name of the textile in question should be rendered as *si-raḫ* in all the Neo-Assyrian attestations. Further, both the Middle Assyrian *siraḫ* and the Neo-Assyrian SI.LUḪ designate a wool textile. In Neo-Assyrian texts it is described as a textile made of red and black wool.¹⁰¹⁵ SI.LUḪs made of only red wool were also fabricated in Assyria.¹⁰¹⁶ Among the various types of SI.LUḪ there were also a Gutian¹⁰¹⁷ and a Tabolean variety.¹⁰¹⁸ These were probably textiles imported from abroad or locally produced items imitating some peculiarities of original “Gutian” and Tabolean textiles. A “Gutian garment” (*qutū*) is also attested in 2nd-millennium Assyria.¹⁰¹⁹ Other varieties enumerated in the lexical list PVA are difficult to understand. It seems that SI.LUḪs could have long sides (UŠ.MEŠ),¹⁰²⁰ perhaps of a different colour contrasting with the colour of the main part of the textile. Another variety of this textile was qualified as *ša uznē*,¹⁰²¹ a designation presumably referring to ear-shaped or

1008 See Soriga 2017, 38.

1009 SAA 7, 105:4’.

1010 SAA 12, 73:3’. However, Postgate considers this connection uncertain. See Postgate 1973a, 27 for discussion.

1011 AEAD, 100a: “a textile”.

1012 CTN 2, 1:4’; PVA 256; SAA 7, 96:10’; 97:2’; 105:5’; 117 r.5; StAT 3, 1 r.20, 24.

1013 MARV III, 5 e.25’ [x TÚ]G.*si-ra-aḫ*.

1014 Jakob 2003, 420. See also Postgate 2014, 422 for the suggestion that the Middle Assyrian *siraḫ* is to be identified with Middle Babylonian *simah*.

1015 SAA 7, 110:1–3. See also StAT 3, 1 r.20.

1016 SAA 7, 96:10’; 105:5’.

1017 PVA 261.

1018 StAT 3, 1 r.24.

1019 *Iraq* 35 T.13, 1:7 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, p. 84).

1020 PVA 257–258 *ša* [x]x / *ša* UŠ.MEŠ-šú x x x.

1021 PVA 259.

half-circle shaped elements that adorned the surface of the SI.LUḪ or its border. PVA also mentions a type of SI.LUḪ qualified as *tāmti*, “of the sea(shore)”,¹⁰²² perhaps a variety imported from the Levant. In the light of its association with textiles for the bed of a goddess in a document from Nineveh, namely *dappastu*, *qirmu*, *gulēnu*, and *qarrāru*,¹⁰²³ it is possible that the item in question had to do with bedlinen, bedcovers or cushions. Fales and Postgate tentatively suggested the meaning “pillow”.¹⁰²⁴

šipputu, “mat?”. This textile term is used by the prophetess Sinqīša-āmur in her oracular message in favour of Esarhaddon.¹⁰²⁵ Parpola suggested a derivation from Aramaic.¹⁰²⁶ In fact, the Aram. *šep̄pā*, *šep̄p̄tā* indicates a rush mat.¹⁰²⁷ This meaning is not attested in Akkadian.¹⁰²⁸

taktīmu, “cover, covering”.¹⁰²⁹ The *taktīmu* is attested in Babylonian sources from Old Babylonian times onwards, while no occurrence is provided by Old and Middle Assyrian texts.¹⁰³⁰ This textile designation, derived from *katāmu*, “to cover”,¹⁰³¹ designates a blanket in Babylonian sources, some varieties of which could have a trim.¹⁰³² From documents of Mari it is clear that the *taktīmu* was used as a covering for furniture or for adorning the interior of palaces. An inventory text from this city shows that this kind of textile was associated with the *mardatum* and classified within the category of *mardatum*.¹⁰³³ This

1022 PVA 260.

1023 SAA 7, 117 r.3–5. See also CTN 2, 1:3’–4’, where a number of SI.LUḪs are mentioned in association with two *dappastus*.

1024 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxix.

1025 SAA 9, 2 iii 21’–25’ *ši-ip-pu-tu ša LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ³-ka a¹-na¹-sa-aḫ / da-me ša LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ ša LUGAL-ia a-tab-ba-ak / šar-ri a-na-šar LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ ina GIŠ¹.si-ga¹-ra-te / LÚ.sa-al-mu-ti ina ma-da¹-na-ti / ina IGI ĜIR.2-šú ub-ba-la*, “I will pull away the cover of your enemies and shed the blood of my king’s enemies. I will protect my king; I will bring enemies in neckstocks and vassals with tribute before his feet.”

1026 See Parpola 1997a, 17 fn. *ad no.* 2 iii 21’.

1027 See DJBA, 962b; Sokoloff 2009, 1299b.

1028 CAD Š, 202a–203b list different meanings for the word *šippatu*, namely “orchard”, “a vegetable”, “a metal or alloy”, and “a reed”, but no one of these fits the context of the Neo-Assyrian prophetic text. See also AHW, 1104a and CDA, 339a. The word is included in AEAD, 105a: “cover”.

1029 PVA 239; SAA 2, 6:492. See AHW, 1309a; CAD T, 89b; CDA, 395b; AEAD, 121b. For Mari attestations, see Durand 2009, 122.

1030 For the absence of this textile term in Old Assyrian sources, see Michel, Veenhof 2010, 230.

1031 CAD K, 298a.

1032 See CAD T, 89b for references.

1033 M 11777 r.21–22. See Durand 2009, 334.

leads Durand to translate the term as “tapisserie”.¹⁰³⁴ As far as the Neo-Assyrian corpus is concerned, the *taktīmu* is only attested in the lexical list PVA and, in a transferred meaning, in a treaty. In the curse section of the latter text, Esarhad-don’s Succession Treaty, duckweed (*elapûa*) is mentioned as the covering for the ones who will not respect the decisions of the treaty.¹⁰³⁵

6.5.3 Tablecloths and hand-towels

Among the textiles used to cover and embellish the environment of palaces and other buildings a specific group of textiles emerges. These items can be interpreted as coverings for tables and as hand-towels.

lubēru. This textile term is well documented in 2nd-millennium Assyrian texts. It was used to indicate a wool garment of which different varieties existed.¹⁰³⁶ As regards the Neo-Assyrian documentation, the term is used as a generic designation for clothing in a royal edict, where it refers to the personal belongings of the bodyguards and the king’s sons,¹⁰³⁷ and in the description of the clothing of the Urañian gods in Sargon’s Eighth Campaign account.¹⁰³⁸ However, it seems that this textile was used for a different purpose as well. It occurs in a Neo-Assyrian text from Kalḫu dealing with directions for the setting of offering tables among various foodstuffs.¹⁰³⁹ Presumably, it was a cloth used in the arrangement of these offering tables.¹⁰⁴⁰ It is worth noting that the connection of *lubērus* with the execution of sacrifices is attested in a Middle Assyrian document from Bābu-aḫa-iddina’s archive.¹⁰⁴¹ Offering tables often occur in ritual scenes of the Neo-Assyrian visual art. This piece of ritual furniture is depicted in a wall

1034 Durand 2009, 603.

1035 SAA 2, 6:492 *nap-ṭu lu pi-šat-ku-nu / e-la-pu-u-a šá ÍD lu tak-tim-ku-nu*, “May naphtha be your ointment, may duckweed be your covering”.

1036 See CAD L, 229a s.v. *lubāru* 1e, 232a s.v. *lubēru*; Postgate 2014, 419.

1037 SAA 12, 83:13’.

1038 Mayer 1983, line 386.

1039 ND 2789 e.7–8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 53, pl. XXVII) *ina* UGU 1 GIŠ.BANŠUR 2-a-a GÚ.ZI / ki-i TÚG.lu-bé-ri *ina* URU ša-kin-a.

1040 However, this meaning is not included in CAD L, 230b s.v. *lubāru* 3a, “piece of cloth, rag”, and 232a s.v. *lubēru*, “a garment”.

1041 *Iraq* 35 T.13, 1:22 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 85). The text does not specify whether the textile in question was used as a garment for a ritual performer or for another ritual-related purpose.

panel of Room S' of the North Palace of Assurbanipal in Nineveh.¹⁰⁴² In the scene, a small tablecloth, possibly of linen, adorns the table, upon which flat bread pieces and a bowl containing meat cuts are displayed. Analogous offering tables with tablecloths are represented in palace reliefs, monuments and other objects of the Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁰⁴³ Also in profane occasions, such as the “royal picnic” of Assurbanipal carved in another wall panel of Room S', tablecloths were used.¹⁰⁴⁴ From a Neo-Babylonian document we learn that the offering table of the Sun-god in the Ebabbar temple was covered by a linen *kibsu*,¹⁰⁴⁵ perhaps a sort of tablecloth.

sasuppu, “napkin, towel”.¹⁰⁴⁶ The term, a loanword from Sumerian *túg.šú.su.u.b*, is usually interpreted in the dictionaries as a designation for a sort of towel or napkin.¹⁰⁴⁷ The word also occurs in Aramaic, for example, Jewish Aramaic *šwš(y)p'*, “cloak, sheet”, and Syriac *šwšp'*, “towel, veil, robe”.¹⁰⁴⁸ In PVA we find a ditto-sign concerning a *sasuppu ša kitê*, “of linen”,¹⁰⁴⁹ following an unspecified *sasuppu*,¹⁰⁵⁰ probably of wool. An undated inventory text from Archive N1 of Assur lists eight *šusuppu*s with *birmu*,¹⁰⁵¹ presumably to be used at the Aššur Temple. The spelling *šusuppu* is uniquely attested in this document, while the common Neo-Assyrian form was *sasuppu*.¹⁰⁵² Three *sasuppu*s with red-coloured front part figure in an administrative text from Nineveh;¹⁰⁵³ this confirms that the sides of this textile had different colours. The cultic use of this textile product is also confirmed by the presence of this item in two records of offerings and cultic materials for the Aššur Temple.¹⁰⁵⁴ Instead, from a text dealing with the royal banquet we learn that the *sasuppu* was commonly used in profane meals as ta-

1042 Barnett 1976, pl. 59 (Relief D of Room S').

1043 See Kubba 2006, 109, 110.

1044 Barnett 1976, pl. 65.

1045 Zawadzki 2013, no. 324 r.23.

1046 PVA 286; SAA 6, 190 s.1; SAA 7, 96 r.5; 97 r.12, 13; 120 ii' 4; 174:5'; 177:3'; SAA 20, 1:10; 2 i 14'; 9 i 16; 11:6; 33 ii 17; StAT 3, 1 r.28.

1047 See AHw, 1289a s.v. *šuš/sippum*: “(Lenden-)Tuch”; CAD S, 376a s.v. *šusuppu*: “a towel”; CDA, 389b s.v. *šušippu*: “towel”; AEAD, 99a s.v. *sasuppu*: “napkin, towel, sheet”.

1048 See Kaufman 1974, 104. The scholar states that this is a word of foreign origin, but no connection with Sumerian is given in his study.

1049 PVA 287.

1050 PVA 286.

1051 StAT 3, 1 r.28 8 'TÚG'.šú-sú-up GÜN.

1052 See AEAD, 99a.

1053 SAA 7, 120 ii' 4–6 3 TÚG.sa-su-pat / [] bé-te / ZAG S[A₅]¹ KUR, “Three *sasuppu*-textiles, the front-part re[d], of the country”.

1054 SAA 7, 174:5'; 177:3.

blecloth. According to this text, palace servants were in charge of receiving soiled *sasuppu* from the king's guests and to hand out the clean ones.¹⁰⁵⁵ A contract from Nineveh concerns a *sasuppu* to be placed over the king's shoulder, in all likelihood the same item used in royal rituals.¹⁰⁵⁶ According to the aforementioned contract, eight pieces of different cloths were used to fabricate the king's *sasuppu*:¹⁰⁵⁷ four of which were the *niksu*-cloths.¹⁰⁵⁸ These may have been finely-executed items, since the text defines these textiles as "fine work" (*dullu qatnu*).¹⁰⁵⁹ Urdâ, the chief weaver mentioned in this text¹⁰⁶⁰ was in charge of producing this textile for the king.

ša-pī. As the etymology of this compound name reveals, the item in question designated a cloth for the mouth (*pū*), therefore a mouth towel, napkin. The only attestation of this textile designation in the Neo-Assyrian corpus is in the lexical list PVA.¹⁰⁶¹

ša-qāti, "hand towel". This is another designation for towel. It occurs in association with *sasuppu* in a text describing arrangements for a royal dinner.¹⁰⁶² A special palace assistant had to take care of the towels used by the king's guests during the banquet and to distribute clean ones to all the participants.

ša-parāki(?). The reading of this textile designation, which occurs in the form *ša-GIL* in a number of administrative records from Nineveh¹⁰⁶³ and is not included in the dictionaries, is uncertain. Fales and Postgate suggest two different meanings: "a container for '(sc)rolls'"¹⁰⁶⁴ and "textile or piece of clothing".¹⁰⁶⁵ The term designates a cloth with designs or patterned fabric. Pieces of patterned cloths were probably separately woven and attached to textiles. As regards to ar-

1055 SAA 20, 33 ii 17–19.

1056 SAA 20, 1:10; 2 i 14'; 9 i 16; 11:6.

1057 SAA 6, 190:1–2.

1058 SAA 6, 190:2.

1059 SAA 6, 190:2–3.

1060 SAA 6, 190:5.

1061 PVA 278. For the term see AEAD, 106b.

1062 SAA 20, 33 ii 19. For the word see CAD Q, 200b s.v. *ša-qāti* 2.

1063 SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 6' [x x š]a²—GIL⁷ GIŠ.ĤUR.MEŠ, "[... c]loth (with) designs." See also SAA 7, 117 s.1 1 TÚG.šá—GIL "GIŠ⁷.Ĥ[UR.MEŠ⁷]" (Reconstruction of the occurrence by the author). The *ša parāki*(?) also occurs in SAA 7, 63 iii 20' [x x] šá²—GIL.MEŠ x[x x]; SAA 7, 96 r.4 9 TÚG.šá—GIL ZAG⁷ [x x (x x)].

1064 Fales, Postgate 1992, xxix.

1065 Fales, Postgate 1992, 225a.

ticles of clothing, the areas of the chest, the sleeves and the border of garments were probably made in this way.¹⁰⁶⁶

6.5.4 Tents

Some textile terms in Neo-Assyrian relate to tents, another item that was peculiar to the everyday life of soldiers in war mission as well as of nomads living in the steppe. According to the king list compiled by Neo-Assyrian scribes, the first seventeen kings of Assyria dwelled in tents, an indication that highlighted the tribal and nomadic origins of their state.¹⁰⁶⁷ In ethnographic descriptions of the Assyrians' enemies, tents epitomize the otherness. However, tents are also the finely-decorated pavilions used by the Assyrian kings during military campaigns and journeys.

bēt šēri, “tent, pavilion”.¹⁰⁶⁸ This compound name, based on the words *bētu*, “house”, and *šēru*, “open country, steppe”, is used in some passages of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions to indicate tents of foreign rulers. This designation for tents was a synonym of the word *kultāru* (see below), as witnessed by the use of the latter term to refer to the *bēt šēris* of the defeated rulers.

kultāru, “tent”.¹⁰⁶⁹ The textile industry serving the needs of the Assyrian Empire's government sector also produced tents, canopies or baldachins, and pavilions.¹⁰⁷⁰ These were utilitarian goods for envoys of the Assyrian king operating abroad and military personnel as well. Luxury variants of tents and pavilions were used by kings and priests. One of the words designating tents is *kultāru* (*kuštāru*), a Babylonian term whose etymology is not explained in the dictionary.

1066 Guralnick 2004, 231.

1067 Liverani 1997, 351–356.

1068 RIMA 3, A.O.103.1 iv 44; RINAP 1, 9:14'; RINAP 3/1, 3:23; 4:21; 17 ii 4; 18 i 31"; 22 i 78; 23 i 72; 31 ii 7'; 46:11; 140:4'; 165 ii 13. See CAD Ş, 147b s.v. *šēru* in *bit šēri*. In AEAD, 16b, 104b the word is omitted.

1069 BIWA, A vii 121; B viii 10; C x 15; G1E ii' 3'; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 340; Prunk. 129, 131; RINAP 1, 9:14'; 42:24'; RINAP 3/1, 3:23; 4:21; 15 ii 6'; 17 ii 4; 18 i 31"; 22 i 78; 23 i 72; 35 r.55'; 46:11; 140:4'; RINAP 3/2, 165 ii 13; RINAP 4, 1 v 15. See AHW, 517a; CAD K, 601a; CDA, 171a; AEAD, 51b.

1070 That baldachins were a peculiar product of Mesopotamian textile industry in antiquity and in the Islamic period may also be inferred from the origin of the term baldachin. The Italian word *baldacchino* derives from *Baldacco*, the ancient Tuscanian name of Baghdad. See De Mauro 2000, 245.

ies. If we exclude the Old Babylonian occurrences,¹⁰⁷¹ this word is only attested in the language of the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. The *kultāru* was a peculiar component of kings' personal belongings both in Assyria and in military campaigns in foreign countries. In the scene regarding the booty of Lachish in a relief from the South-West Palace in Nineveh the royal pavilion is represented behind the throne on a low hill. According to Reade, who discussed this scene in his study on Neo-Assyrian sculpture, Sennacherib's pavilion consisted of a screen attached to poles, with supporting guy-ropes. Inside this structure there were two covered areas, while a central part was left open.¹⁰⁷² In one attestation in the corpus of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, both the word *bēt šēri* and the word *kultāru* are preceded by the determinative GIŠ, that indicated the internal wooden frame of the tent.¹⁰⁷³

maškunu, “tent, canopy”.¹⁰⁷⁴ Tents and canopies were commonly indicated in Assyrian with the term *maškunu*, a nominal form from the verb *šakānu*, “to place, lay down”. The royal correspondence informs us that *maskunus* could be set up aboard the boats.¹⁰⁷⁵ Another letter of an unknown author gives us a vivid description of a strong storm that tore off all the tents of the Assyrian camp.¹⁰⁷⁶ From a fragmentary legal document from the city of Assur we learn that loans could also concern tents.¹⁰⁷⁷ Ritual arrangements in Assyria included the setting up of tents, as may be seen in some ritual texts.¹⁰⁷⁸ In all likelihood, the *maškunus* mentioned in ritual texts are to be identified with the pavilions that occur in representations of ritual scenes in Neo-Assyrian art. In the decorative bronze bands of Shalmaneser III's Balawat gates we may see pavilions covering offering tables and jars with vessel-stands.¹⁰⁷⁹ Generally, the cloth of these tents is characterized by a decorative band with large tassels.

1071 CAD K, 601ab s.v. *kuštāru*; Waetzoldt 2011–13, 623a. On the use of the term *kuštāru* in Mari documentation to indicate tents of bedouins see Durand 2009, 55.

1072 Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 23. See Reade 1983, 67 for discussion.

1073 RINAP 1, 9:14' GIŠ.É—še-e-ri GIŠ.kul-ta-ru'.

1074 SAA 1, 55:9; 82 r.14; 132 r.8'; SAA 2, 2 r. vi 4; SAA 5, 249:8'; SAA 15, 140 r.10; 354 r.9; SAA 18, 26 r.14'; 165:5'; SAA 20, 24:3; 25:4, r.1; 32:2, 3, 9; StAT 2, 310:1. See AHw, 626b; CAD M/I, 372a s.v. *maškanu* 4; CDA, 202b; AEAD, 62b.

1075 SAA 1, 55:9'.

1076 SAA 5, 249:6'–12'.

1077 StAT 2, 310:1.

1078 SAA 20, 25:4; 32:3, 9.

1079 See Kubba 2006, 110 figs. 9.2.4, 9.2.5.

zārutu, “tent”.¹⁰⁸⁰ The etymology of this word is not explained in the dictionaries. This term is also used in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, apparently as a synonym for *kultāru* (see above).¹⁰⁸¹ As we have seen in the case of the term *kultāru*, also the *zārutu* could be qualified with the determinative for wooden items, presumably to indicate the internal wooden frame of the tent.¹⁰⁸² Wool as well as goat hair were widely used as materials for tents, as it is nowadays.¹⁰⁸³ In traditional pastoral communities of Middle East, goat hair is still used as the preferred material to fabricate tents since it provides protection from the sun and rain and, at the same time, allows the air to circulate.¹⁰⁸⁴ In a Middle Assyrian list from Assur concerning work-assignments for the production of various textile products, an amount of wool is assigned to six weavers for the fabrication of one piece of canvas(?),¹⁰⁸⁵ perhaps to be used for a tent.¹⁰⁸⁶ From an inventory text from the archive of Gūzāna concerning tents for soldiers, we learn that red wool and *dappastu*-covers were used to this purpose.¹⁰⁸⁷ A Neo-Babylonian document mentions an amount of 25 shekels of blue wool to be used for one tent.¹⁰⁸⁸ Two tents or two pieces of fabric for fabricating tents are mentioned in a document from Tell Billa, among other textiles.¹⁰⁸⁹ The same text also mentions a *birmu*, but it is not clear if this piece belonged to the *zārutu*.¹⁰⁹⁰ According to the lexical list PVA, *zārutus* could be equipped with *birmu* (*ša birme*)¹⁰⁹¹ or with other decorative elements (of linear shape?) called *lišānu* (*ša EME.MEŠ*).¹⁰⁹² In a decree concerning regular offerings established by Adad-nērārī III in favour of the Aššur Temple in Assur, we may see that the contribu-

1080 Billa 71:5 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); PVA 265; RINAP 3/1, 22 vi 27; 23 vi 23; 34:49; 35 r.46'; 46:75; 67:1; RINAP 3/2, 230:107; SAA 1, 34:12; SAA 7, 120 ii' 11; SAA 12, 71:10; SAA 13, 54 r.5; Streck 1916, 90, line x 108; TH 64:1, 3, 5. For this word, see AHW, 1515a; CAD Z, 66a; CDA, 445a; AEAD, 133b.

1081 RINAP 3/1, 22 vi 27; 23 vi 23; 34:49; 35 r.46'; 46:75; 67:1; RINAP 3/2, 230:107.

1082 RINAP 3/1, 22 vi 27; 23 vi 23; 34:49; 35 r.46'; 46:75; RINAP 3/2, 230:107.

1083 On the use of goat hair as well as wool and goat hair in the fabrication of tents of Bedouins, see Borzatti von Löwenstern *et al.* 2016, 17.

1084 Bier 1995, 1568.

1085 MARV III, 5:1'.

1086 However, for Postgate the meaning of the Middle Assyrian word *sīru* as “tent” is far from certain. The word is also attested in MARV X, 27:1 and MARV X, 60:6. See Postgate 2014, 422 for discussion.

1087 TH 64:1–4.

1088 UCP 9, 63, 25:3.

1089 Billa 71:3 (JCS 7 [1953], 137). The tents and the other textiles are qualified as *miḥṣu* in the total-section. See *ibidem*, 7.

1090 Billa 71:3 (JCS 7 [1953], 137) 2 TÚG.za-ra-a-te [*ša*² TÚG].bir-me.

1091 PVA 266.

1092 PVA 267.

tions required for the temple also included an unspecified amount of rope for seven tents with *lišānu*-decorations.¹⁰⁹³ Presumably, in Assyria there were varieties of tents according to shape, materials and place of provenance, as may be surmised in the case of the Ḫasaeen tents recorded in a letter from Nineveh concerning redistribution of tribute and audience gifts.¹⁰⁹⁴ Fifteen tents of this type were part of the audience gifts received by the Palace from the Levant. The fact that these tents were used in the Palace probably indicates that these were valuable commodities, perhaps to be used for important ceremonial events. A tent represented in a palace relief from Kalḫu is probably to be identified with this lavish and ceremonial variant. The cloth used for the covering shows a design characterized by hexagonal motifs with central dots, while that covering the entrance is decorated with rows of half-circles, rosettes and dots.¹⁰⁹⁵ An inventory document from the central administration of Nineveh enumerates various commodities, among which also a *zārat šamê*, “an open-air tent”.¹⁰⁹⁶ Pictorial representations of open-air tents are shown in scenes concerning everyday life in Assyrian military camps.¹⁰⁹⁷ The above-mentioned royal pavilion depicted in the scene concerning Sennacherib’s booty from the city of Lachish in the South-West Palace can be identified thanks to a caption accompanying the relief: the text identifies the pavilion as the “*zārutu* of the king”.¹⁰⁹⁸ In the scene, the pavilion is decorated by a band with stepped motifs (presumably of a colour different from that of the pavilion’s cloth), a design that we also find in clothing items worn by Assyrian soldiers and common people as well.

6.5.5 Other textile items

Various designations in the Neo-Assyrian textile lexicon denote items not related to the aforementioned categories. The meaning of some of them is not completely clear.

ša-šilli, “parasol, umbrella, sunshade”. This item, documented in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and letters,¹⁰⁹⁹ was an integral part of the personal belongings

1093 SAA 12, 71:10.

1094 SAA 1, 34:12 15 TÚG.za-rat KUR.ḫa-sa-a-a.

1095 Layard 1849–53, I, pl. 30.

1096 SAA 7, 120 ii’ 11.

1097 Botta, Flandin 1849–50, pl. 146; Layard 1849–53, II, pls. 23, 24.

1098 Layard 1849–53, II, pl. 23.

1099 BIWA, A iv 64; Fuchs 1998, IVb:132; SAA 16, 63 r.17; 123:3.

used by the Assyrian kings in public occasions. The first attestations of the parasol as a status-symbol for rulers in the Near East date to the end of the Early Dynastic period and the beginning of the Akkadian Dynasty period.¹¹⁰⁰ This object is qualified in written sources as a textile (TÚG) or as a wooden implement (GIŠ): it is in letters that the term is characterized by the determinative for textiles. It was a wooden tool whose covering was made of cloth, usually finely decorated, as evident from numerous representations in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs. The parasol was indicated in Assyrian by a compound based on the word *šillu*, “shade, protection, shelter”.¹¹⁰¹ Mari texts show that the king’s parasol could be made of *mardatum* or *zīrum* fabric.¹¹⁰² Sargon claims to have taken the royal paraphernalia left by the king of Babylon: the royal tent, the golden bed, the golden staff, the golden sceptre, the silver (coated) chariot and, among those things, also the golden royal umbrella and the *tirinnu* of the enemy ruler.¹¹⁰³ Some parts of the royal parasol were made of precious metal. This is confirmed by the presence of an umbrella with golden trappings (*talultu*) among the funeral gifts for a dead king in a Neo-Assyrian royal funeral text.¹¹⁰⁴ Among the objects from the Elamite booty, Assurbanipal also received the royal umbrella and the women of the royal “harem”.¹¹⁰⁵ Foreign royal umbrellas were appreciated at the Neo-Assyrian court. In one of Esarhaddon’s letters, we see that this item could be used by private high-ranking individuals in Assyria. According to the letter, the son of Taršī, a scribe of Gūzāna, was in charge of taking care of the golden bracelet, the golden dagger and the parasol of a certain Aššur-zēru-ibni, a high-ranking official operating in Gūzāna.¹¹⁰⁶ In palace wall reliefs the royal umbrella is represented. Generally, this object is brought by a special attendant who assists the king in his parade chariot during public occasions.¹¹⁰⁷ Assurbanipal’s umbrella as shown in Relief F of Room V¹/T¹ from the North Palace in Nineveh is characterized by alternating horizontal bands of large rosettes and small concentric circles. Narrow bands with hatch marks separate these

1100 Roaf 2009–11, 192ab.

1101 CAD Š, 189a. The term is included in CAD Š, 192b; CDA, 338a; AEAD, 104b.

1102 Durand 2009, 64, 141.

1103 Fuchs 1998, IVb:131–132.

1104 K 6323+ iv 1 (Kwasman 2009, 115).

1105 BIWA, A iv 64.

1106 SAA 16, 63:15–18. A pictorial representation of this occupation is given in the relief ANE 124912, which shows an individual attending to the royal parasol. See Luukko, Van Buylaere 2002, 50 fig. 10.

1107 It seems that holding the royal umbrella on the chariot was not an easy task for the king’s attendant. See the reliefs shown in Layard 1849–53, I, pls. 72, 80.

rows.¹¹⁰⁸ In addition, pendants of some precious material, possibly gold and precious stones, are attached to the border of the *ša-šilli*. From a comparison with Tiglath-pileser III's umbrella represented in a wall panel from Kalḫu, it seems that the number of pendants to be attached to the border of the *ša-šilli* could vary.¹¹⁰⁹ To one side of Assurbanipal's umbrella a long and finely decorated drape is attached, presumably to provide additional shade. Its decoration is the same of the *ša-šilli*, characterized by rows of rosettes and concentric circles with the addition of a border formed by protruding half-circle shaped elements (*uznu*-elements?). This long drape at the back of the parasol has been interpreted as an innovation of the reign of Sennacherib.¹¹¹⁰ The Assyrian custom regarding the parasol as a status-symbol for kings and the presence of the parasol-bearer accompanying the monarch was imitated in neighbouring countries, as shown by royal representations on art works from Urarṭu, Maraş and western Iran.¹¹¹¹ This custom was especially adopted by the Achaemenid kings.¹¹¹² Remains of 1st-millennium parasols have been discovered in Gordion and Samos.¹¹¹³

šītu.¹¹¹⁴ This textile designation is only included in CDA and AEAD.¹¹¹⁵ In Old Babylonian we have the word *šētu*,¹¹¹⁶ possibly related to Ugaritic *šētātu*, name of a garment. Both are probably derived from *šatû*, "to weave".¹¹¹⁷ Another possibility is to relate the word *šītu* to *še'ītu/šī'ītu*, a feminine term designating the mattress or stuffing for beds and chairs.¹¹¹⁸ This term is used in an Assurbani-

1108 Barnett 1976, pl. 68. See also Guralnick 2004, 228 for discussion and fig. 11 for details. For other scenes where the king's umbrella is associated with the royal chariot in the North Palace, see Barnett 1976, pls. 16, 35.

1109 See Reade 2009, 255 fig. 15 for Tiglath-pileser's *ša-šilli* adorned with ten bulbous pendants.

1110 Roaf 2009–11, 193b.

1111 Roaf 2009–11, 194ab.

1112 Roaf 2009–11, 194b. Roaf also observes that this custom was seen as a sign of oriental decadence and effeminacy in the Greek world.

1113 In Tumulus P at Gordion, the wooden cap and parts of the ribs of a parasol were found. The remains discovered in Samos, consisting of a wooden slider with slots for a number of stretchers, probably belonged to a parasol of Near Eastern origin. On these finds, see Roaf 2009–11, 194b.

1114 SAA 7, 105:5; 108 i' 8'; 109 i 6'.

1115 See CDA, 378a and AEAD, 117b.

1116 CAD Š/II, 341b s.v. *šētu* B. The term is generically translated as "a textile". See *ibidem*, 339b s.v. *šētātu*.

1117 CAD Š/II, 217b s.v. *šatû* B.

1118 CAD Š/II, 267a s.v. *še'ītu*. See also Durand 2009, 116 for discussion. Following Durand, the term *šeḫitum/šeḫitum*, occurring in connection with garments in Mari texts and interpreted in CAD Š/II, 267b as a variant of *še'ītu*, is not a textile designation.

pal's royal inscription to indicate the lower mattress (*še'itu šaplītu*) of a divine bed.¹¹¹⁹ From Old Babylonian attestations, it seems that leather, linen and rushes were used to stuff chairs. Rushes were also used for beds.¹¹²⁰ CAD connects this textile designation to the verb *šē'u*, "to pad, layer, upholster".¹¹²¹ Both the term *še'itu* and the verb *šē'u* occur in the context of stuffing *nēmattu*-couches in a Middle Assyrian inventory text.¹¹²² The operation of padding the footboard of chariots was also expressed through this verb in the Middle Assyrian period.¹¹²³ That the Neo-Assyrian word is also connected to beds is evident from the context of a Ninevite document, where *šītu* occurs between a large number of *dappastus* for beds and SI.LUḤ-textiles.¹¹²⁴ This wool textile, which is documented in administrative records from Nineveh, could be red¹¹²⁵ or multicoloured.¹¹²⁶ Its front-part could be red "of the country",¹¹²⁷ red "of the port",¹¹²⁸ "limestone"-red¹¹²⁹ or multicoloured.¹¹³⁰ Only one document gives us details about its weight: varieties of *šītu* of 1 ½ mina,¹¹³¹ 1 ⅓ mina,¹¹³² and 1 ¼ mina¹¹³³ were produced in Assyria.

UŠ.BARAG.¹¹³⁴ This textile term occurs in a text from Assur dealing with a ritual for the "Daughter-of-the-River" to be performed inside a tent set up on a river bank. The text prescribes various operations. After binding the necks of some jars with threads of wool,¹¹³⁵ a virgin ewe is bound at the head of the bed with a polychromatic cloth (*tabrīmu*). The animal is wrapped by the ritual practitioner with a white wool *nahlaptu* and girdled with an unspecified number of

1119 Streck 1916, 296, line ii 22. But note that the verb is also used in the same text in connection with the word *gissū*, "rung". See *ibidem*, ii 24, 27. In the Neo-Babylonian text GCCI 2, 69:9, the operation expressed by the verb *kubbū* probably refers to the patching or repairing of the golden rosettes and *tenšia*-ornaments. See CAD K, 483a.

1120 See the attestations cited in CAD Š/II, 267a s.v. *še'itu* a-b.

1121 CAD Š/II, 363b.

1122 VAT 16462 iii 6, 9 (AfO 18 [1957–58], 306).

1123 KAJ 310:3.

1124 SAA 7, 105:4'–5'.

1125 SAA 7, 105:5'.

1126 SAA 7, 108 i' 8'.

1127 SAA 7, 108 i' 15'.

1128 SAA 7, 108 i' 13'.

1129 SAA 7, 108 i' 14'. This colour is also attested in SAA 7, 107:8'.

1130 SAA 7, 108 i' 9', 10', 11', 12', 12'.

1131 SAA 7, 108 i' 8', 10'.

1132 SAA 7, 108 i' 11'.

1133 SAA 7, 108 i' 9', 12', 13'.

1134 SAA 20, 32:17.

1135 SAA 20, 32:12.

UŠ.BARAG-textiles.¹¹³⁶ The Akkadian reading of this logographic writing is not known at present and no translation of the term is attempted by Parpola in the new edition of this ritual text.¹¹³⁷ Since the logogram UŠ stands for *šiddu* (see above), it is possible that we have here a textile designation indicating a variety of *šiddu*, perhaps a *šiddu* for the cultic pedestal or socle (BARAG/*parakku*?).

zurzu. The object is already attested in Old Assyrian and Nuzi texts.¹¹³⁸ The term is one of the Old Assyrian lexical features that have parallels in West Semitic.¹¹³⁹ The Neo-Assyrian occurrences of the word, in a list mentioning items of clothing and in a note on expenses,¹¹⁴⁰ may perhaps be referred to the same thing, namely a saddlebag or double pack sack made of goat hair.¹¹⁴¹ In the Old Assyrian trade the *zurzu* was a component of the journey equipment of caravan donkeys¹¹⁴² and we may suspect that its use continued in the 1st millennium. In Neo-Assyrian Assur it seems that one *zurzu* was paid one(?) shekel of silver.¹¹⁴³

1136 SAA 20, 32:17–18 TÚG.GÚ.È SÍG.BABBAR MU₄.MU₄-si TÚG.UŠ.BARAG.MEŠ / [t]a-rak-kas.

1137 Parpola 2017, 85. Note that the word is also omitted in the list of cultic implements on p. lxxix and in the glossary of the same volume.

1138 AHw, 1539a; CAD Z, 167b.

1139 On this aspect, see Kogan 2006, 212.

1140 NATAPA 2, 133:2; SAA 11, 36 ii 15.

1141 Gaspa 2014, 274.

1142 Dercksen 2004, 274–275.

1143 NATAPA 2, 133:2.

7 Conclusions

The present book has touched a number of issues concerning textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In analysing the bureaucratic procedures emerging from documents dealing with textiles, this study has shown what is present and what is lacking in the Neo-Assyrian administrative texts as regards the management of an important large-scale economic activity of the state and the difficulties we encounter in detecting the specific roles of these texts as primary and secondary documents in the bureaucratic operations. It is not clear whether the gaps in the written evidence about specific phases of textile manufacture are only due to the fact that the relevant documentation has not been found yet or that information on these phases were committed to writing on other writing media. From the observations about the use of writing-boards in the record-keeping process and their relationship with clay tablets it is certain that a number of accounting events were regularly registered by these perishable media and that, as already observed, these texts probably served as a reference basis for more durable archival documents on clay tablets. More detailed accounts on clay tablets covering longer periods of time were probably drawn up using single event documents written on both wooden waxed writing-boards and clay tablets. The purpose of compiling these summary accounts is not clear. It is plausible that all the final accounts were used internally in the office to keep record about the contributive capacity of people and areas of the imperial territory. Data from previous years could have served to administrators to monitor the economic performance of provinces, state-owned households and also private enterprises and, consequently, to define the tax level for the year to come and new strategies of exploitation. In addition, suggestions have been made about the possibility that final records were used to show the accountant's performance and achievement of results to his superiors.¹ It is in any case far from certain that the issue of final accounts were mandatory for every office composing the state administration.

The lack of elements for identification in the texts constitutes the major limit for a detailed reconstruction of how the management of economic resources and processes was performed by the Assyrian bureaucrats. Administrative texts constitute *ad hoc* responses to occasional problems faced by the administrators. This aspect, which may also be recognized in those letters from the royal correspondence where preoccupations about management issues regarding material and human resources overlap with contents of administrative texts, explains the large variability in format and style of the documents forming the Neo-Assyrian

¹ See Postgate 2013, 416 concerning the Middle Assyrian documentation.

administrative corpus. The historical value of these texts is in any case relevant, since they give us important details, although in the form of a very incomplete mosaic, on various aspects of record-keeping, accounting and archival procedures in use in imperial offices as well as information on the range of human and material resources managed by the Empire. The resulting picture, however, reflects partial and isolated bureaucratic activities within the limited horizon of single offices and households and, as such, cannot be used to reconstruct the regular methods of administration of the whole state bureaucracy. At the same time, this picture may also be taken as fully representative of the polycentric reality of offices and households governing the Assyrian Empire's machinery. It is in this polycentric perspective of the *bētus*,² further developed by personal interests and the degree of autonomy of the officials governing them, that we should consider the preoccupations and responses of the administration that emerge from texts. This fact leads us to conclude that the evidence is not only poor because we do not have the administrative documentation on other writing materials and, possibly, because an administrative ethos resulting in the priority of oral instructions was at work in Neo-Assyrian *bureaux*. Probably, it is also poor because bureaucratic procedures (and the resulting texts) were strongly subject to the personal policy of single high officials at the head of administrative units—presumably opting more for oral instructions than written records—and to the greater or lesser degree of control of the king (and the central administration) over them.

Concerning production and consumption of textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, the data discussed predominantly concern the palace economy system, in which different specialists worked in all stages of the textile production chain. Technical operations regarding fibres as well as finishing procedures on end products are never described in practical texts from the period in question and may only be inferred from etymological analysis of the lexicon as well as comparative investigation including texts from other periods and with different purpose, such as the well-known Old Babylonian laundering text. This is certainly due to the background of Neo-Assyrian scribes, who are neither interested in describing textile techniques and craftsmanship nor familiar with those technical domains. Another reason for the absence of details on the production techniques is due to nature and scope of texts issued by the State administration, predominantly focused on finished products circulating within the palace elite context. In more fortunate cases, the scanty information from texts about

² On the plurality of autonomous administrative units of the Assyrian Empire, see Fales 2001, 68–71.

textile techniques and tools may be integrated with that from archaeological evidence, as in the case of Khirbet Khatuniyeh finds: although the objects discovered are very few, they shed light on the tools of Assyrian textile artisans and may represent a rich mine of information for the historian interested in 1st-millennium textile production in the area. It is hoped that future investigation on Neo-Assyrian sites, both in the homeland and in provincial areas, will provide further evidence about textile-related tools, work spaces and techniques. Of particular interest is also the management of raw materials needed by textile workshops, for example, colorants and minerals for mordants such as madder and alum, two goods acquired from provincial sites and regions outside Assyria and that witness to the Empire's strategy of controlling the areas of production and of development of the textile industry to meet the increasing internal demand of textiles from various sectors of the State.

The picture about the textile trade that we can reconstruct from the extant sources from the main Neo-Assyrian archives is predominantly if not exclusively centered on the circulation and consumption of textiles in palace context. With their ideological focus on the motif of forceful acquisition of resources from conquered lands, royal inscriptions are silent regarding trade in textiles and, consequently, only document the inclusion of luxury textiles as tribute and booty levied on cities conquered by the Assyrian kings. A richer impression of the various aspects of trade and distribution of textiles emerges from letters and administrative records, although the picture that we get from these sources is far from complete. It is highly probable that the few labels and administrative lists concerning textiles only represent a small fraction of the documentation—a significant part of which was probably written in Aramaic on perishable writing materials—on the acquisition and management of these goods via taxation and trade by the state administration in Nineveh. The same can be said for the documentation concerning the distribution of textiles within the Assyrian state sector. The evidence is too scanty and fragmentary to determine how or which textiles entered in the quotas of commodities assigned to palace personnel: from the few attestations in letters and administrative records it seems that high value linen textiles such as *šaddīnus* and *kitūs* were treated as standard items in this type of professional quotas, although it is reasonable to surmise that other textiles which are mentioned as coming from taxation or trade in the contemporary letters and administrative records also entered the palatine re-distributive system.

Textiles in the private trade represent another important aspect in the study of the textile economy in imperial Assyria. Unfortunately, the documents from private archives attesting to commercial activities are represented only by evidence unearthed in the city of Assur. Among the transactions undertaken by high-ranking officials, the purchase of textiles and other utilitarian commodities

is not documented. The rare attestations of textiles in legal texts are limited to obligation documents, marriage contracts and loans. It is hard to believe that the Empire's "big spenders", who profited extensively in private affairs from their official position, were only interested in buying land and slaves and not luxury textiles for themselves and their family. In their business these state officials also purchased a variety of everyday goods. These must have included small-scale commodities, including textiles, as may be inferred from the evidence about prices of certain textile products and the presence of luxury textiles in dowry lists. In this regard, the textiles included in marriage contracts represent a remarkable source of information on the garments that were circulating among the Assyrian urban elites. Certainly, luxury clothing entered the wardrobes of these high-ranking officials through a number of channels: some formed an integral part of the quotas assigned to them from the palace, while others were probably acquired through private trade.

These observations on textile trade in 1st-millennium Assyria mainly concern imported textiles. However, it is possible that a quota of textiles produced in Assyrian cities was destined for export. This is well-documented in the private trade of 2nd-millennium Assur, but not for the Neo-Assyrian period. However, it is plausible that the establishments involved in textile production in the major Neo-Assyrian cities not only worked to supply the internal demand of textiles, but also for export, in a way similar to the one attested in the Middle Assyrian period. The few attestations about caravan trade involving textiles manufactured in Assur seem to confirm this hypothesis.

The study of the textiles included in the dowries as well as the investigation of the value in silver of traded textiles may provide useful insights into the merchandise that was regularly purchased and consumed within the higher strata of Assyrian imperial society. These two elements illustrate the circulation of certain goods outside the institutional channels of the palace-conducted trade and involving merchants from Assyria and of other provenance. These merchants were probably small-scale protagonists if compared to the royal trade agents operating with the financial and political support of the crown in the international trade *scenario*, but they too are the result of the stable acquisition and control by the Assyrian state of important *foci* of the international textile trade in the Near East and of the mobility granted by the state within the Empire's territory. From the evidence discussed above it does not seem likely that the Assyrian crown's main policy was to monopolize the trade of textiles. Independent trade of high value textiles was certainly sanctioned by the Assyrian state when it eluded state taxation and control, but this does mean that transactions in textiles were

confined to the illegal trade.³ This illegal trade probably concerned certain high value textiles regularly purchased by the palace. High value textiles occurring side by side with textiles of apparently medium quality and everyday use in marriage contracts from private archives lead us to surmise that these must have been acquired through private commercial activities within the context of everyday trade accepted by the state.

Peculiarities of the articles of clothing produced for the royal elite have been discussed in the fifth chapter. Concerning the royal attire, the pictorial representations of the Assyrian king show that the clothing ensemble worn by him in visual art did not change over the reigns—at least in its major traits. Instead, it seems that type, number, combination and spread of decorative elements on the borders or the whole surface of the garment were the most variable elements in royal dressing. Another significant aspect that emerges from an investigation of the king's clothing items in visual art is the role of the overgarment or shawl, an element that could be worn in different ways. Its absence in Assurbanipal's reliefs it is remarkable, but it is not clear whether this is indicative of a change in the royal outfit that occurred in the late Assyrian times or whether it must be related to the specific message conveyed by certain Assurbanipal's scenes. We have also observed that a number of textiles documented in Neo-Assyrian texts were consumed by women. The attestations of stamp seal impressions on some labels listing textiles and the display of Assyrian queens dressed in fine clothes and richly adorned with jewels in iconography are the reflex of the increase of the queen's power and influence within the state hierarchy that reached its apex in the 7th century BC.⁴ The queen's household represented a significant part of the state administration and economy and it is reasonable to assume that the increased power of the queen in the late phase of the Assyrian Empire must also have played a role in influencing trade strategies for the acquisition of fine textiles from abroad.

This study has also shown the potential of combining data from the archaeological evidence about golden decorations with lexical and textual data from the 1st-millennium Assyrian and Babylonian sources. Specifically, the finds of the Nimrud queens' tombs help us to get a better understanding of the decorations that characterized the clothing items worn by palace women. A number of these golden decorative items can be identified with ornamental elements represented in visual art and with those mentioned in the late Assyrian textile lists from

³ For the hypothesis that independent transactions must have been limited to small quantities and to illegal trade see Graslin-Thomé 2009, 281.

⁴ See Radner 2012, 692–693.

Nineveh. In addition, the Nimrud textile remains give us interesting insights on the materials and high-quality craftsmanship of the garments that composed the Neo-Assyrian female wardrobes. The funerary clothing of the Nimrud women we have discussed in this study is certainly reflective of the items worn by Neo-Assyrian palace women in their everyday life. In the light of the wool-oriented textile manufacture of Assyria, however, it is clear that linen garments represented a small-scale consumption within the Neo-Assyrian textile economy. A very limited relevance must have characterized the levels of production and consumption of cotton, a fibre documented in both archaeological and written evidence of the Neo-Assyrian period. Presumably, most of the garments used by the palace women in Kalḫu were made of wool, as the ones worn by women in other social strata of the Assyrian imperial society. Through their clothes the Assyrian queens expressed their high social status, their affiliation to the royal family and ruling elite, as well as other important aspects that are relevant in the construction of the personal and group identity (gender, age, ethnic affiliation, religious beliefs, *etc.*).⁵ The combined role of large numbers of beads and metal appliquéés in connection with items of clothing of rare materials (linen, cotton) must have been a strong indicator of the social identity of these women within the royal family and court. Ornaments and textiles⁶ probably served to stress rank and *dignitas* of the Nimrud queens among the palace women. By analysing female clothing we can therefore get a large set of informative data about the socio-economic structure and the cultural milieu of the upper class women. As end products resulting from textile-making, textiles contain valuable information on the different phases of production of the items in question. In the case of the Nimrud textile remains, we can get important details from them as regards the use of flax and direction of spinning that characterized the work of the Assyrian spinners, as well as the types of weaves and decorative patterns created by palace weavers and tailors. All these data represent a rich mine of information that can be fruitfully combined with the data from texts and iconographic evidence regarding textile production and consumption.

Given the high and regular demand for clothing and other textile products for the needs of the Assyrian army, it is evident that the Assyrian Empire's machinery organized a highly-specialized textile manufacture to supply the troops that operated in various war zones. The texts and the pictorial evidence analysed in this study corroborate this assumption. Not only Assyrian weavers were engag-

5 On the function of cloth in consolidating social relations as well as in communicating identities and values in human communities see Schneider 1987, 412–413.

6 On beads and textiles as indicators of social identity and status see Fuller 2008, 3.

ed in the regular production of standard pieces of clothing to be used as uniforms. They also produced “troop-specific” items of clothing that served to identify special ethnic-based military groups and other units (*e.g.*, the archers) within the imperial army as well as other items of everyday use (harnesses, coverings and saddlecloths for the horses of the cavalry units, tents for the military camps, coverings for siege-engines, *etc.*). Perhaps, the decorative designs that we encounter in Neo-Assyrian representations of uniforms (stepped motifs, circles, *etc.*) were created by weavers of different workshops and probably reflect standard decorative patterns that were peculiar to the fabrics produced by certain textile production centres in Assyria.

In the investigation about the cultic use of textiles in Assyrian and Babylonian temples I have analysed the items of clothing that characterized the wardrobes of divine statues and of deified objects in 1st millennium BC as well as the main uses of textiles for the adornment of the shrines’ interior. In some cases, comparative evidence about Neo-Assyrian texts and iconographic materials enable scholars to shed light on given textile products and to tentatively suggest some identifications of the divine garments attested in the written sources. The study of the gods’ garments also raises the question of how these garments were fastened to the statues. Fibulas and pins were presumably used to fasten various items of clothing to sculptures in the round. Symbols of gods and cultic objects were probably just wrapped, although we know that specific textile products were also manufactured for such objects. One can suppose that the dressing operation itself was not limited to covering the statue. Every component of the god’s attire should be adapted and properly fixed to the body of the statue. This certainly involved the participation of textile artisans and their assistants under the supervision of one or more priests.⁷ In all likelihood, clothing statues sculpted in the round in a standing position facilitated the work of the textile specialists, while one wonders how this operation was performed on statues in seated position or in case of sculptures in which the god’s statue and the chair formed a unique element. It is also reasonable to surmise that technical characteristics of the sculptures were conceived to facilitate the attachment of items of clothing. For example, one wonders whether the very slim waist and broad hips of the well-known attendant statue of Nabû at Nimrud⁸ were conceived to facilitate the attachment of a belt and a garment on the statue’s body.

⁷ See Rāši-ili’s letter asking the king to send him two clergymen as helpers for the clothing ceremony. See SAA 13, 176:12–r.7.

⁸ The statue is kept at the British Museum (WA 118888). A picture is reproduced in Cole, *Machinist* 1998, 65 fig. 14.

Textiles covering these divine images were far from being simple accessories of *simulacra*. On the contrary, they were used to enhance the divine nature of gods and to communicate specific theological messages to the believers. Colour, shape, and decoration of garments, as well as of covers, carpets, and drapes adorning the cella, constituted other important media to convey the peculiarities of a given god and his theology. It is also possible that the relationship between deities and relevant cellas was stressed through the use of the same colour(s) for the divine garments and for the textiles adorning the cella and its furniture. This aspect is especially evident in the case of objects belonging to the god, as we have observed in the case of the blue-purple coloured KUR.RA-textile for both the Sun-god's robe and the cover of his weapon. In addition, certain textiles, like drapes and curtains, played a central role in delimiting the most sacred area of the sanctuary, enhancing the mysterious nature of the divine power and generating the "fear of the gods".⁹ Superhuman communication linking ritual performer (king, priest) with god's statues through divine textiles probably involved a multisensorial experience that went beyond the visual level. In addition to the chromatism of divine textiles and the particular combination of pieces of clothing that adorned a statue, it is possible that olfactory and tactile experiences represented other important channels by which the divine presence was made manifest in temples—at least for the privileged people who had access to the cult space and god's cella.¹⁰ Textiles covering the god's image and adorning the sacred space probably retained the pleasant smells of aromatic substances used in purification rituals.¹¹ Through the act of dressing the statue of a deity or holding fast the hem of a god's garment, the ritual performer experienced the scent of the materials by which the divine clothes were made (wool, linen) as well as their weight, warmth and other material characteristics.¹² All these material properties of textiles and the sensations they created must have played a role in increasing the ritual performer's perception of the god's personhood and agency, as well as the special closeness that linked the believer with the deity. The analysis of the use of textiles in the Assyrian and Babylonian temples opens new research paths towards the understanding of other textiles occurring in the Mesopotamian divine-human interaction. Not all the textile materials and

⁹ On the fearsomeness clothing the divine persona, called in Akkadian *puluhtu*, see the attestations quoted in CAD P, 506b–507a s.v. *puluhtu* 1a.

¹⁰ There were probably different levels of reception of the message conveyed by the god's statue, corresponding to different socially-based target groups, as suggested in Neumann 2017, 13.

¹¹ On the sensorial phenomena concerning the manifestation of the divine see Neumann 2017, 11.

¹² See Neumann 2017, 12.

end products which were destined to temple consumption were of high-quality and reflected the articles of clothing used by the Assyrian and Babylonian social elites. We have observed that ritual materials could consist in pieces of fabric and threads. In the field of common ritual operations performed by priests, kings, and private devotees, ordinary textile items were probably also used. It is reasonable to think that the use of ordinary textile materials was widespread in the family and popular religion, although it cannot be proved in the light of the present evidence. The custom of wrapping with pieces of cloth the figurines buried in the foundations of sacred buildings¹³ is, perhaps, an example of how much widespread the idea of “sacred-dressing” was in the religious thought and practice of the Mesopotamians. This custom is currently documented only for royal practices, but, in all probability, it must have been a peculiarity of worship in lower social strata of Mesopotamian population as well. Finally, the considerations about dressing practices in 1st-millennium contexts also lead us to investigate the application of the “sacred-dressing” custom also to profane representations, for example of the king, in contexts in which these images played a role in the god-human communication.

Concerning the textile lexicon, this study has shown that the Assyrian textile terminology is characterized by a substantial continuity from the Middle Assyrian to the Neo-Assyrian dialect for a number of designations of garments. Other terms belong to the common 1st-millennium BC textile vocabulary, characterized by compound names with *ša*¹⁴ 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 *nēbuḥu* vs. Neo-Babylonian *nēbeḥu*; NA *naṣbutu* vs. NB *naṣbatu*; NA *gammīdutu* vs. NB *gammīdatu*).¹⁵ 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

13 For remains of possibly linen fabric covering a figurine of King Šulgi from an Ur III foundation deposit in the Inanna Temple at Nippur (OIM A31017), see Garcia-Ventura 2008, 249 fig. 1. Mineralised traces of a cloth, possibly of linen, have also been found on a foundation peg figurine of god Ningirsu from Lagash (AO 76), dedicated by Gudea around 2100 BC. See Thomas 2012, 149–157.

14 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 80.

15 Hämeen-Anttila 2000, 30–31; Streck 2011a, 368.

number of Hurrian terms in the written form of the Neo-Assyrian dialect. This may be surmised in the light of the greater number of Hurrianisms in the Middle Assyrian dialect.¹⁶ The lexicon denoting *realia* in the Assyrian dialect shows connections with the West Semitic area already in the Old Assyrian period. Some textile terms of the Old Assyrian dialect have parallels in West Semitic languages, but it is not clear whether these are to be understood as borrowings from West Semitic or from a not yet identified idiom.¹⁷ In the 1st millennium BC, both Assyrian and Babylonian were affected by Aramaic influence, as illustrated by the various loanwords present in these late dialects of Akkadian. The co-existence of Aramaic and Akkadian in Mesopotamia determined situations of contact between the two languages, although the extent of this contact is hard to assess.¹⁸ Assyrian and Babylonian were still spoken by a large number of urban people in the core regions of Assyria and Babylonia during the 1st millennium BC. The process of assimilation of the newcomers to the Assyrian language and cuneiform culture continued during the phase of apex of the Assyrian Empire's dominion in the Near East, although the use of both the idioms and the degree of contact between Assyrian and Aramaic certainly varied from region to region of the Empire's territory and according to sociocultural context and situation of language use.¹⁹ 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, thus contributing to enrich the Assyrian vocabulary of new terms and, at the same time, to substitute progressively the local textile terminology with the Aramaic one. The influence of Aramaic in the field of general vocabulary of everyday use of Akkadian²⁰ could also have

16 The presence of a Hurrian linguistic stratum in the Middle Assyrian dialect is to be related to Assyria's military expansion into the Syrian region and Upper Mesopotamia during the 13th century BC. In this period, the major component of deportees in the Assyrian kingdom was constituted by Hurrians. See Jakob 2017, 158.

17 Kogan 2006, 212–213. These include textile terms such as *epattum*, “a costly garment”, *katānum*, “a fabric”, and *zurzum*, “double pack sack made of goat hair”. As observed by Kogan, these lexical features of Old Assyrian have no precedent in the Old Babylonian dialect.

18 Streck 2011b, 418.

19 Streck 2011b, 418.

20 As a language of social prestige and political dominion, Akkadian influenced Aramaic in lexical fields such as government, the military, law and religion. See Lipiński 2001, 571 § 65.3. For a survey on the Aramaic-Akkadian interaction in the lexical field of the two idioms see Fales 1980.

concerned various terms for textile tools, techniques and end products. 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 *ku-zippus* from Hamath, *urnutus* from Byblos, and Phrygian reinforced undergarments attest to the increased demand for special varieties of articles of clothing 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 to Assyria²¹ 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 the much-quoted Neo-Assyrian letter mentioning wool imported from the land of Kummuh.²² These observations may be extended to other commodities of foreign origin that entered the Neo-Assyrian palace economy, such as the Cimmerian shoes mentioned in an inventory text from Nineveh.²³ Footwear that were peculiar of regions adjacent to Assyria became part of the clothing used by the Assyrians, although this could have been limited to specific social or professional groups (court members, high-ranking administrators, *etc.*). Also in 2nd-millennium texts we learn of footwear originating from

Fales observes that Aramaic spread in the Akkadian-speaking world thanks to its vocabulary of everyday use, not denoted and family-based. See *ibidem*, 261. From the observations made by Fales on the possible influence of Aramaic on the Akkadian lexicon, it seems that around 35% of Akkadian vocabulary was characterized by borrowings from Aramaic and that these terms concerned the semantic category of tools and various objects of everyday use. See *ibid.*, 266 table IV.

21 The import of linen and multicoloured 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 polychromatic trim and fine linen as characteristic goods produced in Tyre and Aram and exchanged with foreign merchants. See *Ez.* 27:16, 22, 23.

22 SAA 1, 33:19–r.3.

23 SAA 7, 120 ii’ 7–8.

countries touched by the Assyrian military expansionism, such as in the case of the Katmuḥaeen boots mentioned in two Middle Assyrian documents.²⁴

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 used by the Assyrians disappears 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶

Unfortunately, very few terms are attested in the Neo-Assyrian documentation about textile technical procedures. A few techniques have been discussed in this study as an attempt to penetrate the meaning of certain textile products and complete our knowledge about the operational chain of the Neo-Assyrian textile manufacture. For a number of terms it is not easy to understand the exact meaning, since ancient techniques are lost today and the material peculiarities of the textiles in question are not documented in the archaeological evidence. 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*, *naḥlaptu*, *qirmu* and *ša-ḥīli*) or of binding, girdling and tying (*kirbīnu?*, *nēbettu*, *nēbuḥu* and *sunābu*), which confirm the idea that most items of clothing were untailed and in form of wrap-cloths, a number of terms are based on the idea of holding, seizing (see *našbutu*, but *subātu* is problematic²⁷). The idea of binding, wrapping or girding is also at the basis of other textiles, such as head coverings (*i'lu*), wrapping cloths

²⁴ Postgate 1973b, pl. 13 text no. 1:18–19; MARV III, 64:8 (Freydank, Saporetti 1989, 75). On boots in Middle Assyrian texts see Postgate 2014, 424 and Llop 2016, 200.

²⁵ See Joannès 2014, 459.

²⁶ See Joannès 2014, 460.

²⁷ 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*.

(*lippu*) and bandages (*šimdu*). Other terms, however, refer to the position of the textile on the body and/or appear in association with other items of clothing (*elītu*, *ša muḥḥi*, *ša qabli* and *šupālitu*). Others may possibly be connected to the quality of the material or workmanship (*maklulu*, “the light one?”). Some visual characteristics of the end product probably inspired certain textile designations, such as in the case of the *ša taluk širri*; probably this article was made 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 involved at certain stages of the operational chain of textile production, such as weaving (*šitu*), rubbing down (*mušiptu*, if this word derives from *suppu* II, “to decorate, overlay, rub down”; see also *gammīdu*, “smooth cloak”); washing or rinsing (*šuḥattu*); reinforcing or strengthening (*ḥalluḥtu*, perhaps also *ḥuzūnu*?); trimming (*šipirtu*?) and cutting (*maqaḥtu*, *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 case of linen.²⁸ 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 garments²⁹ 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,³⁰ and kneading and stomping the fabric in wet and warm conditions thickened the fabric and closed its gaps.³¹ In this way, textiles were made more waterproof³² 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 referring to the quality of the fabric (*qa-*

28 Andersson Strand 2010, 21. To achieve a smooth surface of the fabric fibres could be raised and cropped in Classical times. See Wasserman 2013, 258. On beetling and polishing linen cloth to give it smoothness see Ben-Yehuda 2017, 127.

29 Andersson Strand 2010, 16–17.

30 Völling 2008, 150.

31 On fulling, see Barber 1991, 216; Völling 2008, 149–150.

32 Andersson Strand 2010, 20–21.

tattu, *ḥarīru*?) 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.³³ 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 piece of clothing, neither can we rule out that these forms reflect local differences within the Neo-Assyrian textile vocabulary. 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 offers us a clearer idea about some of the material characteristics of 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 characterized items of clothing fabricated in Assyria during the 9th and 7th centuries BC respectively.³⁴

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.³⁵ Various sectors of the Assyrian vocabulary concerning material culture remain unexplored, however. It is hoped that research on Assyrian textiles may be further developed in future with the discovery of new texts dealing with textiles and possibly of new textile remains or imprints of textiles from the region in question, as well as from adjacent areas. Analysing the textiles documented through texts, textile remains, textile-related objects was the main objective of this book and, in the author’s perspective, another approach in historical research for the understanding of the Assyrian Empire.

33 For analogous observations on male and female clothes in Mari, see Durand 2009, 12.

34 Völling 2008, 124, table 2, 211.

35 On the grammatical features of the Neo-Assyrian dialect, see especially Hämeen-Anttila 2000; Luukko 2004; Streck 2011a, 378–380. The Neo-Assyrian lexicon has been collected in Parpola, Whiting 2007.

Appendix A: Tables

Table 1: Neo-Assyrian account of flax and wool consumption for textiles (SAA 7, 115 = Text No. 24)

Quantity	Cities	Households	Professionals	Purpose
a) Linen (lines i 1–21, ii 1–5): 274 talents				
30 talents	Central City of Nineveh			
20 talents		Review Palace of Nineveh		
10 talents		Review Palace of the New Corps		
20 talents		House of the Queen		
5 talents		New Palace of Kalḫu		
5 talents		Review Palace of Kalḫu		
10 talents	Adian			
[...] talents	Našībina			
[...] talents	Aliḫu			
[...] talents				for blankets
[...] talents		Domestic quarters		
[...] talents			<i>kāširu(s)</i>	
[...] talents			horse-trainers	
[...] talents			treasurer	
[...] talents			palace manager of the Central City	
[...] talents			manager of the Review Palace	
[...] talents	Inner City (Assur)			
[...] talents	Kilizi			
[...] talents	Adian			
[...] talents			Ḫubtu-Aššur	
50 talents				
10 talents				for occasional needs and the boats

Quantity	Cities	Households	Professionals	Purpose
b) Linen (ll. r. ii 3–20): 30 talents, 21 minas				
[...]				for the curtains(?) of the Ištar temple, for beds and chairs, for the whole year
[x+]5 minas			<i>kāširu(s)</i>	
[...] minas			cupbearer	
[...] minas		Domestic quarters		
[...] minas			the man in charge of the rickshaw	
[...] minas			basket-dealer	
[x+]1 minas				for the sandals of the Palace
40 minas				for thin linen thread
2 talents				for linen twine
3 talents		New Palace (of Kalḫu)		
10 minas				
2 minas				for the hind-part of mangled garments/rugs(?)
1 talent			Šār-Issār	
c) Madder (ll. ii 6 – r. i 9): 109 talents				
30 talents				for the <i>gate</i> and the entrance
20 talents				for 600 gowns and 600 tunics
3 talents			Epā	for the gate- <i>overseer(s)</i>
2 talents	Aliḫu			for the boats
3 talents				for the <i>išḫu</i> -textiles
2 talents				for the wrappings of sashes
8 talents				for 500 <i>coats</i> of the Qurreans
10 minas				
2 talents				for the [upper garme]nts(?) of the chariot-fighters and for the cloaks of the archers
2 talents			<i>kāširu(s)</i>	
2 talents			Šār-Issār	

Quantity	Cities	Households	Professionals	Purpose
5 talents				for linen twine
2 talents			exorcists	unspecified, but for the whole year
20 talents			hide-soakers of Nineveh	
5 talents			dealers in leather hides of the entrance	
2 talents			weavers of scarves	
1 talent			armour-maker/ dealer	
d) Red wool (ll. r. i 10–19, ii 1–2): 22 talents				
7 talents				for statues (of the gods)
10 minas				
15 talents			deputy	
10 minas				
[...] talents				for regular consumption, including occasional needs

Table 2: Common qualifications of textile products in Neo-Assyrian administrative sources

Item	QUALITY: “of the house”	COLOUR: “red of the country”	COLOUR: “red of the port”	COLOUR: “with front part”
<i>elītu</i> “upper garment, (fringed) shawl”		√		
<i>gulēnu</i> “cloak, coat, tunic”		√	√	√ (red)
<i>ḫullānu</i> “cloak, wrap”	√			
<i>kubšū</i> “cap, mitre”		√		
<i>kusītu</i> “long tunic”		√		
<i>maqaṭṭu</i> “short gown”	√		√	√ (black, red)
<i>maqaṭṭutu</i> “short gown”	√			
<i>muklālu</i> “cape, tippet, shawl”			√	√ (red)
<i>našbutu</i> “coat, sash holder”				√ (red)
<i>qīrmu</i> “mantle, overcoat, wrap”		√	√	√ (red)
<i>raddīdu</i> “veil(?)”			√	√ (red)
<i>sasuppu</i> “napkin, towel”	√	√		√ (red)
<i>šipirtu</i> “scarf, sash, waist-belt”			√	
<i>ša-līš</i> “dust garment(?)”			√	√ (black, red)
<i>šītu</i> (a textile)		√	√	√ (red)
<i>urnutu</i> “tunic”	√	√	√	√ (red)

Table 3: Textile products in dowry lists of Neo-Assyrian marriage contracts

Textile category	Item	CTN 2, 1 Provenance: Governor's Palace, Kalḫu (date lost, 8th century BC)	StAT 2, 164 Provenance: Archive N31, Assur (reign of Esarhaddon, 675 BC)	ND 2307 (<i>Iraq 16</i> [1954], 37, pl. VI) Provenance: Ziggurat Terrace, Kalḫu (after reign of Assurbanipal, 622 BC)
1. Bed-clothes & other textiles	<i>qarrāru</i> “bedspread”			✓
	<i>dappastu</i> “bedcover, blanket”	✓		✓
	<i>qirmu</i> “mantle, overcoat, wrap”			✓
	TÚG.SI.LUḪ (a textile: pillow?)	✓		
2. Garments & other textiles	<i>kišiptu</i> “cut-off piece, scrap (of a garment)”	✓		
	<i>ša-ḫīli</i> (a garment)	✓		
	[...] <i>ša ḫatannu</i> “a ...-cloth of the bridegroom”	✓		
	<i>naḫlaptu</i> “wrap, coat”	✓		
	<i>ḫulsu</i> (a garment)	✓		
	<i>gulēnu</i> “cloak, coat, tunic”	✓		✓
	<i>gammīdu</i> (a garment or rug)	✓		✓
	<i>šaddīnu</i> (a tunic?)			✓
	<i>bēt rēši</i> (a textile: pillow?)			✓
	<i>kuzippu</i> “cloak, suit (of clothes)”			✓
	<i>urnutu</i> “tunic”		✓	✓
	TÚG.UŠ (a textile: long side of a cloth?)			✓
	<i>kitû</i> “linen garment, tunic”			✓
	<i>maqatṭutu</i> “short gown”		✓	
	<i>našbutu</i> (a coat or sash holder)		✓	
	<i>ḫuzūnu</i> (a garment)		✓	✓
	<i>pazibdu</i> (a garment)		✓	
	[...] <i>rakatu</i> (a linen textile)		✓	

Table 4: The dress golden ornaments of the Assyrian queens from Nimrud

No.	Find (description)	Museum Number	Details	Literature
1	1 fibula in the shape of a mermaid with Pazuzu-head on head and bird; found in sarcophagus, at right ribs (T1)	IM 108980 (ND 1989.19)	—	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 213; Hussein 2016, pl. 15b
2	11 small six- and globular-petalled rosettes with a hole in the middle; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105951 (ND 1989.94b)	D. c. 0.75 cm	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 80c
3	71 round hollow beads with raised centres, pierced; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105951 (ND 1989.94c)	D. c. 0.5 cm	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 80d
4	10 eight-petalled rosettes or stars in form of wheels, with holes for attachment; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105907 (ND 1989.62)	D. c. 2 cm Wt. 5.95 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 79b
5	71 round, hollow buttons with eye stones in centre, with cross-shaped structure for attachment; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105988 (ND 1989.121)	D. c. 0.75 cm Wt. 77 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 80c
6	221 hemispherical pieces with loop in back for attachment; found in sarcophagus among cloth (T2)	IM 115413 (ND 1989.139)	Wt. 39.62 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 344; Hussein 2016, pl. 78c
7	770 repoussé foil ten-petalled rosettes with central loop on back for attachment; found in sarcophagus among cloth (T2)	IM 105983 (ND 1989.116)	W. 1.5 cm Wt. ½ g – 1 g each Wt. 910 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 241; Hussein 2016, pl. 77
8	3 fibulae ending with a hand-like element; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105892–105894 (ND 1989.52a–c)	Wt. 51.95 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 300; Hussein 2016, pl. 80 g
9	42 thin strips of different length and size, some of which decorated with guilloche motif, with holes in edges; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105808 (ND 1989.28)	L. up to 15 cm W. c. 0.5 cm Wt. 52.95 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 301; Hussein 2016, pl. 79c

No.	Find (description)	Museum Number	Details	Literature
10	1.160 hemispherical buttons, with central loop on back for attachment; found in sarcophagus among cloth (T2)	IM 105985 (ND 1989.118)	D. c. 0.5 cm Wt. 271 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 302; Hussein 2016, pl. 78b
11	50 small eight-pointed stars with round centres and two opposed loops on back for attachment; found in sarcophagus among cloth (T2)	IM 105984 (ND 1989.117)	D. 2.0 cm Wt. c. 2 g each Wt. 139.66 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 306; Hussein 2016, pl. 78a
12	147 foil items in the shape of equilateral triangles whose external surface is decorated with globular elements; pierced for attachment; found in sarcophagus among cloth (T2)	IM 105986 (ND 1989.119)	L. 2.3 cm each side Wt. 0.5 g each Wt. 117.5 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 307; Hussein 2016, pl. 79a
13	4 clothing fasteners with lion head and loop under it; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105824–105827 (ND 1989.40a–d)	Wt. 20.22 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 300; Hussein 2016, pl. 80f
14	19 buttons in the shape of eight-petalled rosettes with a convex disc in the middle and two holes for attachment; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118084 (ND 1989.367)	W. 1.4 cm Wt. 23 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 152a
15	26 buttons in the shape of eight-petalled rosettes with a concave circle in the middle, with perforations for attachment; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118085 (ND 1989.368)	W. 1.6 cm Wt. 26.80 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 152b
16	28 small irregular disc-shaped buttons with convex surfaces, with no loop or hole; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118083 (ND 1989.366)	D. c. 0.5 cm Wt. 32.8 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 151i
17	2 eight-petalled rosettes with small pendants formed by chains and elements of various shapes, with holes for attachment; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118086–118087 (ND 1989.369a–b)	L. 3.2 cm – 4 cm Wt. 3.8 g – 9.6 g	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 238; Hussein 2016, pl. 152c–d
18	8 plain bangles, with small ring for attachment; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105864–105871 (ND 1989.45a–b)	D. up to 3 cm Wt. 8.0–10.5 g each Wt. 78.76 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 346; Hussein 2016, pl. 80a

No.	Find (description)	Museum Number	Details	Literature
19	2 bangles decorated with granulation, with small suspension ring; found in sarcophagus (T2)	IM 105872–105873 (ND 1989.46a–b)	D. c. 3 cm Wt. 11.5 g – 12 g	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 310; Hussein 2016, pl. 80b
21	2 thin sheet bands, presumably originally part of one long strip decorated with recurrent intertwined leaves and branches forming rosettes, with holes and edges for attachment; found in Coffin 2, SE (T3)	IM 115597 (ND 1989.287)	H. 1.5 cm L. c. 60 cm (combined) Wt. 53.32 g	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 333; Hussein 2016, pl. 151f
22	2 woven bands of gold wires ending with interwoven chains and decorated conical elements, with holes; found in Coffin 1, NW corner (T3)	IM 115506 (ND 1989.211)	L. 37 cm (length of the long band) L. 4.9 cm (length of the short band) W. of bands 1.8 cm Wt. 295 g	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 340; Hussein 2016, pl. 103b
23	264 beads including gold beads of various shapes (cylinders, discs, etc.) with raised centres and loop on back; found in Coffin 3 (T3)	IM 118126 (ND 1989.407)	Wt. 34 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 416; Hussein 2016, pl. 162d
24	Various hemispherical beads with loop handles on back; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118127 (ND 1989.409– 1989.409)	—	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 416; Hussein 2016, pl. 146d–e
25	134 hemispherical pieces with loop on back; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118128 (ND 1989.410)	—	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 419; Hussein 2016, pl. 146f
26	265 beads including gold beads of hemispherical shape with loop on back; found in Coffin 1 (T3)	IM 118131 (ND 1989.413)	—	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 416; Hussein 2016, pl. 114b
27	6 five- and globular-petalled rosettes with a hole in the middle; found in Coffin 2 (T3)	IM 118082 (ND 1989.365)	W. c. 1 cm Wt. 23.28 g (combined)	Hussein, Suleiman 1999–2000, 236; Hussein 2016, pl. 151 h

Appendix B: Neo-Assyrian administrative texts dealing with textiles

Sealings

Text 1

Siglum: BM 84908

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 11, 67

Photo: Fig. 1

(Royal stamp seal impression)

1. *ku-zi-p-p*[i² x x] ṣi-pir-a⁷-ti
2. ša [T]A² ʾman-nu—ki—^dIM LÚ.GAL—
É.GA[L²] ṣ x x⁷

(Seal impression)

¹⁻² Cloak[s (and)] *šipirtu*-textiles,
which ... Mannu-kī-Adad, the palace
manage[r ...].



Fig. 1 Text 1 (BM 84908) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Labels

Text 2

Siglum: 82–5–22,40

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 93 (= ADD 702)

Photo: Fig. 2

1. 2 TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi bé-te ZAG

2. SA₅ KAR

(One stamp seal impression)

3. TA IGI ḫi-bi-ia

4. ina É-a-ni

r.1. ŠU ḫaš-šur—kil-la-ni

2. ITI.GUD UD–2–KÁM

Blank space of three or four lines

3. lim-me ḫšá—^aPA—šú-u

¹⁻² 2 house gowns, the front red, of the port,

(seal impression)

³⁻⁴ from Ibbiya, in the domestic quarters,

^{r.1} care of Aššur-killanni.

^{r.2-3} Month of Ayyāru (II), 2nd day, eponymy of Ša-Nabû-šû (658 BC).

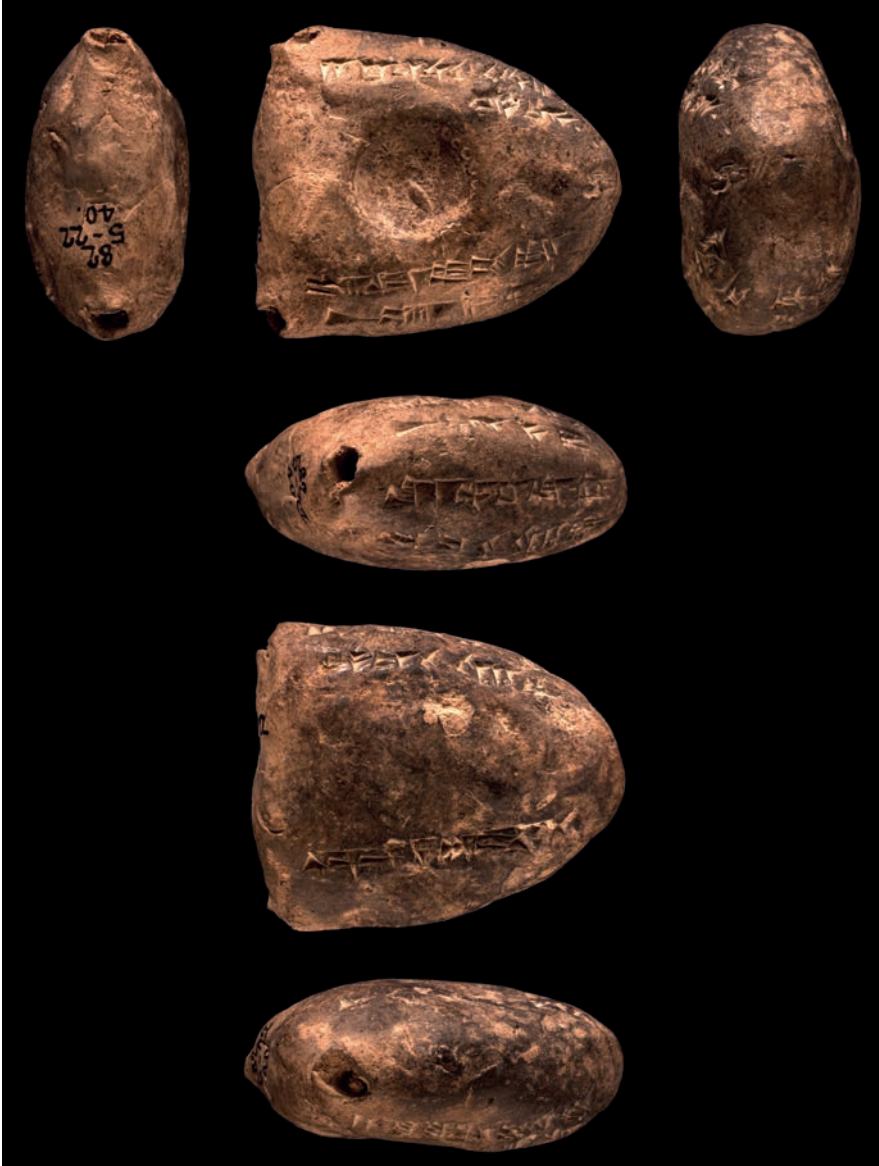


Fig. 2 Text 2 (82-5-22,40) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 3

Siglum: K 348+Ki 1904–10–9,246

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 94 (= ADD 635+)

Photo: Fig. 3

1. 7 TÚG.KI.TA.MEŠ BABBAR.MEŠ

2. ʾ2 TÚG ʾ.gul-IGI.2

3. 1 TÚG.qir-mu

(One stamp seal impression)

4. 1 TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi bé-te ZAG SA₅5. 1 TÚG.ur-nat ZAG ʾKUR^{ʾ1} [(x x)]r.1. ITI.GAN lim-me^{ld}PA—PAB—KAM-eš

(One stamp seal impression)

¹⁻⁵ 7 undergarments, white; 2 cloaks; 1 overcoat; (seal impression) 1 house gown, the front red; 1 *urnutu*-garment, the front (red), of the country(?) [...]

^{r.1} Month of Kislimu (IX), eponymy of Nabû-aḥḥē-ēreš (681 BC). (seal impression)



Fig. 3 Text 3 (K 348+) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 4

Siglum: 83–1–18,346

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 95 (= ADD 684)

Photo: Fig. 4

(Three stamp seal impressions)

1. [x] TÚG.ma-qa bir ZAG GI₆ [0]
2. [x TÚ]G.ma-qa bir ZAG SA₅ [0]
3. [x TÚ]G.ur-nat :: ZAG :: [0]
4. [x TÚG].ur-nat :: :: [x (x)]
5. [x TÚG].ur-nat :: :: [x (x)]
6. [x TÚ]G.ma-qa :: :: [x (x)]
7. 3 TÚG.qar-PA x[x]
8. 2 TÚG.[x]x[

Remainder broken away

Rev. blank, but trace of one numeral

(Seal impressions)

¹⁻⁸ [x] gowns of *biršu*-cloth, the front black; [x] gowns of *biršu*-cloth, the front red; [x] *urnutu*-garments, ditto, the front ditto; [x] *urnutu*-garments, ditto, ditto [...]; [x] *urnutu*-garments, ditto, ditto [...]; [x] gowns, ditto, ditto [...]; 3 bedspreads [...]; 2 [...] -garments [...].

(Rest destroyed or uninscribed)



Fig. 4 Text 4 (83-1-18,346) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 5

Siglum: Rm 462

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 96 (= ADD 957)

Photo: Fig. 5

Beginning broken away

1'. 4 qar-[PA x x]

2'. 1 TÚG.g[ul¹-IGI.2 x x]3'. 4 TÚG.dâp-pa-[sa-te (x x)] S[A₅² (x x)]4'. 45¹ TÚG.g[ul¹-IGI.2 x (x)] SA₅¹ [(x x)]5'. 2 TÚG.gul-IGI.2 ZAG 'SA₅¹ KUR¹ 30 ::
SUMUN x[x]

6'. 2 rad-di-di 2 GÚ.LÁ šu-pu [(x x)]

7'. 2 muk-lal bir ZAG SA₅ NA₄.[MEŠ (x)]8'. 2 U.SAG 3 šip-rat SA₅ KAR9'. 4 qar-PA si-gi¹ 2'-šú šá-ḫar-rat SA₅¹ g[i-x]10'. 4 SI.LUḪ ḪE.MED¹11'. 1 na-ša-bat bir NIGÍN SA₅ KAR

Blank space of two lines

r.1. 1 TÚG.na-ša-bat bir ZAG¹ SA₅ KAR2. 2 TÚG.ur-nat bir NIGÍN :: ' : :¹⁷

3. 3 TÚG.ur-nat GADA šip-pi [0]

4. 9 TÚG.šá-GIL ZAG¹ [x x (x x)]5. 11¹ TÚG.sa-su¹-pat x[x x]

Blank space of four lines

6. PAB¹ 1-me¹-1[+x x x x x x]

Blank space of one line

Remainder broken away

(Beginning broken away)

^{1'-11'} 1 bedsp[read, ...]; 1 cl[oak, ...]; 4 blan[kets], r[ed, ...]; 45 cl[oaks, ...], red, [...]; 2 cloaks, the front red, of the country; 30 ditto, old ...; 2 veils; 2 wraps, embroidered; 2 shawls of *biršu*-cloth, the front red, (stud-ded with) [...] -stones; 2 mitres; 3 scarves, red, of the port; 4 bed-spreads of tuft, 2 pairs of leggings, red ...; 4 ...-garments of red wool; 1 *našbutu*-garment of *biršu*-cloth, the edging red, of the port.

^{r.1-5} 1 *našbutu*-garment of *biršu*-cloth, the front red, of the port; 2 *urnutu*-garments of *biršu*-cloth, the edging ditto, ditto; 3 *urnutu*-garments, of linen, with *šippu*-elements; 9 *ša-parāki* textiles, the front [...]; 11 towels, [...]:

^{r.6} Total: 101[+x ... garments ...]
(Remainder broken away)



Fig. 5 Text 5 (Rm 462) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 6

Siglum: 81-2-4,259

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 97 (= ADD 956)

Photo: Fig. 6

Beginning broken away

1'. 4^r TÚG.[x x x x x x]2'. 2^r TÚG.S[I^r.LUḪ x x x x]

3'. 3 TÚG.ur-[nat x x x x x]

Blank space of three lines

4'. 2^r TÚG.KI—*ḫal-pat bi[r]*-^rše²¹ [x x]5'. 3 TÚG.KI—*ḫal-pat* :: [x x]

6'. 3 TÚG.na-ša-bat :: [x x x]

7'. 3 TÚG.qir-me' ZAG SA₅ [x x]8'. 1 TÚG.[qar]-PA si²-g[i² x x]

9'. 6 TÚG.dáp-pa-sat GIŠ.N[Á x x]

10'. 5^r TÚG.ur-nat bir-še ZAG SA₅ KAR [x (x)]

11'. 4 TÚG.na-ša-bat :: NIGÍN :: [0]

12'. 5^r TÚG.ur-nat :: :: sa-a x[x]13'. 1^r ku-zip-pi NA₄.ME[Š (x)]

Lower edge uninscribed

r.1. 4^r TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi GADA ZAG SA₅¹¹ KAR¹
G[U² (x)]

2. 4 TÚG.ur-nat :: :: [x x]

3. 3 TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi :: ZAG S[A₅¹ (x x)]

4. 3 TÚG.ḫa-ri-r[at x x x x]

5. 2 TÚG.ma-qa-ṭi :: GÜN¹ [x x x]

6. 1 TÚG.ur-nat :: :: [x x x]

7. 1 TÚG.KI—*ḫal-up-tú* [x x x]8. 1 TÚG.ga-mid :: ši¹-[ip²-pi²]9. 1 TÚG.ur-nat :: g[i²-x x x]

10. 3 TÚG.ur-nat :: [x x x]

11. 3 TÚG.kar-ZI¹¹. [MEŠ]

12. 2 TÚG.sa-su-p[at x x x]

13. 2 TÚG.sa-su-p[at x x x]

Blank space of two lines; remainder
broken away

(Beginning broken away)

1^r-13^r 4 [...] -garments [...]; 2 S[I.LUḪ]-

garments [...]; 3 ur[nutu]-garments

[...]; 2 reinforced undergarments of

bi[r]šu-cloth, [...]; 3 reinforced un-

dergarments ditto [...]; 3 našbutu-

garments, ditto, [...]; 3 overcoats,

the front red [...]; 1 [beds]pread of

tu[ft ...]; 6 blankets for a bed [...];

5 urnutu-garments of biršu-cloth,

the front red, of the port [...]; 4

našbutu-garments, ditto, the edg-

ing ditto; 5 urnutu-garments, ditto,

ditto, ditto, ...; 1 cloak (studded

with precious) stones;

r.1-13 4 gowns of linen, the front

red, of the port, ..[...]; 4 urnutu-

garments, ditto, ditto, ditto [...];

3 gowns ditto, the front r[ed ...]; 3

ḫarīru-garmen[ts ...]; 2 gowns dit-

to, multicoloured [...]; 1 urnutu-gar-

ment, ditto, ditto [...]; 1 reinforced

undergarment [...]; 1 gammīdu-

garment, ditto, with ši[ppu(?)-

elements]; 1 urnutu-garment, ditto

[...]; 3 cap[s ...]; 2 towel[s ...]; 2

towel[s ...].

(Remainder broken away)



Fig. 6 Text 6 (81-2-4,259) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 7

Siglum: K 1483

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 98 (= ADD 682)

Photo: Fig. 7

Beginning broken away

- 1'. [(x) x x] ṛx xṛ [x x x x]
 2'. [(x) x]x ṛZAG SA₅ṛ KU[R x x x x]
 3'. [(x) x]x BIṛ ZAGṛ SA₅ṛ x[x x x x]
 4'. [x ma-q]a² birṛ ZAG GI₆ [x x x x]
 5'. [x TÚG.u]r¹-nat bir ZAG SA₅ x[x x x x]
 6'. [(x)x] :. :. ZAG SA₅ KAR 4² [x x x x]
 7'. [x+]3 :. :. ZAG SA₅ KUR 30 [x x x x]
 8'. [x+]1¹ TÚG.gul-IGI ZAG SA₅ [x x x x]
 9'. [x+]1¹ TÚG.qir-me ZAG SA₅ K[AR x x x]
 10'. [x TÚ]G.:. ZAG SA₅ KUR [x x x x]
 11'. [x]x rad¹-di-di (seal impression) [x x x x]
 12'. [x TÚG].gul-IGI.2 (seal impression)
 [x x x x]
 13'. [x TÚG].ḫu-zu-nu (seal impression)
 [x x x x]
 14'. [x x x x] ṛxṛ [x x x x x x]

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away)

- ^{1'-7'} [...] ... [...] [...] ..., the front red, of the coun[try]; [...] ..., the front red, [...]; [...] go]wns of *biršu*-cloth, the front black, [...]; [...] *urnutu*-garments of *biršu*-cloth, the front red, ...[...]; [...] ditto, ditto, the front red, of the port; 4 [...]; [x+]3 ditto, ditto, the front red, of the country; 30 [...];
^{8'-14'} [x+]1 cloaks, the front red [...]; [x+]1 overcoats, the front red, of the p[ort, ...]; [...] gar]ments ditto, the front red, of the country, [...]; [...] veils (seal impression) [...]; [...] cloaks (seal impression) [...]; [...] *ḫuzūnu*-garments (seal impression) [...]; [...] ... [...]
 (Rest broken away)



Fig. 7 Text 7 (K 1483) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 8

Siglum: K 10816

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 99 (= ADD 707)

Photo: Fig. 8

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. [x+]1 TÚG.BAR.DIB GÛN¹ LU.M[<i>EŠ</i> x x x x]</p> <p>2. [x] TÚG.<i>ma-qa-ti bé-[te S]</i>A₅? [x x x x]</p> <p>3. [x T]ÚG.<i>ur-nat</i> :. :. [x x x x]</p> <p>4. [x TÚG].<i>ur-nat bi[r-še</i> x x]</p> <p>5. [x] TÚG.<i>ur-n[at^t</i> x x x x]</p> <p>At least two seal impressions</p> <p>Rest broken away</p> | <p>¹⁻⁵ [x+]1 long tunic, multicoloured, (characterized by) LU-eleme[nts ...]; [...] hou[se] gown(s), [r]ed [...]; [...] <i>urnutu</i>-garments, ditto, ditto, [...]; [...] <i>urnutu</i>-garments of <i>bir[šu]</i>-cloth, [...]; [...] <i>urnutu</i>-garments [...] (Seal impressions; rest broken away)</p> |
|---|--|



Fig. 8 Text 8 (K 10816) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 9

Siglum: 83–1–18,764

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 100 (= ADD 685)

Beginning broken away

1'. (One seal impression) ʾTUR²¹ x[x x x x]2'. [] 3*² [x x x x]3'. [] *bir* NU [x x x x]

4'. (One seal impression) NU [x x x x]

5'. [] 3*² [x x x x]6'. [] ZAG S[A₅ x x x x]7'. [] ʾni⁷ [x x x x]

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away)

1¹⁻⁷ (One seal impression) [...] small(?);[...] 3 [...]; [...] of *biršu*-cloth, not [...];

(one seal impression) not [...]; [...] 3

[...]; [...] the front re[d ...]; [...] .. [...].

Rest broken away

Text 10

Siglum: K 1598

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 101 (= ADD 681)

Beginning broken away

(Royal stamp seal impression)

1'. 33 TÚ[G.x x x x x]

2'. 20 TÚG.u[r¹-*nat* x x x x x]

3'. 77 T[ÚG.x x x x x]

4'. 2¹¹ T[ÚG.x x x x x]5'. ʾ10³ [TÚG x x x x]

Edge broken

Rev. space of c. three lines

1'. PAB 3–*me* [x x x x x]

Space of c. three lines

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away; royal stamp seal impression)

1¹⁻⁵ 33 [...] -gar[ments ...]; 20 u[*rnutu*-

garments of ...]; 77 [...] -garments; 2

[...] -garments; 10 [...] -garments].

1¹ Total: 300[+x garments]

(Rest broken away)

Text 11

Siglum: 83–1–18,567

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 102 (= ADD 683)

Photo: Figs. 9–10

Beginning broken away
(Stamp seal impression)

1'. [x TÚG.na]-*ša-bat* NIGÍN [x x x x]

2'. [x TÚG.u]r-nat bir NIGÍN [x x x x]

3'. [x TÚG.ḥ]u-zu-[nu x x x x]

4'. [x TÚG.A]N.TA.MEŠ [x x x x]

5'. [x TÚG.mu]k-lal ZA[G x x x]

6'. [x]x TÚG.KI¹—[*ḥal-pat*²]

Edge blank

Rev. Small blank space

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away; seal impression)

^{1'-6'} [... na]šbutu-garments, the edging [...]; [... u]rmutu-garments of *biršu*-cloth, the edging [...]; [... ḥ]uzū[nu-garments ...]; [x u]pper garments [...]; [... sh]awls, the fro[nt ...]; [reinforced(?) under[garments]

(Rest broken away)

Text 12

Siglum: 81–2–4,318

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 103 (= ADD 958)

(Beginning broken away)

1'. x TÚG].^rx^r G[^ú.LÁ *bé-te*]2'. x TÚ]G.AN.[TA² x x x x]3'. x x] TÚG¹. [x x x x x x]

4'. x x x] GADA [x x x x x]

5'. x x x x] ^rx x^r [x x x x]

Rest broken away

Rev. beginning broken away

1'. x+]1¹ TÚG.ur-n[at x x x]2'. x+]2² TÚG.ma-q[a-tí x x x]3'. x+]1¹ TÚG.:. :. ZAG [x x x]

Blank space of two lines

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away)

^{1'-5'} [x ...]-garments; [house(?)-wr]aps; [x] upper garment[s, ...; x ...]-garments; [x ...-garments] of linen; [..., x ...-garments; ...].

^{1'-3'} [x+]1 *urnutu*-garmen[ts of ...]; [x+]2 gown[s ...]; [x+]1 ditto-garment, ditto, the front [...]

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 9 Text 11
(83-1-18,567 Obverse)
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Fig. 10 Text 11
(83-1-18,567 Reverse)
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Text 13

Siglum: K 13179

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 104 (= ADD 974)

Photo: Fig. 11

Beginning broken away

1'. ʿ20 x ma¹-qa-t[ʿ x x x

2'. 60 ma-qa-ti bé-[te x x

3'. 4 ma-qa-ti ZA[G x x x

4'. 4 ma-qa-ti x[x x x

5'. 2' TÚG.KI.T[A—*ḫal-pat*6'. 20 *ga-mid* [x x x x7'. 2 *qir*-[me x x x x

Blank space of two lines

Edge broken away (uninscribed?)

Rev. beginning broken away

1'. x[x TÚG².*ḫa²*]-ri-[rat² x x2'. x[x ur²]-*nat* GADA BABBAR¹ [x x3'. ʿx x¹ [x (x) x]-*bu* GÛN [x x x

4'. (Blank space?)

Three or four lines broken, some perhaps blank

5'. ʿPAB^{1ʿ} [0] 7¹-*me¹* [x x x x]

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away)

^{1'-7'} 20 gown[s ...]; 60 hou[se]-gowns [...]; 4 gowns, the fron[t ...]; 4 gowns, ... [...]; 2 [reinforced? un]dergarments; 20 *gammīdu*-garments [of ...]; 2 *qir*[mus of ...].^{1'-4'} [x *ḫa*]ri[ru(?)-garments of ...]; [x *ur*]*nutu*-garments of linen, white, [...]; ...[...]-garments multicoloured, [...]

(Break)

^{1-5'} Total: 700[+x ...-garments]

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 11 Text 13 (K 13179) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 14

Siglum: Rm 2,275

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 105

Photo: Fig. 12

Beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x x x]x[x x x x x x x]
 2'. [x x x x]x 2 *gul*-IGI.[2 (x)] 'x x' [x x x]
 3'. [x x x x]x 3 *ra-di-du*.MEŠ 'ZAG KAR x
 1' *ra-di-d*[u (x x x)]
 4'. [x x x]x 7 *qar-PA nak-ba-si* 19 *dáp-pa-sat* GIŠ.NÁ [0]
 5'. [x x x x]x 4 *ši-tú* ḪÉ.MED '5' SI.LUḪ
 ḪÉ.MED SA₅ [(x x)]
 6'. [x x x] GÛN GAL.MEŠ 7 *šá-IŠ* 'GÛN'
 GAL.MEŠ 10 BAR.DIB GÛN.M[EŠ 0]
 7'. [x x x]x GÛN LU.MEŠ 1 BAR.DIB SA₅
 KUR 1 *ša-IŠ* SA₅ [(x x)]
 8'. [x x x].MEŠ SA₅ KAR 19 *muk-lal*.MEŠ
 ZAG SA₅ KAR [0]
 9'. [x TÚG.K]I—*ḫal-pat*.MEŠ *ša* NIGÍN 1
 AN.TA SA₅ KUR 1 *muk-l*[al 0]
 10'. [x x x š]a' SA₅ NA₄ KI.TA—*ḫal-pat*
bir-še NIGÍN [x x x]
 11'. [x x x x] 'x' 12 U.SAG^{II}.MEŠ BAB-
 BAR.MEŠ 2 'U.SAG^{II}'. [MEŠ (x x)]
 12'. [x x x x x] ḪÉ.ME.DA 1-*te* :.
 ÍD.M[EŠ' x x]
 13'. [x x x x x] ÍD.MEŠ [x x x x x]
 Edge uninscribed
 Rev. broken away

(Beginning broken away)

- 1'-13' [...; ...] 2 cloaks, ... [...]; [......] 3 veils,
 the front (red), of the port, 1 vei[l ...];
 [......] 7 bedspreads of mat(?); 19 blan-
 kets for bed; [......] 4 *šitu*-textiles of red
 wool; 5 SI.LUḪ-textiles of red wool,
 red; [...] multicoloured, large; 7 *ša-IŠ*
 garments, multicoloured, large; 10
 long tunics, multicoloured; [... *long*
tunic] multicoloured, with LU.MEŠ; 1
 long tunic, red, of the country; 1 *ša-IŠ*
 garment, red; [...-garment]s red, of the
 port; 19 shawls, the front red, of the
 port; [x] reinforced [under]garments,
 (with) edging; 1 upper garment, red,
 of the country; 1 shaw[l]; [...] ... red,
 (decorated with precious) stones; 5 re-
 inforced undergarments of *biršu*-cloth
 (with) edging, [...]; [......] 12 white mi-
 tres; 2 [...] mitres; [......] of red wool; 1
 ditto (with) ÍD-el[ements...]; [... (with)]
 ÍD-elements [......]
 (Rest broken away)



Fig. 12 Text 14 (Rm 2,275) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 15

Siglum: Rm 2,255

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 106 (= ADD 817)

Photo: Fig. 13

1. [x x x x x x x] 3 4*.MEŠ MA.NA
2. [x x x x x x S]A₅ KUN-tú
3. [x x x x x]x-^rtú¹ 1¹ 2/3¹ MA.NA
4. [x x x x x x]x SA₅ KUN-tú
5. [x x x x x x GÛN²].A 1 1/2 MA.NA
6. [x x x x x x] 1 3-su MA.NA
7. [x x x x x S]A₅ KAR
8. [x x x x x S]A₅ KAR
9. [x x x x x x]x ZAG
10. [x x x x x x]x UD¹ x¹
11. [x x x x x S]A₅ [KAR²]

Remainder broken away

Rev. beginning broken away

1'. [x x x x x x]x UD¹ [x]2'. [x x x x x x]x UD¹ [x]3'. [x x x x x K]AR¹ x[x]4'. [x x x x x x S]A₅¹ KAR¹5'. [x x x x x x x x] NA₄6'. [x x x x x x x x] NA₄

7'. [x x x x x x x x]-te

8'. [x x x x x x x x]-te²

Remainder, perhaps one line, broken away

¹⁻¹¹ [.....] 3/4 mina; [.....] r]ed, rear part; [.....] 1 2/3 mina; [.....] red, rear part; [... multicolou]red(?) 1 1/2 mina; [.....] 1 1/3 mina; [... r]ed, of the port; [... r]ed, of the port; [.....] the front; [.....] white; [... r]ed, [of the port?]

(Remainder broken away)

^{1'-8'} [.....] white, [...]; [.....] white, [...]; [... of the port], [...]; [.....] r]ed, of the port; [..... (decorated with precious)] stone(s); [..... (decorated with precious)] stone(s); [.....]

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 13 Text 15 (Rm 2,255) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Memoranda

Text 16

Siglum: K 440

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 112 (= ADD 680)

Photo: Fig. 14

Beginning broken away

- 1'. *ša a-na x[x x x x x]*
- 2'. ^{id}PA—PAB-*i[r x x (x x)]*
- 3'. *4-me ku-zip-pu* ^{r'd}[*x x (x)*]
- 4'. *e-dan* ^{id}PA—*š[e²-zib-(an-ni)]*
- 5'. EN—*pi-qi-ti ša s[a-x (x)]* ^r*x x x*^r
- 6'. TÚG.AN.TA.MEŠ TÚG.BAR.D[IB.M]EŠ
- 7'. *it-ti-din šu-ú MÍ-šú*
- 8'. *qa-ri-i-a-ti*
- 9'. *e-ta-ap-še*
- 10'. TÚG.*ma-qa-aṭ-a-ti ša* TÚG.GADA
- e.11'. 1 TÚG.*ur-nat ša* UGU *la¹-ni*
- 12'. ^{id}UTU—AŠ EN *ma-ḥa-ru*
- r.1.1—*lim-5¹-me* TÚG.*na-ḥa-pa-a-te*
2. *ša* KUR².*qu¹-ra²-a-a*
3. ¹*ú-di-ni e-dan*
4. 70 TÚG.*muk-lál ša-la-šu-te¹¹*
5. ^{id}PA—*še-zib-an-ni e-dan*
6. LÚ.D[UM]U²—ŠU.2.MEŠ-*ti*
7. *ša ár¹¹-ka-su-nu*
8. *ú-^rdu¹-u¹-ni¹*

Lower half broken away

- s.1. PAB 11¹ LÚ* .ERIM.MEŠ *ša* T[A x x x x]
2. LÚ*¹.GAL—50 *iḥ-l[i-qu-u-ni 0]*
3. *ina* UGU-*i[á¹ il-li-ku-u-ni²]*

(Beginning broken away)

^{r'-e.12'} which to [.....] Nabû-nāš[ir ...]; [...] will provide 4000 cloaks; Nabû-š[ēzibanni], the official of [...], gave upper garments (and) long tunics; he (and) his wife prepared banquets. Linen gowns, 1 *urnutu*-garment covering the (entire) figure – Šamaš-iddin is the recipient.

^{r.1-8} Udini will provide 1500 coats for the Qurreean soldiers. Nabû-šēzibanni will provide 70 third-rate shawls. The *as[sist]ants whose background is known*.

(Lower half broken away)

^{s.1-3} Total: 11 men, who ran away wi[th ...], the commander-of-fifty, [*and came*] to m[e].



Fig. 14 Text 16 (K 440) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 17

Siglum: 81-2-4,463

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 113 (= ADD 1090)

Photo: Fig. 15

1. TÚG.gul¹-IG[I.2 x x x
 2. ŠU.2¹aš-šur-[x x x
 3. LÚ*¹.SAG¹ [x x x x
 4. 1 gul-IGI.2¹ [x x x x
 5. LÚ*.UŠ.K[U x x x x
 6. PAB¹ x[x x x x x x
 7. ṣá²⁷ lu-[x x x x
 8. ṣ¹ [x x x x
- Remainder broken away

¹⁻⁸ 1 cloak [of ...], care of Aššur-[...], the eunuch [from ...]; 1 cloak, [care of ...], lamentation pr[iest from ...]. Total: [x cloaks] of [.....]
(Remainder broken away)



Fig. 15 Text 17 (81-2-4,463) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Lists

Text 18

Siglum: K 11872

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 107 (= ADD 975)

Photo: Fig. 16

Beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x x x x x x]x
- 2'. [x x x (x x) x]x ZAG KUN-^rtú^{1r}
- 3'. [x x x (x x) x]x 1 MA 3-si
- 4'. [x x x x (x x)] :. :. ZAG :. 1 MA 3-si [0]
- 5'. [x x x (x x)] :. :. ZAG :. 1 MA 4-tú [0]
- 6'. [x x x (x x)] :. :. ZAG KAR NU 1 MA 3-s[í]
- 7'. [x x (x x) x]x :. :. ZAG :. 1 MA 4-tú
- 8'. [x x x (x x)] :. :. ZAG SA₅ pu-li
- 9'. [x x x x (x x)] :. :. ZAG SA₅ KUR
- 10'. [x x x x (x x) ZA]G¹ G[I₆¹ x (x x)]

Remainder broken away

Rev. beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x x x] ^rUD^{1r} [x x x x]
- 2'. [x x (x x) x]x 77 ur-nat.MEŠ [x x (x x)]
- 3'. [x x (x x) GÚ²].LÁ be²-te¹ ša MÍ.MEŠ
- 4'. [x (x x) x]x bir :. :.
- 5'. [x x x (x x)]-si² :. :. ZAG S[A₅¹ (x)]
- 6'. [x x (x x) x]x ZAG SA₅ KA[R¹ (x)]
- 7'. [x x x (x x)] ZAG SA₅ KUR [0]
- 8'. [x x (x x) gu]l-IGI.2 ZAG SA₅ KAR
- 9'. [x x (x x) ma-qa]-tí² NU ZAG
- 10'. [x x x x x ki²-š²]-ip-tú¹
- 11'. [x x x x x]x UD² ME

Remainder broken away

(Beginning broken away)

^r10^r [.....] the front (and) the rear part; [...] 1 1/3 mina; [...] ditto, ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/3 mina; [...], ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/4 mina; [...] ditto, ditto, the front (red), of the port, not, 1 1/3 mina; [...] ditto, ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/4 mina; [...] ditto, ditto, the front limestone-red; [...], ditto, the front red, of the country; [.....] the front bl[ack ...]

(Remainder of obverse and beginning of reverse broken away)

^r11^r-11^r [.....] white [.....]; [...] urnutugarments [...]; [...] house-[wr]ap(s) for women; [...] ..., of biršu-cloth, ditto, ditto; [...] ..., ditto, the front r[ed]; [...] the front red, of the p[ort]; [...] the front red, of the country; [... cl]oak(s), the front red, of the port; [... gow]ns, not with front-part; [... piece of a garme]nt(?) ... [.....] ...

(Remainder broken away)



Fig. 16 Text 18 (K 11872) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 19

Siglum: 82–5–22,513

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 108 (= ADD 1124)

Photo: Fig. 17

Col. i' Beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x x x x x x] MA
 2'. [x x x x x x x G]IŠ[?].MEŠ
 3'. [x x x x sa-a-t]e[?] 1 1/2 MA
 4'. [x x x x] :. sa-a-te 1 1/2 MA
 5'. [x x x x] KUN¹-tú KA GIŠ[?].MEŠ
 6'. [x x x] sa-a-a-te 1 1/2 MA
 7'. [(x) x] :. :. ZAG :. sa-a-a-te
 8'. 3[!] šī[!]-tú[!] šī su be si GÜN 1 1/2 MA
 9'. 2 :. :. ZAG :. sa-a-a-te 1 MA 4–tú
 10'. 18 :. :. ZAG :. 1 1/2 MA
 11'. 59[!] :. :. ZAG :. 1 MA 3–si
 12'. 5[!] :. :. ZAG :. 1 MA 4–tú
 13'. 35[!] :. :. ZAG KAR NU 1 MA 4–tú
 14'. [x+]10 :. :. ZAG SA₅ pu-li
 15'. [x+]10 :. :. ZAG SA₅ 'KUR'

Remainder broken away (uninscribed?)

Col. ii' Beginning broken away

- 1'. PAB [x x x x x x x]
 2'. 1–me [x x x x x x x]
 3'. 20 :. [x x x x x x x]
 4'. 20 :. :. [x x x x x x x]
 Blank line
 5'. PAB 1–me 1[+x TÚG.x x x x]
 6'. 1 ur-nat g[u-ub-li]
 7'. sa-a-[a-te x x x x]
 8'. 2 :. :. [x x x x x x x]
 Blank line
 9'. 1 :. :. [x x x x x x x]
 10'. 16 [x x x x x x x x]
 11'. 40 [x x x x x x x x]
 12'. 30 [x x x x x x x x]
 13'. 1[!] [x x x x x x x x]

Around two lines broken away

(Beginning broken away)

- i' 1^{'-15'} [...] mina; [..... (with) G]IŠ[?]-elements; [... (with) sāi]us 1 1/2 mina; [...] ditto, (with) sāius, 1 1/2 mina; [...] the rear part, the fringe, (with) GIŠ[?]-elements; [...] (with) sāius, 1 1/2 mina; [...] ditto, ditto, the front ditto, (with) sāius; 3 šītu-textiles ... multicoloured, 1 1/2 mina; 2 ditto, ditto, the front ditto, (with) sāius, 1 1/4 mina; 18 ditto, ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/2 mina; 59 ditto, ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/3 mina; 5 ditto, ditto, the front ditto, 1 1/4 mina; 35 ditto, ditto, the front (red), of the port, not, 1 1/4 mina; [x+]10 ditto, ditto, the front limestone-red; [x+]10 ditto, ditto, the front red, of the country

(Remainder of Col. i' and beginning of Col. ii' broken away)

- ii 1^{'-4'} Total: [... garments]; 100 [...-garments]; 20 ditto [.....]; 20 ditto, ditto [.....].

(Blank line)

- ii 5^{'-8'} Total: 10I[+x ...-garments]; 1 urnu-tu-garment of B[yblos] (with) sāi[us, ...]; 2 ditto, ditto [.....];

(Blank line)

- ii 9^{'-13'} 1 ditto, ditto [.....]; 16 [...-garments]; 40 [...-garments]; 30 [...-garments]; 1 [...-garment]

(Around two lines of obverse Col. ii' and beginning of reverse Col. i' broken away)

Rev.

Col. i' Beginning broken away

1'. 18 [x x x x x x x x]

Blank line

2'. 34¹ [x x x x x x x x]

3'. 2 :. [x x x x x x x]

4'. 21 :. [x x x x x x x]

5'. 18 [x x x x x x x x]

6'. PAB [x x x x x x x x]

7'. PAB [x x x x x x x x]

8'. 3 [x x x x x x x]

Rest broken away

Col. ii' Beginning broken away

1'. [x]-*me*-42 SĪG.MEŠ *šab-bu-šú*

Blank line

2'. [PAB] 8-*me*-33 SĪG.MEŠ SĪG

3'. [x+]4 *ma-qa-ti* GADA ZAG SA₅

4'. [x+]2 *ur-nat gu-ub-li*

5'. [x+]4 KI¹-*hal-pat* GADA *ha-ri-ra-te*

6'. [x x š]*a*²-GIL¹ GIŠ.ĤUR.MEŠ

7'. [x x x x x.ME]Š GADA

Blank line

8'. [x x x x x x x].MEŠ

Rest broken away

r. i' 1' 18 [.....];

(Blank line)

r. i' 2'-8' 34 [.....]; 2 ditto [.....]; 21 ditto [.....]; 18 [.....]. Total: [...-garments]; total: [.....]; 3 [.....]

(Rest of reverse Col. i' and beginning of Col. ii' broken away)

r. ii' 1' [x+]142 collected textiles.

(Blank line)

r. ii' 2'-7' Total: 833 wool textiles; [x+]4 linen gowns, the front red; [x+]2 *ur-nutu*-garments of Byblos; [x+]4 reinforced undergarments of linen; *harīru*-garments; [... c]loth (with) patterns; [...-garment]s of linen;

(Blank line)

r. ii' 8' [... *textile*]s

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 17 Text 19 (82-5-22,513) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 20

Siglum: Sm 360

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 109 (= ADD 973)

Photo: Fig. 18

Col. i Beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x] ṛ :. :¹ [x x x x x x x]
 2'. [x x x :] :. :. : NU¹.¹ÚR¹.MA² [0]
 3'. [x x x] :. :. :. : KA ṛsa²-a¹-a¹ 1 1/2¹ MA
 4'. [x x x] :. :. :. : sa-a-a 1 1/2¹ MA
 5'. [x x x] :. :. :. : bar ḥu KA MA sa-a 1 1/2
 6'. [x x x] :. :. :. : šī-tú¹ šī su be
 7'. [0] sa-a [1²] 1/2
 8'. [x x x x x :] :. :. : sa-a 1 MA¹ 4¹-tú
 9'. [x x x x x x x x] ṛx¹.ḪI.A
 10'. [x x x x x x x x] ṛ4¹-tú¹

Rest broken away

Col. ii Beginning broken away

- 1'. [PA]B [x x x x x x]
 2'. 1 ur-nat GI₆¹ NIGIN ZA[G x]
 3'. sa-a GUD IGI.2 ṛGÚ¹.[LÁ]
 4'. 2 :. :. : NIGIN :. :. : KA ṛMA sa¹-a
 5'. 1 :. :. : NIGIN¹ MÁŠ sa¹-a¹ su-ṛnī²
 6'. 16 :. :. : NIGIN :. :. : sa¹-a¹ SA₅ [0]
 7'. 40 :. :. :. : SA₅¹ [sa-a]-a²-te¹ [0]
 8'. 33 :. :. : m[a²] bī² [x x]
 9'. 4 :. :. : [x x x x x]
 10'. PAB [x x x x x x]

Rest broken away

Col. iii Beginning broken away

- 1'. ṛx¹ x[x] ṛx SÍG¹ [0]
 2'. 1 ma-qa-tí GADA¹ ZAG G[Ú¹.LÁ]
 3'. NÁ [0]
 4'. 2 :. :. :. : KA x[(x x)]
 5'. 4² ṛx x x¹ [x x x x x]

Rest broken away

Col. iv Completely broken away

(Beginning broken away)

i¹-10¹ [.....] ditto [.....]; [..... di]tto, ditto, ditto, (decorated with) pomegranates; [.....] ditto, ditto, ditto, the fringe ..., (with) sāiu, 1 1/2 mina; [.....] ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto, (with) sāiu, 1 1/2 mina; [.....] ditto, ditto, ditto ..., ..., the fringe (with) sāiu, 1 1/2 mina; [.....] ditto, ditto, ditto, ditto, šītu-textile, ..., (with) sāiu [1] 1/2 (mina); [.....] ditto, ditto, (with) sāiu, 1 1/4 mina; [.....]s; [.....] 1/4 (mina) (Rest of Col. i and beginning of Col. ii broken away)

ii¹-10¹ [Tot]al: [... textiles]; 1 urnutu-garment, black, (with) edging, the front [...], (with) sāiu, (decorated with) a bull (and) eye-shaped element(s), (associated with) a wr[ap]; 2 ditto, ditto, (with) edging ditto, the fringe ..., (with) sāiu; 1 ditto, ditto, (with) edging (decorated with) a goat, (with) sāiu, (associated with) a sūnu; 16 ditto, ditto, (with) edging ditto, (with) sāiu, red; 40 ditto, ditto, ditto, red, (with) [sā]iu; 33 ditto [...]... [...] 4 ditto [.....]. Total: [..... textiles].

(Rest of Col. ii and beginning of Col. iii broken away)

iii¹-5¹ [...] wool; 1 gown of linen, (with) front-part (and) a w[rap for] a bed. 2 ditto, ditto, ditto, the fringe [...]; 4 ... [...] (Rest of Col. iii and beginning of Col. iv broken away)

Rev.

Col. i Completely broken away

Col. ii Beginning broken away

1'. PAB 10[+x x x x x]

2'. 3 *ma-qa-t*[í x x x x]

3'. 1 KI—*ḫal-p*[at x x x]

4'. 3 *ma-qa-ti* :. [x x x]

5'. 1 KI—*ḫal-pat* :. [x x x]

6'. 3 *ma-qa-ti* x[x x x]

7'. 53 :. :. ZA[G x x]

8'. 4² [x x] :. :. [x x x]

Rest broken away

Col. iii Beginning broken away

1'. 25¹⁷ [x x x x x]

2'. 1 :. :. :. :. [x x x x x x]

Blank space of one line

3'. PAB x[x x x x x x]

4'. 50¹ *ur-nat* x[x x x]

5'. 10¹ [[x x x]]

6'. PAB [x x x x x x x]

7'. 2 :. :. ZAG K[A]R¹ NU

8'. *sa-a*

9'. 93 *ur-nat bir* ZAG KAR¹

10'. 22 :. :. :. KUR

11'. 14¹ :. :. :. GI₆

Blank space of two lines

12'. PAB [x x] ^rx³-šú²

13'. P[AB² x x x x x]

Rest broken away

Col. iv Beginning broken away

Blank space of four lines

1'. [*aq-qa*]-*bi* x x[x x x x]

2'. [x] KUN² GÛN.A KUR²

3'. [x TÚG].GADA *sa-a*

4'. [x x] ZA NIGÍN GUD¹ :.

5'. [x x] ZAG :. ^ršip²³-pi²

6'. [x TÚG].*ḫa-ri-rat* GÛN

(reverse Col. i and beginning of Col. ii broken away)

^r.ii¹ Total: 10[+x ...textiles].

2⁻⁸ 3 gown[s ...]; 1 reinforced undergar[ment ...]; 3 gowns ditto [...]; 1 reinforced undergarment ditto [...]; 3 gowns [...]; 53 ditto, ditto (with) fro[nt-part ...]; 4 [...] ditto, ditto [...]

(Rest of Col. ii and beginning of Col. iii broken away)

^r.iii¹⁻² 25 [.....]; 1 ditto, ditto [.....].

(Blank space of one line)

³-ii¹ Total: ...[...-garments]; 50 *urnutu*-garments ...[...]; 10 [[...]]; total: [.....]; 2 ditto, ditto, (with) the front-part (red), of the port, not, (with) *sāiu*; 93 *urnutu*-garments of *biršu*-cloth, (with) the front-part (red), of the port; 22 ditto, ditto, ditto, of the country; 14 ditto, ditto, ditto, black.

12² Total: [...];

(Blank space of one line)

13² Tot[al]

(Rest of Col. iii and beginning of Col. iv broken away)

(Blank space of four lines)

^r.iv¹⁻⁶ [the hind-pa]rt of [...-textile(s)]; [...] the rear-part, multicoloured, of the country; [x line]n textiles, (with) *sāiu*; [...] ... (with) edging, (decorated with) a bull, ditto; [...] the front-part ditto, (with) *šippu*(?)-elements; [x] *ḫarīru*-garments, multicoloured;

Blank space of one line

7'. [x TÚG.x x x] QĀL'

Blank space of three lines

Rest broken away

(Blank space of one line)

7' [...-garments], small-sized.

(Blank space of three lines)

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 18 Text 20 (Sm 360) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 21

Siglum: K 827

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 110 (= ADD 954)

Photo: Fig. 19

1. 2 MA.NA SÍG.ḪÉ.[MED]
 2. 2 MA.NA SÍG.GI₆ O
 3. PAB *a-na* TÚG.*si-g*[*u*?]
 4. 1 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.Ḫ[É¹.MED]
 5. 1 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.[GI₆ O]
 6. PAB *a-na* TÚG.*qar*-[P]A²
 7. 2 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.ḪÉ.MED¹ [O]
 8. 2 1/2 MA.NA SÍG.GI₆ [O]
 9. *a-na* TÚG.*qir-mu* [O³]
 10. 20 MA SÍG.ḪÉ.MED¹
 11. 20 MA.NA [SÍG.GI₆ O]
 12. *a-na* T[ÚG.*x x x*]
 - e.13. [*x x*]*x x*[*x x x*]
 - r.1. PAB 26 MA ḪÉ.[MED]
 2. 26 MA GI₆ O¹
- Blank space of one line
3. PAB 1 GÚ 22 MA.NA [O]
- Remainder uninscribed

^{1-e.13} 2 minas of red wo[ol]; 2 minas of bl[ack] wool; total, for the textile(s) of tufts(?). 1 1/2 minas of r[ed] wool; 1 1/2 minas of [black] wool; total, for the bed[spr]ead(s); 2 1/2 minas of red wool; 2 1/2 minas of black wool, for the overcoat(s); 20 minas of red wool, 20 minas of [black wool], for [...-text]ile(s); [...][...][...]

^{r.1-2} Total: 26 minas of red wool, 26 minas of black wool.

(Blank space of one line)

³ In all, 1 talent, 22 minas.

(Remainder uninscribed)



Fig. 19 Text 21 (K 827) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Text 22

Siglum: K 11468

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 111 (= ADD 955)

Photo: Fig. 20

1. 2 MA SÍG¹ SA₅¹ *a-na* TÚG.*ma-qa-ṭa-te*
2. *ša* LÚ*.*na-si-ka-ni*
3. ¹⁰ MA SÍG.SA₅ 20 MA.NA SÍG.GI₆
TA É
4. [x MA S]ÍG.SA₅ 5 MA SÍG.GI₆ TA ŠÀ
É.GAL
5. [x MA SÍG].SA₅ 25 MA.NA SÍG.GI₆
6. [x x x x x x]x UD O¹
7. [x x x x x G]Ú⁷ 10 MA.NA GADA

Edge broken away

Rev. beginning broken away

- 1'. [x x x x x] ¹ERIM—SIG₅
- 2'. [x x x x+]4 MA.NA GADA ¹ERIM—
SIG₅
- 3'. [(x) x] GÚ.UN 10 MA.NA MÍ.¹⁵—
TUK¹—*rém*
- 4'. [PAB x+]18' GÚ.UN 18' MA.NA GADA

Text 23

Siglum: K 15121

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 114 (= Iraq 32, 30)

Beginning broken away

- 1'. ² [TÚG.x x
 - 2'. 2 TÚG.[x x x
 - 3'. 1 TÚG.[x x x
 - 4'. 4 TÚG.x[x
 - 5'. 2 TÚG.[x x
- Rest broken away

¹⁻⁷ 2 minas of red wool for the gowns of the sheikhs. 10 minas of red wool, 20 minas of black wool, from the house. [x minas of] red wool, 5 minas of black wool from within the Palace. [x minas of] red [wool], 25 minas of black wool [.....]...; [x talent]s(?), 10 minas of flax.

(Edge broken away; beginning of reverse broken away)

^{1,1'-4'} [...] Šābu-damqu; [... x+]4 minas of flax, Šābu-damqu; [x] talents, 10 minas, Issār-riši-rēmi; [Total: x+]18 talents, 18 minas of flax.

(Beginning broken away)

^{1'-5'} 2 [...-garments; ...]; 2 [...]-garments; [...]; 1 [...]-garment; [...]; 4 [...]-garments; [...]; 2 [...]-garments; [...]

(Rest broken away)

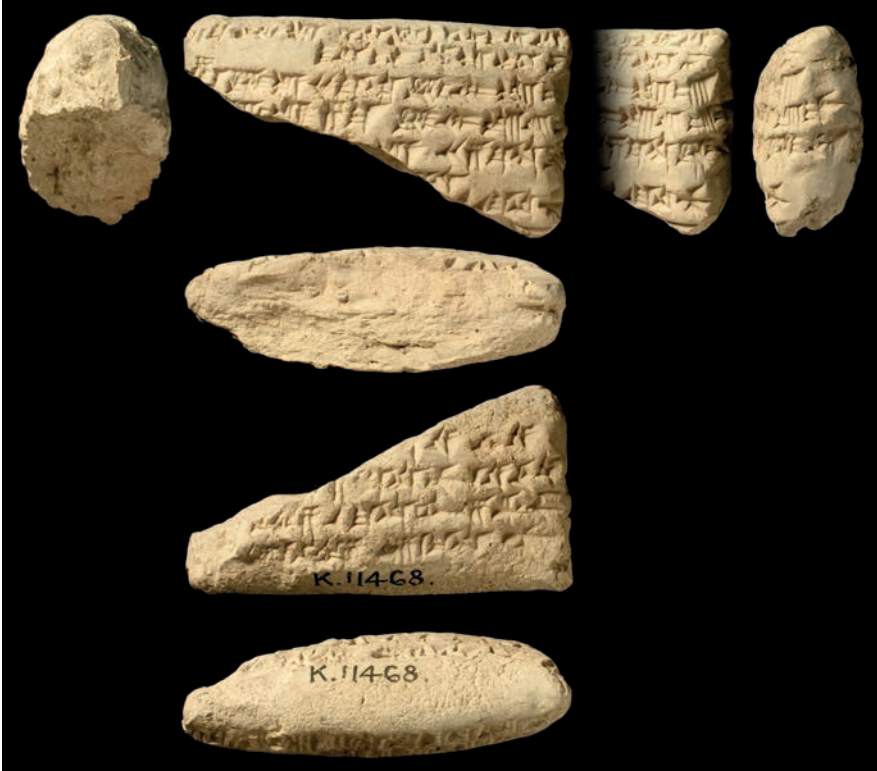


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Text 24

Siglum: K 1449

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 115 (= ADD 953)

Photo: Fig. 21

Col. I		
1. SÍG.GADA	<i>a-kil-tú</i>	ⁱ¹ Linen fibre: consumption
2. 30 GÚ	MURUB ₄ URU.ni-nu-a	² 30 talents, Central City Nineveh;
3. 20 GÚ	KUR.ma-šar-te URU.:	³ 20 talents, Review Palace of ditto;
4. 10 GÚ	:. ki-šir GIBIL	⁴ 10 talents, ditto of the New Corps;
5. 20 GÚ	Ê MÍ—Ê.GAL	⁵ 20 talents, the Queen's House;
6. 5 GÚ	KUR—GIBIL URU.kàl-ḫa	⁶ 5 talents, New Palace of Kalḫu;
7. 5 ¹ GÚ	KUR.ma-šar-te :.	⁷ 5 talents, Review Palace of ditto;
8. 10 GÚ	URU.EN-an	⁸ 10 talents, Adian;
9. [x] GÚ	URU.na-šib-na	⁹ [x] talents, Našibina;
10. [x GÚ]	URU.a-li-ḫu	¹⁰ [x talents], Aliḫu;
11. [x] ᵀGÚ ¹	a ^{1ᵀ} -na 6 TÚG.dáḫ ¹ -pa ¹ -sat GADA	¹¹ [x] talents for 6 blankets of linen;
12. [x GÚ]	ᵀÊ ^{1ᵀ} —2—e	¹² [x talents], the domestic quarters;
13. [x GÚ]	ᵀÊ ^{1ᵀ} LÚ.ka-šir	¹³ [x talents], the house of the <i>kāširu(s)</i> ;
14. [x GÚ]	LÚ.GI]Š.GIGIR.MEŠ	¹⁴ [x talents, the horse-tr]ainers;
15. [x GÚ]	Ê] LÚ.IGI.UM	¹⁵ [x talents, <i>the house of</i>] the treasurer;
16. [x GÚ]] GAL—Ê.GAL MURUB ₄ URU	¹⁶ [x talents], the palace manager of the Central City;
17. [x GÚ]] GAL ¹ —Ê.GAL—[ma-šar-te]	¹⁷ [x talents], the manager of the [Review] Palace;
18. [x GÚ]	URU.ŠĀ—ᵀURU ¹	¹⁸ [x talents], the Inner City;
19. [x GÚ]	URU.DÛ—ᵀzu ¹	¹⁹ [x talents], Kilizi;
20 [x GÚ]	URU.E[N]-an	²⁰ [x talents], Adian;
21. [x GÚ]	¹¹ ḫu—ub ² -tú ^{1ᵀ} —aš-šur	²¹ [x talents], Ḫubtu-Aššur.
Col. ii 1. 50 G[Ú x x x x x]		
2. 10 GÚ	<i>a-na mi-iq-ta-ni</i>	²⁻³ 10 talents for occasional needs (and)
3. a-na	GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ	for the boats.
4. PAB 2—me—74	GÚ.UN	⁴⁻⁵ In all, 274 talents of linen fibre: consumption.
5. SÍG.GADA	<i>a-kil-tú</i>	

6. GIŠ.ḪAB <i>a-kil-tú</i>	⁶ Madder: consumption.
7. 30 GÚ <i>a-na</i> ʾKÁ ²⁷	⁷⁻⁸ 30 talents for the <i>gate</i> (and) the entrance.
8. <i>a-na né-ri-bi</i>	
9. 20 GÚ <i>a-na 6-me ma-qa-ti</i>	⁹⁻¹⁰ 20 talents for 600 gowns (and) for 600 <i>urnutu</i> -garments.
10. <i>a-na 6-me TÚG.ur-nat</i>	
11. 3 GÚ ¹ <i>e-pa-a</i>	¹¹⁻¹² 3 talents, Epâ, for the gate-over-seer(s).
12. <i>a-na šá-IGI-KÁ.MEŠ</i>	
13. 2 GÚ URU. <i>a-li-ḫu</i>	¹³⁻¹⁴ 2 talents, the city Aliḫu, for the boats.
14. <i>a-na šá-ap¹-pi-na¹¹-te</i>	
15. 3 GÚ <i>a-na TÚG.iš-ḫi</i>	¹⁵ 3 talents for the <i>išḫu</i> -textiles.
16. 2 GÚ <i>a-na ḫi-li TÚG.IB.LAL</i>	¹⁶ 2 talents for the wrapping of sashes.
17. 8 ¹ GÚ 10 MA <i>a-na 5-me</i>	¹⁷⁻¹⁸ 8 talents 10 minas for 500 [<i>co</i>]ats of the Qurrean soldiers.
18. [TÚG ² . <i>na²-ḫ</i>]a-bat gur-ri	
19. 2 GÚ ʾ ^r <i>a-na¹⁷</i> [AN ²].TA ² A-SIG	¹⁹⁻²⁰ 2 talents for the [upper gar]ments(?) of the chariot-fighters (and) for the cloak(s) of the archers.
20. <i>a-na gu¹-zip¹-pi LÚ.GIŠ¹.BAN¹.TAG¹</i>	
21. 2 G[Ú] É LÚ. <i>ka-šir</i>	²¹ 2 talents, the house of the <i>kāširu</i> (s).
22. 2 GÚ ¹ IM-15	²² 2 talents, Šār-Issār.
23. 5 GÚ <i>a-na ṭi¹-bu¹</i> GADA	²³ 5 talents for linen twine.
Rev. i 1. 2 GÚ LÚ.MAŠ ¹¹ .MAŠ.MEŠ	^{r.11-2} 2 talents, the exorcists, of the whole year.
2. <i>ša kâl MU.AN.NA</i>	
3. 20 ¹ GÚ <i>šá-kur-ri-šu</i>	³⁻⁴ 20 talents, the Ninevite hide-soakers.
4. DUMU URU. <i>ni-nu-a</i>	
5. 5 GÚ <i>ša LÚ.šal-li-šú-nu</i>	⁵⁻⁶ 5 talents, the dealers in leather hides of the entrance.
6. <i>ša né-ri-bi</i>	
7. 2 GÚ LÚ.UŠ.BAR- <i>šip-rat</i>	⁷ 2 talents, the weavers of <i>šipirtus</i>
8. 1 GÚ <i>šá-ḫal-lu-up-ti-šú-nu</i>	⁸ 1 talent, the armour-makers.
Blank space of half a line	(Blank space of half a line)
9. PAB 1-me-9 ¹ GÚ 10 MA ¹¹	⁹ Total: 109 talents, 10 minas.
10. [S]ÍG ¹ .ḪÉ.MED ¹ <i>a-kil-tú</i>	¹⁰ [R]ed wool: consumption.
11. 7 GÚ 10 MA UGU NU	¹¹⁻¹³ 7 talents 10 minas, (for garments to be put) upon statues (of the gods); multiplied by three, 22 talents of <i>ḫuḫḫurā-ti</i> -dye for red wool.
12. 22 GÚ <i>ḫu-ḫa-rat</i>	
13. ḪÉ.MED ¹ <i>a-na 3-šú</i>	
14. 15 GÚ 10 MA LÚ.2-u	¹⁴ 15 talents 10 minas, the deputy.
15. 30 GÚ 20 ¹ (sup. ras.) MA <i>ḫu-ḫa-rat</i>	¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Multiplied by two, 30 talents 20 minas of <i>ḫuḫḫurā-ti</i> -dye for red wool.
16. ḪÉ.MED ¹ <i>a-na 2-šú</i>	

<p>Blank space of one line 17. PAB 22 GÚ HĒ.MED¹ 18. <i>ina ŠĀ-bi</i> 53 GÚ 19. <i>ḫu-ḫa-rat</i> HĒ.MED¹ One erased line</p>	<p>(Blank space of one line) ¹⁷⁻¹⁹ Total: 22 talents of red wool, (produced) with 53 talents of <i>ḫuḫurāti</i>-dye for red wool. (One erased line)</p>
<p>Col. ii 1. [<i>x</i> G]Ú <i>ka-a-a-man-ni-u</i> 2. [<i>a-d</i>]i <i>mi-iq-ta-ni</i> 3. [SÍG.GAD]A <i>a-kil-tú</i> 4. [(<i>x</i> <i>x</i>) <i>a-n</i>]a <i>mal'-di-di šá É-^r15^r</i> 5. [(<i>x</i>) <i>x</i> GIŠ.N]Á.MEŠ GIŠ.GU.ZA.MEŠ 6. [0 <i>ša</i>] <i>kâl</i> MU.AN.NA 7. [<i>x+</i>]5^r MA.NA¹ É¹ LÚ*.<i>ka-šir</i> 8. [<i>x</i> M]A É LÚ*.KAŠ.LUL 9. [<i>x</i> M]A É LÚ*.2-<i>e</i> 10. [<i>x</i> M]A <i>šá—IGI—GIŠ.šá—GÍD.DA</i> 11. [<i>x</i>] MA <i>ša—ḫu-pa-ni-šú</i> 12. [<i>x+</i>]1¹ MA KUŠ.DĀ.E.SIR <i>ša¹ KUR²</i> 13. 40¹ MA <i>ḫu-a-nu</i> GADA <i>qa-at-nu</i> 14. 6-<i>su</i> <i>ina</i> 1 GÍN 15. 2 GÚ <i>ṭi-bu</i> GADA 16. PAB (sup. ras.) 3 GÚ 10 MA É—GIBIL 17. 2 MA <i>a-na aq-qa-ba-ni</i> 18. <i>ša ga-me-da¹-te</i> 19. 1 GÚ 'IM—15</p>	<p>^{r. ii 1-2} [<i>x</i> tal]ents, regular (consumption), [includ]ing <i>occasional needs</i>. ³⁻¹⁹ [Linen fib]re: consumption: for the <i>maldudu</i>-textiles of the temple of Ištar, [for be]ds (and) chairs [for] the whole year. [<i>x+</i>]5 minas, the house of the <i>kāširu</i>(s); [<i>x</i> mi]nas, the house of the cupbearer; [<i>x</i> mi]nas, the domestic quarters; [<i>x</i> mi]nas, the man in charge of the rickshaw; [<i>x</i>] minas, the basket-dealer; [<i>x+</i>]1 minas, the sandals of the <i>Palace</i>; 40 minas, thin linen thread, 1/6 per one shekel; 2 talents, twine of linen. Total: 3 talents, 10 minas: the New <i>Palace</i>; 2 minas for the <i>aqqābus</i> of the <i>gammīdu</i>-garments; 1 talent, Šār-Issār.</p>
<p>Blank space of one line 20. PAB 30 GÚ 21 MA.NA 21. TA* IGI LÚ*.GAL.MEŠ 22. <i>la ni-maḫ-ḫar</i> 23. <i>ni¹-la¹-qī¹ ni¹-id¹-dan¹</i></p>	<p>(Blank space of one line) ²⁰⁻²³ In all, 30 talents, 21 minas. We are not receiving (it) from the magnates; we buy (what) we give.</p>

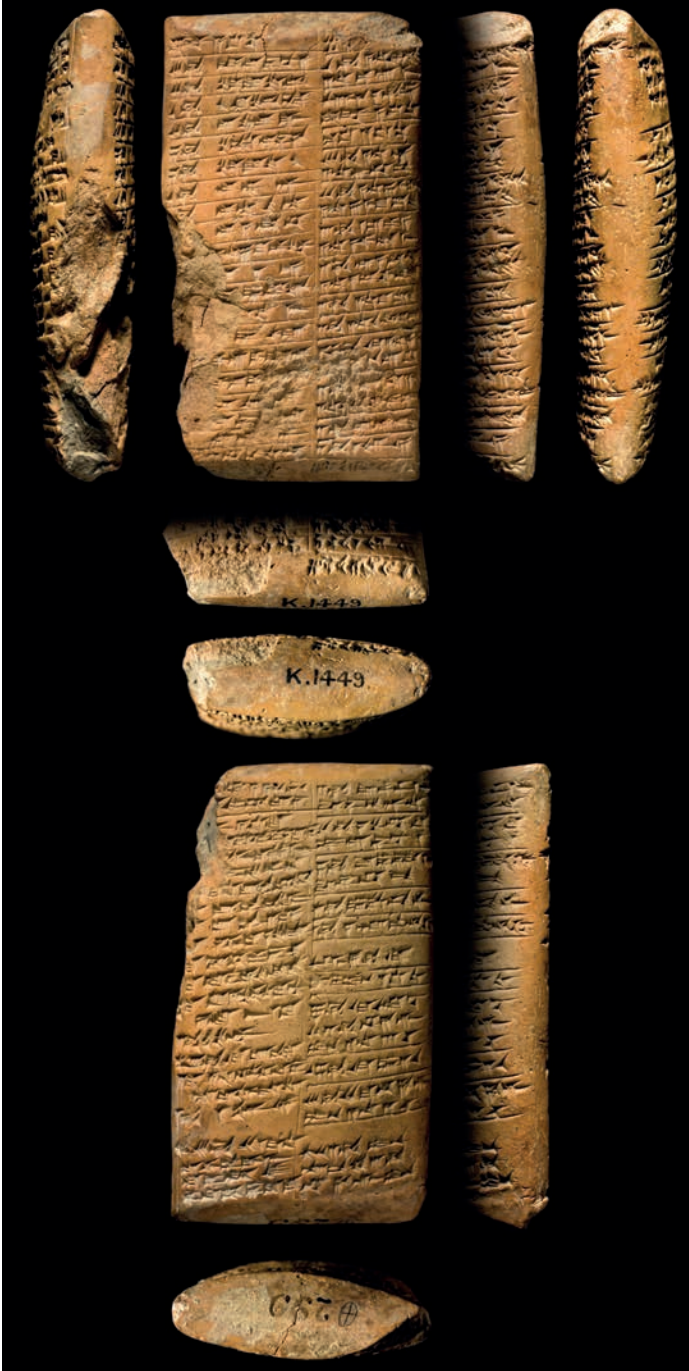


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Text 25

Siglum: K 276

Provenance: Nineveh

Previous edition: SAA 7, 116 (= ADD 951)

Photo: Fig. 22

Beginning broken away

1'. [x x		URU.sa-m]ir-n[a]
2'. [x x		UR]U.kul-ni-a
3'. 30 GÚ	2' GÚ	URU.ar-pad-da
4'. 1-me GÚ		URU.gar-ga-mis
5'. 30 GÚ		URU.qu-'e-e
6'. 15 GÚ		URU.ma-ga-du-u
7'. [1]5 GÚ		URU.man-nu-šu-u-a-te
8'. [x] GÚ		URU.ši- ^r mir ¹ -[r]a
9'. [x G]Ú		URU.ḫa-ta-rak-ka
10'. [x GÚ]]]	URU.šu-pu- ^r tú ¹
11'. [x GÚ		URU.[s]a-am-al-la
12' [x GÚ		^r LÚ.tur ¹ -tan ¹ -nu ¹

Rest broken away

Rev. Beginning broken away

1'. [x x x x x	URU.ur/ár-z]u ² -ḫi-n[a ²]
2'. [x x x x x	URU.tu]š-ḫa-an
3'. [x x x x x	URU].a-me-du
4'. [x x x	x G]Ú ḫÉ.MED ¹ 60 GÚ [GIŠ ² .ḫAB ²]
5'. [x x x x x] LAL-e ša IGI GAL.MEŠ
6'. [x x x x x]	URU.di-maš-qa
7'. [x x x x x]	URU.ar-pad-da
8'. [x x x x x]	URU.gar-ga-mis
9'. [x x x x x]	URU.qu-'e-e
10'. ^r x ¹ [x x x x]	URU.ḫa-ta-rak-ka
11'. 1' [GÚ ² x MA.NA ²]	URU.šu-pu-tú
12' [x x x x x]	URU.ši-mir-ra
13'. [x x x x x]	URU.kul-ni-a
14'. [x x x x x	x x]-mā ²

Rest broken away

(Beginning broken away)

^{1'-12'} [x talents (of wool), Sām]irīna; [x talents (of wool)], Kullania; 30 talents (of wool), Arpada; 100 talents (of wool), 2 talents (of madder), Karkemiš; 30 talents (of wool), Que; 15 talents (of wool), Magidū; [1]5 talents (of wool), Manšuāti; [x] talents (of wool), Šimirra; [x t]alents (of wool), Ḫatarakka; [x talents (of wool)], Šūputu; [x talents (of wool)], Sam'alla; [x talents (of wool)], the (province of) the commander-in-chief.

(Rest broken away)

(Beginning broken away)

^{11'-14'} [x talents, Urzū]ḫin[a]; [x talents, Tuš]ḫan; [x talents], Amidi; [x t]alents of red wool, 60 talents [of madder(?); [.....] the deficit which is due from the magnates; [x talents], Dimašqa; [x talents], Arpada; [x talents], Karkemiš; [x talents], Que; [x talents], Ḫatarakka; 1 [talent, x minas(?)], Šūputu; [x talents], Šimirra; [x talents], Kullania; [.....] ...

(Rest broken away)



Fig. 22 Text 25 (K 276) © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Glossary

1 Textiles and textile-related items

- abnu*, “gem for garment decoration”, SAA 7, 96:7’; 97:13’.
- aḥu*, “sleeve”, ZTT I, 8:3. See also *bēt aḥi*.
- aiaru*, “rosette-shaped ornament for textiles”, Mayer 1983, line 386; SAA 7, 60 i 5.
- aparakku* (a head-dress), PVA 276.
- appu*, “tip, fringe?”, SAA 7, 108 i’ 5’; 109 i 3’, 5’, ii 4’, iii 4’.
- aqqābu*, “hind-part of a garment”, SAA 7, 109 r. iv 1’; 115 r. ii 17.
- argamannu*, “red-purple wool”, Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 407, 449; Prunk. 142, 182; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49’; ND 2311:6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); RINAP 1, 15:3; 27:7; 35 iii 21; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; SAA 10, 182:12, r.5; TH 62:3; Winckler 1893–95, 174, iv 13.
- barruntu/ndu*, “coloured wool”, PVA 219; SAA 20, 24:12; 27:10, 11.
- bašāmu*, “sackcloth”, RINAP 4, 33 i 3, ii 18.
- betātu*, “strings(?)”, PVA 223; ZTT II, 33:7.
- bēt aḥi*, “sleeve”, K 6323+ r. i’ 7’ (Kwasman 2009, 116); PVA 282; SAA 7, 120 i’ 6’.
- bēt qassi*, “bow-case”, PVA 290.
- bēt rēšī?* (a textile), ND 2307 r.2 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI).
- bēt sūni* (a textile), PVA 285. See *miḥšūtu*.
- bēt šēri*, “tent, pavilion”, RIMA 3, A.0.103.1 iv 44; RINAP 1, 9:14’; RINAP 3/1, 3:23; 4:21; 17 ii 4; 18 i 31’; 22 i 78; 23 i 72; 31 ii 7’; 46:11; 140:4’; 165 ii 13.
- birmu*, “multicoloured trim?”, Billa 71:1, 5 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); BIWA, A ii 10, 40, 93, iii 91; B ii 91; C iii 10b, 55, 126; F i 52, ii 8; 190, II 9’; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 449; Prunk. 142, 181; K 6323+ ii 17’ (Kwasman 2009, 114); Levine 1972, line ii 18; Mayer 1983, line 366; RIMA 2, A.0.100.5:72, 107, 109; A.0.101.1 i 79, 87, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 74, 78, 87; A.0.101.2:30, 50; A.0.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.0.101.19:89; A.0.101.73; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.0.102.60; A.0.102.90; A.0.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 12:1’, 10’; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22; 42:14’; 47:28, r.12’; 49 r.8; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5’; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii’ 20’; 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.
- biršu* (a coarse cloth, felt?), KAV 99:18–19; 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’.
- bur[...]* (a textile), CTN 2, 154 r.4’.
- būšu*, “fine linen, byssus”, RIMA 3, A.0.102.90; RINAP 4, 103:21; SAA 1, 34:11; SAA 7, 62 r. ii 5, iii 3.
- buṭu[...]* (a metal decorative element of textiles), SAA 7, 64 r. i’ 9’; 66 r. i’ 4’.
- dappastu*, “rug, blanket, bedcover”, CTN 2, 1:3’; 152:5; 154 r.3’; K 6323+ ii 1 (Kwasman 2009, 114); ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); ND 2691:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 44, pl. XXIII); ND 2758:7’ (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); Radner 2016, text no. I.68:9’; SAA 7, 64 r. i’ 7’; 66 r. i’ 1’, 6’; 96:3’; 97:9’; 105:4’; 115 i 11; 117 r.3; 168:5’; SAA 16, 53:9; StAT 3, 1 r.18; TH 52:6; TH 64:4.
- datāiu?* (a textile), ZTT II, 33:6.
- elītu*, “upper garment”, CTN 2, 153:5; 155 r. v 10’; 224:1; 253; SAA 7, 102:4’; 103:2’; 105:9’; 112:6’; 115 ii 19; 127:8’; StAT 3, 1:4; ZTT II, 33:1; 36:1.
- ēnu*, “eye-shaped ornament or pattern of garments”, SAA 7, 109 ii 3’; TH 63 r.11.

- erimtu*, “covering”, PVA 221.
- gammīdu* (a kind of garment, mangled garment), CTN 2, 1:12'; K 6323+ r. i' 13' (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:3, 10 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2687:1, r.7 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); PVA 248; SAA 7, 97 r.8; 115 r. ii 18; 104:6; StAT 3, 1:14.
- g/querdu*, “carded wool”, SAA 6, 20:3; 96:16; SAA 14, 90:12; 176:5; 204 r.1; 350 r.6; 463 r.3; StAT 2, 243 r.7.
- gī[...]* (an element characterizing textiles), SAA 7, 96:9'; 97 r.9.
- GIŠ?* (an element characterizing textiles), SAA 7, 108 i' 2', 5'.
- gulēnu*, “cloak/coat, tunic”, CTN 2, 1:11'; 154 r.2'; ND 2097:8 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18–19, pl. IX); ND 2307 r.1 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2691:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 44, pl. XXIII); PVA 246; Radner 2016, text no. l.63:2; 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 54 r.7, 8; TH 63:7.
- guzguzu* (a cloth and a garment), ABL 866 r.4. See also *nimrā'u*.
- ḥabū*, “cushion?”, PVA 263.
- ḥalluptu*, “armour, harness”, see also *ša-ḥalluptišu*.
- ša-ḥallupti*, “harness-suit?”, ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X).
- ḥāliptu*, “wrapping?” SAA 11, 36 r. i 1.
- ḥarīru* (a kind of garment or cloth), SAA 7, 97 r.4; 104 r.1'; 108 r. ii' 5'; 109 r. iv 6'.
- ḥašḥūru*, “apple-coloured wool”, PVA 208.
- ḥašmānu*, “light blue, greenish blue”, PVA 207.
- ḥa'ūtu*, “cushion, pillow”, SAA 9, 3 ii 28.
- ḥillu* (cover, wrapping), SAA 7, 115 ii 16; SAA 18, 129:5; ZTT II, 33:4.
- ḥinziribu*, “blue-green colour” PVA 209.
- ḥuḥḥurāti* (a red-dye), SAA 7, 115 r. i 12, 15, 19; 119 i 6'; 121 r. i' 5'.
- ḥullānu*, “cloak, wrap”, CTN 2, 152:1; K 6323+ r. i' 10' (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:8 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2311:1 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 235, 236; SAA 7, 96:6'; 107 r.3'; 109 ii 3', iii 2'.
- ḥulsu* (a garment), CTN 2, 1:11'; PVA 242.
- ḥūrutu*, “madder”, SAA 7, 115 ii 6; 116 r.4'.
- ḥuzīqutu* (a kind of textile or garment), SAA 7, 120 ii' 15.
- ḥuzūnu* (a piece of clothing), 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.
- iamnuqu* (a garment), PVA 241.
- iaḥīlu* (a garment), PVA 268; ZTT II, 33:5.
- iarītu* (a garment), CTN 3, 4 r.10; 5 e.10, r.16; 6:1.
- ÍD (an element characterizing textiles), SAA 7, 105:12', 13'.
- i'lu*, “band (for head or feet)”, PVA 251, 252.
- inzurātu*, “scarlet”, PVA 205; SAA 20, 26:19; TH 62:4.
- išḥu* (a cloth or leather item), SAA 7, 115 ii 15.
- itqu*, “tuft of wool”, PVA 217.
- kakkabtu*, “star-shaped ornament for textiles”, SAA 7, 60 ii 11; 74:4.
- kandiršu* (a garment), Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.48 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); SAA 7, 121 i 6'; 174:5'.

- karballutu*, “cap, head-cloth, (pointed) hat”, Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.49 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); ND 2687 e.12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); SAA 7, 97 r.11; 121 i 5’; 128:4; 129:10’.
- karkītu*, “threaded work?”, SAA 17, 122:8 (NB).
- kindabassu* (a kind of garment), PVA 245; SAA 7, 166:2; 176 r.5’.
- kirbīnu* (a garment), PVA 293.
- kirku*, “scroll, roll”, PVA 269.
- kirnāiu* (a garment), PVA 233.
- kišiptu*, “cut-off piece (of a garment)”, CTN 2, 1:5’, 7’, 8’.
- kišru* (a bandage?). See CTN 2, 155 r. iii 9’; SAA 20, 33 ii 16; ZTT I, 22 r.6.
- kitū*, “flax, linen; linen garment, tunic”, BIWA, A ii 40; C iii 55; F i 52; 190, II 9’; CTN 2, 155 r. v 12’; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 449; Prunk. 142, 181; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49’; Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.49, 50 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); Levine 1972, line ii 18; Mayer 1983, line 366; ND 2672:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387); ND 2687:3, 4, r.6 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); PVA 212, 234; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 79, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 71, 74, 78, 87; A.0.101.2:30, 50; A.0.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.0.101.19:89; A.0.101.73; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.0.102.6 iii 13; A.0.102.8:41’; A.0.102.60; A.0.102.90; A.0.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 12:1’, 10’; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22; 42:14’; 47:28, r.12’; 49 r.8; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5’; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii’ 20’; SAA 5, 152 r.10; 206 r.7; SAA 7, 62 iv 8; 96 r.3; 97 r.1; 103:4’; 104 r.2’; 108 r. ii’ 3’, 5’, 7’; 109 iii 2’, r. iv 3’; 111:7, r.2’, 4’; 112:10’; 115 i 1, 11, ii 5, 23, r. ii 3, 13, 15; 128:4; 129:6’, 10’; SAA 10, 289 r.5; SAA 11, 26 r.5, 8; 31 r.7; SAA 16, 82 r.5; SAA 20, 32:21; StAT 2, 164:10, 16; StAT 3, 1 r.32.
- kubšū*, “cap, mitre, fez”, CTN 2, 155 r. v 14’; K 6323+ r. i’ 4’, 15’ (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:6, 7 (StAT 1, 39); KAR 98:9; Mayer 1983, line 412; PVA 271; Radner 2016, text no. I.5 e.5; SAA 7, 74:4; 96:8’; 105:11’; 120 ii’ 16; SAA 10, 96 r.10, 16, 21; 184 r.6; SAA 11, 28:12; SAA 18, 19:8; 183 r.7’, 8’; SAA 20, 25:16. See also *ša-kubšīšū*.
- kultāru*, “tent”, BIWA, A vii 121; B viii 10; C x 15; G1E ii’ 3’; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 340; Prunk. 129, 131; RINAP 1, 9:14’; 42:24’; RINAP 3/1, 3:23; 4:21; 15 ii 6’; 17 ii 4; 18 i 31’; 22 i 78; 23 i 72; 35 r.55’; 46:11; 140:4’; RINAP 3/2, 165 ii 13; RINAP 4, 1 v 15.
- kulūlu*, “headband, diadem”, RIMA 2, A.0.99.2:102; SAA 4, 307:12’.
- kusītu*, “robe, long tunic”, 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.
- kuzippu*, “cloak, garment, suit (of clothes)”, 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); Radner 2016, texts nos. I.4 r.4; I.47 r.6; I.53:5; SAA 1, 246:8; SAA 2, 5 iv 16; SAA 3, 34:30; 35:60; SAA 7, 97:13’; 112:3’; 115 ii 20; 119 i 19’, ii 14’; 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’; SAA 20, 52 r. ii 41’; StAT 2, 244 s.4; 315 e.10; StAT 3, 1 r.35.
- lamaḥuššū* (a sumptuous robe), SAA 10, 349:15.
- libānu*, “collar of a garment”, SAA 7, 97 r.1; 103:1’.
- libbu*, “inner side of a garment”, SAA 7, 120 ii’ 16.

lippu, “tampon”, SAA 10, 321:8; 322 r.7.

LU (a technical term referred to *kusītus*), SAA 7, 99:1; 105:7’.

lubāru/lubēru, “clothing, piece of cloth, rag, tablecloth?”, Mayer 1983, line 386; ND 2789 e.8 (Iraq 23 [1961], 53, pl. XXVII); SAA 12, 83:13’.

lubussu (lubuštu), “clothing, attire, garment, dress”, BIWA, A ii 10, 93, iii 91; B ii 91; C iii 10b, 126; F ii 8; 190, II 9’; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 449; Prunk. 142, 181; Mayer 1983, line 366, 386; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 79, 95, ii 79, 81, 123, iii 7, 47, 55, 74, 78, 87; A.0.101.2:30, 50; A.0.101.17 iii 17, 114; A.0.101.19:89; A.0.101.73; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 ii 22, 25, 40; A.0.102.60; A.0.102.90; A.0.104.7:7; RINAP 1, 12:1’, 10’; 15:3; 32:9; 35 iii 22; 42:14’; 47:28, r.12’; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; RINAP 3/2, 154 r.5’; 223:33; RINAP 4, 1 ii 76; 2 i 26; 6 ii’ 20’; 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; SAA 20, 50 ii 9.

lubuštu, “clothing-ceremony”, SAA 18, 23:5.

maklulu (a kind of garment, perhaps shawl, cape?), CTN 2, 152:2, 6, r.11; 224:2; ND 2311:2 (Iraq 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 250; SAA 7, 96:7’; 102:5’; 105:8’, 9’; 112 r.4; 119 r. i’ 6’; SAA 10, 289 r.5; ZTT II, 33:2; 36:2. See also *muklālu*.

maldudu, “curtain?”, SAA 7, 115 r. ii 4.

maqatṭu (a kind of garment, perhaps “gown?”), ND 2687:3 (Iraq 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); ND 3407 (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; 124:7; StAT 3, 1:15.

maqatṭutu (a kind of garment, perhaps “short gown?”), KAN 2, 39:2 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2311:5 (Iraq 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 249; StAT 2, 164:12; 255:6; ZTT I, 8:2.

mardutu, “curtain, drapes”, SAA 13, 59:9.

masiu, “washed, cleaned”, PVA 214; SAA 20, 31:18’.

massuku (a type of coarse fabric? canvas?), SAA 13, 41:9; SAA 19, 156:14’.

maškunu, “tent”, SAA 1, 55:9’; 82 r.14; 132 r.8’; SAA 2, 2 r. vi 4; SAA 5, 249:8’; SAA 15, 140 r.10; 354 r.9; SAA 18, 26 r.14’; 165:5’; SAA 20, 24:3; 25:4, r.1; 32:2, 3, 9; StAT 2, 310:1.

miḥṣu, “textile, woven fabric”, Billa 71:7 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); CTN 2, 1:12’; Ki 1904–10–9, 154 +r.50 (Iraq 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); K 6323+ ii 33’ (Kwasman 2009, 115); ND 2672:7 (Iraq 23 [1961], 42, pl. XXII = TCAE 387); PVA 274; SAA 7, 108 r. ii 1, 2; ZTT II, 33:8.

miḥṣūtu (woven cloths), PVA 285. See also *miḥṣu*.

miḥu, “shred of garment?”, SAA 3, 37:29’.

mirṭu, “rubbed? overused?”, SAA 7, 119 r. i’ 2’, 4’, 7’, 9’.

muklālu, “(felt) cape, tippet, shawl”, K 6323+ r. i’ 11’ (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:1 (StAT 1, 39). See also *maklulu*.

murḏū, “(golden) thread, filigree(?)”, Mayer 1983, line 386.

musāru, “belt, girdle”, PVA 253.

muṣiptu (a garment), SAA 17, 122:8 (NB).

naḥḥaptu (a garment, probably variant of *naḥlaptu*), SAA 7, 112 r.1; 115 ii 18.

naḥlaptu, “armour, wrap, coat”, AfO 8 (1932–33), 178:17; CTN 2, 1:10’; ND 2311:1 (Iraq 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); 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; SAA 20, 32:17; StAT 3, 1 r.26, 33; ZTT I, 8:3.

nakbusu (carpet, mat), PVA 292; SAA 7, 105:4’.

nalbašu, “attire”, SAA 3, 40:14, r.7.

- napāsu*, “red wool”, BIWA A iii 43; F ii 66; Fuchs 1994, Prunk 130; Zyl 25; RIMA 3, A.0.103.1 iii 12; RINAP 1, 47:48.
- našbutu* (a garment, coat, sash holder), ABL 866 r.5; K 6323+ iii 26 (Kwasman 2009, 115); SAA 7, 96:11’, r.1; 97:6’, 11’; 102:1’; 119 r. ii’ 2’; SAA 18, 19:4, 9; StAT 2, 164:13.
- nēbettu*, “girdle, sash”, CTN 2, 153:4, 6; PVA 264; StAT 3, 1 r.25.
- nēbuḥu*, “band, belt, sash”, ND 3407 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. XI); PVA 243; SAA 7, 115 ii 16.
- nixu* (a cloth, wrap?, a garment?), SAA 6, 190:2; StAT 3, 1:10, r.31; ZTT I, 8:3.
- nimrāu* (a garment), PVA 255. See also *guzguzu*.
- NIN.SU (a female garment? veil?), SAA 20, 52 r. iii 52’, 54’.
- nipḥu*, “disc-shaped ornament for textiles”, Mayer 1983, line 386.
- nipšu*, “tuft of wool”, SAA 7, 174:6’; SAA 9, 7 r.1; SAA 10, 321 r.8, 14; SAA 20, 20 i 19’; 24:4, r.4; 25:5; 30 r.14’; 31:20’.
- nītu* (a decorative element of textiles?), ND 2687 r.10 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII).
- pariktu*, “curtain, drapes”, ND 2311:9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); SAA 10, 247 r.4; 315 r.12; SAA 20, 16 i 16’; StAT 3, 1 r.29.
- parsigu*, “headband, turban”, PVA 300.
- pašiu*, “white, bleached, undyed”, ND 2086 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18); ND 2307:17 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); SAA 7, 94:1; 104 r.2’; 105:11’; 106:10, r.1, 2; 107 r.11; 111:6; 120 i’ 5, 9; SAA 20, 32:17; StAT 3, 1:5, e.16, r.26, 32.
- pazibdu* (a garment), SAA 7, 120 ii’ 1; StAT 2, 164:14.
- pitūtu*, “diadem, (royal) headband”, PVA 296; SAA 5, 282 r.3’; SAA 9, 7:7; SAA 10, 185:8.
- pītu* (a garment?), SAA 13, 181:7.
- pūtu*, “front-part or right side of a garment”, K 6323+ ii 2 (Kwasman 2009, 114); PVA 247; SAA 7, 93:1; 94:4, 5; 95:1, 2, 3; 96:5’, 7’, r.1, 4; 97:7’, 10’, r.1, 3; 98:2’, 3’, 4’, 5’, 6’, 7’, 8’, 9’, 10’; 100:6’; 102:5’; 103 r.3; 104:3’; 105:3’, 8’; 106:9; 107:2’, 4’, 5’, 6’, 7’, 8’, 9’, 10’, r.5’, 6’, 7’, 8’, 9’; 108 i’ 7’, 9’, 10’, 11’, 12’, 13’, 14’, 15’, r. ii’ 3’; 109 ii 2’, iii 2’, r. ii 7’, iii 7’, 9’, iv 5’; 119 r. i’ 8’, 10’, 11’; 120 ii’ 6; StAT 3, 1:11, 15.
- qannu*, “hem”, SAA 3, 4 r. ii 18’; SAA 10, 12 r.8.
- qarrāru*, “bedspread, bedcover”, CTN 2, 154 r.5’; ND 2307 e.23 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 2311:4 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); Radner 2016, text no. II.11:9’; SAA 7, 95:7; 96:1’, 9’; 97:8’; 105:4’; 110:6; 117 r.4; SAA 16, 53:10; StAT 3, 1:9.
- qatattu*, “thin fabric, fine garment”, SAA 7, 62 ii 15’, iv 8’; SAA 7, 96:9’; 110:4–6.
- qīrmu* (a garment, perhaps mantle, overcoat, wrap), CTN 2, 152:7, 8, 10; ND 2307 e.24 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); ND 3407:4 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 138, pl. XI); PVA 270; SAA 7, 94:3; 97:7’; 98:9’; 104:7; 110:9; 117 r.3; 122 i 4’; StAT 3, 1:12, r.23.
- qū*, “thread, string”, SAA 3, 32 r.23; SAA 8, 308 r.3.
- raddīdu* (an article of clothing, perhaps “veil”), SAA 7, 96:6’; 98:11’; 105:3’.
- sāgu*, “sackcloth/a garment/sash”, 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 3467:19 (*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 52:4, r.11.
- sāiu* or *sa’ītu*? (a qualification of textiles), 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’.
- sāntu*, “red wool”, PVA 210; SAA 11, 26 r.11; SAA 16, 63:29; 82 r.6; 83 r.5; 84 r.1, 6.
- sasuppu*, “napkin, towel”, PVA 286; SAA 6, 190 s.1; SAA 7, 96 r.5; 97 r.12, 13; 120 ii’ 4’; 174:5’; 177:3’; SAA 20, 1:10; 2 i 14’; 9 i 16; 11:6; 33 ii 17; StAT 3, 1 r.28.

- sibrītu*, “an item of clothing”, ND 2311:3 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X). See also *šipirtu*.
 SIG.LU.KUR (a metal decorative element of textiles), SAA 7, 64 r. i' 10'; 66 r. i' 2'.
siggu, “tuft of wool”, SAA 3, 14 r.13; SAA 7, 96:9'; 97:8'; 110:3.
šihru, “edging, border”, SAA 7, 96:11', r.2; 97:11'; 102:1', 2'; 109 ii 2', 4', 5', 6'.
 SI.LUḪ (a textile, perhaps “pillow?”), CTN 2, 1:4'; PVA 256; SAA 7, 96:10'; 97:2'; 105:5'; 117 r.5; StAT 3, 1 r.20, 24.
sīqu (a tight textile? a loincloth?), PVA 291.
sissiqtu, “hem”, PVA 299; SAA 3, 11 r.14; SAA 10, 298:17; SAA 16, 36 r.16; SAA 17, 38:6; 57:13.
sunābu (a bandage or loincloth), PVA 298.
sūntu, “red, violet wool”, CTN 2, 1:7', 8'; PVA 204; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 88, 97, iii 68; RIMA 3, A.0.102.1:95'; A.0.102.2 ii 23, 28; RINAP 1, 11:10'; 12:1'; 47 r.12'.
sūnu, “a part of a garment”, CTN 2, 153:2; SAA 7, 109 ii 5'; SAA 17, 77 r.15, 18.
supāqu, “a garment”, PVA 279.
šalimtu/šalittu, “black wool, dark-blue wool, blue-black wool”, PVA 203; RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 i 88, 97, iii 68; RINAP 1, 12:1'; SAA 3, 35:33; SAA 16, 216:11; SAA 20, 24:13; 26:19.
šarāpu, “to dye (red)”, SAA 8, 308:1.
šimdu, “bandage”, SAA 10, 335:4'.
šipirtu (a kind of textile, perhaps scarf; (woven) girdle, sash, waist-belt), K 6323+ r. i' 8' (Kwasman 2009, 116); KAN 2, 39:5 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2311:3 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 244; SAA 7, 96:8'; 120 i' 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. See also *šipittu*.
šipittu (a variant of *šipirtu*), ZTT I, 8:1.
šippu (an element characterizing garments), SAA 7, 96 r.3; 97 r.8; 109 r. iv 5'.
šipputu (a mat?), SAA 9, 2 iii 21'.
šīpu, “dyeing”, SAA 5, 296 r.2.
širpu, “red-dyed wool, coloured wool”, PVA 220.
šubātu, “cloth, textile, garment”, NATAPA 2, 102:4; ND 2312:2 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 21, pl. X); ND 2687 e.12 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); Radner 2016, texts nos. l.3 e.18; l.4 e.18; RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64 (*šubātiš*); SAA 3, 7:13; 35:20; SAA 4, 3 r.1, 3; 5:13, 14; 7:11, 12; 8:3, 4; 12:13, 14; 14 r.5, 7; 18 r.2, 3; 20 r.1; 23 r.3; 24 r.2, 3; 26 r.2; 29 r.2; 30 r.3; 32 r.3, 4; 36:9; 43 r.4; 45:13, 14; 46:1; 51:15, 16; 52:2; 53:1, 2; 54 r.6; 55 r.4; 56 r.4, 6; 58 r.5; 62 r.4, 5; 63 r.5, 7; 65 r.4; 67 r.1; 69 r.1, 4; 75 r.1; 76:8, 9; 77:12, 13; 79 r.3; 80 r.3; 81 r.1, 2; 89 r.2, 3; 90 r.2; 97 r.6; 98:7; 99 r.2; 101 r.5, 7; 103 r.1; 106 r.4, 6; 107:13, 14; 108 r.2, 4; 110 r.3; 116 r.1; 117 r.1; 119 r.3, 4; 122 r.3; 126 r.2, 3; 129 r.1, 3; 130 r.3; 132 r.4; 134 r.1; 136 r.1, 4; 139 r.6; 140 r.6; 149 r.3; 151 r.3; 152:15, 16; 154 r.4; 156 r.6; 159 r.4, 5; 162 r.4; 166 r.2; 169:6, 7; 170:4, 5; 172 r.4; 179:4; 184:5, 6; 185 r.2, 4; 187 r.5; 190 r.3; 198 r.6; 206 r.3, 4; 208 r.6; 209 r.4; 217 r.2, 4; 218 r.2, 4; 219 r.5, 6; 220 r.4; 224 r.4; 225 r.3, 5; 226 r.4; 227 r.5; 230:2, 4; 232 r.3, 4; 235 r.1, 2; 236 r.3, 5; 237 r.6, 7; 238:3, r.1; 239:4; 241 r.3; 242 r.1; 243 r.3; 244:2; 246 r.3, 4; 247 r.3; 248:3, r.1; 250 r.3; 251 r.3; 253 r.2; 254 r.2, 3; 255:1, 3; 256 r.2, 3; 262 r.2, 4; 264 r.1, 3; 265 r.1, 3; 267 r.1, 3; 270 r.3, 4; 271 r.1; 272 r.2; 273 r.3, 5; 275 r.4; 276 r.2, 4; 277 r.5; 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; SAA 20, 30 r.8; 32 r.20; StAT 2, 164:13; 315 e.10; StAT 3, 1:1, 16; TH 63 r.11.
šuppu (a qualification for garments treated in a special way), SAA 7, 96:6'.

- ša-ḥīli* (a garment), Billa 71:2, 3 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); CTN 2, 1:6', 10'; PVA 240; SAA 17, 122:8.
- ša-ḥurdati*, “petticoat, sanitary napkin”, PVA 283.
- ša-IŠ* (a textile), CTN 2, 153:2; SAA 7, 105:6', 7'; 119 r. i' 10'; 127:9'; 172 r.8; ZTT II, 33:4.
- ša-kaqqidi*, “head covering, head-scarf”, PVA 280.
- ša-KĀR* (a garment or textile), StAT 2, 128:7'.
- ša-muḥḥi* (an overgarment?), StAT 3, 1 r.30.
- ša-parāki* (a textile or piece of clothing), SAA 7, 63 iii' 20; 96 r.4; 108 r. ii' 6'; 117 s.1.
- ša-pī*, “mouth towel”, PVA 278.
- ša-qabli*, “loincloth?”, PVA 277; SAA 7, 85 r. ii 6'.
- ša-qāti*, “hand towel”, SAA 20, 33 ii 19.
- ša-šilli*, “parasol, umbrella”, BIWA, A iv 64; Fuchs 1998, IVb:132; SAA 16, 63 r.17; 123:3.
- ša-tāluk-širri* (a garment, literally “moving like a snake”), PVA 284.
- šaddīnu* (a kind of tunic?), 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.
- šaḥartu*, “legging”, K 6323+ r. i' 6', 16' (Kwasman 2009, 116); ZTT I, 8:2.
- šaḥptu*, “wool”, CTN 2, 254:2; CTN 3, 4 r.9; Mayer 1983, line 366; ND 2311:16 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 20, pl. X); PVA 213; RIMA 3, A.0.102.6 iii 13; A.0.102.84; SAA 1, 33:19; SAA 3, 10:18; 11:11; 34:42; SAA 7, 108 r. ii' 2'; 109 iii 1'; 166:10; 167:6; SAA 10, 87 r.3; SAA 11, 28:13; 100:3; SAA 16, 5:7; SAA 19, 19:14; SAA 20, 18:27; 27:14; 31:18'; 42 r. iv 17'; StAT 2, 163:11; StAT 3, 102:37.
- šaḥptu sāntu*, “red wool”, PVA 210; SAA 7, 111:1, 3, 4, 5; SAA 11, 26 r.11; SAA 16, 63:29; 82 r.6; 83 r.5; 84 r.1, 6.
- šaḥptu šalittu*, “black wool”, PVA 211; SAA 7, 110:2, 5, 8; 111:3, 4, 5; SAA 16, 82 r.7.
- šaḥrtu*, “goat hair”, CTN 2, 254 e.4; CTN 3, 4 r.9; ND 3467 r.21 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 146, pl. XIII); PVA 215.
- šeburtu* (a colour of wool?), TH 62:1.
- šer'ītu* (a divine garment), SAA 3, 34:32, 53; 35:21, 44.
- šibītu*, “seam, embroidery(?)”, Mayer 1983, line 386.
- šiddu*, “side of a garment”, ND 2307:16, 19, r.5 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37, pl. VI); PVA 258, 289; StAT 3, 1:10; TH 52 r.11.
- šiknu* (a garment), K 6323+ r. i' 5', 18' (Kwasman 2009, 116).
- šipātu*, “wool”, SAA 12, 68:19; SAA 17, 136:9; SAA 18, 19:3; 103:15; TH 62:1, 2, 3, 4.
- šītu* (a textile), SAA 7, 105:5; 108 i' 8'; 109 i 6'.
- šuḥattu*, “cloak”, PVA 295; SAA 18, 100:11.
- šupālītu*, “undergarment, shirt, underwear”, KAN 1, 45:1, 6; KAN 2, 12:3 (StAT 1, 12); NATAPA 1, 45 A:3'; 45B:1, 6; Radner 2016, text no. I.53:6; SAA 7, 94:1.
- šupālītu ḥalluptu*, “reinforced or armoured undergarment”, CTN 2, 153:7; K 6323+ iii 25, r. i' 12', 14' (Kwasman 2009, 115); KAN 2, 39:4, r.9 (StAT 1, 39); ND 2097:5 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 18–19, pl. IX); ND 2687 r.9 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 43, pl. XXIII); Radner 2016, text no. I.12:2; 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.
- šur'ītu* (a kind of wool), PVA 216.
- tabarru*, “red wool”, Bauer 1933, II, 44:16; Mayer 1983, line 366.

- tabribu*, “red wool”, CTN 2, 1:6’; Ki 1904–10–9,154+r.37 (*Iraq* 32 [1970], 152–153, pl. XXVII); ND 2758:6’ (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 48, pl. XXVI); PVA 206; SAA 3, 14 r.13; 34:15, 42; 35:33; SAA 5, 28:9; SAA 7, 64 r. i’ 7’; 66 r. ii’ 9’; 96:10’; 105:5’, 12’; 110:1, 4, 7, 10, r.1; 115 r. i 10, 13, 16, 17, 19; 116 r.4’; 121 r. i’ 5; 174:6’; 176 r.2’; SAA 11, 36 ii 19; SAA 20, 24 r.4; 25:5; 27:4; 31:20’; STAT 3, 1:8, r.18, 19.
- tabrimu*, “polychromatic wool”, SAA 20, 32:12, 16, 21.
- taḥapšu*, “(woven) felt, rug, saddlecloth, blanket”, BBR 70:5; PVA 294; SAA 3, 34:15; 35:23.
- takiltu*, “blue-purple wool”, Bauer 1933, II, 44:16; Fuchs 1994, Ann. 323, 407, 449; Prunk. 142, 182; Fuchs 1998, IVb:49’; Mayer 1983, line 366; RINAP 1, 15:3; 27:7; 35 iii 21; RINAP 3/1, 4:56; SAA 18, 103:15’; Winckler 1893–95, 174, line iv 13.
- takkussu* (a metal decorative element of textiles), SAA 7, 64 r. i’ 8’, 11’; 66 r. i’ 3’, 5’.
- taktimu*, “cover, covering”, PVA 239; SAA 2, 6:492.
- tēdiqū*, “festive attire”, SAA 3, 2:25.
- ṭību*, “twine, thread”, SAA 7, 115 ii 23e, r. ii 15; SAA 16, 82 r.5.
- ṭimītu*, “twine, string”, PVA 218.
- ṭuānu*, “thread”, SAA 7, 115 r. ii 13.
- ulāpu*, “sanitary napkin, rag”, PVA 297.
- uqnātu*, “blue wool”, StAT 3, 1 r.29.
- urnutu* (a garment, perhaps “tunic”), 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.
- urṭū*, “a greenish-blue dye, light-blue wool”, PVA 207; TH 62:2.
- uṣurtu*, “design, pattern”, SAA 7, 108 r. ii’ 6’; 117 s.1.
- UŠ.BARAG (a textile of ritual use), SAA 20, 32:17.
- uznu*, “ear-shaped decoration of garments”, PVA 259.
- zakiu*, “clean, bright”, SAA 20, 33 ii 18, 19; StAT 3, 1:12.
- zanu*[...] (a textile), SAA 7, 124:8’.
- zārutu*, “tent”, Billa 71:5 (JCS 7 [1953], 137); PVA 265; RINAP 3/1, 22 vi 27; 23 vi 23; 34:49; 35 r.46’; 46:75; 67:1; RINAP 3/2, 230:107; SAA 1, 34:12; SAA 7, 120 ii’ 11; SAA 12, 71:10; SAA 13, 54 r.5; Streck 1916, 90, line x 108; TH 64:1, 3, 5.
- zazabtu* (fringe of a garment?), SAA 7, 172 r.9.
- zibbutu*, “rear-part”, SAA 7, 106:2, 4; 107:2’; 108 i’ 5’; 109 r. iv 2’.
- zurzu* (a textile, “saddlebag?”), NATAPA 2, 133:2; SAA 11, 36 ii 15.

2 Textile professions

- ašlāku*, “fuller, bleacher, launderer”, CTN 1, 35 ii 17; CTN 3, 36 r.16; MSL 12, 233 ii 9’; NATAPA 2, 73 r.36; 78:2; ND 5447:4 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 127, pl. XXVII); ND 5452 r.5 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 130, pl. XXXII); SAA 12, 63:2’; SAA 14, 155:6; 161 r.11; StAT 2, 141 r.15; StAT 3, 3 r.28; 34:4, r.13; ZTT I, 6:5; 7:5. See also *pūšāiu*.
- kāmīdu* (a textile artisan specialized in felting), MSL 12, 233 ii 14’; 238 r. ii 27.
- kāšīru*, “weaver, knotter(?)”, ADW 51 r.8; CTN 2, 4 r.13; 6:2, 3; KAN 2, 47 ii 8’ (StAT 1, 47); KAN 4, 62 r.14; MSL 12, 233 ii 7’; 238 r. i 31; NATAPA 1, 35 r.24; NATAPA 2, 71:3; 75 r.32; ND 2498:7’ (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 35, pl. XVIII); ND 5448:2 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); O

- 3695:1; Radner 2002, text no. 13 r.6; RINAP 4, 9 i' 12'; SAA 4, 142:9; 144:9; SAA 5, 215:16; SAA 6, 31 r.23; 81 r.6; 91 r.2; 124 r.7, 8; 312:4; 313:4; SAA 7, 20 r. i 3; 21:8; 22:4; 115 i 13, ii 21, r. ii 7; SAA 10, 294 r.28; SAA 11, 177:6'; SAA 14, 186:3; 21 r.8; 202 r.4'; SAA 15, 214 r.1; StAT 2, 169:2; STT 48 r.8'; ZTT I, 22:12.
- mubarrimu*, “weaver of multicoloured patterned cloth?”, MSL 12, 238 r. ii 14.
- mukabbû*, “seamster, stitcher, dressmaker, clothes mender”, MSL 12, 233 ii 8'; 238 r. ii 26; RINAP 4, 9 i' 14'.
- mušappiu*, “dyer”, MSL 12, 238 r. ii 15; SAA 12, 65:4'.
- mušappîtu*, “female dyer”, SAA 16, 54:10.
- pūšāiu*, “bleacher, launderer”, ND 5452 r.16 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 130, pl. XXXII); SAA 11, 209 r. iii 29'. See also *ašlāku*.
- rab ašlāki*, “chief fuller”, A 2631a r.5; A 2631a* r.4; NATAPA 2, 72:2; SAA 7, 4 r. ii' 9'; 12:3'; SAA 11, 36 i 17, ii 21; SAA 12, 77 i 4'; SAA 14, 424 r.25; StAT 2, 141 r.15; VS 1, 96 r.13.
- rab kāširi*, “chief knotter(?)”, ABL 571:10; ADW 18:18; CTN 2, 51 r.9; MSL 12, 233 ii 16'; 238 r. i 30, 32; ND 2328 r.20 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 43); ND 2330 r.15 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 43); ND 5448 r.29 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); SAA 3, 20 r.4, 6; SAA 5, 91:3; SAA 7, 126:5; SAA 14, 2 r.2'; 229:5'; SAA 16, 63 r.16; 76 r.4; SAA 17, 150:11; SAA 18, 21:12, r.2; 123 r.6, 10, 11; 157:7, 8; 168 r.1; 178:2.
- rab kitē*, “linen master”, StAT 2, 1 r.1.
- rab ušpāri*, “chief weaver”, SAA 6, 90 r.10; 163 r.14'; 190:5.
- sēpiu*, “felt-worker”, ADW 11 r.12; 18 r.8; 17 r.10'; MSL 12, 233 ii^a 15', ii^b 27'; SAA 12, 65:3'; StAT 3, 10 r.28.
- šāpiu*, “dyer”, SAA 5, 205:8; 296 r.3.
- ša-ḥalluptišu*, “clothing dealer/armourer”, SAA 7, 115 r. i 8; SAA 12, 83 r.14.
- ša-kubšišu*, “cap-maker, hatter, fez-maker”, Radner 2016, texts nos. I.37 e.12'; I.42:15; I.56:7; SAA 6, 342:4'; SAA 11, 213 iii 2'; SAA 12, 63:2'; SAA 14, 155:8; SAA 15, 73 r.11, 12.
- ša-sāgātēšu* (a worker or dealer specialized in *sāgus*?), SAA 1, 128:17; NATAPA 2, 67:2.
- ušpāru*, “weaver”, ABL 1364 r.3; Billa 86:2 (JCS 7 [1953], 141); CTN 1, 1 ii 6, r. i 27e; CTN 2, 91 r.32, 34, 35; 97 r.2; CTN 3, 145 r. i 16; Jursa, Radner 1995–96, texts nos. A 3:4; A 9:5'; KAN 2, 30 r.3' (StAT 1, 30); KAN 4, 20:7; MSL 12, 233 ii 10'; 238 r. i 16; NATAPA 1, 35 r.25; NATAPA 2, 71 r.e. ii 5; ND 2306 r.9 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 37); ND 2316:6, r.18 (*Iraq* 16 [1954], 40, pl. VII); ND 2803 i 15, 25 (*Iraq* 23 [1961], 55–57, pls. XXIX–XXX); ND 3428:2 (*Iraq* 15 [1953], 141); ND 5448 r.21 (*Iraq* 19 [1957], 128, pl. XXVIII); O 3705 r.15; SAA 6, 13 r.2', 3'; 19 r.11; 90 r.11; 91 r.3; 96 r.14; 271 r.10; 294:1; SAA 7, 23 r.10; 172 r.10; SAA 11, 202 ii 17'; 222 r.11; SAA 12, 83 r.7; 94:3; SAA 13, 145:7; 186 r.3, 9; SAA 14, 188 r.8; SAA 16, 83:7; 84 r.8; StAT 3, 2 r.30; ZTT I, 22:12.
- ušpārtu*, “female weaver”, SAA 11, 169 r.4; SAA 12, 63:7'.
- ušpār birmi*, “weaver of multicoloured trim”, ADW 9:4; 27 r.8'; CTN 2, 91:2; SAA 6, 42 r.8; SAA 12, 27:24; 94:5.
- ušpār šiprāti*, “weaver of *šipirtus*”, CTN 3, 145 r. ii 14; MSL 12, 233 ii 12'; SAA 6, 301:4; SAA 7, 115 r. i 7; SAA 11, 202 ii 17'; SAA 12, 83 r.8; SAA 16, 55:2.

3 Textile activities

baqāmu, “to pluck”, RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64 (SB).

kamādu, “to treat textiles through a felting technique?”, SAA 17, 11 r.2, 6 (NB).

kaṣāru, “to knot”, SAA 16, 216:10’.

maḥāṣu, “to weave”, RINAP 3/1, 17 viii 64 (SB); SAA 8, 305 r.8; SAA 13, 186 r.10’.

napāšu, “to pluck”, SAA 9, 7 r.1.

ṣabāru, “to spin”, SAA 2, 6:616.

ṣapû, “to dye”, SAA 7, 85 i 13’.

ṣarāpu, “to dye (red)”, SAA 8, 308:1.

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