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The Textiles traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia (19th-18th Centuries BC)

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IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND MEDITERRANEAN
FROM THE THIRD TO THE FIRST MILLENNIA BC

edited by

C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch

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12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia (19th–18th centuries BC)

Cécile Michel and Klaas R. Veenhof

The records of the Old Assyrian traders found in the archives of their houses in the commercial quarter (*kārum*) in the lower town of the ancient Anatolian city of Kaneš, modern Kültepe (c.20 km northeast of modern Kayseri), which date from the 19th and 18th centuries BC,¹ contain an enormous amount of references to a large variety of textiles. The traders imported great quantities of primarily woollen textiles from their hometown Aššur into Anatolia, conducted some business in textile products in northern Mesopotamia on their way there, and engaged in a brisk trade in locally produced woollen textiles within Anatolia. Since most of the names and designations of these textile products do not appear in contemporary sources from elsewhere, and since the excavations of Kaneš have yielded no textile remains, their identification is not easy. Most appear in purely commercial contexts, which mention their purchase, packing² and transport, sale, and the taxes levied on them in Anatolia, but hardly ever describe their nature, which was of course known to those involved in the trade. Only rarely, in a few private letters written by or to women, do we obtain some information on the production of certain textiles, when traders state their preferences and the women who made them react to such wishes or criticism of their products.³ We must of course study their names, some of which allow an etymological analysis or are attested in other sources, while others link a textile with a particular town, people or land by being a nisbe, e.g. “Abarnian (textile)” or by means of the relative pronoun *ša*, “(that) of”,

Together the two authors collected the data from the sources, discussed the organization and presentation of the material, wrote the introduction, read each other's contributions several times; Michel wrote § 2 and 4, Veenhof § 1, 3 and 5. The manuscript was completed in spring 2009, before the new book by J.-M. Durand, *La nomenclature des habits et textiles dans les textes de Mari* (Durand 2009), had become available. Some references to it have been inserted at the last moment between brackets.

¹ These texts are quoted by their excavation numbers that start with Kt (=Kültepe), followed by the mention of the excavation year (a = 1948 until z = 1971, continued by 72ff.), a slash (/) and k (= *kārum*, the commercial quarter in the lower town) and the number of the individual tablet. For a recent list of published or quoted tablets with these numbers, see Michel 2003, 60–140, continued in Michel 2006, 438–445 and Michel (in press a), where the interested reader can find the data on the tablets we only quote here by excavation number.

² Usually in bales or “bags” (called *naruqqum*), note e.g. the small text LB 1269 (quoted Veenhof 1972, 38) that lists the contents of four bags with in all 30 textiles of 11 different types and qualities.

³ For such letters, see Veenhof 1972, 103–115; Michel 2001, nos. 302–304, 307, 317–319 and Michel 2006b.

e.g. “(textile) of Šubarum”. We can also use data on their prices and numbers (the former reflect their production costs, expensive textiles usually occur in small numbers), their quality (ranging from “royal quality” to “poor quality”) and on certain characteristics, occasionally revealed by qualifying adjectives (e.g. “thin” or “heavy”). Moreover, the sequence in which they are listed, combinations of two textiles, and especially occasional ‘categorizations’ are helpful, such as statements like “x textiles of type a, among which/including y of type b”, or “textile a (made/consisting) of (ša) textile b”, where the latter presumably denotes a particular type of fabric.

We are of course not the first to study the Old Assyrian textiles that are so prominent in the trade. Ignoring scattered earlier observations, usually in the comments on particular texts, we mention here the studies in Garelli 1963, 284–293 (‘Les étoffes’) and Veenhof 1972, part II, 79–216 (‘Textiles and Wool’)⁴ and take the systematic collection of data and their analysis by the latter as our point of departure, while also referring to the treatment of textile names in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, where especially the later volumes contain a wealth of references.⁵ These earlier studies demonstrated that part of the textiles shipped by the Assyrians to Anatolia were imported into Aššur from “Akkad” or Babylonia, while others were produced by women in Aššur, and, that they were woollen products. Uncertainties remained about the nature of the various textile products, their origin, the trade in Anatolian textiles, and the important question of whether they were (predominantly) untailed fabrics or (also) ready-to-wear garments; it seems that this last category has been overestimated in the past. Since the publication of the investigations mentioned above, many new textual sources have become available, especially now that the first archives excavated at *kārum* Kaneš by Turkish archaeologists since 1948 are becoming available.⁶ They offer the possibility of critically assessing and supplementing the current data and insights in the hope of solving at least some of our problems. We will do so by treating the various issues mentioned above, starting with the basic question of the material from which the textiles were made.

1. Materials

1.1. Wool (*síg, šaptum*)

Today, it is clear that most textiles traded by the Assyrians were made of wool. Confusion had been caused when the most frequent textile product, *kutānum*, only attested in Old Assyrian,⁷ was at

⁴ See also Veenhof 1988, 254–257, on the purchase prices of the textiles in Aššur, and Larsen 1967, 97–140: “Caravan Accounts” (Ch. III, c), on the purchase and sale of textiles.

⁵ Julius Lewy, the early expert in the study of the Old Assyrian texts, contributed many insights in the comments in his text editions and in various articles, especially in the copious footnotes, but offered no systematic analysis.

⁶ For the present situation see Veenhof 2008, 68–75: “Work on texts excavated since 1948”. AKT 4 was published in 2006 (see Veenhof 2009) and volumes with editions by K. R. Veenhof (AKT 5 = *Kuliya*) and M. T. Larsen (AKT 6) of archives excavated in 1992 and 1994 are in press in Ankara. Many small groups of and even single texts have been published in a great variety of articles in congress volumes, Festschriften and journals (among which *Archivum Anatolicum*, inaugurated in Ankara in 1995, and *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı*, the annual of the Museum in Ankara, where the excavated tablets are preserved). A few thousand unpublished texts circulate among Old Assyrian specialists and we are grateful to be able to quote or refer to words and lines in them that are important here, thanks to those who deciphered them and will publish them in due course.

⁷ It was considered to occur in Mari as well, but the only references are in the closely related letters, A. 2881:13 and ARMT 13, 101:28, sent there from Aššur, in which an Assyrian trader promises to send such a textile to his colleague in Mari; see Durand 2001, 119–120. Another occurrence in an Old Babylonian text is in al-Rawi & Dalley 2002, 97:32–33,

first rendered as “Chitons-Stoffe” by Landsberger (1925, 20) and as “*kutānu*-Stoffe” in *EL* (passim), but interpreted as “linen” by Garelli, in which he was followed by Larsen. This identification was supported by the fact that an Ugaritic bilingual text renders the logogram for linen, *túg-gada* by *ktn*.⁸ Later, von Soden in AHW 930a, suggested a new etymology, interpreting the word as a *purās*-form, a nominal formation used for “deverbale Vergegenständlichungen”.⁹ It made him parse the word as *qutānum*, meaning “das Dünne”, derived from *qatānum*, “to be thin”, whose first consonant, emphatic /q/ instead of /k/, would rule out a connection with comparable terms in other languages, and AHW adds “wohl nicht *kutānum* zu hebr. *kuttonet*; > χιτών?” However, **qutānum* is superfluous alongside ^{tu}*raqqutum*, “thin textile”, well attested in Old Assyrian, and there is probably a text where the adjective *qatnum*, “thin”, is applied to *kutānum* itself, which would be a tautology for **qutānum*.¹⁰ The letter TC 3, 17:21–23 (below § 3.4.1) requires that one side of a “thin textile” (*šubātum qatnum*), “if it is still hairy should be shorn like a *kutānum*”, and this would seem strange if the latter textile itself was a **qutānum*, “thin textile.”¹¹ That *kutānum* was a woollen product is clear from the statement by the writer of TC 2, 7:24–26, that he is unable produce the *kutānū* requested “because there is no Šurbu-wool (*šaptum šurbuūtum*) available”.¹² Furthermore, in TC 2, 14:6–9 (Michel 2001, no. 108), textiles designated as *šurbuūtum* and apparently made of this type of wool are included in the category of *kutānum*. *Kutānum*, as argued by Oppenheim (1967, 158, note 82), was probably a “Kulturwort” of unknown origin, related to Hebrew *kuttonet* and Greek χιτών, but curiously absent in other periods of ancient Mesopotamia. It most probably was a “woollen cloth” with, according to TC 3, 17:21–22, a flat and smooth surface, achieved by shearing (*qatāpum*, see § 3.4.1). This meaning fits the fact that, in several cases, the words *ša kutānim*, “(made) of *kutānum* (fabric)” or “of *kutānum* type”, qualify other textiles or garments, such as *nahlaptum* (OIP 27, 11:11–13), *namaššuhum* (Benenian 5:2–3), *nibrārum* (Kt 94/k 1686:9–10, courtesy of Larsen), and *šitrum* (RA 59 [1965] no. 14:16).¹³ It also explains why *kutānum* can be used as a designation of a specific kind of fabric under which other textiles can be subsumed, e.g. *kusūtum*, in AKT 4, 23:1–2 and Prag I 616:18–19 (see below § 4.1). The meaning of the combination 1 *kutānum e-pi-ší* in Kt 87/k 452:3–4 (courtesy of Hecker) is not clear, but it again suggests a woollen product (see below § 3.3 s.v. *ēpišum*). That the bulk of the traded textiles was made of wool also

túg ku-ta-a-ni, ša 1 ma-na kù-babbar; it occurs in a letter dealing with trade, alongside “20 minas of tin”.

⁸ Garelli 1963, 288: “On s’accorde généralement à voir dans le mot *kutānum* une forme élargie de *kitūm*, le “lin”, dérivé du sumérien GAD, qui aurait donné naissance à l’hebreu *kuttonet*, au grec χιτών et au latin *tunica*”. Larsen 1967, 152: “linen-cloth”. [This incorrect meaning is repeated in Durand 2009, 599 (Index), s.v.] See for Ugaritic *ktn* (plural *ktnt*), Van Soldt 1990, 332, Conclusions, 3, where he describes it as “a cloth made of linen. It is not a finished garment but a piece of cloth which can be used to manufacture garments”.

⁹ GAG § 55k, 15, e.g. the textile name *šubātum*, from the root *šabātum*, “to seize”, therefore a woven fabric that “holds” or “is attached to” the body.

¹⁰ Kt 91/k 356:28–29, 2 *kutāni ša-hu-šu-x-ri qatnūtim*, “2 thin *kutānu* of *h*.” (or “*kutānū* of thin *h*.”; meaning of *h* unknown).

¹¹ Note also TC 3, 72:24–26, [x] *kutāni* [x x x x] *ù* 1 *túg qat[nam x x x] ikla*.

¹² This nisbe is to be derived from the place-name Šurbu (see § 2.1.1, s.v.) and refers primarily to wool from that area, cf. ‘Tablet Rendell’ (unpubl.), lines 6 and 16, *túg ša šu-ur-bu-i-a-tim*, where the fem. plural form must refer to *šaptum*, “wool”. But it is also used for textiles made of it. TC 2, 14:6–9, quoted above, shows that this type of wool was expensive, since textiles made of it cost c.25% more than normal *kutānū*. Note the statement by the writer of TC 2, 7:25–28, that, for lack of wool from Šurbu he will buy a “heavy textile” (*šubātam kabtam*).

¹³ The reading “25 pounds of refined copper, the price of wool of a *kutānum*”, in lines 4–6 of this text, accepted by CAD K, 608, cannot be correct because of the strange writing *síg-tí-e-em* for *šaptim*, “wool”. See below § 3.3, s.v. *lud/tūm*.

explains the fear that they might be “affected by moth” if they remained too long in storage or packed in bales, a danger forestalled by regularly airing them.¹⁴

While textile production in Aššur must have consumed large quantities of wool, information on it is rare (cf. Michel 2006b, 290–293). We may assume that certain inhabitants or perhaps institutions (e.g. temples) of the city owned herds of sheep and/or that wool was acquired from pastoral nomads grazing their flocks to the east or west of the city, but the only indications date from about 1770 BC. Two texts from Mari mention that Suhu-nomads, who grazed their herds along the Middle Euphrates and in the area of the Wadi Tarthar, would normally go to Aššur to pluck their sheep and presumably sell their wool there.¹⁵ In the heyday of the trade, about a century earlier, the situation must have been similar, but there would have been no need to mention it, unless there were problems that interfered with the production of the textiles, to be reported to Kaneš. The purchase of wool is only mentioned in Kt 93/k 325:10–13, where an Assyrian woman writes “Send me silver so that we can buy wool and make a garment (*šubātum*) for you to wear (*ana litabšika*)”. Letters occasionally mention problems in the supply of wool, e.g. TC 2, 7:24–26, quoted above, which reports that wool from Šurbu was not available in Aššur. The letters by Lamassī, the wife of the prominent trader Pūšukēn, also mention wool. In BIN 4, 9:3–6 she complains about not having received the wool (twice 5 pounds) sent to her, and in lines 18–20 and in BIN 6, 7:16–18 she asks: “When you send me the purse, add wool to it”, which must mean the same as suggested by Garelli (1965), 158, no. 25:13–16, “When you prepare 1 mina of silver (for transport to Aššur), put it inside wool”, a request argued in both texts by mentioning that “wool is expensive in the City”.¹⁶ Prag I 554:9–10 mentions a shipment to Aššur of primarily silver that includes “3 pounds of wool for Waqurtum”, a lady active in the production of textiles in Aššur. For reasons unknown to us, wool was apparently occasionally in short supply and hence expensive, so that even small amounts of wool sent from Anatolia were welcome, but they cannot have helped much, considering the number of textiles produced by some women there.¹⁷ There is no evidence of large-scale shipments of wool from Anatolia, which anyhow would have been too expensive considering the cost of the transport. However, for the women who wove textiles and through their sale in Anatolia tried to earn silver for themselves, small amounts of wool too were at times welcome.

The most explicit evidence for the use of wool is found in TC 3, 17 (see below § 3.4.1), a letter addressed to the above-mentioned Waqurtum, in which she is asked to process 1 pound of wool

¹⁴ For this feature, see Michel 1998; we can now add the following references Kt h/k 18:15–16, Kt n/k 717:11–15, Kt 91/k 290:24–27, Kt 92/k 174:11–12, and Kt 94/k 1257:13, all of which use the expression *šubātū sāsam laptū* and the first text states “I keep airing his textiles every day” (*ūmešamma šubātīšu uttanappaš*). Note also Kt 94/k 823:5–6, “we aired your textiles and your textiles are in good shape” (*šalmū*) and Kt 94/k 1131:36–41, which states that textiles kept in a storeroom (*huršum*) have to be aired because they are “weary” (*anhum*), presumably by having been kept there too long.

¹⁵ Charpin & Durand 1997, 377 and 387–391. The first letter (A 2459 rev.: 3’–6’) describes a situation of war in which the sheep of the Suhu have to be plucked where they live, so that the Assyrians are forced to go there to obtain their wool, while the second (A 4535–bis, rev. 2’–5’) mentions the complaints by the Assyrians that their traders and the sheep and wool (of the Suhu?) are held back. [For wool, see the texts from Mari, now Durand 2009, 142–155, and for texts recording the purchase of wool from the Suhu see M. 11269:1–7, and 11281:1–9].

¹⁶ For these letters, see Veenhof 1972, 112–113; Michel 2001: nos. 299–311; Michel 2006b.

¹⁷ *ATHE* 44 mentions 17 pieces produced by Waqurtum; the various letters written by Lamassī (including CCT 6, 11a) together mention more than 60 textiles sent by her to Anatolia.

more per piece of textile, but to make sure that the weave stays “thin” (*qatnum*), which implies the use of thin threads, woven densely, because “the warp has to be much/numerous” (*šutūšu lū māđât*). The evidence from the Ur III period, analyzed in Waetzoldt 1972, demonstrates that the thickness of the threads used for various types of textiles and the difference between the threads used for the warp and the weft was extremely important and conditioned the quality and the labor costs of the woven fabric. It must have been similar in the Old Assyrian period, when (as will be shown below, in § 3.2) the same classification of qualities existed, but we have almost no evidence of spinning and weaving. Apart from the wish in TC 3, 17, to weave with a dense warp, we can only mention a reference in a contract found in Kaneš (Kt 91/k 388:5–7) recording the claim of the wife of an Assyrian trader on another Assyrian for “30 pounds of soft wool for making the weft” (*šapātim narbātim šakākiš*), to be delivered within two months.¹⁸ She had apparently provided him with money to supply her with this type of wool and this may indicate that she, or women or slave-girls in her household, did engage in textile production; we have few further evidence for such activities by Assyrian women in Anatolia.¹⁹

The evidence of Anatolian wool and its trade by Assyrians is abundant, amply documented in several archives, including those excavated in 1993 and 1994, which will be edited by C. Michel and M. T. Larsen. The topic deserves a separate investigation and here we only mention a few basic facts.²⁰ The goal of this trade, in which some Assyrians apparently were much more active than others, was also to earn silver, which means that wool was bought, shipped elsewhere and sold, either directly for silver, or first for copper, which was then converted into silver according to the local opportunities and the ‘market’.²¹ Local palaces could also be involved, as sellers of wool (we have a reference to a large amount of “wool of Kaneš, of the palace”, see below, note 32) and they could also derive income from it by levying the 5% *nishatu*-tax on it, as was customary for textiles.²² Important transactions could be joint enterprises, in which various traders had shares and in which also the Assyrian trading organization (the *kārum*) played a role.²³ This trade could handle large quantities of wool. CCT 4, 47a:30–33 requests to convert 80 talents of white and 20 talents of red wool (c.3 tons) into copper and BIN 6, 76:13 mentions 60 talents for the same purpose, on which the trader “reached an agreement with our own people and with the retailers” (*pāširū*, local traders).²⁴ A group of records in the archive of Šalim-Aššur (excavated in

¹⁸ *šakākiš* is an infinitive with terminative ending of a verb known to mean “to string (beads, a rope), to harrow”, and this is the first occurrence with the meaning “weaving the weft”.

¹⁹ In the excavation reports there are some mentions of loom weights found in the houses of the Assyrian traders, see for example N. Özgüç & Tunca 2001, 247.

²⁰ See already Lewy 1958, 97–99; Veenhof 1972, 130–139 (also on prices, organization, woollen fleeces); Dercksen 2004, 183–190, ‘Wool trade in Anatolia’.

²¹ A nice example is the letter Prag I 768:4–12, where Imdīlum is told: “I hear that much wool has now entered Wahšūšana (a city northwest of Kaneš) and when I arrive in town I will sell the wool at any price and send you the silver”.

²² See ICK 1, 97:3–6, “I brought here 680 pounds of wool, of it the palace levied 34 pounds as tax” (*issuh*); CCT 6, 19b:4–9, “Over there U. must declare to you both the amount of the *nishatu*-tax [and ...] and whatever wool is cleared you must sell cash”.

²³ See Veenhof 1972, 134–139, and Dercksen 1996, 125–127, 145, 160, and 173. In the letter Kt 93/k 721, the individual shares amount to 4 2/3 talents of wool; Kt n/k 539 reports about a settlement of accounts, whereby a trader had deposited more than 23 pounds of silver in the *kārum*-office and acquired (the right to collect) c.120% talents (c.4 tons) of wool; also Kt n/k 1475:20–23, see note 26.

²⁴ See Veenhof 1972, 137–138 with footnote 237, and also CCT 6, 19b. BIN 4, 181 mentions nearly 68 talents (more than 2 tons) of wool, and AKT 4, 58:4–10 copper acquired in the *kārum* office alongside wool sold for copper.

1994) documents the purchase of in all c.50 tons of wool, acquired from a high Anatolian official in exchange for many tons of copper and sold for silver.²⁵ In several transactions, wool also figures alongside hides, in particular “fleecy hides” (*maškū šapātīm*, “hides of /with wool”), also designated as “thick hides” (*maškū šapiūtum*), and the local Anatolian woollen textile product called *pirikannum*.²⁶ The latter is probably also meant when in CCT 2, 18:4–5 a trader somewhere in Anatolia reports enthusiastically: “Textiles and wool are available (here)!”

The quality of the wool was important, as is demonstrated in the request in TC 3, 65:18–22 to buy “soft, long, extremely good wool” (*naribtam araktam damiqtam ūtartam*) of Mamma, and the promise in AKT 4, 52: 6–8, “I will give you (for 1 shekel of silver) 6 minas of fine, soft wool”, because fine wool obviously yields textiles of better quality. Apart from the rather frequent adjectives “good” and “soft”²⁷ and rare references to red and white wool,²⁸ we find wool qualified by the adjectives *wašium/ušium* and *lahum* or *lahhum*, but the meaning of these terms is unknown.²⁹

The price of 6 minas of (soft) wool for 1 shekel of silver recorded in AKT 4, 52, in *EL* 243:5 (100 shekels of silver for 10 talents of wool) and in Kt n/k 860:15–17,³⁰ seems to be fairly normal. It appears similar to the price attested for Babylonia in the Old Babylonian period (6 pounds for 1 shekel of silver according to § 1 of the *Laws of Ešnunna*), but wool was cheaper during the Ur III period (usually 10 pounds for 1 shekel of silver).³¹ However, a comparison is difficult, because in Anatolia, silver, used as a standard of value, had much less buying power than in Mesopotamia. And in Anatolia we also find higher prices, e.g. 5 pounds for 1 shekel of silver in TPAK 1, 36:5–6 (12 shekels per talent) and c.3¼ pounds in TPAK 1, 35:4–15, and it is likely that these differences were determined both by the quality of the wool as well as by the geographical situation. In CCT 6, 19b:14–16 wool is sold in exchange for copper at an exchange rate of 2:1 (*ana itaṭlim šanā’um*), that is 2 pounds of wool for 1 pound of copper, which equals c.4 to 5 pounds of wool for 1 shekel of silver.

²⁵ See Larsen 2008, 86.

²⁶ See already Lewy 1958, 97–98, and Veenhof 1972, 124–125, and 132–134 for fleeces, where it is argued why *maškum* alone may frequently mean “fleece”, i.e. the hide with the wool still attached to it. Additional examples of the co-occurrence of wool and hides/fleeces or *pirikannu*-textiles are CCT 4, 27a:11, POAT 8:28, Kuliya 57:12–14, CCT 6, 7a:5–9, Kt f/k 128:8–10, Kt n/k 1475:20–22 (wool and fleeces of Luhusaddiya) and Kt 93/k 781:7–9//505:9–11. In Kt 93/k 721, wool occurs together with a large number of *ukāpū*, a blanket-like woollen saddlecloth, a combination also attested in AKT 1, 7:32–34 and ICK 1, 37B:16–19.

²⁷ It is more frequent than the few references in CAD N/1, s.v. suggest; see also kt a/k 572:3–8, kt f/k 123:16, Kt n/k 860:17, Prag I 740:4, and AKT 4, 53:6–7 (in line 27 “good quality wool”). See for *narbum*, “soft”, used for textiles (also once for *pirikannu*-textiles), see below § 3.4.3.

²⁸ CCT 4, 47a:30–33, quoted above; CCT 4, 27a, l.e. 1; *šaptum makrītum*, a type of red, occurs in OIP 27, no. 7:3–4, and probably in 48B:3; “dyed wool” (*šaptum šinītum*), in BIN 4, 54:15.

²⁹ Kt 87/k 545:15–16 (courtesy of Hecker), “wool, half of it soft and half of it *ú-šī-tum*”, and Kt 93/k 84:3–4, “in Luhusaddiya they gave/sold me 7 talents 10 minas of *šaptam la-hu-tām*, and also there 1 talent 50 minas of *šaptam ušītam*”. Equally unclear is the qualification *nu-ha-tum* in Kt 93/k 239:10, which in Kt 93/k 253:45 is used for copper, but it might perhaps be connected with the adjective *nuhhutu*, used in Neo-Babylonian texts to qualify silver and perhaps linen (see CAD N/2, 318 s.v.).

³⁰ AMMY 1992, p. 54, no. 2; it stipulates that as interest on a silver loan the debtors will “give for 10 shekels of silver 6 minas of soft wool per (shekel)”. Note AKT 4, 53:9–14, “I gave you 4½ shekels of *tiri*-silver for which you gave me 10 pounds of wool, (but) at that time it(s) rate of exchange stood at 6 pounds per (shekel of silver)”, which implies that the writer paid far more than normal! See for the price of wool in Anatolia, Michel 2006b, 291; its price in Aššur is unknown.

³¹ See Veenhof 1972, 131, and for the Ur III period now also Snell 1982, 178–181, 16. The price of 15 pounds of wool for 1 shekel of silver, mentioned in a building inscription of Šamšī-Adad I (c.1800 BC; see RIMA 1, 49–50, lines 66–67), as obtained during his reign in the market of Aššur, is clearly too favorable and propagandistic.

Flocks of sheep must have grazed throughout Anatolia and there are indications that the palaces too had them, e.g. the palace of Kaneš.³² Assyrian traders sold their wool in many areas, but the wool in our texts seems to have originated especially from the more southern areas, notably from the cities of Luhusaddiya³³ and Hurama, but also from Hahhum, Kaneš, Mamma and Timilkiya,³⁴ and there are some references to wool acquired in Balihum.³⁵ The massive trade in Anatolian wool implies a well-developed local textile industry that must have produced the woollen textiles called *pirikannum*, *sapdinnum* and *tisābum* (see for these textiles § 3.3, *s.v.*), in the trade of which the Assyrians were heavily involved. Several of the towns from which these textiles occasionally are said to originate play an important role in the wool trade, which implies the existence of a local textile industry, and it cannot be accidental that we have attestation of both red wool (CCT 4, 47a, mentioned above) and red *pirikannu*-textiles.³⁶ Regrettably our texts provide no information on this local textile production, although there are a few occurrences of fullers (*ašlākum*) with Anatolian names.³⁷

1.2. Linen (*kitā'um*)

While it is now clear that *kutānum* is a woollen and not a linen product, there are about a fifteen occurrences of *kitā'um* (plural *kitā'ātum*), the word for flax and linen, which may refer to the threads and the fabrics made of them (CAD K, *s.v.* *kitū*), but in Old Assyrian it is only attested as referring to fabrics. This word must be distinguished from *kitītum*, rarely attested in Old Babylonian under the form ^{túg}*kitītum*, the designation of a garment, apparently not of linen but of wool, because of the occurrence of *síg*, “wool”, in the corresponding Sumerian logograms in lexical texts, where it frequently appears alongside *raqqatum* and *itqum*.³⁸ CAD K, 466 maintains the etymological link with *kitūm*, “linen”, by proposing a meaning “fine (lit. linen-like) wool”. ^{túg}*kitītum* is not a combination of noun and adjective, since *túg/šubātum* is masculine, nor does it mean “textile of

³² See for occurrences of a “chief of the shepherds” and “a shepherd of the queen”, Veenhof 2008a, 223 *s.v.* *rē'z'/rē'im*, and in general for husbandry in ancient Anatolia, Michel 1997, 108–111 and Dercksen 2008, 152–154. He mentions a text, Kt 94/k 1024:15–16 (courtesy of Larsen), which records that an Assyrian will pay “21 talents of wool of Kaneš, of the palace” in the city of Kuburnat, in the north.

³³ See for data Veenhof 1972, 131, 2, and for Luhusaddiya also Kt 93/k 84:3–9 (cited in note 29) and Kt n/k 1475 (quoted in note 26).

³⁴ Hahhum, OIP 27, 7:6, kt b/k 27:5–6; Hurama, *EL* 243:14–15 (*sic!*); Kaneš, Kt 94/k 1024:15–16; Mamma, TC 3, 65:18–22; Timilkiya, Kt m/k 114:1–2 (courtesy of Hecker). In some cases place names mentioned in connection with wool (or textiles) document trade there, but not necessarily the origin of the wool.

³⁵ BIN 6, 176 (// ICK 2, 277, see Veenhof 1972, 134–135), f/k 185 (courtesy of Umur), Kt c/k 922 and 944 (published in Albayrak 2008). While the first (see Veenhof 1972, 134–135) and third texts deal with the acquisition of wool only, the other texts mention both wool and fleeces. It is doubtful whether Balihum (which in these texts seems to denote a town or region) is to be connected with the well-known river of that name in the western part of the Jazira, within the bend of the Euphrates. Luhusaddiya must be located at least 200 km north of the Euphrates, in the general area of the plain of Elbistan, and this makes an enterprise to acquire wool and hides in both towns rather unlikely.

³⁶ For the trade in Anatolian textiles, see below § 2.3.2, and for red *pirikannū*, TC 1, 43:24–27, “Buy red *pirikannū* and send them to me, the *pirikannū* that you acquire must be red!”

³⁷ See Dercksen 2001, 62 with note 130; Kt 94/k 833:31–32, mentions “the fuller of the ruler” (*ašlakum ša rubā'im*).

³⁸ In Old Babylonian “Proto-Diri”, *síg*-bu = *sulumhū*, *itqum*, *kitītum* (*MSL* 15, 46: 422–424) and *ibidem* 172, *Diri* V:131–136 (cf. *Hh* XIX:153–158); *sulumhi* = *túg*-*síg*-*sud* is equated with *sulumhū*, *itqu*, *kitītu*, *raqqatum*, *lubuštum*, *lamahuššū*. *Sulumhū* according to CAD S, *s.v.*, is 1. “a long-fleeced breed of sheep”, 2. “a garment”, but it occurs only in lexical lists. The sheep, which occurs in a few Neo-Babylonian texts, is listed in *Hh* 13:16: *dud*-*síg*^{su-lu-hu}-*sud* = ŠU-u. *Itqu* (CAD I/J, *s.v.*) is “fleece”, “tuft of wool” and “a garment made of fleecy wool”.

kitītum wool”, since *kitītum* in the Old Babylonian occurrences is in the nominative form. It must be a substantivated feminine adjective, like *raqqatum*, which also figures as the name of a textile.³⁹

Kitā’um occurs in very small numbers (between 3 and 1), and twice in the plural without numbers; in TC 3, 271:9 they belong to the contents of a trader’s house (alongside silver, gold, silver cups and tablets). The letter Kt 89/k 252 reports that an Anatolian palace (the location of which is not mentioned) “needs linens” and that its ruler puts pressure on the agent of the Assyrian owner to fix their price so that he can acquire them.⁴⁰ That Anatolian palaces owned linen textiles and apparently attached value to them is demonstrated by the single occurrence of the Anatolian title “head of linens” (*rabi ki-ta-a-tim*) in BIN 4, 160:7–8, where he figures as the debtor of an Assyrian trader.⁴¹ Although no prices are mentioned, linens apparently belong to the more expensive textiles. In kt 89/k 266:10, linen figures (among textiles brought to an Anatolian official) alongside 1 fine *raqqatum*, 1 *kutānum*, 1 *kusītum* and 1 *šubatam damqum*, and the list Kt n/k 152:7–9 (courtesy of Bayram) mentions 11 Abarnian textiles, 1 fine *kutānum* and 3 *ki-ta-a-tum*.⁴²

A few texts provide more information and there are several cases where linens are sent from Anatolia to Aššur. “The *kitā’um* and the belt/scarf (*išrum*) for the god Amurru”, brought to Aššur according to CCT 3, 25:27–28, may well be a set of clothing, and Kt 93/k 196:5–8, a letter probably sent to Aššur,⁴³ mentions a shipment of silver, some gold, one “linen of Tuttul” (*ki-ta-am ša Tuttul*) and 3 pounds of carnelian”. Shipments to Aššur are also mentioned in Kt 93/k 241:21–23, where Lamassatum (in Aššur) writes to Iddin-Sîn: “Send me tin, *nabrītum* and 2 linens”, and in AKT 3, 79:26–28, where Nuhšatum in Kaneš is asked: “Send me *nabriātim ša i-lá-tim* and a large linen” (*ki-ta-a-am rabītam*). According to RA 81 (1987) 59 no. 71:36–37 “one *supannum*, one linen and two *samālu*-cups” were sent from Anatolia to Lamassī in Aššur.⁴⁴

CCT 4, 44b:17–22 gives the order to buy (apparently in Anatolia) and send “one *kitā’um* of fine quality of 15 or 20 cubits”, probably referring to the length of this (strip?) of linen.⁴⁵ In the enumeration of CCT 5, 12a:9–10, among the Anatolian textile products entrusted to a traveling agent, we find two *ki-ta-a-tum ba-li-lu*, but the meaning of the latter qualification, although attested a few times more as name of a garment or textile, is unknown. We have to conclude that the

³⁹ See for Mari, where Durand translates “pièce de lin”, in addition to the references given in CAD K, s.v., also ARMT 21, 219:22, “1 ^{tu}*g**kitītum*, its value in silver 5 shekels”, 318:2, 349:11, 2 ^{tu}*g**ki-ti-tum*, 383 VII:14”, 2 bar-si *ki-ti-[tum]*, “2 châles en lin”, 369:8, 1 *gú-è-a ki-ti-tum*, 383 II: 4) [and now Durand 2009, 159–160]. In the last two references *kitītum* apparently designates a type of fabric from which the textiles it qualifies have been made [cf. Durand 2009, 160 note c]. In Babylonia, also in O 342 (unpubl., Old Babylonian Kiš), 1:9–10, 2 ^{tu}*g**guz-za*, 1 ^{tu}*g**ki-ti-tum*, together stored in one box.

⁴⁰ Lines 3–8, “Here I asked him about the linens that are with Zumana, saying: ‘The palace needs linens’” (*kitā’ātim ekallum hašah*). Kt 89/227:17–19, a letter to the same addressee, mentions “3 linens that you sent to Zumana”, one of which has been sold, while two are still available in the latter’s house. Kt 89/k 266:10–11, a memo from the same archive, lists “1 linen his servant brought him”.

⁴¹ This does not prove that he had become indebted by buying the linens, although this is a possibility, since four lines above another official, “the head of the guard”, is said to owe a similar amount of copper as the price of an Abarnian textile. Dercksen 2008, 144 takes this title as evidence that flax was grown in the area of Kaneš and that linen garments were produced, but we do not know what exactly he supervised, cultivation, production, storage or distribution.

⁴² Kt n/k 216:7–9, in a letter to Ušur-ši-Ištar, “If in addition to the *ki-ta-a-tim* [you have] a *kutānum*, give it to me to dress myself in”.

⁴³ Letter by Ušur-ša-Aššur sent to Ali-ahum s. Iddin-Sîn, Lamaša-Aššur and Aššur-ṭāb.

⁴⁴ See also Prag I 488:8–9, 1 *karpatam šarašrānam, a-lá-nu ki-ta-um tamalakkū*, and Kt 93/k 196:6–8, 1 *ki-ta-am ša Tù-tù/ul*, 3 *mana* ^{na}*gug*, A. *naš’akkunūti*.

⁴⁵ The length of the *īdum* is not certain, but presumably something like a cubit, see Veenhof 2007. Line 4 also mentions a linen: “1/2 mina of silver [x x x] / *ki-tām* 4 ša x x [x], with/due from Š.”

Assyrians did not import linens into Anatolia and that they played only a minor role in the trade in locally produced linens, although local palaces had an interest in them, as was also the case later during the Hittite empire period.⁴⁶ Their origin is unknown and the single reference to a “linen of Tuttul”, a city on the Middle Euphrates, does not prove that the few others mentioned also originated in that area.

2. Geographical aspects

The Old Assyrian tablets mainly document the long distance trade organised by Assyrian merchants between their home city Aššur and Anatolia. Among the textiles they exported to Anatolia, many had previously been imported to Aššur, others were locally produced in Aššur and some in Northern Mesopotamia, the area crossed by the caravans. In addition, the Assyrians also traded textiles which were produced in Anatolia itself. A study of textile terminology needs to make a distinction between the different production areas. This can be done first by analyzing the textiles named after (the so-called nisbes) or connected with (by means of *ša*, “of, from”) toponyms. Secondly, some documents, mainly letters, give indications about the origin of various textiles and such data allow us to draw up a map of the production areas of the main textile types mentioned in the texts.

2.1. Textiles named after geographical names

The provenance of a textile may be indicated by the name of the textile itself if it is a nisbe, by the construction *ša* + geographical name, or by a simple genitive relation.⁴⁷

2.1.1. Nisbe qualifying textiles

Some textiles are referred to by a nisbe.⁴⁸ In Old Assyrian, nisbes derived from a place-name or noun ending in a consonant have the ending *-ium*, those formed from place-names on *-a*, we render as *-āium*, notwithstanding a variety of spelling.⁴⁹ Some of the nisbes dealing with textiles correspond to well-known toponyms, while others might be interpreted as a nisbe, but the town has not yet been identified. For example, the textiles quoted as *takkušta'um* and *šilipka'um* (also attested elsewhere in Mesopotamia) might be nisbes, but their origin and the corresponding place names are unknown and there is a great variety in

⁴⁶ See Klengel 2008, 76–77.

⁴⁷ Veenhof 1972, 189–191.

⁴⁸ This is not specific to Old Assyrian. For example, many textiles mentioned in the Mari tablets are referred to by a nisbe: Yamhadû is frequent in Mari (Durand 1983, 401), but we also find Akkadû (ARMT 18, 28:10–11), Elamûm, from Elam [Durand 2009, 67, 100], Gublāyûm, from Byblos [Durand 2009, 100], Haššûm, from Haššum [Durand 2009, 69], Kakmûm, from Kakmum [Durand 2009, 141], Nurrugayum, from Nurrugum [ARMT 22, 110], Parahšu, from Marhaši [Durand 2009, 71], Suhûm, from Suhu [Durand 2009, 507, n. 100], Šubarûm, from Subartu (ARMT 21, 318, 5; 23, 617, 1) and Tuttubayum, from Tuttub [Durand 2009, 111, 130]. Of doubtful identification are Buššurum, Kišihhu, Laharû and Mar(a)tû, [see Durand 2009, 56, 86 and 106–107].

⁴⁹ We do not write the latter as *-ājum*, the hypothetical character of which is indicated when GKT § 57b writes “scheint die Nisbenendung die Form *-āj* anzunehmen”. We prefer rendering *-a-i-um* as *-āium*, without indicating the presence of a glide or aleph, which seems to be the “classical” Old Assyrian form. Rare writings as *Ca-um*, without *-i* may, as N. J. C. Kouwenberg suggests to us (personal communication 2009), render a spoken *-ājum* or *-ajjum* and be the precursors of the Middle Assyrian form of the nisbe. And rare spellings with additional vowels – e.g. *A-bar-ni-ú-um* (Kt 93/k 253:47 and Kt f/k 39:19), *Ba-ad-na-e-em* and *Ti-mi-il₅-ki-a-e-em* (Kt 00/k 10 III:26'–27', from the later level Ib), are probably attempts to render the intervening glide or aleph unambiguously, but they are exceptions. See the next footnote for the contracted endings of *šilipkûm* and *Takkuštûm*.

spelling. Therefore we refer to them by these citation forms, unless a transliteration is necessary.⁵⁰ A list of nisbes is given below in alphabetical order.

Abarnīum. This nisbe, treated as a noun (plural *Abarnīū*), is among the most commonly used for textiles exported from Aššur to Kaniš, and thus it must refer to a place located somewhere in Upper Mesopotamia, but the corresponding city has not yet been identified.⁵¹ *Abarnīum* is attested in an Ur III text from Drehem.⁵² It mentions men and officials from l. 5: Marhaši, l. 6: Ebla, l. 9: Mari, l. 12: Abarnīum (*A-ba-ar-ni-um*^{ki}). The town also occurs in an inscription of king Šu-Sîn of Ur, in “a passage listing the peripheral regions of the Ur III empire,”⁵³ in the sequence (5’-7’): Ebla, Mari, Tuttul, Ma....., Urkiš, Mukiš!?, x-x-x, x x-la, *A-bar-nu-um*^{ki}... This again might suggest a town in Northern Mesopotamia.

a-li-ú-tum (?). One text discovered in 1993 mentions some textiles which are qualified as *a-li-ú-tum*. This adjective could be a nisbe of *ālum*, “the city”, which refers to Aššur in the Old Assyrian tablets, and thus could mean “from Aššur/made in Aššur/according to the Aššur fashion”;⁵⁴ it would then be a synonym of the qualification *ša ālim* describing some textiles (see under § 2.1.2). See for another more likely interpretation, below p. 246, d), with footnote 199.

Alkuaiūm. It occurs twice as the qualification of a *kusītu*-garment,⁵⁵ in both cases mentioned as a possible alternative to other types of garments, in TC 3, 169:10–12, “1 *kusītu*-garment, either (*lu*) one of Alkuwa, or else (*u lu*) a *šilipka’u*-garment”, while VS 26, 74:37–43 asks to buy and send from Aššur to Anatolia “either white *kusītu*-garments or one from Alkuwa, or thin garments of good quality, or white *lubūšu*-garments.” The place name Alkuwa is unknown and the nisbe might be a variant (or mistake?) of Malku(w)aīum, see below.

Gasurīum(?). The unique adjective GA-ZU-ri-im has been interpreted as a nisbe of Gasur, a city east of the Tigris, called Nuzi during the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, since a person is twice designated in this way.⁵⁶ If not a nisbe of Gasur, it could alternatively be taken as *kaššurum*, a verbal adjective of the D stem of *kašārum*, perhaps referring to a tightly knotted textile. According to the CAD K, 261–262, there is no D

⁵⁰ *Takkušta’um* never has the nisbe ending *-ūm*, so that the underlying word may end in *-ta*. If so, one would have expected the common Old Assyrian nisbe ending *-a-i-um*, but it is never spelled with inserted *-i*. That *šilipka’um* is also frequently written *šulupka’um* and also has forms ending in *-kiūm* (the normal nisbe ending after final consonant) and *-ka’um* (which suggests a final *-a*), shows that the writers themselves hesitated about its correct spelling (and perhaps derivation). In addition it exhibits plene writings with additional vowel, *šī-li-īp>-kà-ú-um* (CCT 4, 5a:6), *šu-lu-up-ki-ú-um* (BIN 4, 148:11), *šī-li-īp-ki-e-ú* in Kt 94/k 829:10 (but *-ki-ú* in lines 15 and 20!), and *šī-li-īp-kà-e-a/kà* (RA 60, 96:5, 8), alongside contracted forms, *šī-li-īp-ku-um* (KTS 55a:11), *šu-lu-up-kà-am* (91/356:25). The latter is also (but more rarely) the case with *takkušta’um*: *ta-ku-uš-tù-um* (CCT 5, 34c:11), *ta-ku-uš-tù-ú* (AKT 3, 59:19), and *ta-ku-uš-tum* (Yale 13092:11; cf. *ta-ku-uš-té-kà* in CCT 5, 46b:17). Contraction is normal in the later Mari texts, *-tu(-ú)* [Durand 2009, 121 s.v.] and probably in *šī-li-īp-ki-im*, the only occurrence elsewhere, in Old Babylonian Kisure 177:20, unless we consider it the genitive form of *-ki-um* and not of *-ku-um*.

⁵¹ See Veenhof 1972, 156–158 and below § 3.3 s.v. *Abarnīum*. They are expensive textiles, qualified as “good” and “extra good”. Correct AKT 2, 24:4–5 to: 1 túg *a-bar¹-a-ni-a-am*, sig₅ *wa-at-ra-am*. Note the construction with *ša*: *šitrē ša abarnīē* (TC 1, 19:12) and *šitram ša abarnīūm* (Kt 93/k 75:7).

⁵² CST 468, see Owen 1992, p. 144, no. 17; this text mentions “the messenger of the ensi of Abarnium” which may indicate this town was further away. I. J. Gelb, cf. RGTC 4, 2, tentatively identifying it with classical Abarne, “half-way between Malatya and Amida”, proposed a location in Eastern Turkey, at modern Çermük, which does not correspond to our sources.

⁵³ Civil 1967, 37.

⁵⁴ Kt 93/k 765:13–14, *šà-ba 20 túg sig₅ a-li-ú-tum, tardīūtum*. The Assyrians were creative in this respect, as shown by the recently published first occurrence of *ekalliyum*, “of palatial quality”, AKT 4, 28:7, 2 túg^{h4} sig₅ *tim diri é-gal-li-ú-tim*, sent from Aššur.

⁵⁵ TC 3, 169 and VS 26, 74, which is a copy of a letter sent to Aššur.

⁵⁶ See RGTC 4, 40; Veenhof 1972, 189–190 and CCT 4, 2a:31.

stem of this verb with a meaning related to textile production; but the *kāširum* (CAD K, 264) is described as a “craftsman producing textiles by a special technique.”

Hahhūm. Textiles from Hahhum are usually designated as *ša Hahhim*,⁵⁷ but the nisbe is used a few times, both for wool⁵⁸ and for textiles (in lists), in the plural and dual feminine form.⁵⁹ This well-known city, located on the Euphrates in the area of Samsat, is the site of the main crossing used by the Assyrian caravans on their way to Anatolia.⁶⁰

Malku(w)āiūm. We have two certain occurrences of this nisbe, which may derive from an otherwise unknown place-name *Malku(w)a. In both cases it qualifies a *kusītu*-garment, spelled *ma-al-ku-a-i-tām* (Kt 91/ k 360:22) and *ma-al-ku-a-tim* (Kt 94/1686:17, plural, with the variant spelling *ma-lu-ki-a-tum* in Kt 94/k 1687:32, courtesy of Larsen). These occurrences suggest the correcting of CCT 2, 3:15–16 to *kusītum ma-al-<ku>-a-i-tum*, also because the place name Mal'a does not seem to exist,⁶¹ and in RA 81, 14 no. 3:7, we might perhaps also read 6 *kusīātum [m]a^l-al-ku-i-a-tum*. These expensive textiles (more than one pound of silver according to CCT 2, 4:15!), were exported from Aššur to Anatolia, which suggests the location of Malku(w)a somewhere in Upper(?) Mesopotamia. There is reason to assume that this nisbe was confused with or was an alternative writing of Alku(w)āiūm (see above), which sounds similar and both occurrences of which also apply to *kusītu*-garments. Moreover, the letter POAT 7:8–9, which deals with the same issue as CCT 2,3, omits the nisbe and calls the *kusītum* “white”, which recalls VS 26, 74:38–40 where such garments “of Alkuwa” are also an alternative for “white *kusītu*-garments”.

Susēiūm. A document found in 1962 mentions a garment (*lubūšum*) with the qualification *sú-sé-e-a-am*.⁶² If this corresponds to a nisbe Suse/ē, it could perhaps concern the city of Susā, well-known from the Mari royal archives and situated in the Ida-Maraş, not far from Šubat-Enlil.⁶³

Šarzuaiūm. There is only one reference to textiles named by means of this possible nisbe, to be derived from a place name Šarzu(w)a, which is not attested elsewhere thus far.⁶⁴ It has sometimes been interpreted as corresponding to Arzua, a geographical name mentioned in Hittite documentation, but this seems unlikely.⁶⁵

Šilipka'um. The *šilipka'um* or *šulupka'um*⁶⁶ textile, quite frequent (c.40 times) in the texts, appears together with many different kinds of textiles that are known as fabrics made in Mesopotamia; in at least two occurrences, this type of textile is bought in Aššur and exported to Anatolia.⁶⁷ This nisbe occurs once in a Kisurra letter.⁶⁸

⁵⁷ Veenhof 1972, 129 and see below § 2.1.2.

⁵⁸ BIN 6, 136:14.

⁵⁹ RA 58, 60:5, 2^l *ha-hi-ta-an*; VS 26, 123:8, *pūh ha-hi-té-en₆*. Since it is always in the dual form, it could correspond to shoes, or to pieces of garments which cover legs or arms.

⁶⁰ Veenhof 2008b, 7–10.

⁶¹ The text numbered Mat. II, 4a, x+15, quoted by Bilgiç 1951, 34, Veenhof 1972, 159 and RGTC 4, 81, cannot be found; it probably is an error, since all the Prague texts have now been published.

⁶² AKT 2, 24:10, *lu lubūšam sú-sé-e-a-am*.

⁶³ Charpin & Ziegler 2003, 266.

⁶⁴ ICK 1, 81:18, 9 túg^{hi} *ša-ar-zu-a-i-ú*, alongside 5 *kutānū*, together (line 27) 14 sold textiles.

⁶⁵ RGTC 4, 13–14, already rejected by Veenhof 1972, 190.

⁶⁶ See above, note 50 and below § 3.3 s.v. *šilipka'um*.

⁶⁷ See TC 1, 47:4, 2 túg *ší-li-ip-ki-ú* and RA 60 [1966], 111, n°43:6, 19 (Larsen 2002, no. 82) where this textile is listed among *kutānum* and *kusītum*. An unpublished tablet preserved in New Haven, Yale 13092:8–12 (courtesy of Larsen) lists this type of textile together with Akkadian pieces: 7 *lubūšū* 6 *kusīātum* 1 *šulupka'um* 1 *takuštūm* šu-nigin 15 *ša A-ki-di-NI-im*, at 9,1 shekels of silver apiece.

⁶⁸ FAOS B. 2, 177:20.

Šurbuūm. This nisbe applies primarily to wool,⁶⁹ identified as originating from a town Šurbu, which occurs in some 3rd millennium sources and in a geographical list from the early 2nd millennium BC found at Tell Harmal (MSL 11, 58:164).⁷⁰ Secondly, it is in one instance used for textiles made from this type of wool, in TC 2 14:6, where 27 túg sig, šu-ur-bu-i-ú>-tum are bought in Aššur.⁷¹ Šurbu is located in the Hamrin mountains, Southeast of Aššur, an area well-known for sheep breeding. The šurbuūm wool is used to produce the kutānu-textiles exported to Anatolia.⁷²

Takkušta'um. This word presents the same ending as šilipka'um.⁷³ This type of textile (c.15 occurrences) occurs mostly in relatively small numbers (11 in VS 26, 11:11–12, 10 in CCT 5, 46b:8) alongside textiles exported to Anatolia such as kutānu-textiles.⁷⁴ It is also attested about ten times in the Mari royal archives, where it is usually written ták/ta-ak-ku-uš-tu-ú. These textiles come from Babylon, Kurdā and Karanā.⁷⁵ Thus, if it is a geographical name, Takkušta should be located south of Aššur.

Talhatūm. This nisbe corresponds to the city of Talhat, well-known from the Mari archives and located west of the Habur triangle.⁷⁶ It primarily qualifies ēpattum garments,⁷⁷ which are not bought in, but sent to Aššur. The ēpattum seems to be a specific, local product made in this Northern Mesopotamian town. Less often, this nisbe is used of išrum “belt”.⁷⁸ Once, a sapdinnum textile is said to come from Talhat, and once, perhaps, a kusitum garment.⁷⁹

This list suggests that most of the textiles named by means of a nisbe are exported to Anatolia; they mainly originate from places located east of the Euphrates, in “Northern Mesopotamia.”

2.1.2. Geographical designations added by means of ša

These designations fall into two categories, those where ša is followed by a nisbe and those where it is followed by the name of a country or town.

ša Akkidīē (Akkadīum). To the first category belongs the best-known qualification ša Akkidīē, lit. “of the Akkadians”, which contains a nisbe of “Akkad” in the plural (with vowel harmony), used as an adjunct after the names of textiles.⁸⁰ These textiles clearly come from Southern Mesopotamia according to a letter that describes problems of supply: “As for the Akkadian textiles you wrote about, since you left, Akkadians have not entered the city, their country is in revolt. If they arrive before the winter and there is a possibility to buy for you with profit we will buy them for you”.⁸¹ An important text is Kt n/k 1228 (courtesy of

⁶⁹ TC 2, 7:25–26 (Michel 2001, no. 108), šaptum, šu-ur-bu-i-tum lašu.

⁷⁰ The earlier interpretation, a textile made of wool consisting of four twisted threads, the word being derived from arbe, “four” found in CAD Š/3, 342b, s.v. šurbuūtu, most probably has to be abandoned in favour of a nisbe, see Dercksen 2004, 16, note 32.

⁷¹ This emendation is necessary since the adjective is added to the masc. plural of túg = šubātū.

⁷² For this type of wool, see § 1.1.

⁷³ See above, note 50 and below § 3.3 s.v. takkušta'um.

⁷⁴ To the texts quoted by Veenhof 1972, 166–167, add for example : Kt 93/k 344:20, lu ta-ku-uš-ta-ú ; AKT 3, 52:19, 12 túg ta-ku-uš-tù-ú, same form in Yale 13092:11 (1 ta-ku-uš-tum).

⁷⁵ [Durand 2009, 121–122].

⁷⁶ See for Talhat, C. Michel's review of RGTC 4 (WO 24, 1993, 176) and Veenhof 2008a, 18–21.

⁷⁷ See below § 3.3 s.v. epattum. To the references given by Veenhof 1972, 190–191, add Prag I 686, 17.

⁷⁸ Prag I 488:6. See below § 3.3 s.v. išrum.

⁷⁹ Kt 94/k 1672 (courtesy of Larsen), see below § 3.3 s.v. sapdinnum; kt n/k 1452:10–14 (courtesy of Çeçen) rādīam lu kusitām ša Mamma lu <ša>⁷ ta-al-ha/(text:A)-at labbiššu, “clothe the escort in a kusītu-garment from Mamma or one <from> Talhat”.

⁸⁰ In Prag I 616:3–4, it is written exceptionnally ša A-ki-dī-im: túg ša šuhrim ša Akkidūm; note also 1 túg ša Akkidūm in Kt 94/k 368:18 (courtesy of Larsen). The singular Akkidūm is perhaps caused by the singular of šubātum.

⁸¹ VS 26, 17:4–11: aššumi šīm túg ša a-ki-dī-e, ša tašpuranni, ištu tuš'u a-ki-dī-ú, ana ālim^{ki} ula ērubūnim, māssunu sahi'atma,

Çeçen):13–17, *ina šubātī ša Akkidīē*, (...) *ibašši lubūšum, kusītum ú šulupka'um*, which suggests that the last three types of garments fall under *ša Akkidīē*. There are various garments which are said to be Akkadian: *burā'um, kutānum, kusītum* (several times), *lubūšum, nibrārum, šitrum, šilipka'um, šūrum, takkušta'um*.⁸²

ša Šubirim. This qualification (with Assyrian vowel harmony), which means “of Šubarum”, contains the name for the Hurrian speaking area located north of Aššur, along the Tigris river (called S/Šubartum in Old Babylonian sources). It qualifies textiles sent from Aššur to Anatolia⁸³ and is added to the generic term *šubātum* (túg), to *nibrārum* and to *kusītum*.⁸⁴ Three times it occurs alongside *ša ālim*, “of the City”.⁸⁵

More often, textiles are qualified as originating from a specific town by the adjunct: “ša + geographical name”. Some of the towns named belong to Upper Mesopotamia, while others are located in Anatolia. Of the many place names located between Aššur and the Euphrates, the following ones are used to describe textile products.

Ālum, the City = Aššur. “Of the City” is added to the generic term *šubātum*⁸⁶ and to specific garments such as *nibrārum*⁸⁷ or *šitrum*.⁸⁸ This adjunct would be a synonym of the once attested adjective *a-li-ú-tumi* that is a nisbe from *ālum*.⁸⁹ Textiles “of the City” occur a few times alongside textiles from Šubartu.⁹⁰

Apum. There are a few references to one or two pieces of textile originating from Apum (Tell Leilan), in the Habur triangle,⁹¹ including the as yet unpublished text (LB 1268:13–14) that mentions 2 *nibrārum* garments from Apum.⁹² “Of Apum” probably signifies that these textiles were bought *en route*, on the way to Anatolia.

Hahhum. Alongside the nisbe *hahhūm* (see § 2.1.1), Hahhum itself also appears in the formula “ša + geographical name” applied to wool or textiles,⁹³ including *tisābum ēpišum*⁹⁴ and *pirikannum* said to be “from the land of Hahhum” (*ša māt Hahhim*),⁹⁵ both of which are in fact Anatolian products.

Haqqa. Textiles as well as *tisābum* and *pirikannum* of good quality are said to be “of Haqqa.” The town might be located on the road to Anatolia, between Eluhut, North of the Habur triangle, and Zalpa, which should be located on the northern bend of the Euphrates.⁹⁶ However, according to M. Forlanini, it could also be

šumma a-kušši imtaqtūnimma, šimūm ša balātika, ibašši niša'amakkum. See also TC 1, 11, BIN 6, 75 and TC 2, 7.

⁸² See Veenhof 1972, 99, 158–159 and add to the references: *burā'um ša Akkidīē* (Kt 94/k 966, courtesy of Larsen; AKT 2, 44), *kusītum ša Akkidīē* (KTS 2, 22:5, Prag I 686:21), *nibrārum* (kt n/k 524:10) and for unspecified túg *ša Akkidīē*, AKT 3, 52:61, 91. Note the wrong writing in Yale 13092, 12 (courtesy of Larsen), where *lubušū, kusiātum, šilipka'um* and *Takkušta'um* are said to be *ša a-ki-dí-NI-im*.

⁸³ RGTC 4, 108–109 and Veenhof 2008c, 17–19, see also Michel in press b.

⁸⁴ See Veenhof 1972, 173 and Prag I 686:19–20: *nibrāram, lu ša šu-bi-ri-im lu ša a-lim^{ki}*. FT 4:34–35 (Larsen & Möller 1991, 231, 239): 1 túg *kusītum, ša šu-bi-ri-im*.

⁸⁵ Túg^(há) *ša šu-bi/i-ri-im*, see AKT 3, 16:2–4; FT 4:5 (Larsen & Möller 1991, 231, 239).

⁸⁶ AKT 3, 16:3; Kt 93/k 887:27; FT 4:6 (Larsen & Möller 1991, 231, 239).

⁸⁷ Prag I 686, 19.

⁸⁸ Kt n/k 437 (courtesy of Günbatti):3–4, 2 *šitrē, ša ālim^{ki}*.

⁸⁹ See § 2.1.1 s.v. *Ālūm* and note 54.

⁹⁰ See above, note 85 for occurrences alongside *ša ālim*.

⁹¹ Kt 93/k 344:21, 32.

⁹² LB 1268:14–15: 2 *nibrārū, ša Apim*.

⁹³ Túg *ša Hahhim*: Kayseri 25 (Landsberger), KUG 13:20 = EL 332:20, KT c/k 695:11–12 (courtesy of Dercksen). Wool *ša Hahhim* occurs in Kt b/k 27:5–6 and OIP 27:7, 6 + 46b, dated to the period of *kārum* Kaneš level Ib, see Dercksen 2001, 47, note 44.

⁹⁴ Kt 94/k 1672:19 (*tisābum*) and Kt c/k 729:3, 43 pieces (*ēpišum*).

⁹⁵ Kt n/k 518:89–90 (courtesy of Günbatti).

⁹⁶ BIN 4, 43:29, túg^(há) *ša Ha-qá-ma*; Kt c/k 753:7 (courtesy of Dercksen), *tisābam ša Ha-qá*; Kt 93/k 60:1–2, 34 *pirikannī ša Ha-qá*.

situated north of the Euphrates,⁹⁷ a proposal that accords with the fact that the *pirikannum* textile is a typical Anatolian product, whose production therefore should start beyond the Euphrates.

Nihriya. An unpublished tablet quotes a *tisābum* textile from Nahriya, which is commonly written Nihriya in the Old Assyrian texts.⁹⁸ This city is located on the Upper Balih, north of Harrān.

Qaṭṭara, probably Tell Rimah, is given as the origin of a *nibrārum* textile in a document recovered in 1993.⁹⁹

Talhat (see § 2.1.1 s.v *Talhatium*), *ṣubātū ša Talhat*, Kt c/k 709:2 (courtesy of Dercksen) and Kt 94/k 1395:16–17 (courtesy of Larsen); *sapdinnū sig, ša Talhat*, Kt 94/k 1387:19–20 (see footnote 79).

Tuttul. Linen textiles (*kīta'um*) were produced in Tuttul, on the Middle Euphrates according to an unpublished document.¹⁰⁰

Zalpa. There are several towns called Zalpa at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, but the one connected with textiles is located on, or beyond, the Euphrates, North of Hahhum. Apart from the generic textile name, *túg*,¹⁰¹ four different types of textiles are said to come from (the land of, kt n/k 457:34–35) Zalpa: *šitrum*, *nibrārum*, *tisābum* and *pirikannum*.¹⁰²

Beyond the bend of the Euphrates, in Anatolia, many towns are also connected with textiles by means of the expression “*ša + geographical name*”. Thus, unspecified textiles (*ṣubātum*) could come from the towns of Buruṣhattum,¹⁰³ Hurrama,¹⁰⁴ Šalatuwar,¹⁰⁵ Timilkiya¹⁰⁶ or Tuhipiya;¹⁰⁷ it is, however, not always clear whether they were produced there or simply traded. Typical Anatolian *pirikannum* textiles originated from Kaniš¹⁰⁸ and Mamma, a town also known for its fine wool production.¹⁰⁹

2.2. *The origin of textiles*

2.2.1. *Origin of the textiles exported to Anatolia*

Apart from the textiles produced in Anatolia, which are also traded by the Assyrian merchants, there are many place names from Northern Syria and Upper Mesopotamia connected to textiles in the Kaniš archives.

The textiles from southern Mesopotamia were bought by Assyrians, to all appearances in Aššur, in order to be exported to Anatolia. The textiles originating from small places, designated by

⁹⁷ See Forlanini 2004, 426 and the discussion by Veenhof 2008b, 11–13.

⁹⁸ Kt 94/734:2 (courtesy of Larsen): 3 *túg tí-sà-b[i] ša Na-ah-ri-a*.

⁹⁹ Kt 93/k 75:13–14: 1 *túg ni-ib-ra-ra-/am, ša Qá-ṭá-ra*; for the bibliography about the location of Qaṭṭarā, see Michel 2006c.

¹⁰⁰ Kt 93/k 196:6: 1 *kitā'am ša Tù-tù-/ul*.

¹⁰¹ ATHE 63:17; KTS 2, 4:6; Kt 93/k 517:20.

¹⁰² *Šitrum ša Zalpa*: BIN 6, 184:19; CCT 1, 50:6 and Kt 92/k 239. *Nibrārum ša Zalpa*: Kt 94/k 734:3. *Tisābum ša Zalpa*: Kt 93/k 891. *Pirikannum ša Zalpa*: Kt 93/k 891:5–6 and Kt 93/k 59:1–2.

¹⁰³ Cole 9:36.

¹⁰⁴ ATHE 63:17; KTS 2, 4:6.

¹⁰⁵ BIN 4, 148:8.

¹⁰⁶ TC 1, 3:30.

¹⁰⁷ Kt 93/k 517:21–22; Kt 93/k 522:4.

¹⁰⁸ CCT 5, 12a:7; Kt 93/k 505:10; Kt 93/k 708:23; Kt 93/k 781:8; Kt 94/k 734:6–7.

¹⁰⁹ TC 1, 43:4. For wool from Mamma, see TC 3, 65:18–22 and § 1.1.

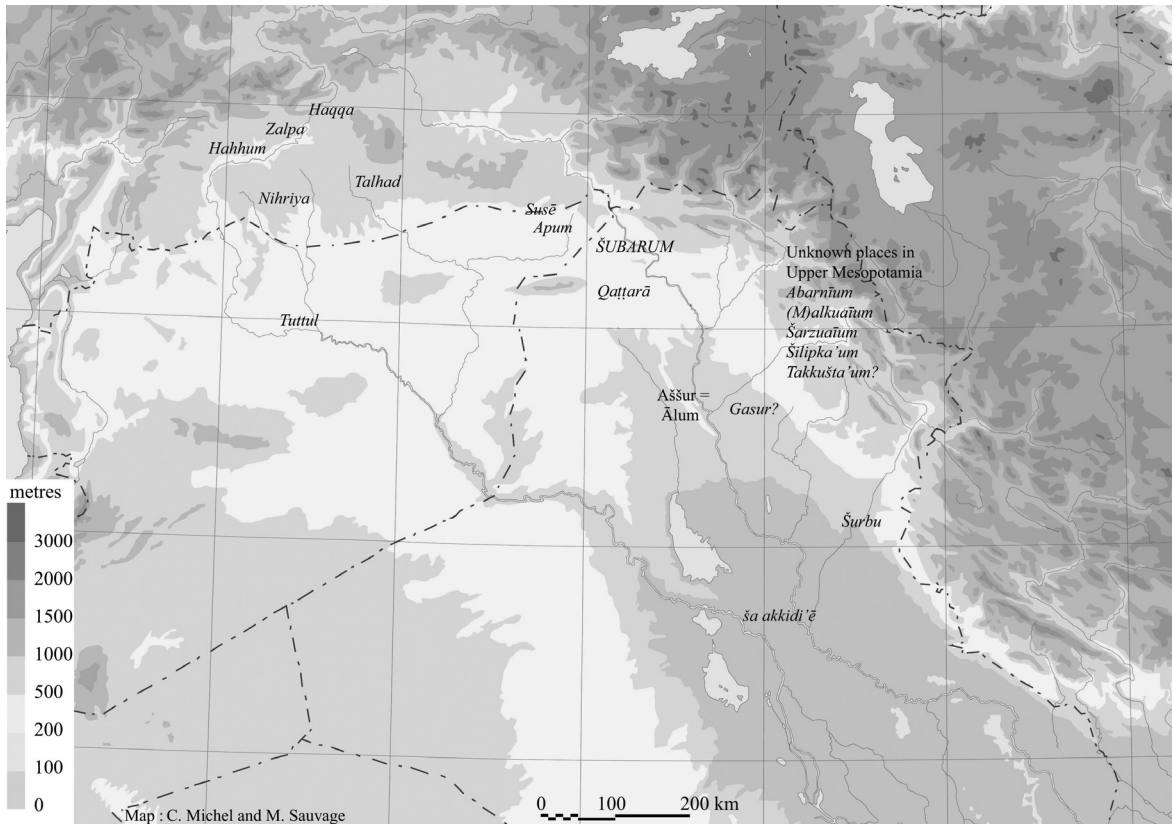


Fig. 12.1. Map of Upper Mesopotamia with geographical names connected to textiles.

their nisbes such as Abarnūm, (M)alkuaīum, Šarzuaiūm, Šilipka'um and Takkušta'um, were also transported to Kaniš in order to be sold there for as much profit as possible. The various place names situated north of Aššur and between Aššur and the Euphrates, quoted in connection with textiles, correspond to stations on the road followed by the Assyrian caravans going to Kaniš: Qaṭṭarā, Apum, Nihriya, Hahhum, Zalpa and Haqqa. Some textiles might thus have been bought en route in these towns.

2.2.2. Distinction between origin and fashion of manufacture

This conclusion, based on a simple link between a textile and its geographical qualification, interpreted as “made in + geographical name”, must be qualified and discussed. It is not always clear whether “ša + geographical name” signifies that the textiles in question originate from a particular town, because they could have been acquired there by trade, or (which seems to be true in many cases), were local products, manufactured in that town and perhaps exhibiting specific local or regional features. The textiles called *šubātum ša Akkidiē*, « Akkadian textiles », have clearly been made in Babylonia. In fact, the term “Akkadians” does not refer to inhabitants of the city of Akkad, but to Babylonians who are always referred to in that manner in Old Assyrian documentation.

The association of a geographical name with a textile could also refer to specific techniques that are reproducible somewhere else, or to particular material as in the case of *šurbuīum* wool, used by Assyrian women in Aššur. The *abarnīum* textile is an expensive item exported to Anatolia; in some occurrences, it must originate from Aššur, for it is woven with the greatest expertise by Assyrian women who are able to reproduce its typical features: “About the Abarnian textile which you sent me, you should not send me a similar one again. If you want to make one, make one like the one I wore there.”¹¹⁰ In this case, a translation “textile from Abarna” is unacceptable, and a meaning “textile according to the fashion/technique of Abarna” is better. The same applies to *šilipka’um* and *takkušta’um* textiles, which are said to be “Akkadian” products.¹¹¹

2.3. Geographical areas of textile production according to letters

Frequently textile names are not associated with nisbes or place names, and we therefore need other criteria to identify their production areas. In order to classify the many different textile types traded by the Assyrians, we can primarily distinguish two geographical zones separated by the Euphrates: Upper Mesopotamia including northern Syria, and Anatolia. While private notices or accounts only provide the names of the textiles and, sometimes, their prices, the letters are much more informative. From the names of the writers and recipients, we can often deduce the origin of the textiles mentioned in them, especially if they ask to buy them or to ship them.

2.3.1. Textiles exported from Aššur to Anatolia

Many letters deal with the shipment of merchandise from Aššur to Anatolia, among which various textile types are mentioned. These documents enable us to draw a list of the textiles made or bought in the area of Aššur by the Assyrians. For example, in a message he addresses to Aššur-nādā and Aššur-taklāku, Ilī-ālum announces the shipment of “16 *kutānu*-textiles, 18 *šubātum*, 5 *šurūtum*, 2 *raqqatum* textiles, 1 *lubūšum* garment, 1 *šilipka’um* textile and 2 *kusītum* textiles”.¹¹² In another letter sent to Imdīlum, a well-known Assyrian merchant living in Kaniš, the inventory of the merchandise shipped lists: “4 textiles for wrapping and 221 *kutānu*-textiles including those for wrapping, 6 *kusītum* *malkuīātum*, 6 heavy *burā’um* textiles, among which are 3 soft *burā’um* textiles, [x] white *lubūšum* garments, [x] *šilipka’um* textiles, 1 fine *kusītum* textile of extra good quality”.¹¹³

All these textiles are thus produced in the vicinity of Aššur. The *kutānu*-textile is the most common type woven by the women in Aššur, the *burā’um*, *kusītum* and *šūrum* textiles are also made there or imported from southern Mesopotamia (see § 3.2).¹¹⁴ The (*m*)*alkuaīum* and *šilipka’um* might have been woven in these places or, like the *abarnīum*-type, produced by Assyrian women according to the fashion or technique of these small towns. The *lubūšum* is a generic term for

¹¹⁰ See TC 3 17:23–28 § 3.4.1.

¹¹¹ Yale 13092:12 (courtesy of Larsen), quoted above note 67.

¹¹² RA 60, 111, no. 43:4–7: 16 tóg *kutānū* 18 tóg, 5 *šurūtum* 2 tóg *raqqatān*, 1 tóg *lubūšum* 1 tóg *š’-li-ip-ki-um*, 2 tóg *kusītān*.

¹¹³ RA 81 [1987], 13–15, no. 3:5–12: 4 tóg *liwītum* u 2’ *meat* 21 tóg’, *kutānū qadum*’ ša *liwītum*, 6 *kusiātum* [*m*] *alkuīātum*, 6 tóg *burā’ū kabtūtum*’, [šà]-ba’ 3 tóg *burā’ū narbū*, [x tóg] *lubūšū pašīūtum*, [x tóg š] *u-lu-up-<ki>-u’*’ 1 tóg *kusītum*, [1 *raqqutu*] *m sig₅ diri*.

¹¹⁴ Note the occurrence of *kusītum* ša *akkidīe* in KTS 2, 22:5.

garment (see § 5) and *raqqatum* is a substantivated adjective which means “fine”. These two textile names are not linked to a geographical area.

Other textile types too, connected with geographical names, belong to the exported products. For example, the *nibrārum* textile comes from Aššur, Šubarum, Apum, Qaṭṭarā and even Zalpa.¹¹⁵

2.3.2. Anatolian textiles

The Assyrians also traded in Anatolian products, which were always cheaper than those imported, but allowed the Assyrian traders to make some profit. Letters allow us to make a list of textiles traded only in Anatolia. Best-known are those called *pirikannum*, *saḫdinnum* and *tisābum*,¹¹⁶ but we also have references that connect Anatolian textiles with a particular town, such as “textiles of Zalpa”, “*pirikannū* of Kaneš/Mamma”... Thus, the *menuniānum* textile, also woven in Anatolia, is cited alongside textiles from Tuhpiya.¹¹⁷ Apart from their names, which do not seem to be Akkadian, the context in which they occur helps to establish in nearly all cases those that are Anatolian and accordingly they never occur in the caravan reports of textiles bought in Aššur and shipped to Anatolia. In general, the names of these native Anatolian textile products do not reveal to us what they were and data gathered from the context are meagre, although it is clear that *pirikannū* were made of wool, rather cheap and weighed less than the imported textiles.¹¹⁸

3. Names and qualifications of the textiles

3.1. Etymology

One method of identifying textiles is by linguistic analysis of their names. However, many names of textiles exported by the Assyrians are etymologically unclear, while those of Anatolian textiles are not transparent because of our limited knowledge of the early languages of Anatolia. If a convincing etymology can be suggested, the resulting meaning however is often too general or vague to be of much help. The most frequent term for a textile or garment, *šubātum*, must be a *purās*-form from the verb *šabātum*, “to seize, to grasp”, used for “deverbale Vergegenständlichungen” (GAG § 55k, 15), and therefore denotes a fabric that “holds” or perhaps “is attached to” the body.¹¹⁹ But this is true of most garments, and in fact this derivation does not even help us to choose between a textile or untailed garment and a ready-to-wear one, because *šubātum* became a generic term and figures as determinative with all kinds of textile names. If *kusītum* is a *purīs*-form from the root *kasûm*, “to bind”, it should, according to GAG § 55k, 16, be used for “substantive deminutiver

¹¹⁵ See below § 3.3, s.v. *nibrārum*.

¹¹⁶ See below § 3.3, s.v. Notwithstanding the fact that a verdict of the City of Aššur, at some time, prohibited trade in *saḫdinnum* and *pirikannum* textiles; see VS 26, 9, edited in Veenhof 1972, 126–127 and Michel 2001, no. 199. Note that in the later period the trade in *pirikannū* was accepted and even figured in the treaty between the Assyrians and the ruler of Kaneš (see Veenhof 2008a, 193, § h).

¹¹⁷ Kt 93/k 517:19–23: 63 túg *ibaššiū*, šà-ba 8 túg ša *Zalpa*, 55 túg *lu menuniānū lu ša, Tuhpiya*. Kt 93/k 522:25–27: 71 túg *piri[kannū]*, šà-ba 30 túg *menuniānū*, 41 túg ša *Tuhpiya*. Or together with *pirikannum* textiles: Prag I 740:13–15: 1 *me-nu-ni-a>-nu-um*, 1 *piri[kann]um*, 2 *na[hlapāt]im*; Kt 94/k 463: 21 *pirikannū* 14 *menuniānū* u 21 *maškū šapātīm*.

¹¹⁸ See for the *pa/i/arakannū*, below § 3.3 s.v. In ICK 1 53:4–5, one donkey carried 38 pieces. We may also derive some information from occasional classifications, such as “10 *saḫdinnum* textiles, 2 of which are *tisābū*” (Kt f/k 117: 5–6; same CCT 5, 12a:8–9). Note also “1 *saḫdinnum* textile of extremely good quality for me to wear” (*ana litabšia*, Kt 94/k 1373: 18–19).

¹¹⁹ A better example would be *lubāšum*, from *labāšum*, “to wear, to dress oneself in”, “something which one wears”, which occurs once in Old Assyrian (CCT 1, 27a:4 = 5, 48d:4), but not as garment but to store items in! (*ina lubāšim šaššer*).

oder pejorativer Bedeutung”, but this does not yield a suitable meaning and one would expect it to denote a textile or garment bound around the body. The dangers of etymology are clear from attempts to fix the meaning of *kutānum*, which also looks like a *purās* formation, mentioned above (§ 1.2).

Etymology is more helpful for *nahlaptum*, from *halāpum*, “to slip in or through, to cover, to cloth” (CAD H, 35),¹²⁰ but its actual meaning is more specific, according to CAD N/1, 138 s.v. “a wrap, outer garment (worn by soldiers and as festive apparel)”. According to the Sumerian logogram *túg-gú-è(-a)* it would be “a piece of clothing from which the neck sticks out”.¹²¹ CAD N in most cases translates “cloak” and it may serve as outer or upper garment, as in ARM 10, 17:10, where the wife of king Zimrī-Līm asks him “to put on his shoulders the *šubātum* and the *nahlaptum* I made”, and in a text from Ugarit the person who breaks a contract “will hang his *nahlaptum* on the doorbolt and go out in the street”.¹²² Durand (1983, 397), referring to texts from Alalakh and Mari, which list sets of clothing comprising several items of the series *túg/šubātum* = “garment”, *túg-bar-si/paršigum* = “sash, headdress”, *gada-ša-dù/misarrum* = “girdle, belt”, and *túg-gú-dè-a/nahlaptum*, suggests the meaning “chemise”.¹²³ A set must also be meant in Old Assyrian, KBo 9 rev. 8’, where a *sakkum*-garment, a *nahlaptum* and a pair of shoes are delivered.¹²⁴ This might explain the small weight (c. half a pound) of a *nahlaptum* according to Ur III texts (Waetzoldt 1972, 52, note 118), but in some Old Babylonian texts (CAD N/1, 139, c) they weighed between 2 and 2 2/5 pounds. This suggests a difference in quality (see CAD N/1, 139, e, and the occurrence of “2 extremely fine, soft n.” in the Old Assyrian text Kt 87/k 378:16–18, courtesy of Hecker) and perhaps in size.¹²⁵ This also explains the differences in price, which in Old Assyrian range from 10 shekels to c.5¼ shekels of silver, but there may also have been different shapes or applications, such as the (*túg*) *gú-dè-a riksi*, attested at Tell Rimah (OBTR 59:13 and 80:4, “with ties?”), which, moreover, are distinguished as “long and not long” (*sud-a ù la sud-a*). Note that in Nuzi (HSS 14, 607:14) a *nahlaptum* is also used as a bedcover (*ša majāli*), but the same is the case with *lubuštum* (HSS 15, 139:18).

A complication is created by the logogram *túg-gú*, which occurs at Mari (ARMT 21, 383 ii:3–4; 384:2–6), and according to CAD N/1, 138 and Durand 1983, 397 note 12 and 405 is also the equivalent of *nahlaptum*. Note also the spelling *gú-du-a* in ARMT 23, 39:3–6, where, as its author suggests, DU is an abbreviation of UD. DU = è. Eidem (1992, 24) shares this view for the Šušarrā

¹²⁰ The *mapras(t)* formation is used inter alia as *nomen instrumenti* (GAG § 56 b/c), cf. *nalbašum*, a kind of cloak, from the verb *labāšum*. A derivative of *halāpum* is also *hulāpum*, for which CAD H, s.v. registers only one occurrence and proposes a meaning “a bandage”, adding “possibly a free variant of *ulāpu*, “bandage”. This can now be corrected, since the meaning clearly is “rags”, “tatters”, in which a slave is wrapped (CCT 4, 45b:31). Additional occurrences confirm this meaning: KTS 34b:14–15, “the girl is clad in rags (*hulāpum labšat*) and is starving”, and Kt 92/k 152:4–5, “the tablet is wrapped in a rag” (*tuppum ihhulāpim lawi*).

¹²¹ A curse known by Neo-Assyrians was that the moon god will “clad people with leprosy as with a *nahlaptum*”.

¹²² See Van Soldt 1990, 328, note 50, who defines a *nahlaptum* as “a cloak, i.e. a loose outer garment”. A similar clause attested in Boğazköy and Emar uses simply *túg*, “garment”.

¹²³ [Cf. Durand 2009, 67, where he gives the following translations: “habit de dessus, chemise, casaque, côte de maille”.] See also CT 45, 36 II, 2–4, in a summary of textiles delivered by the weavers: 242 *túg^{há}*, 488 *túg-gú-è^{há}*, 79 *túg-bar-si^{há}*, 31 *túg-bar-si-gal*, where the number of *nahlapātum* is the double of that of the *šubātū*, and on a more domestic level, in the dowry listed in BE 6/1,84:7–8, 10 *túg^{há}* 20 *túg-bar-si^{há}*, 1 *túg guz-za* 2 *túg-gú-è*.

¹²⁴ See for this text Dercksen 2001, 52 with note 69.

¹²⁵ See ARM 18, 11 for an order of hundreds of *nahlapātum* in five different colors.

texts and both logograms also occur at Tell Rimah.¹²⁶ This appears convincing and also explains the writing túg-gú *Hurri*, “Hurrian cloaks/shirts” in the peripheral text EA 22 (from Mittani), while contemporary Hittite texts write túg-gú-é-a *Hurri*. However, texts from Babylonia proper only write túg-gú-è(-a), and since in a letter by Hammurabi (AbB 2, 44:5) túg-gú and túg-gú-è-a occur side by side – together with headdresses (*paršigum*), sandals, leather containers (or hides) and oil, as equipment for troops – they must be different items.

Another etymologically clear term is ^{túg}*raqqatum* (in Old Assyrian with vowel harmony *raqqutum*), in Sumerian túg-sal-la, “a thin textile”, well attested in the Old Babylonian period,¹²⁷ whereby *raqqum* qualifies the fabric as such as “thin” (its opposite is *šapium* “thick”), which is to be distinguished from *qatnum* = sig, “thin”, primarily applicable to the yarn (and to hair). But, like other qualifications of wool, it is also used for textiles made from such thin threads (see especially TC 3, 17:6–7, below, § 3.4.1, on the qualities required for a *šubātum qatnum*).¹²⁸ This textile – whose name is a substantivated feminine adjective, **šubātum raqqum* is not attested – occurs in many periods, just as the adjective *raqqum* is applied to various textile products, notably to *kusitum* (see § 3.2, on túg-bar-dul₅).

Finally, *lubūšum* must be mentioned, the Akkadian word for “1. clothing, wardrobe, 2. (a specific piece of apparel), 3. clothing allowance” (CAD L, 236), derived from the verb *labāšum*, “to put on clothing”.¹²⁹ Again, the etymology does not answer the question of the type of clothing or garment represented. For Old Assyrian, as we will see below in § 5.3, the question is whether túg *lubūšum*, in lists of textiles exported to Anatolia, was a ready-to-wear garment or not. Moreover, we have to distinguish it from its feminine counterpart, *lubūštum*, originally a *nomen unitatis*, for which CAD L, s.v. gives the same meanings as for *lubūšum*, but the term is very rare in Old Assyrian, and occurs only as “clothing (allowance)” and does not figure among textiles exported and traded.

3.2. Occurrences in other corpora and periods

Occurrences of a textile name in other periods and text corpora can be helpful by their context, contemporary lexical data and occasional logographic spellings. In Old Assyrian, however, logographic spelling, apart from the ubiquitous túg = *šubātum*, is extremely rare and there are only two exceptions.

The first is túg-bar-dul₅, the logogram for *kusitum*, already used in Presargonic times and recorded in the lexical tradition, which occurs only once in Old Assyrian, in CTMMA 85A:12: 2

¹²⁶ Cf. OBTR nos. 57:4–5 (wool for 50 gú^{há} *zi-ra-ti*), 59:13, 80:4 (gú-è-a *riksi*), 60:4 (túg^{há} ù gú^{há}).

¹²⁷ Cf. Durand 1983, 408 [and now Durand 2009, 87–90, “un des items les plus courants à Mari”]; its logogram sal-la, added both to gú and to túg, is occasionally spelled with LÁ (ARMT 21, 386bis:6), a spelling also attested at Achemhöyük, see Karaduman 2008, 287 (Ac.i.920), alongside túg *raqqatum* (Ac.i.890, 915, 923, 1092), túg-sal-la (Ac.i.907), and simple sal-la (Ac.i.1199), not surprising because these bullae were attached to packets of different origin. In Old Babylonian this textile figures in dowries, e.g. Bruxelles O 342 I:1–3, ([x+] 2 túg-sa[l-la] 2 túg-sal-la [...] 1 túg-sal-la [...]), and BM 12645 II:4, 1 túg-sal-la *sūn ramanišu* (“with a tassel/fringes/flounce of its own material”) 2 túg-sal-la *ša la sūnim* (Dalley 1980, 69). Cf. also OBTR no. 133:26.

¹²⁸ See also Veenhof 1972, 214–216, Excursus IV, on the differences and confusion between *qatnum* and *raqqum*, and 154, where earlier interpretations (“loincloth”, on the assumption that sal-la stands for gal₄-la = *biššuru*, “vagina”; “netlike fabric”, based on *raqqum* as a name for the turtle) are refuted.

¹²⁹ There is also a derivative *lubāšum*, attested twice, once in Old Assyrian, in CCT 5, 48d:4, = CCT 1, 27a:4, where a man is instructed to preserve some oil and small items in a *lubāšum*. Hardly a garment, but perhaps a pouch or sack made of a piece of textile.

túg-bar-dul₅ *raqqetēn*, “2 thin *kusītu*’s”. While the occurrence of this logogram does not add to our knowledge, we note that the qualification “thin” is also attested in Presarg., Sarg. and Ur III texts and in lexical lists (Hh 19, 106: túg-bar-dul₅-sal-la = [*kusītum*] *raqqatum*), which indicates that this quality was apparently typical for a *kusītu*-garment.¹³⁰ According to CAD K, s.v., a *kusītum* was “an elaborate garment”. It is thus far absent from Mari texts and fairly rare in OB, where it is nearly always written logographically, see CAD K, 586, c.¹³¹ During the 1st millennium BC, according to Babylonian sources, it is a precious and coloured outer garment that belongs to the vestments of goddesses.¹³²

Túg-nì-lám, the logogram for *lam(a)huššûm*, a well-known name for an expensive, fine garment from the Ur III period,¹³³ rare in Old Babylonian,¹³⁴ has recently turned up in Old Assyrian, in AKT 4,24:1–3, 22 $\frac{2}{3}$ túg *damqūtum watrūtum* (3) šà-ba 1 túg-nì-lám, “22 $\frac{2}{3}$ textiles of extra fine quality, among which one *lamahuššûm*”, shipped from Aššur to Anatolia (see Veenhof 2009, 194). This logogram enables us to identify the Old Assyrian textile name *namaššuhum* as a variant of *lamahuššûm*, a conclusion supported by other spellings with the initial *n*, such as túg-na-ma-huš-a at Mari (ARMT 21, 257:22–23; 386bis:19’), *nab/waššuhum* in two Ur III texts and *namanšu’um* in TCL 10, 100:34 (Old Babylonian), spellings showing that early scribes had some problems with the Akkadian rendering of the name of this textile product.¹³⁵

Of the Old Assyrian textile names *kitā’um* (“linen”, see above § 1.2), *kusītum*, *lubūšum*, *nahlaptum*, *namaššuhum* (= *lamahuššûm*), *palilum*, *paršigum* (rare and only for personal use), *raqqatum*, *šilipka’um* and *takkušta’um*,¹³⁶ apparently all made of wool, are also attested in other periods, but the last two are extremely rare outside Old Assyrian sources. Information on them (including the lexical data, especially in Hh 19 and its forerunners) and the context in which they appear there (production, use, prices, etc.) at times help us to understand what they are, as shown above in connection with *kusītum* and *nahlaptum*. What is salient is mentioned below in § 3.3, under their names.

It is rather surprising that, in the Old Assyrian texts, many of the well-known textiles appearing

¹³⁰ In Hh 19, it is the first textile product treated after “wool”, but in the Old Babylonian Forerunner from Nippur it comes only in line 99 (c.60 lines after the section on “wool” has ended) and the qualification *sal-la*, “thin”, does not occur. In the younger Forerunner from Ras Shamra it appears in line 68, as the first specific textile name after 15 lines consisting only of túg with an adjective (but note already in the wool section, in lines 15–16, *šig-bar-dul* and *šig-bar-dul-sal-la*), which foreshadows the sequence in the canonical Hh 19.

¹³¹ It only mentions AbB 9, 16:35, *kusīt ši-ka-ti-im* (for veiling a girl). CAD Š/2, s.v. *šikkatu* B, takes it as “a tassel or edging on textiles”, and note also AbB 1, 134:13–14, “PN brought me a cloak, a headdress and 5 *kiššatum*” [see also Durand 2009, 152, s.v.], and a túg-bar-dul₅ weighing 10 pounds, assigned to various priests in an account of ritual expenses from Old Babylonian Larsa. Additional occurrences are in Edzard *Tell ed-Dēr* no. 107:18, MDP 18, 100:6, Bruxelles O 342, I:13 (dowry), and YOS 14, 310:16 (followed by specifications, cf. CAD N/1, s.v. *napāšu* B, 1), and it must be meant in the text edited in Lackenbacher 1982, passim, where it is written túg-bar-dib, qualified as “thin” (*šig*), MA-IM-TE-NA (= ?), *laharītum*, and “of second quality” (*ús*), and where its various finishing treatments are listed.

¹³² See Zawadzki 2006, 117–118.

¹³³ According to Šulgi Hymn A:43, the king ran from Nippur to Ur with his hips covered by a *níg-lám-bàn-da*, a combination also found in Hh 19:115–116. Hh forerunners equate *lamhuššû* also with túg-ZIXZI-lagab, see CAD s.v.

¹³⁴ CAD L, s.v. lists no Old Babylonian occurrences, apart from those in lexical texts, but we find it in AbB 11, 170:14 (in a school letter), whose exact parallel, AbB 11, 179:17, has *lubūšum*! The logogram also occurs in an Old Babylonian letter found at Hašor (perhaps originating from Qaṭnā and listing goods to be sent to Mari), see Horowitz & Oshima 2006, Hašor 12:8’, 20 túg-nì-lam *bu-re-e* (cf. túg-na-ma-huš-a *bu-re-em* in ARMT 21, 257:22).

¹³⁵ CAD L, s.v. *lamahuššû*, lists no syllabic spellings apart from those in lexical lists.

¹³⁶ Long unknown elsewhere, but now attested at Mari, see below. One might add *mardatum*, but it is attested only once in Old Assyrian, see § 3.3. s.v.

in Old Babylonian sources (including those of Mari and the bullae of Acemhöyük), do not appear, such as *ha/ururum*, *kitītum*, *laharītum*, *taddītum*, *taktimum* (túg-an-dul), *uṭba*, *uṭ/tublum*, *yamhadūm*, *zakūm*, túg-bar-kar-ra, túg-guz-za, túg-nì-bar and túg-si-sá. Not to mention the many other, presumably more specific textile products and pieces of apparel, figuring in the records from Mari as goods given out (usually as gifts or remunerations), coming in, or produced,¹³⁷ as well as some textiles mentioned in the administrative texts from Šušarrā (northeast of Aššur, dating to shortly after 1800 BC; see Eidem 1992, 24). Particularly remarkable is the absence of túg-guz-za, prominent in Ur III texts and attested in Old Babylonian,¹³⁸ which still figures in the Forerunner from Ras Shamra, lines 179–187, but has disappeared from the canonical Hh 19.

The explanation for this state of affairs, apart from temporal (Assyrian texts are about a century older than the texts from Mari), regional and dialectical differences in terminology, which are a universal feature, must be that the Assyrians imported fairly standardized woollen textile products into Anatolia, mainly untailed fabrics, presumably of cloth, rather than a variety of ready-to-wear garments. This resulted in a limited vocabulary for the main textile items imported, of which, apart from the generic term *šubātum*, only *raqqatum*, *kusītum* and *lubūšum* are well-known from other sources, as well as the specific, but in Old Assyrian rare *kitā'um*, “linen”. *Nahlaptum* does occur, but nearly always only one or two pieces,¹³⁹ not among the items exported from Aššur and rather for private use than as an article of trade. The Old Assyrian textile repertoire also included a few specific products, usually in small numbers, such as *namaššuhum* = *lamahuššūm*, *šilipka'um* (*šulupka'um*) and *takkušta'um*. *Šilipka'um* occurs once in an Old Babylonian letter from Kisurra, quoted in CAD Š/2, 444 s.v. b), and *takkušta'um* – whatever the origin of its name – has now turned up in texts from Mari (see § 2.1.1 and § 3.3, s.v.). It is interesting to see that in ARMT 24, 188:1 this textile was a gift a man from Mari had received on a visit to Babylon,¹⁴⁰ and this suggests that the *takkušta'um* mentioned in Assyrian caravan records also originated from Babylonia, and this may therefore also be the case with *šilipka'um*, since the letter from Kisurra mentions that it was made in Babylonia.¹⁴¹ The one called *makūhum*, unknown from Mesopotamia and not among

¹³⁷ Such as *aguhhum*, *dabadum*, *guššum*, *nalbašum*, *šušippum*. However, note that Mari too knows textile products qualified as “Šubarian” (*šubarām*), see ARMT 21, 318:5 (see § 2.1.2). For an overview and analysis, see Durand 1983, 393–427, with texts nos. 318–386. We can now add ARMT 22, nos. 108–182, ARMT 23, nos. 8–50, 225–230, 444–451, 571–576; ARMT 24, 181–220 [and see now Durand 2009, *passim*].

¹³⁸ Rare in Mari (ARMT 22, 139:7, qualified as *bērum*, “select”; 164 rev. 1'–7', qualified as *gíd-a*, “long”), once at Hašor (Horowitz & Oshima 2006, Hašor 12:11'), better attested in Babylonia, e.g. AbB 9, 16:36, and in dowries, usually one or two pieces, see BAP 7:12, BE 6/1, 84:6, Bruxelles O 342, I:9, CT 8, 2a:4, CT 45, 46:8, TLB 1, 229:13, YOS 13, 91:3', BM 16978:5' (5 pieces; see Dalley 1980, 73). Also in CT 45, 36:I:15 and III:9, and in Lackenbacher 1982, col. I:5', 23' and III:13, where it qualified as “royal” (*lugal*), “thin” (*sig*) and *šikimtum*; in VI:9 such a garment is meant for the goddess Nanāya. Note in BM 16465 II:9–10 (dowry, Dalley 1980, 69), 4 túg-guz-za šà' 2 *ana kimāhim*, “two of which are for the tomb”, to be used as shrouds? (Cf. Ziegler 1999, 196 no. 25:6', an *uṭblu ús* [*ana k*]imāhim ša PN, a musician in the harem of Mari). This textile still occurs much later, e.g. in the dowries listed in El Amarna no. 22, col. IV:12, 15, and in PRU III (MRS VI) 184 (RS 16.146+161):12–13 (written túg-sig₄-za), both as a garment for the wardrobe and as a cover for a chair or throne. One wonders what the Akkadian equivalent of túg-guz-za was (see CAD I/J, s.v. *i'lu* = túg-sig₄-za, which does not list Old Babylonian and earlier concurrences). [Durand 2009, 35, notes a–b, now suggests that its Akkadian equivalent was *gizzum*].

¹³⁹ The only exception is the mention of 10 *nahlapātum* in the younger text OIP 27 no. 11:8; *paršigum* occurs only three times, see CAD P, s.v. a, 2'.

¹⁴⁰ 1 túg ta-ak-ku-uš-tu-um ša qīšti Z. inūma ana Babilim illiku.

¹⁴¹ Cf. also Yale 13092:9–12 (courtesy of Larsen), cited above note 67, and the combination 1 *šulupka'am*, u *kusitam* ša Akkidē, u 2 *kutāni* in Kt 91/k 356:25–27.

the textiles exported from Aššur, might be considered an Anatolian product, but it occurs also in a letter from a Phoenician king found at Ugarit (see CAD M/1, 141 s.v., b), which suggests the possibility that some names of textiles are of western origin. The frequent “textiles of the Akkadians” (*šubātū ša Akkidīē*) are designated by what is not a real name and this designation covers various textile products that share particular traits or are made from a particular fabric (see above § 2 and 3.3 s. v.).

The names of Anatolian textile products such *pirikannum*, *sapdinnum*, *tisābum* and *memuniānum* remain elusive, since they occur only in Old Assyrian and do not appear in later Hittite sources. In texts from the younger period of *kārum* Kaneš level Ib (first half of 18th century BC), where *kutānum* and *kusītum* still occur, ^{túg}*kuššatum* (only attested in TC 3, 61:3 during the earlier period), which also appears at Mari,¹⁴² becomes more frequent. And we now also meet ^{túg}*sakkum*, which is well attested at Old Babylonian Mari (see Durand 1983, 411–12) and also occurs on the bullae from Acemhöyük, see § 3.3, s.v.¹⁴³ The appearance of *kuššatum* and *sakkum* in later Old Assyrian texts indicates changes in the assortment of textiles, probably due to increased contacts with the area to which Mari belonged.

3.3. *The names of textiles in alphabetical order*

The large number of attestations of the main textiles traded implies that references have to be selective, restricted to what is more informative; for more data the reader is referred to Veenhof 1972, 144–180, and to the entries in CAD. For rare and less well-known textiles all or most occurrences are given. For names that are nisbes or are connected with the name of a town or region by means of *ša*, see also § 2.

abarnīum (Veenhof 1972, 156–158), a nisbe derived from the town of Abarn(i)um, usually treated as a noun (2 ^{túg} *abarnīū*), see above § 2.1, s.v., and 2.2.2. Expensive textiles (in BIN 4, 4:4–5 sold for 25 shekels of silver apiece!), also worn by the traders themselves;¹⁴⁴ their price in Aššur, where they were also produced, is once 10 shekels of silver, and in CCT 6, 25d:4’–6’, 3 such textiles of good quality cost 23 shekels apiece. They usually occur in modest quantities (1 to 6 pieces), but in Kt 94/k 1687:13, as part of a very large caravan carrying more than 600 textiles,¹⁴⁵ we have 46 *abarnīū lu kamsūtum lu nibrārū ša kutāni damqūtīm watrūtīm*, “46 Abarnian or *kamsu-* or *nibrāru-*textiles (made) of fine *kutānu-*cloth”.¹⁴⁶ They are qualified as *damqum*, “of good quality” (CCT 1, 25:26) and as *damqum watrum*, “of extra good quality” (AKT 2, 24:4–5 – read *a-bar’-ni-a-am*; BIN 4, 185:2–4; CCT 5, 44a:1–2; Kt 93/k 288:5–6) and are regularly lumped together with other expensive and fine textile products, e.g. in CCT 4, 29b:4 (together with *kutānū* and Akkadian textiles) and in Kt 94/k 1697 quoted above. Twice we meet a *šitrum* (see below s.v.) qualified as “Abarnian” (TCL 1, 19:12, 2 pieces *ša abarnīē*; Kt 93/k 75:7, one piece *ša abarnīim*), where the use of *ša* + genitive instead of simple *abarnīum* could mean “belonging with an Abarnian garment.”

¹⁴² See ARMT 22, 164:1–7 and 23, 375:11–19 [and now Durand 2009, 54].

¹⁴³ Kt b/k 21:7–8, from this same period, mentions ^{túg}*hā šapti*, “woollen textiles”, but it is not clear whether this is a descriptive designation or a new name.

¹⁴⁴ Kt 86/k 193:15–17, “select a heavy, soft Abarnian textile for me to wear” (*allitabšia*); also BIN 4, 94:12 (*abarni’am ana litabšia lūšēliam*). See also § 5, notes 267–268, for evidence of women in Aššur who sent single Abarnian textiles to traders in Anatolia, to sell or perhaps rather to wear them.

¹⁴⁵ The 92 pieces in Kt 94/k 1446:6 (alongside *kutānū*), according to Larsen, may belong to the same caravan.

¹⁴⁶ Somewhat different in the parallel text Kt 94/k 1676:13–15, 46 *šubātū lu abarni’ū lu kutānū damqūtīm watrūtīm lu kamsūtum lu nibrārū*, “46 textiles, as well Abarnian ones, as *kutānū* of extra fine quality, *kamsu-* and *nibrārū-*textiles”.

b/palītum, TPAK 1, 59:17–18, *šim* BA-li-tim lu-bi₄-ri-im ... *luptāni(m)*, “write down the price of the ... textile”; ATHE 47:24, “While I said: ‘Buy and send me textiles to be used as clothing for the servants’, you have kept sending me BA-li-a-tim of 1 and 1½ shekel apiece”. Veenhof 1972, 182–183, rejecting AHW 816a s.v., “Palā-Gewand”, and quoting CCT 4, 45b:29 “*jattum* BA-li-<...> has fallen from me” (followed in line 43 by “send me (from) there whatever BA-li-tām there is, so that I can depart”), considered the possibility of restoring *ba-li-<at>*, “mine is worn out”, but CAD P, s.v. *palītu*, restores *jattum pá-li-<tum>*, “my own *palītu*”. The combination with *lubēru* (only occurrence in Old Assyrian, but attested a few times in Middle Assyrian texts and considered a by-form of *lubāru* by CAD L, s.v.) is not helpful.

burā’um (Veenhof 1972, 173–174), only twice without the determinative *túg*, occurs in small numbers, frequently only one piece, e.g. in caravans carrying textiles, tin and one *burā’um*, cf. ICK 1, 189:14’, EL 110:2, CCT 1, 20b:2 (alongside 26 *kutānū*), CCT 1, 36a:10 (with a *nibrārum*), TuM 1, 2c:5 (alongside 46 *kutānū*). CCT 1, 38a:2 mentions that one *b.* was sold en route to supplement the income. The biggest number in RA 81 no. 3:8–9, “6 heavy (*kabtūtum!*) *burā’ū* 3 of which⁷ are soft.” It could be worn: BIN 4, 160:12–13, “I clothed him in a *burā’um* of extra fine quality”, similarly in Kt m/k 43:2 (courtesy of Hecker), and the writer of Kt 94/k 966:12–14 (courtesy of Larsen) demands: “Give me garments I can wear (*ša litabšia*), either a *šūrum* or a *burā’um* in Akkadian style (*ša Akkidīē*)”. This latter type also occurs in AKT 2, 44, 3–5, “4 Akkadian textiles, among which one *burā’um*”, and in Prag I 709:24, 1 *túg bu-ra-ú-um ša Akkidīē*, alongside a few *kusītu*-garments, which is also the case in Kt 94/k 1446:12 (courtesy of Larsen) and Kt n/k 524:42. In Benenian 5:7, it appears alongside 1 fine *kutānum*, in Kt c/k 710:8 (courtesy of Dercksen), 1 *túg burā’um sig₅ diri*, LB 1268:13–16 one bag contains 3 *burā’ū* 2 *nibrārū ša Apim*, 1 *tisābu ú*, 1 *pirikannum*. It was probably not one of the types of textiles traded and may thus have been the personal property of the traders, who did wear it, when necessary also during caravan trips.

DU-DU-ru?, only BIN 6, 186:7, 5 *túg DU-DU-ru ša PN*, meaning unknown; CAD M/1, 141, s.v. *makūhu* reads *tutturū*, but this word is not registered in CAD T, s.v.

epattum (Veenhof 1972, 128–129 and above § 2.1.1 s.v. *Talhatīum*), plural *epadātum*, occurs a dozen times, frequently qualified as *Talhatītum*, “of Talhat”, a city in Northern Mesopotamia,¹⁴⁷ which also produced a specific type of *išrum*, “belt”. This is confirmed by Kt n/k 391 (courtesy of Günbatti), where a man (probably the ruler) of Talhat swears that he will deliver 22 *túg epadātum*. The use of the determinative *túg* (only once), the (rather doubtful) identification with the Hebrew *’ēpōd* and Syrian *peḏtā* (see CAD E, 183 s.v.) and its occurrence alongside *raqqutum* in CCT 1, 32c:14–15, indicate a textile product, perhaps a kind of cloak. They were apparently appreciated in and shipped to Aššur in small numbers, and in the letter CCT 4, 6e:6–8, the son of a well-known trader, who was undergoing scribal training in Aššur, asks his father to send him an *epattum* as a gift for his teacher. However, the *epattum* was also traded in Anatolia, since OIP 27, 62:43 mentions 20 *epādātum Talhatiātum* deposited in Kuburnat. The specific features of this product remain unknown.¹⁴⁸

ēpišum (Veenhof 1972, 171–172, and earlier Lewy 1958, 98 note 65), first vowel mostly written as *e-*, but once as *i-* (BIN 4, 78:6). The reading of the first consonant as *p* assumes a connection with the verb *epēšum* I, “to make”, or perhaps rather (according to Landsberger) *epēšum* II, “a type of weaving”. However, CAD B, s.v. *ebišu*, which lists as alternative readings *ebiššu*, *ibi(š)šu* and *ip/bi(š)ša*, considered it a native Anatolian appellative, “a low-priced textile, a subcategory of *pirikannum*.”¹⁴⁹ It was a woollen product that may also

¹⁴⁷ For this important city, see Veenhof 2008, 18–21, also connected with other textile products, and see below § 2.1.1.

¹⁴⁸ The mention of an *epattum* worn as a garment, in Veenhof 1972, 96, quoting VAT 9237 (from a photo), should be cancelled; read with VS 26, 40:9, *šú-ba-tám*.

¹⁴⁹ For details, see Veenhof 1972, 172. The letter VS 26, 9 (see Veenhof 1972, 126–127) mentions a verdict of the City

have served as a kind of blanket, as suggested by the combination *pirikannī ēpišī šapātīm*, “*pirikannū* (in the shape of/worked into?) *ēpišū* of wool”, in VS 26, 9: 6–7, comparable to the combination *maškū šapātīm*, “hides with wool” = “woollen fleeces.”¹⁵⁰ Perhaps also usable as a saddlecloth, since AnOr 6, 15:3–5 mentions a transport consisting of one donkey, 27 *kutānū* and one [ē]pišum, but it does not belong to the standard donkey harness, as reconstructed in Dercksen 2004, 270–277. Mentioned alongside Anatolian textile products in BIN 4, 78: 6–10, “buy *pirikannū* as/for clothes for the servants, or *menuniānu*-textiles or *i-pī-šu* or *pirikannū* that are strong enough to serve as clothes...”, and also in Kt 89/k 421:4, “209 *pirikannū*, 41 *ēpišū*”. They occur alongside *makūhum* in TC 3, 132:11, where they are sold at 9½ shekels (of silver) apiece, which demonstrates that they were not a cheap product, cf. the price of c.7 shekels apiece in TC 3, 91:33–34 and Kt 91/k 481:12. Kt n/k 127:3–4 mentions 15 túg *e-pī-šī* alongside 20 *kutānū*, and Kt 87/k 452:3–4 (courtesy of Hecker) has the combination 1 *kutānum e-pī-šī*, (not *ēpišim*!), perhaps made of *ēpišu*-fabric? AKT 3, 16:10, mentions 9 túg *e-pī-šī* deposited in Wahšušana.¹⁵¹

g/kasistum, Prag I 428:33, 2 túg *GA-sí-is-té-en*, unclear and perhaps a mistake, since the partial duplicate published in JCS 41 (1989) 40:28, writes 2 *kusītēn*. Attested as adjective in Kt c/k 710:14–15 (courtesy of Dercksen), 1 *išram*, *GA-sí-is-tám damiqtam*.

hirurum? Kayseri 4695:11–13, 3 túg *abarnni’ū* 1 túg *lubūšum*, 1 túg *hi²-ru-ru-um* à *raqqutum*.

illūkum, BIN 4, 168:16, 121 túg *i-lu-ki*; TC 3, 192:8, 4 ANŠE ša *pirikannī i-lu-ki*, perhaps to be connected with lexical túg-níg-sal-íl-ŠĪR, túg-du_g-du_g, and túg-gu-za = *ullūku* = *lubār sāmu*, see CAD I/J, 86 s.v., where no Old Assyrian references are mentioned.

išrum, “belt” or “scarf”, plural *išrātum*, occurs c.20 times. The meaning is indicated by VS 26, 40:13–14 and Kt 88/k 625:11–12, both mentioning an “*išrum* for my waist” (*ana qablia*), and CAD I/J, 261 s.v. interprets ICK 1, 88:16–18, 1 túg *išram kīsam ...* PN *naš’akkum* as “PN is bringing you one *išru*-belt (with an attached) money bag”. See also the sequence in BIN 4, 88:4–6, “Give 1 *išrum* to yourself, 1 *išrum* to [x x], 4 *šakkukātum* to ...”, where the last word is another term for a belt or girdle. ICK 1, 88:16 and CCT 6, 3a:1 (5½ túg *išrātum*) are the only cases where the determinative túg is used.¹⁵² In POAT 42:10–13 an *išrum* is sent to somebody together with a pair of sandals and some oil, TC 1, 19:19–20 mentions it alongside a butcher’s knife. It figures as a gift to a local ruler in OIP 27, 58:26 (3 pieces) and in CCT 3, 25:27, together with a piece of linen, it figures as a (votive) gift for the god Amurru. Single items are sent to people, apparently for personal use, e.g. KTH 7:34 and TC 3, 210:8; CCT 5, 41a:29–31 mentions 5 pieces, “4 for my representatives, 1 for PN”. Like *epattum* it is frequently qualified as *talhatūm*, “of Talhat”, see the examples quoted in CAD I/J, 261 and Veenhof 1972, 176–8, especially BIN 4, 160:6–8, “I paid 20 pounds and 32 shekels of copper for 16 *išrātum* to the people of Talhat”, which makes it a very cheap item. *Išrātum* of Talhat also occur in Kt k/k 46:9 (3 pieces), Prag I 488:6 (14 pieces). Prag I 740:2 mentions 10 *išrātum* after *kutānū* and *šūrūtum* textiles and before 1 *šitrum ša lubūšim*.

kitā’um, “linen”, see under “Materials”, § 1.2.

of Aššur that prohibited Assyrians to trade in the native Anatolian textile products *saptinnū u pirikannū*, and their qualification as *e-pī-šī šapātīm* could also be rendered as “woollen products”, revealing that the reason for this measure was protection of the Assyrian import of Mesopotamian woollen products.

¹⁵⁰ Note also the combination in Prag I 429:17–18, “of the red *pirikannū* 4 are ša *i-pī-ša*”, and perhaps TC 3, 65:3–5, “I gave 15 shekels of silver ša *i-pī-ša* to PN”.

¹⁵¹ This textile product may also be meant in Kt 94/k 297:4, *lu-tí-a-am ša e-pī-šī-im ša Apim*.

¹⁵² It should not be confused with túg *išrātum*, which means “textiles as tithe”, e.g. in Kt m/k 45:6 (courtesy of Hecker) and presumably in CCT 6, 36a:1–3, 5½ textiles *išrātum*, at 13½ shekels per 1½ textile they balanced to you”.

kusītum (Veenhof 1972, 159–161), whose etymology has been mentioned in § 3.1, must have been a garment made of woollen cloth (it could range under the category *kutānum*),¹⁵³ occasionally qualified, as in other periods (see § 3.2), as *raqqum*, “thin”, as “of good quality” (VS 26, 51:18) and a few times as “white”.¹⁵⁴ We also find *kusītu*-garments *ša Akkidīē*, “of Akkadian make/style”,¹⁵⁵ or qualified by the nisbe (*m*)*alkuaūm*, and once a *kusītum* qualified as such is described as white in a parallel text.¹⁵⁶ What a *kusītum mardātum* (only occurrence in CCT 1, 29:6) was, depends on the meaning of the latter term, discussed in Durand 1983, 409–11, where the single Old Assyrian occurrence is not mentioned.¹⁵⁷ A *kusītum* was not cheap: in Aššur one paid 7 shekels for it (CCT 1, 35:15) or more.¹⁵⁸

kuššatum (in Assyrian with vowel harmony), only once attested in a text from *kārum* Kaneš level II, TC 3, 61:3 (in Anatolia, 20 shekels of silver *šim kuššitum*), more frequent in texts from the younger level Ib, in OIP 27,11:4–7 (after *kutānū* and *kusiātum*: 2 *kuššātum damqātum 2x-na 5 kuššātum 1 kuššutum ša lubūšti*), 36:7–8, and 37:5’, and now also a few times attested in Mari, see above § 3.2.

kutānum, see above § 1.1, on its etymology and meaning, where evidence is presented for its nature as a woollen fabric, of more or less standardized size (probably c.4.5 by 4 m.), whose finishing treatment had turned it into a woollen cloth. That it was a large, untailed fabric, explains that texts mention fractions of a *kutānum*, usually 1/2 or 1/3.¹⁵⁹ *Kutānū* were traded but could also serve as material from which specific textile products and pieces of apparel could be made, designated as *ša kutānim*, “made of *kutānu*-cloth/of *kutānu*-type”. This qualification occurs with *nahlaptum* (OIP 27, 11:11–13), *namaššuhum* (Benenian 5:2–3), *nibrārum* (Kt 94/k 1686:9–10), and *šitrum* (RA 59 [1965] no. 14:16).¹⁶⁰ Note also the request in Kt n/k 216:7–9, “If in addition to the linens there is a *kutānum* (available), give me that *kutānum*”.¹⁶¹ In summaries, other textiles or garments made from this material could be subsumed under it, e.g. *kusītum*, in AKT 4, 23:1–2 and Prag I 616:18–19, “x *kutānum*, thereof y *kusiātum*”, see below § 4.1.1 Since *kutānum* was the main type of cloth and obviously served as material for making various types of garments, the word was occasionally also used with the meaning “garment made of *kutānum*”, e.g. in *kutānum ša šuhrim*, “a *kutānum* for a child” (Kt 93/k 75:6–7). The meaning of the combination *kutānum e-pi-šī* in Kt 87/k 452:3–4 (courtesy of Hecker) is not clear, but also suggests a woollen product (see above s.v. *ēpišum*). It was the most frequent textile product, thousands of which were shipped to Anatolia. The whole scale of qualifications listed below in § 3.4.1 can be applied to *kutānum*, and we also find the qualifications *kabtum*, “heavy” (kt 86/k 193:19–20), and perhaps *sānum*, “red” (KTS 2, 35:30, 6 *kutānī ša’-mu-tim*). What “thin and yellow *kutānū ša hu-šu-x-ń’*”

¹⁵³ On the basis of statements such as “x *kutānū* of which (*šà-ba*) y are *kusiātum*”, AKT 4, 23:1–2, Prag I 616:1–3, see § 4.

¹⁵⁴ CTMMA 1, 85b:12 (quoted in § 3.2), Kt 89/k 257:15 (1 *kusītum ra-ǵú-[tum]*), KTB 7:5, and perhaps VS 26, 74:41, cf. CAD R, s.v. *raqqu*, b.

¹⁵⁵ See above § 2.1.2. In Yale 13092:8–12 (courtesy of Larsen), 7 *lubūšū* 6 *kusiātum* 1 *šilipka’um* and 1 *takkušta’um* are added up in line 12 as “together 15 *ša A-ki-dí-NI-im*”, which presumably means “of Akkadian style/make”; they were purchased for an average of c.9,2 shekels of silver. Kt 91/356:32–33 also mentions a *kusītum* together with a *šilipka’um* and it occurs alongside a *burā’um* in Kt 94/k 1446:12–13 and in Prag I 709:23–25 (2 *kusitān u 1 burā’um ša Akkidīē*).

¹⁵⁶ See for *ša Akkidīē*, Kt c/k 323:9–10 (courtesy of Dercksen), Kt m/k 22:5 (courtesy of Hecker), and 91/k 356:26, and for (*m*)*alkuaūm*, above § 2.1.1.

¹⁵⁷ Durand 1983, 409–411: according to the Mari texts “clairement comme originaire de l’Ouest” ... “pouvait être un habit très orné” ... “une ample pièce de tissu”. [See now Durand 2009, 61–65: tapisserie]. CAD M/1, 277 s.v., “fabric woven with several colors in a special technic”, well attested at Nuzi.

¹⁵⁸ In Kt n/k 199:18–20 (courtesy of Bayram), 6 textiles for wrapping and 6 *kusiātum* together cost 69 shekels of silver.

¹⁵⁹ See below, § 5.1.

¹⁶⁰ The reading “25 pounds of refined copper the price of wool of a *kutānum*”, in lines 4–6 of this text, accepted by CAD K, 608, cannot be correct, because of the strange writing *šig-tí-e-em* for *šaptim*, “wool”. See below, s.v. *lud/tūm*.

¹⁶¹ *šumma aššēr kitā’ātim*, [túg] *kutānam allitabšia*, [túg] *kutānam dinam*.

of Kt 91/k 356:27–28, and a *kutānum ša ša-da-dim* of Prag I 741:8' were, is not clear, but it should be noted that nowhere does a **kutānum ša Akkidīē* occur.

kutinum, only two occurrences, but, as shown by RC 1749:8–9, 1 *túg ku-ta-num ša Ṭ.*, 1 *ku-tí-num ša I.*, not a rare variant of *kutānum*. Imported from Aššur, according to KTB 2:3, 5 *túg ku-tí-nu*, “which in the City cost 13 minas (of copper) apiece”, they are sold for 25 shekels of silver apiece in Anatolia.

lubērum, only twice, in RA 60, 140–41 no. 8:3–4, “You sent me 10 *túg^{há} šurūtīm lu-bi-ri*”, which cost 8 shekels of silver apiece, and in CTMMA I, 79:19–23, “Send me also garments to wear (*šubātī ana litabš[ia]*). I am staying (here) without garments, I am clothed (*labbušāku*) in his *lubērum ...*” According to CAD L, 232 s.v., which takes the word as a variant of *lubārum*, “clothing, garment”, the same word is attested a few times in Middle Assyrian. In the first text, it is in apposition to and qualifies *šuru*-textiles, in the second, it seems to be worn for lack of a proper garment and here a derivation from the root *labārum*, “to be old” might fit, but its meaning remains obscure.

lubūšum, “garment”, appears independently, in enumerations, “but (*túg*) *lubūšū*”, can also be qualified by a following genitive, e.g. *lubūš šuhārim* or *lubūšum ša šuhārim*, and we meet *ša lubūšim* qualifying other textile products, e.g. *šitrum ša lubūšim* (see below § 5.3).

***lud/ṭium**, perhaps a textile product, attested in Kt 94/297:4–5 (courtesy of Larsen), *lu-DÍ-am ša ēpišim ša Apim*, “a l. of a rug/blanket(?) from Apum”, followed by: “3 *kurušnanū*, a yoke, for the yoke *ša lu-DÍ-i*, if (there is) 1 hide (1 *<ma>ašku*?) of an ox”. The reason to list it is the occurrence in Garelli 1965, 35 no. 14:5–6 of “25 pounds of copper payment for *lu-DÍ-e-im*, *ša ku-ta-ni*” (where Garelli’s reading *síg^l-tí-e-im*, “of wool”, is excluded). However, what *lud/ṭium* means is not clear (cf. the remarks of K. R. Veenhof in AbB 14, 210, s.v.).

makūhum, not exported from Aššur, but traded in Anatolia, possibly an Anatolian product, but it also occurs in a broken text from Ugarit, a letter from the king of Sidon, alongside other textiles called *túg sa-ga-li^{mes}* (see CAD M/1, 141 s.v., and Veenhof 1972, 169–170). Etymology and meaning are not clear. Trade in Anatolia is documented in Kt n/k 1689:23–29, “I hear that *makūhū* are expensive/in demand in Burušhattum, buy for 10 minas of silver *makūhū* and send them to me, so that you may earn 1 or 2 pounds of silver!” The writer of ICK 1, 190:8'–9' states “I am entitled to/ have a share of 18 *túg makūhū* in the palace in Burušhattum”, and in KTS 18:5 they cost 20 minas of copper apiece. Kt 91/k 436:1–8 lists tin, “24 *makūhū*, 1 *pirikannum* and 2 donkeys belonging to me, 21 *makūhū*, 1 donkey belonging to I.”. They occur together with *ēpišū* in TC 3, 132:1 ([x+]40 *makūhū lu ēpišū*, sold at 9½ shekels of silver apiece) and in Kt 87/k 423:1–2 (courtesy of Hecker, 24 *túg lu makūhū lu túg ēpišū*). In Kt 93/k 277:1–3, 55 pieces occur alongside a large number of *šulhu*-textiles, and Kt 91/k 344:23–24 also writes “either *šulhū* or *makūhū*”. *Makūhū* are never said to be made of a particular fabric (*ša ...*), or to belong to a specific category (“thereof/including x *makūhū*”), but they can be summarized under the general category of “textiles” (*šubātū*), e.g. in CCT 1, 15a (= EL 132):1–6, where 90 *kutānū* 50 *ma-ku-hu* 3 *lubūšū* 3 *namaššuhū* and 2 *šulupka'ū* are added up as 148 *šubātū*. In AKT 3, 52:17–20, 162 *makūhū* appear alongside 15 *kutānū* 12 *takkuštū* 1 *šulupkām*, and 2 *túg ša Šubirim*.¹⁶²

mardatum, occurs only in CCT 1, 29:6–7: 1 *túg kusitam*, *ma-ar-da-a-tám u saher tam* given to the chief (*barullum*) of a town. Also attested at Mari, where, in ARM 6, 67:13 they probably figure as a gift to two commanders and are described by Durand 1983, 409–411, as “un habit très orné”, apparently originating from the west; later also denoting a kind of carpet. (For this word, see also A. Wisti Lassen in this volume). [See now Durand

¹⁶² See further: BIN 4, 113 (= EL 261): 4–5, copper of (*ša*, earned by selling?) “his *makūhū* or his *kutānū*, which are his votive gifts” (*ikribū*); BIN 6, 186:7, 5 *túg makūhū* u DU-DU-ru. According to TC 3, 132:4 “they took 1 *makūhum* during the journey”, and in AKT 3, 61:23–25, 98 *túg makūhū* figure as price of an *emūqum* (= ?), and 28 pieces in line 35.

2009, 61–64, who mentions its embroidered decoration and notes that in inventories it is listed after the textiles and appears alongside fabrics used on furniture, which suggests a meaning “cover” (also used for a sun-shade), “carpet” and when worn by men perhaps a “cape”].

***maškunum**, an item probably made of a textile fabric, perhaps a kind of cover or pouch, as suggested by BIN 6, 84:16, where, in a damaged context, “a double *maškunum* for/of a textile/garment” ([aššini]šu *maškunam* ša [šu]bātīm) occurs after wool, a [tisā]bum and a šitrum. In BIN 6, 184:4, ½ *šubātum*, 1 *kusitum maš-ku-num*, as part of a trader’s share, the absence of a numeral before *maškunum* suggests that it is in apposition and qualifies the *kusitu*-garment, which served as *maškunum*. Its function is indicated by AKT 3, 82:25, which requires one to carefully pack a valuable tablet and “to put it in a *maškunum* of good quality” for shipment overland.¹⁶³ The three *ma-áš-ku-nu*, costing 7 shekels of silver, mentioned in BIN 6, 140:1–3, together with some tin given for expenses for the transport of a load of textiles, may also have been used for protecting or packing goods. Not informative are ICK 1, 98:7, 8 *maš-ki-ni*, mentioned after a large amount of wool, and Kt n/k 1385:25, which mentions the availability of copper, the price paid for “my *maškunū*” (*šim maš-ki-ni-a*). A possible identification with *maškanum*, which in later texts can also mean “tent”, suggested by CAD M, s.v. *maškunū*, is unlikely.

menuniānum (Veenhof 1972, 171), an Anatolian textile product, never exported from Aššur. In CCT 4, 27a:11–13 *menuniānū* appear alongside wool, woollen fleeces and *pirikannū*, in Kt 94/k 463:1–4 (courtesy of Larsen), 21 *pirikannū*, 14 *menuniānū* and 21 woollen fleeces are transported on 2 donkeys. In Prag I 740:13–14, 1 *menunēnum* figures together with 1 *pirikannum* and 2 *nahlapātum*, and in KTH 1:17–19 alongside *kusitu*-garments of Mamma and woollen fleeces. In BIN 4, 78:6–9, “*pirikannū* for clothing of the servants (*ša lubūš šuhārī*), either *menuniānū* or *ēpišū*”, they are considered to be suitable as (or for making) clothes, which may indicate that they were made of *pirikannu*-fabric. Here they cost only 1 shekel of silver apiece, as in KTH 6:6–8 (3 pieces, for clothing servants), in Kt n/k 190:1–2, 1½ shekel. Only Kt n/k 214:29 adds a qualification, “thin” (*qatnum*). Kt n/k 162:6 writes *ma-nu-ni-a-ni-im* and in CCT 1, 16b (= EL 131):26, and Prag I 740:13 there is contraction, *me-nu-né-nu-um*; the plural in Kt 93/k 522:26 is spelled *me-nu-ni-a-e*. In EL 131, together with other items, including textile products of Talhat, it seems to have been shipped to Aššur. What a *menuniānum* was remains unclear (see also § 2.3.2 with note 117).

nahlaptum, whose etymology and meaning have been discussed above in § 3.2, occurs a few dozen times in very small numbers (but 10 pieces in OIP 27, 11:8), frequently as personal property (e.g. TC 3, 193:6 and Kt 88/k 71:46). It features occasionally in a list as an article of trade (Prag I 616:9, 2 pieces, after 2 *raqqātum*; Prag I 740:15, 2 pieces, deposited in a house together with a *menuniānum* and a *pirikannum* to be sold in Kt n/k 437:6). It served as a gift to a “lord of the town” (*bēl ālim*) in Kt 91/k 548:3–4, and in AKT 4, 30:11 it comes from (had been made by?) “our bride-in-spe” (*kallutum*). It could be made of *kutānu*-cloth (OIP 27, 7:11.13, *ša kutānim*), and together with a piece of linen (*kitā’um*) and a pair of sandals apparently made a full set of clothing in KBo 9, 9 rev. 8’–9’. According to the marriage contract Kt 94/141:9–10, if the wife misbehaves, her husband will strip her of “her *šubātum* and her *nahlaptum*”, together apparently a normal set of clothing of a woman.¹⁶⁴ That it was worn on the body is shown by Kt k/k 2:24, “a *nahlaptum* for your breast” (*ana irtika*¹⁶⁵); according to ARM 10, 17:10 it is placed around a person’s shoulder. There is, as with most textiles, variety in quality, the best are “extremely fine, soft” (*nahlaptēn damiqtēn watartēn naribtēn*; Kt 87/k 378:16–18, courtesy of Hecker). Differences in quality (and style?) are reflected in differences in weight, as registered in CAD N/1, 139, c (no weight attested in Old Assyrian), ranging between 5 (at Nuzi), 2½ (Old Babylonian) and 2 pounds (Nuzi) apiece. Prices also vary, due to quality, size and to where they

¹⁶³ *ina maš-kā-nim sig₅ šuknā*, where, however, the absence of vowel harmony may indicate a different noun.

¹⁶⁴ *šubāssa u nahlaptaša ihammaššima*.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. the occurrence in Mari, in T 108:9 (Ziegler 1999, 56 note 359), of a [túg-bar]-si *irtim*, a gift to a woman.

were paid, and some *nahlapātum* (especially those mentioned in the somewhat later texts from Alişar and Boğazköy) were probably Anatolian products. In ICK 2, 83:13' one *nahlaptum* can be purchased for 10 shekels of silver, in Kt u/k 5:5 two(?) pieces cost 7½ shekels, in KBo 9, 26:3–4, one *nahlaptum* c.5½ shekels, in Kt 88/ k 71:46, some pieces 4½ shekels. That a *nahlaptum* was smaller and lighter than a normal garment is also clear from the use of strips of complete garments for making them, e.g. ARMT 21, 354, where 4 of them could be made from one *uṭublu*-garment cut into strips (*ana šerti ša 4 nahlapātim*; Durand translates “pour le rapiéçage”; see CAD Š/3, 113 s.v. *širtu*).

namaššuhum, the Old Assyrian equivalent of *lam(a)huššū* (see above §3.2), was an expensive item, produced in and exported from Aššur. Most references are to one single piece, but CCT 5, 44a lists “10 *namaššuhum* of very good quality”, alongside 20 Abarnian and 10 Akkadian textiles, also of extra fine quality; 6 pieces occur in Kt c/k 449:7//458:10 (courtesy of Dercksen). According to Benenian 5:2–3, 4 *túg namaššuhum ša kutāni*, they could be made of *kutānu*-cloth and note also the listing in CCT 1, 39a:13–17 of five times 5 *kutānū u namaššuhum*, as if they belong together. According to the letter Kt 89/k 221:10–22 (courtesy of Kawasaki) an Anatolian ruler had taken a *namaššuhum* and used it as a garment: “As for the *namaššuhum* about which you wrote me, up to five times we went up to the ruler saying: ‘We will give you one mina of tin and then you must give us (back) the *namaššuhum*’. He answered: ‘At that time (when I took it) I asked you for tin, but you did not give it to me. Since you did not give me tin I have dressed myself in that textile and I have now worn it out’ (*túg altabašma u ultabbiršu*)”.

nasistum, perhaps a textile product, but never written with the determinative *túg*. OIP 27, 55:8–9 // BIN 6, 162:12 mention “10 *na-sí-sà-tum*, their price 3 shekels of silver”, KTS 2, 53:5–6 mention 1 shekel of silver as the price of 2 *na-sí-sà-tim* (after a long list of *pirikannū*), and Kt 87/k 45:8 (courtesy of Hecker) lists 11 *na-sí-sà-tum* after wool, tin, *palīlu*-textiles, a *kutānum*, *šubātū waDiūtium* and *šapiūtum* and before items belonging to the harness of the donkeys. The context of the last two texts suggests that it may have been a textile product.

nibrārum, a name without a convincing etymology for a textile product that appears more than 20 times, both in Aššur, Northern Mesopotamia and in Anatolia, see Veenhof 1972, 172–173. It could be the same product as that mentioned in a Presargonic text from Mari, according to which 130 *na-ab-ra-ru.túg* are in a storeroom (MARI 5, 78, no. 18). Prag I 686:19–21 distinguishes between *nibrārū* of *Šubarum* and of the City.” In BIN 4, 10:35 Lamassī promises that she will send one from Aššur, according to KTB 7:12, 2 *túg nibrārū* are supplied to a transporter together with “loose tin”. In CCT 1, 36a:11, one *nibrārum* figures alongside tin for expenses, oil and a *burā'um* textile, and in POAT 19:16–18 one *nibrārum* is shipped by Dān-Aššur together with 6 *kusiātum*. In Kt c/k 443:12 6 pieces feature among textiles exported from Aššur, but the parallel texts Kt c/k 449:7 and 458:10 show that this is an error for 6 *túg namaššuhū*. Kt 93/k 75:14–15 mentions one of *Qaṭṭarā*, Kt 94/k 734:3 (courtesy of Larsen), 5 *nibrārū* of Zalpa (cf. AKT 4, 30:9–11, “PN of Zalpa brought 1 *nibrārum*”), and they could be identical to “the *nibrārū* of *Šubarum*” of Prag I 686:19–21. We find them among Anatolian textiles, e.g. in *Kuliya* 57:16, with a *sapdinnum* and two *šitrū* of Zalpa, and LB 1268:14–15 mentions 2 *nibrārū* of Apum; in Prag I 588:2–3 and Kt 91/k 372:5, they occur alongside *tisābū*. They are qualified as “Akkadian” (Kt n/k 524:10), “of good quality” (*damqum*, in Kt 91/k 372:6, where they occur alongside *tisābū* and *šitrū*), and Kt 94/k 1686:8–10 and 38–40 list “46 Abarnian textiles or/either *kamsu*-textiles or *nibrārū* of extra good *kutānu*-cloth” (*ša kutānī damqūtim watrūtīm*), but the classification remains difficult because the parallel text Kt 94/1687:13–16 writes “46 textiles, either Abarnian ones, or extra fine *kutānū* or *kamsu*-textiles or *nibrārū*”. Prag I 686:19–21 asks to buy “a *nibrārum*, either of *Šubarum* or of the City, or an Akkadian *kušitum*, paying 10 or 12 shekels (silver), to be worn by me”, which demonstrate that they were valuable products, which were or could be made into garments worn by Assyrian traders.

pāḫilum, also attested in Mari (ARMT 22, 136:25 and 321:2–5, where the writing with the sign PA identifies the first consonant) and Nuzi, see CAD P, s.v., equated with níḡ-šu-gur-ra. In TC 3, 164:12, 2 shekels of silver are paid for 2 túḡ pāḫilū, in Kt 94/k 823:25–26 (courtesy of Larsen), 5 pāḫilū cost 10 2/3 shekels of silver, and in Kt 94/k 1302:15–16, 2 pieces for 6 shekels of silver. TPAK 1, 37:5 mentions 3 pāḫilum ša qātim, “of normal quality”, and Kt 94/k 823:27–28 reports that “your servants are bringing you both pāḫilum and wool”. Further attestations: Prag I 768:13, pāḫilum mādiš šarruṭū, “the pāḫilum are completely torn into shreds”; Kt n/k 97:3, lists 16 pāḫilū between silver, tin and donkeys; in Kt c/k 355:10–12, 2 pāḫilū, mentioned alongside pirikannū, cost 2½ shekels 15 grains (of silver); Kt 87/k 45:4 (courtesy of Hecker), “tin, 23 pāḫilū 1 kutānum usmum, 10½ túḡ waDiūtum; Kt 94/k 843: 3–4 (courtesy of Larsen), “22 fine textiles, a donkey with its harness, 2 pāḫilū; Kt 94/k 1302:15–16 (courtesy of Larsen), 2 pāḫilēn, alongside Anatolian textiles. The combination kita’atum pāḫilū, in CCT 5, 12a:10, “linens being/serving as pāḫilum”, suggests that it denotes a specific function or shape, and this is comparable to ARMT 22, 321:3–4, 57 túḡ-šà-ha pa-li-lu, ša síḡ šà-ba za-am-ra, “57 šahhu-textiles being pāḫilū, into which wool has been ...” [Durand 2009, 179, s.v. now suggests that it denotes a type of container on the basis of ARMT 22, 321:2 (p. 240), 35 pāḫilū šà 10-àm túḡ šà-ba, “35 housses-pāḫilum contenant chacune 10 étoffes.”].

paršigum, rare, CAD P, s.v. ‘a sash, often used as headdress’; wearing one is expressed by the verb apārum in the stative. In Old Assyrian: CCT 3, 31:34, one, brought to a woman (followed by a nahlaptum), BIN 6, 122:11–12, “either a šitrum or a paršigum”; Kt n/k 1459:27, 2 pá-r-ší-ge ša šārtim (of goat hair?; after 2 ropes of palm-fiber), Kt 94k 938:7, 2 pá-ar-ší-ge. Not for trade but for personal use.

pirikannum (also parakannum) is by far the most frequent and numerous Anatolian woollen textile product, attested in large numbers, see Veenhof 1972, 124–6 and CAD P, s.v. By means of ša, a pirikannum can be connected with place names (attested are Hahhum, Haqqa, Kaneš, Mamma and Zalpa), which indicates its origin or specific local style of weaving, see above § 2.3.2. The largest number, 317 pieces, occurs in the broken letter CCT 6, 7a:5–6,¹⁶⁶ and trade in these textiles is the subject of the emotional letter CCT 6, 14:47–5, whose writer wonders whether the trade in these cheap items is worth all the trouble and will yield enough profit.¹⁶⁷ However, AKT 3, 19:7–11 mentions the sale of 300 kutānū and 300 pirikannū to a local Anatolian palace. Kt n/k 1385:15’–18’ implies that “10 soft pirikannu-textiles belonging to Ištar-bāšitī” (produced by her or was she involved in their trade?) were converted into “refined copper of Taritar”. Texts record prices ranging between ¼ and 4 shekels apiece, which implies differences in quality (and size?) and we meet pirikannū that are said to be “extremely good” (Kt 94/k 364:15, courtesy of Larsen). Several times “soft” pirikannū are preferred (see § 3.4.3 s.v. narbum). In TC 2, 60:1–8, 25 shekels are paid for 10 pieces to an Assyrian, and 15 shekels for 4 pieces to a native Anatolian. According to OIP 27, 55:1–4 63 pirikannū for garments for servants cost 110 ¼ shekels of silver, and 40 other pirikannū 86 2/3 shekels, i.e. prices of c.1¼ and 2 shekels apiece. These textiles become more prominent during the later period of kārūm Kaneš level Ib and a text from this period, Kt n/k 30:4–8, mentions 90 parakannū that have been deposited in the house of a Assyrian trader because of 2¼ minas of silver, i.e. at c.1 1/2 shekel apiece.¹⁶⁸ Pirikannū were used as (or for making) clothing for personnel, ana lubūš šuhārī, cf. OIP 27, 55 (quoted above), BIN 4, 78:6–8 (“pirikannum that are strong enough to serve as clothing”), and TC 2, 49:19 (ana lubūšitī bētim). Prag I 429:17–18 mentions red pirikannū, four of which are ša i-bi-ša, TC 1, 43:16 demands pirikannū that are of

¹⁶⁶ CCT 6, 7a:3–11: 22 túḡ^{hi}-[kà], ša šubirim 1 x [.....] ⁵³ me’at 17 túḡ^{hi}-k[à], pirikan[nū] 22 túḡ^{hi}-k[à], maškunū 11 maškū šap[ātim], 22² pirikannū, [x]-x-rūtum, [.....] ¹⁰ [šu-nígin²] 3 me’at 91 túḡ [...], [ša šubirim [...]] (broken).

¹⁶⁷ Lines 49–54, “What is the profit on pirikanū that I would trade them? May (the gods) Aššur and Šamaš trample it to dung! Are 30 donkey loads worth 30 pounds of silver? How many donkey drivers, how much harness and what journeys do they have to make?”

¹⁶⁸ 90 túḡ parakannū ša ina bēt E. ... A. aššumi 2 mana 15 ḡin kù.babbar iššiknuniāti. AKT 3, 91:6–10 mentions that two traders have established a claim on 60 parakannū and 12 Akkadian textiles.

good quality and large (*lu damqū lu rabū*), and Kt 94/k 364:14–16 qualifies *pirikannū* as being of extremely fine quality and mentions that “fine purchases” (*šimū ṭābū*) are possible. That they are made of wool is likely because they are frequently listed together with woollen fleeces (*maškū*, at times qualified as *šapātim* or *šapiūtum*), cf. VS 26, 30:4, CCT 4, 27a:11, CCT 6, 7a:5–7, BIN 6, 10:10, OIP 27, 55:19, and POAT 8: 28 and 34. Of interest is the occurrence, in KTS 10:4–6, of *túg kutānī pirikannim*, which suggests that they could be worked into cloth of the *kutānu*-type, which explains the verdict of the City of Aššur quoted in VS 26, 9:4–11, that forbade Assyrians to engage in their trade, to all appearances in order to protect the Assyrian import of woollen textiles into Anatolia: “Here a court case arose concerning *sapdinnu*- and *pirikannu*-textiles and many people have been fined. You too have been ordered to pay 10 pounds of silver”. It led to the advice (lines 20–23), “Please do not get involved in *sapdinnu*- and *pirikannu*-textiles and do not buy them!”.¹⁶⁹ Yet later, during the period of level Ib, this was no longer a problem and in the treaty with the ruler of Kaneš (line 69–70) it was even stipulated that he would receive 10% of the *parakannū* imported into his town as tax.¹⁷⁰ TC 3, 192:7 mentions 4 donkey loads of *pirikannī i-lu-ki*, where the last word, also a name for a textile, could be a qualification of *pirikannum*.

pūkum, a rare designation. We have both *túg pūkum* (RA 60 [1966] 119:24 and FT 4:6, in Larsen & Möller 1991, 231), between a *šubātum* of Šubarum and one of the City, and three references to a *šitrum ša pūkim*, in Kt 91/k 466:1, Kt 93/k 542:9 and Kt 91/k 501, in the last text qualified as “of extremely fine quality”, which cost 4 shekels of silver apiece. It could be a specific type of weave, from which *šitru* were made, or a type of garment with which it had to fit.

raqqatum, “thin textile/garment”, a substantivated adjective (singular in Old Assyrian also written with vowel harmony, *raqqutum*) with and without the determinative *túg*. It has a clear etymology (the adjective *raqqum* is occasionally also added to other textile names, see below § 3.4). It is well attested at Mari,¹⁷¹ and is frequent among the textiles exported from Aššur¹⁷² and traded in Anatolia, where it figures as one of the more expensive products, which occurs in small numbers, bought in Aššur for prices ranging from 5 to 10 shekels silver (of course depending on quality)¹⁷³ and sold in Anatolia for up to three times that price. In TC 1, 39:7–8, it occurs together with a *lubūšum*, offered as a gift to a ruler.¹⁷⁴ Several times qualified as “good” (*damqum*; CCT 2, 32a:17, TC 3, 269:5, worth 30 shekels of silver apiece) and in CCT 4, 48b:18–19 as “good and thin” (*damqum qatattum*), where *qatnum* is the result of using “thin yarn”. It occurs in enumerations alongside *lubūšum*, *šilipka’um*, *kusitum*, *kutānum* and *šūrum*,¹⁷⁵ in Kt c/k 458:10–13 together with *kamsu*-textiles, *namaššuhū*, *kusiātum*, and *nibrārum*, and it appears regularly alongside *lubūšum*.¹⁷⁶ Other combinations are: *lubūšū*, *raqqutum*, *kutānū* (Kt 91/k 299:10–12), *raqqatum*, *šilipka’um*, *kutānum* (Prag I 74916–19) and note VS 26, 11: 26–30, “110 textiles, thereof 40 *kutānū*, 11 *takkušta’ū* and 11 *raqqātum*, including 2 *šilipka’ū* (*qādum šilipkên*), which could imply that the latter were a specific type of “thin garments” (see below Kt 94/k 1751, courtesy of Larsen). It also features with Abarnian textiles (*KUG* 6:3–4) and *kutānum* alone (KTS 2, 29:4–5; CCT 1, 28b:2–3; in Kt n/k 469 *kutānum damqum*, Kt 89/k 266:5). Twice *raqqātum* are qualified as *ikribū*, “votive gifts” (and as such property) of a god, of Aššur in RA 60, 111, no. 43:22, and of Ilabrat in VS 26, 11:20. It is

¹⁶⁹ For this letter, see Veenhof 1972, 126–127 and for its background Veenhof 2003, 90–94. AKT 3, 52:6–4 mentions among the many items belonging to a certain Azu, alongside copper, antimony, oxen, donkeys, *ēpišū*, *makūhū* and Akkadian textiles, also three bales of *pirikannū*.

¹⁷⁰ See Veenhof 2008a, 193, h).

¹⁷¹ [See now Durand 2009, 87–90].

¹⁷² However, note the statements in TC 2, 7:29 and CCT 5, 5b:26, that there are no *raqqātum* available in Aššur, which could imply imports from Babylonia.

¹⁷³ Kt 91/k 491:14, “10 shekels of silver for a *raqqutum* of (=made by?) Lamassī”; 6 shekels in AKT 4, 17:7.

¹⁷⁴ See Veenhof 1972, 152–4 and CAD R, s.v. *raqqatu* A.

¹⁷⁵ RA 60 [1966] 116, no. 43:4–7 and 18–20; CCT 1, 41a:1–8; CCT 5, 28c:6–8; VS 26, 74:37–42.

¹⁷⁶ TC 1, 39: 6–7; CCT 5, 18b:9–10; ICK 1, 92:2–4; KTH 11 rev. 8–10; Kt 94/k 1701:29’–30’.

possible that *raqqatum* was a ready-to-wear product, because in Kt 94/k 1751:5–7, 2 *šulupka'u*-textiles and 2 *raqqātum* of good quality are qualified as *ša lubūšī ša abini*, “for/as garments for our father”. This would also make them appropriate as a gift, e.g. in KTS 57a:6, where two pieces are offered to a local ruler.

sakkum occurred first only in texts from the later period of *kārum* Kaneš level Ib: in UF 7 (1975) 318, no. 3:4 (alongside *kutānū*), OIP 27, 11:9 (read: 3 *sá-ku*), and KBo 9, 8:13 and 9:8 (*sá-kà-am*). But it has now turned up already in a level II text from *kārum* Kaneš, in Kt c/k 866:7 (courtesy of Dercksen), where 17 *túg sà-ku sig*, occur in a list of exported textiles. Also known from Mari [see Durand 2009, 54–55] and from inscribed bullae from Acemhöyük (Karaduman 2008), it is written *túg sa-kum*, but *sa-ak-kum* in Ac.i.1085. It is distinguished for quality into *sag*, “top quality”, and *ús*, “second quality”, and the former, according to ARM 10, 19:5, was worn by Mari’s king. In Acemhöyük and Mari, we also have the combination *sa-ak bu-re-(e)-em* (Ac.i 1097, ARM 7, 253:5, 270:6, and ARMT 21, 257:18 [cf. Durand 2009, 92–93, ‘tissage (serré) pour un matelas’]), where the second word is perhaps rather the textile *burûm/burā’um* (see above s.v.) than *burûm*, “reed mat”. *Sakkum* also qualifies other textile products (see CAD S, s.v. *saqqu*), e.g. *bar-si* and *gú-è-a*, which suggests that it was a particular type of fabric or cloth.

sapdinnum, after *pirikannum*, alongside which it occurs frequently, the most important native Anatolian textile product (see Veenhof 1972, 170, no. 15). Both are also mentioned together in a verdict of Aššur that prohibits Assyrians to trade them (see above s.v. *pirikannum*). The meaning of the word is unknown. Lewy proposed, tentatively, “fleecy cloth”, connecting it with Syrian *spudnā* (with an Anatolian ending *-inum?*), which is better than Garelli’s interpretation “woollen textiles”, who read the word as *saptinnum* and connected the word with *túg^{há} šapti(m)*, “textiles of wool”, which occur in a few texts from *kārum* Kaneš level Ib (see above § 3.2, end, with note 143). According to KTS 36c:9–10, *sapdinnū* of good quality were bought in Hahhum, Kt 94/k 1672:20 and Kt 94/k 1387:19–20 (courtesy of Larsen) mention *sapdinnū* of Talhat, and *Kuliya* 57:16 lists *sapdinnam nibrāram 2 šitrē ša Zalpa*. They were not expensive, 5½ pounds of copper was paid for one in BIN 6, 227:8–9, but TC 1, 81:5–6 registers a price of 5½ shekels of silver as a debt. *Sapdinnum* was a category of textiles that comprised products called *tisābum* according to CCT 5, 12a:8–9 and Kt f/k 117:5–7 (respectively 14 and 10 *sapdinnū* of which 4 and 2 were *tisābū*), but Kt n/k 141:4–5 lists them alongside each other (1 *túg sapdinnum* 1 *túg tisābum* 4 *maške*). The biggest number is 23, in Prag I 434:3, where, together with another lot they will be sold piecemeal.¹⁷⁷

Many textiles are named or qualified by adding to *ša* + noun in the genitive to *túg/šubātum* in order to indicate its origin or specific nature.

ša Akkidīē, “of the Akkadians”, also without *túg*, because the combination is very frequent; see § 2.1.2 and Veenhof 1972, 98–103 and 158–159, where the texts VS 26, 17:4–14 and TC 1, 11:9–18 are quoted, which mention that they were brought to Aššur by “Akkadians”, that is inhabitants of Babylonia. Other items qualified as “of the Akkadians” in Old Assyrian texts are *musārum*, a type of belt or girdle (CAD M/2, 110–111, s.v. *miserru*), and a kind sheep (*udu^{há} šuppū raqqūtum ša Akkidīē*, “thin Akkadian *šuppu*-sheep”). See for the rare writings *ša A-ki-dī-im* above, § 2.1.2, s.v. These textiles occur frequently, usually in restricted numbers, but 80 pieces in KTK 39:7; 34 in BIN 4, 51:5; 15 in BIN 6, 54:4, CCT 5, 36a:8, and TC 3, 128A:5, etc. They belong to the more expensive products (in Kt v/k 151:4–5 one pays 5 minas of tin for one piece) and some are qualified as “extra fine, of royal quality” (CCT 5, 44a:4), “extra fine” (TC 1, 72:5) and “fine” (TC 3, 36:22). The term refers to a woollen fabric of a particular type or style, which apparently could (also) be used to make specific textiles or garments (see above § 2.1.2, note 82), such as *kusītum* and *burā’um* (Prag

¹⁷⁷ 23–25, *sapdinnī išti tamkārī alqema išti, sapdinnīšu uš-ta-ta-tim sapdinnī ašar, ataddinu ...*; KKS 2, 29:4 records an agreement about a trader’s liability for, among others, two *sapdinnī*. Additional occurrences: Kt 94/k 1302:9 (28 pieces at 1½ shekels of silver apiece); Kt 94/k 1605:81–82.

I 709:23–25), *šitrum* (Kt n/k 437:3–4), *nibrārum* (Kt n/k 524:10) and those mentioned in Yale 13092:8–12 (quoted in notes 67 and 282).

ša ālim, “of the City”, scil. of Aššur, see § 2.1.2. It is used of *šubātum* (Kt 93/k 887:27), in FT 4:25, and AKT 3, 16:3 it occurs alongside “a *kusitum* of Šubarum”, and Prag I 686:10–20, mentions a *nibrārum*, either of Šubarum or of the City, or an Akkadian *kusitum*. In Kt n/k 437:3–5, 2 *šitrū ša ālim* occur alongside a *šitrum ša Akkidīē*.

ša b/pard/titi, read *ša maštīti* in Veenhof 1972, 181, because the first syllable was written in OIP 27, 55:63 with the sign MAŠ or BAR, to be corrected on the basis of a duplicate of this text, Prag I 429:33, which writes “1¼ shekel *ana tūg ša BA-ar-dí-ti*”, followed by a payment for *pirikannū*. However, the meaning remains unclear.

ša liwītīm, “for wrapping” (see Veenhof 1972, 28–30, for the various combinations), a functional designation, usually added to *šubātum* and occurring in the combination “x textiles, including those for wrapping” (*qādum ša liwītīm*), but it is also regularly added to the textile called *šūrum*. Note also *kutānū ša liwītīm* in CCT 4, 23a:14 and 2 *šubatēn kabtēn*, “two heavy textiles”, used for this purpose in ATHE 51:2’. Used primarily for wrapping the plaques of tin, but occasionally also for packing other textiles and it is clear that one normally used less expensive, perhaps somewhat coarser fabrics for this purpose. This is ordered in Prag I 718:21, “do not use a fine textile for wrapping” (*šubātam damqam illiwītīm lā talawwiā*),¹⁷⁸ but occasionally one also used a few textiles of good quality for this purpose (HG 74:10), which is understandable because textiles that had served this purpose were also sold. However, in EL no. 123:4 and 6 *šubātū ša liwītīm* are said to be part of a large group of textiles of good quality (*damqum*), and Kt 93/k 304:5 has the puzzling statement “81 *kutānū* of medium quality, including those for wrapping (*qādum ša liwītīm*), of which 20 are *kutānū* of good quality”.¹⁷⁹

ša ma’ēšū, “of its water”, meaning unclear, hardly “waterproof”; two occurrences in Veenhof 1972, 181 and Kt 94/k 723:9, 3 *tūg ša ma-e sig₅-tum*.

ša rab/pād/tim, see for two references Veenhof 1972, 182, and now also Kt a/k 532:5–7, [x]+3 *abarni’ū* [x] *kutānū* 1 *tūg kamsum*, each qualified as *ša ra-BA-TIM*, given to a man for transport. The presumably long middle vowel (no vowel harmony) suggests the infinitive of the verb *rapādum* “to run”, although the adjective *kabtum*, “heavy”, added in VS 26, 58:59 does not favor that, but CAD R, 148, 1, a, 2’, accepts it and translates “for traveling”, but this is not exactly what *rapādum* means; uncertain.

ša qātīm, “of the hand” = “of current/normal quality”, also abbreviated to *qātum*, used as a noun in apposition. Extremely frequent, especially alongside textiles qualified as “good” (*damqum*), see below § 3.4.1.a.

ša šuhrim, “of/for children (*šuhrum* is a collective). Qualifies various textile products, such as *šubātum*, Kt 75/k 78:2, AKT 2, 52:10, etc.; *kutānum*, Kt 94/k 75: 8; *lubūšum*, BIN 6, 84:30, but it is occasionally also qualified itself by an added *ša* + genitive: 1 *šubātum ša šuhrim ša lubūšim*, KTS 2, 31:3, and 3 *šubātū ša šuhrim ša Akkidīē*, Kuliya no. 22:9–10 (in Prag I 616:4 written *ša Akkidīim*). In the last case, the addition must indicate from which type of fabric it was made or in which style it was fashioned, but the adjunct *ša lubūšim* does not mean “for (wearing as) a garment”, but rather made from the fabric used for a garment. In most cases

¹⁷⁸ See for the corresponding verb CAD L, 73 s.v. *lamû*, 3, a, and also Kt n/k 1466:7–9, “4 talents of tin, 8 textiles of you, they wrapped” (i.e. the tin in the textiles?), and VS 26, 149:4–7, “9 bags with tin, of them 6 are wrapped and 3 not” (6 *lawiā* 3 *ulā lawiā*), that is 6 bags contained tin wrapped in textiles and 3 unwrapped tin. POAT 19:33 asks that the tablet with the last will of a trader be wrapped in reed (*ina qanu’ē lawwiā*) before being entrusted for transport, and Kt n/k 405:10–11 asks to wrap a debt-note “carefully in a hide” (*ina maškim damqiš lawwiā*) for sending it overland.

¹⁷⁹ In EL no. 143:18 one encounters “bags for wrapping/packing” (*naruqqum ša liwītīm*). See also footnotes 218–220.

it is simply listed, but occasionally, the context shows that it was actually meant to be worn by a child, e.g. Kt 75/k 78:2–4, 1 *šubātam ša šuhrim mer'assu ulabbiš*, “I gave his daughter a garment for a child to wear”.

ša šadādīm, twice, Prag I 741:8', [x] *kutānī ša ša-da-dī-im*, and Kayseri 4698:46–47, “after the textiles had come down from the palace, A. took a textile (*šubātam*) *qá-du ša ša-da-dim*.” Identifying *šadādīm* as a gentive of the corresponding verb, “to draw, to haul”, does not yield a suitable meaning. Cf. perhaps Kt 87/k 434:1–3 (courtesy of Hecker), “23 *kutānū*, of which 5 are *túg ša-da'-im* and 18 *šūru*-textiles”, which confirms that they can be made of woollen cloth, but is equally unclear.

šaddum(?). CCT 1, 37b:9 mentions 1 *túg kutānum damqum ša-DU-um* and TC 2, 37:26–28 writes “Take a decision on the *šubātī ša-du-tim* that are here”. CAD Š/1, 42 s.v. *šaddu*, 3 “(uncertain meaning)”, in the second text transliterates *ša-tù-tim* and translates “delayed(?)” (which requires a reading *šaddūtīm!*), starting from a special meaning of the verb *šadādum* attested in Old Assyrian (CAD Š/1, 30, 6). The first reference is too laconic to decide whether it fits. The younger text KBo 9, 21:1–10 lists a series of *túg ša-DU* (unless one emends into *ku'-ša-tù*) at different prices (ranging from 4 2/3 shekels to 9 shekels apiece), to end with “1 *kutānum* for 10 shekels”. This *ša-DU* probably is a different word, since it lacks the adjective ending and “delayed” does not fit in this list.

ša šarruttim, abbreviated from *ša lubūš šarruttim*, “of royal wear”, top quality, see below § 3.4.1.a. Qualifies *šubātum* (BIN 6, 23:16), *abarnīum* (Kt n/k 533:18), *ša Akkidīe* (CCT 5, 44a:4–5) and *kutānum* (Kt m/k 8:22–23, courtesy of Hecker).

ša Šubirim, “of Šubarum (Šubartum)”, or simply “Šubarian”, see § 2.1.2 and Veenhof 2008, 18–19.¹⁸⁰ It qualifies “textiles” (*šubātū*) in general (22 pieces in CCT 6, 7a:2–3), but also specific ones, e.g. a *kusītu*-garment, in Larsen & Möller 1991, 231 no. 4:34–35 (alongside “2 textiles of the City”). In Prag I 686:19–22 a garment to be sent to the writer to dress himself in (*ana litabšim*) could be a *nibrārum*, a Šubarian one, one of the City, or an Akkadian *kusītum*. This shows them to be fine products, qualified as “good” (*damqum*) in RA 58, 117–118:4, and Kt 91/k 344:10–12 mentions a shipment of “6½ heavy and good Šubarian textiles” (*šubātī kabūtīm damqūtīm ša Šubirim*). We do not know what kind of a product it was, it could be in the style or weaving technique used in Šubarum, but it could perhaps also refer to the wool it was made of, since a letter from Šušarrā (Eidem & Laessøe 2001, 50:7) mentions the existence of “Šubarian sheep” (*udu^{hā} šu-ba-ri-i*). Here the real nisbe is used, also attested in *tug Šubarūm* in Mari, see ARMT 21, 318:5, 2 *túg šu-ba-ru-ú*, perhaps also in 23, 617:1 (1 *šu-ba-rum*, without *túg*).¹⁸¹

šiknum, only in Prag I 429:63–64, 2 DU-KU-DU 2 *túg kusiātum* 1 *ši-ik-nu-um* 1 *raqqutum*, listed in CAD Š/2, s.v. *šiknu* A, 439, but on the basis of an older edition, where the numeral before *šiknum* is missing so that it might be taken as a qualification (in the singular?) of the preceding *kusītu*-garments. As a separate name it could mean a spread or cover, as suggested by Durand 1983, 407, for RA 64 (1970) 33 no. 25:1–2, 1 *túg ha-li šiknum ša^{gīš}ná*, on the basis of the final words “of/for a bed”.

šilipka'um (šulupka'um), see Veenhof 1972, 165–166 and CAD Š/2, 444 s.v., presumably a nisbe, see § 2.1.1. Belongs to the more expensive textiles exported from Aššur to Anatolia and usually occurs alongside *raqqutum*, *kusītum*, *takkušta'um* and *kutānū* of good quality, nearly always only one or two pieces, but four in KTB 16:4, and possibly made in Babylonia (see above § 3.2 on its occurrence in an Old Babylonian text from Kisurra). We know nothing of its characteristics, but according to VS 26, 11:27–30, “42 *kutānū* 11

¹⁸⁰ We may add to what is mentioned there in footnote 24, that the nisbe in Old Assyrian not only appears as *šubrīum* (in *amtam šu-ub-ri-tám*, CCT 3, 25:35), but also as *šubirīum*, in Kt n/k 213:28–29 (courtesy of Bayram), *wardam šu-bi₄-ri-a-am*, and Kt 79/k 101:21, *ana ... šu-bi-ri-im*, “to a Šubarian”. See also Michel in press b.

¹⁸¹ [Durand 2009, 111 points out that, as the mention of “Šubarian sheep” at Šušarrā confirms, Šubartum was rich in wool].

takkušta'ū 11 *raqqātum*, including 2 *šilipkī'ū*”, they seem to belong to the category of “thin textiles”.¹⁸² In the letter Kt 93/k 505:12// 781:9–10 a single *šilipka'um* turns up as part of a shipment inside Anatolia, for the rest consisting of wool, *pirikannu*-textiles and woollen fleeces, which the addressee is expected to sell for copper. According to Yale 13092:8–12 (see notes 67 and 282), a group of such textiles, including 1 *šilipka'um*, on purchase in Aššur cost on average 9.2 shekels of silver, but a similar group of 3 *raqqātum*, 2 *šilipkī'ū*, 4 *takkušta'ū* and 12 *lubūšū* in TC 1, 47:3–6 together cost only c.1 mina of silver or on average c.5 shekels. In Anatolia, one paid 35 shekels of silver for one *šilipka'um* in BIN 4, 218:7, in CCT 3, 45b:4–9 one was given in commission to an agent for 22½ shekels, in RA 60 no. 35:8 one cost 50 pounds of good quality (*damqum*) copper, but according to Kt n/k 118:12–14 it was sold there among Assyrians for 30 minas copper, and for 15 minas of refined (*masium*) copper in Kt 91/k 330:2.

šitrum, according to CAD Š/3, s.v., “possibly an undergarment, if the lex. ref. - tu-un = tūn = šuppulu, šitru - pertains to this word”. See also HUCA 27 (1956) 33, note 116, where a meaning “cover” or “veil” is proposed, and the word is related to the Hebrew verb *sātar*, “to cover”; cf. Veenhof 1972, 174–6. It is worn in particular by women, cf. Kt 94/k 208:21–25, “I invited Š. and his wife and I gave him a fine *kutānum* and his wife a fine *šitrum* of *kutānu*-cloth”. Kt 88/k 71:47–9 mentions the payment of 4 shekels of silver for some *šitrū* for a woman (alongside one for “her cloaks”, *nahlapātum*), followed by one of 3 shekels for *šitrū* “which I ‘tied’ to the slave-girls” (*amātim arkus*), and Kt m/k 121:7 (courtesy of Hecker) registers “one *šitrum* of my lady”. When in Kt 2000/k 325b: 36–38, brothers during three years have to give their sister a *šubātum* and a *šitrum*, this must be a set of clothes. Note also the association of a *šitrum* with a “belt” (*šakkukum*) in TPAK 1, 28:10–12 and 18, the statement “neither a *šitrum* nor a *paršigum* (a headdress)” in BIN 6, 122:13–14, and the sequence 3 *šitrē* 5 *išrātīm* 2 *raqqāti šitta nahlapātīm* 5 *musarrētīm*, in Prag I 616:3–8. It was usually made of wool, cf. Kt n/k 214: 24–29 (in a letter to a woman), “Buy for me soft wool for *šitrū* and send it at the next opportunity, since I have no *šitrum* for my trip”.¹⁸³ It was a fairly cheap item, in KUG 19:8–10 the price of some *šitrū* was 1 shekel of silver, in Kt 88/71:47–48, 4 and 3 shekels were paid for *šitrū*, in Kt 94/k 432:12–15 (courtesy of Larsen) amounts of 3/4 and 1 1/8 shekel of silver, but CCT 1, 50 (= EL 296):6–8 mentions 6 *šitrū* of Zalpa sold for 20 shekels of silver. A *šitrum* made of *pūku*-fabric cost 4 shekels in Kt 91/k 466:1–2 and must have been of fine quality, cf. the request in Kt 91/k 501:6–8 to buy “*šitrū ša pūkim* of extremely fine quality”, as may have been the one that was a votive gift for the gods Sîn and Šamaš (together!) in Kt 91/372:5–8.¹⁸⁴ Some occurrences relate it to a town: *šitrū* of Zalpa in AKT 4, 4:5, BIN 6, 184 rev. 10', *Kuliya* 57:13, CCT 1, 50:6; “of the land of Nawar” in Kt 94/k 432:13–15. More frequently it is linked with various types of textiles by means of *ša*, presumably referring to the fabric from which it was made or the type it should match. TCL 1, 19:10–13 asks to send 2 *šitrē ša lubūšē*, 2 *šitrē ša sapdinnī* and 2 *šitrē abarnī*, and such specifications occur more often: *ša abarnī* (also in Kt 93/k 75), *ša Akkidī*¹⁸⁵ (also in KTS 4, 28:13; TPAK 1, 28:10, Kt a/k 253:12–13 and Kt n/k 437:4), *ša lubūšī/lubūšim* (OIP 27, 58:25, TC 1, 19:10–11, RA 60 [1966] no. 43:33, and Prag I 740:3), *ša kūtānim* (RA 59 [1965] 35:16 and Kt 94/k 208:23, *damqum*), *ša pūkim* (Kt 91/k 501:6–7, Kt 91/k 466:1, and Kt 93/k 542:9), and *ša ālim*, “of the City (of Aššur)” (Kt n/k 437:3).

šulhum a textile product, usually written with the determinative *túg*, that appears c.15 times, but neither etymology nor context illustrate what kind of product it was. See for references CAD Š/3, 239–240 s.v. and Veenhof 1972, 168–169, 13, where LB 1293:15–18 is quoted, which mentions that “56 *šulhū* and Akkadian textiles cost 7½ shekels of silver apiece”, and indicates purchase in Aššur. This price agrees with CCT

¹⁸² Note that in the description of the individual lots, the 2 *šilipkī'ū* in line 9 are mentioned alongside 3 *raqqātum*, which suggest that they were a specific type of “thin textiles”.

¹⁸³ *šaptam' naribtam ša šitrī šāmammašic išti panimma šēbilānim ana alākia šitram, lā išū.*

¹⁸⁴ [x] *šitrū [šà] - ba 1 šitrum [š]a ikribī [š]a Sú-in ú dutu.*

¹⁸⁵ As other examples indicate, this is in fact an abbreviation of **ša ša Akkidī*, “*šitrū* made of/belonging to (*ša*) a textile of (*ša*) the Akkadians”. See also footnote 255.

5, 38b:5 (64 shekels of silver for 7 *šulhū*) // KTS 48c:5 (64 shekels for 8 pieces). Kt 94/k 1517 mentions a price of 41 shekels for 5 *šulhū* and 2 textiles of normal quality, owed by somebody in Anatolia, and sale in Anatolia is also at stake in ICK 2, 296:43–4 (cf. 18), where 2 *šulhū* cost 70 minas of copper. Kt 93/k 277:1–4 mentions 152 *šul[hū]*, alongside 55 *makūhū* and 10 *maškinī*, in TC 1, 109:1–2 11 pieces figure alongside 31 *kutānū*, and an unpublished text in Ankara mentions 38 pieces. KTS 2, 4:13–14 mentions the shipment of textiles from Zalpa and Hurama, presumably to Kaneš, “together with the *šulhū* you will buy”, which may refer to purchase in Anatolia, as does Kt 91/344:23–5, “look out for *šulhu-* or *makūhu-*textiles that please you there”.¹⁸⁶ Cf. Kt 94/k 1775:6–7 (courtesy of Larsen), which mentions “30 *túg šulhū* which one will acquire in Ullama”.¹⁸⁷

šūrum, an adjective (notwithstanding a few plural forms *šu-ru-ú*) not attested outside the Old Assyrian sources, whose meaning is unclear (see Veenhof 1972, 154–6 and CAD Š/3, s.v.), usually preceded by *túg*, but occasionally without it, nearly always treated as adjective, but a few times *túg šu-ru(-ú)* (BIN 4, 189:19; 6, 60:17). A clue for its meaning is perhaps offered by ICK 1, 172:13, where *šūrum* qualifies *udu^{há} šu-pú-tim*. According to CAD Š, 249, s.v. *šuppu* A (where its lexical equation with *udu-babbar*, “white sheep”, is recorded), such sheep were probably characterized by a white and curly fleece, in which case the added *šūrum* might indicate a darker color (brownish?), which then might also apply to these textiles.¹⁸⁸ *Túg šūrūtum* were exported in great numbers from Aššur and in caravan reports they frequently occur alongside the 30 to 50% more expensive *kutānū*. They were a cheaper and presumably somewhat coarser textile (made from coarser wool or threads?), but they could nevertheless be subsumed under the *kutānū*, as in Kt/87 k 434:1–3, “23 *kutānu-*textiles, thereof 5 *túg ša-da¹-im* (and) 18 *šūru-*textiles”. However the summary of various bales of textiles in VS 26, 11:27–39 lists them separately from the *kutānū*, *takkušta^u* and *raqqātum*, but BIN 6, 60:13–15, “We counted 85 textiles, thereof 24 Abarnian ones, including (*qādum*) one *šūru-*textile” surprisingly ranges one among the Abarnian textiles. We frequently meet *túg šūrūtum ša liwītum*, “for wrapping” (see above under *ša liwītum*), regularly used for packing the slabs of tin¹⁸⁹ and occasionally also for other merchandise. “Heavy (*kabtum*) *šūru-*textiles for wrapping” occur in CCT 3, 4:7 and ATHE 51:2–3 (read: *kabtēn*, [*ša li-wi*]-*tim*). These textiles were regularly sold in Anatolia.¹⁹⁰ In the records Kt 92/k 98, 110, 113, and 121 many bales of these textiles are said to be of/belong to (*ša*) a number of persons, presumably their owners or the agents who had shipped them, and they specify how many of them had been paid as tax, had been pre-empted (no doubt by the local palaces), had been used for wrapping, and how many remained available for sale.¹⁹¹ The large memorandum CCT 5, 36a, which lists substantial numbers of textiles, summarizes in lines 17–20: “In all 335 *kutānū*, 128 *šūru* or Akkadian textiles, 24 thereof for wrapping” (*túg liwītum*). Unclear are RA 60 (1966), 141 no. 8:3–4, 10 *túg^{há} šūrūtum lu-bi-ri*, according to CAD L, s.v. *lubēru*, “as clothing”, and Kt c/k 173:1–3, 20 *kutānū* 17 *túg šūrūtum ša-DU-um šu-ri-im*. That they were appreciated and could be valuable is clear from EL 145:5; where they figure as a gift to an Anatolian queen, and BIN 6, 186 rev.:5’, where they

¹⁸⁶ Lines 24–25: *ša a-ma-kam tá-áb-ú-ku-<um>*.

¹⁸⁷ CCT 6, 7c:8–10, [...] *ša Zalpa* [x x] *lu šu-ul-hi i-[x x] ta-áš-a-am*, is unclear.

¹⁸⁸ Michel 1997, 109, with note 156, has doubts, observing that *šú-pu-tim* is an adjective, while the plural should be *šuppū*, as in CCT 5, 32a:13–15, 14 *udu^{há} šú-pu-ú raqqūtum ša Akkidī*, “14 thin Akkadian *šuppu*-sheep” (another parallel between designations of sheep and textiles). Yet, since no other explanation has been suggested, it seems possible to consider *šuppūtum* in ICK 1, 272:13 a mistake, understandable since the word follows the noun *udu*, and perhaps caused by the following *šūrūtum*. See for *šuppum* also Kt 94/k 462:1–4 (courtesy of Larsen), which record a payment of 2½ shekels of silver for a sheep (*udu*) and of (only) 1 shekel 15 <grains> for a *šú-pí-im*.

¹⁸⁹ For the system, see Veenhof 1972, 30–32: one donkey load of tin weighed 130 pounds, 65 in each “half pack”, designated as a “(standard) weight” (*šuqlum*), which comprised two packets of c.32.5 pounds, each wrapped in one textile.

¹⁹⁰ Note in Kt c/k 110:4’–5’, the sequence *kutānū, šūrūtum, kabūtum*.

¹⁹¹ E.g. Kt 92/k 121:1–11: 30 *lá* 1 *túg šu-ru-tum, ša Šu-lštar*, 15 *túg ša En-na-Sú-in, šu-nigin* 44 *túg šu-ru-tum, ša Šu-lštar* *ù En-na-Sú-in, ša-ba* 4 *túg i-na, li-wi-tim*, 4 *túg ni-is-ha-tum*, 4 *túg i-ší-mi-im*, 32 *túg* (remain available).

are a votive gift to the goddess Ištar. This is confirmed by TC 1, 19:16–18, which mentions two such textiles of fine quality intended as garments for a trader (2 *šūrēn damqēn ana litabšia*).

ta-dí-im, meaning unknown, in KTS 1, 54b:1–4, *ina 22 kutānī, 1 tóg ta-dí-im, 1 tóg kamsum, 2 tóg sapdinnū*, which suggests that the final *-im* is not a genitive ending. See also the mention of its price in Kt c/k 811b:14–15 (courtesy of Dercksen), 1 mina of silver *ša šīm, ta-dí-im*.

takkušta’um, an expensive textile, presumably a nisbe, see § 2.1.1, bought in Aššur (TC 1, 47:43–8), exported from there into Anatolia, but also attested at Mari, where a text shows that it had been given to a man from Mari in Babylon (see above § 3.2). It occurs c.15 times, in modest quantities, rarely more than ten pieces (11 in VS 26, 11:28) and according to CCT 5, 46b:6–8 (see Veenhof 1972, 166) the “counter value/equivalent” (*mehratum*) of ten pieces was 2 minas of silver or c.12 shekels apiece, but this may not reflect a normal sale.¹⁹²

tisābum (the spelling is conventional, always spelled with DÍ-ZA-BA/U/I, which leaves the nature of the consonants unclear, while first vowel could be *e* or *i*), a native Anatolian textile product whose etymology is unknown and which has not turned up outside Old Assyrian sources, where it is thus far attested c.15 times (see Veenhof 1972, 170–171). CAD T, 371 s.v. *tēšābu* lists it together with a few occurrences of *te/i-ša-bu* in Neo-Assyrian sources, which is tentatively translated as “leftovers”, but this is not convincing, because such a meaning does not fit in Old Assyrian, where it is an Anatolian textile product. Kt 94/k 1373:18–19 (courtesy of Larsen) mentions one of very good quality to be used as a garment (1 *tóg tisābam damiqtam ūturtam ana litabšia*) and shows that the noun was feminine. This may also be the case in *Kuliya* 54:4–6, where an Anatolian owes “1½ shekel of silver (remainder) from the price of a textile, that (for which?) he bought a *tisābum* for his wife”.¹⁹³ The relation of *tisābum* to the other main Anatolian textile products, *pirikannum* and *sapdinnum*, is not very clear. Kt 94/k 1672:19–20 (courtesy of Larsen) asks the purchase of “either *tisābū* of Hahhum or *sapdinnū* of Talhat”, while in CCT 5, 12a:9 (which keeps them separate from *pirikannū* of Kaneš) and Kt f/k 117:5–7 *tisābū* are said to belong to the category of *sapdinnū*,¹⁹⁴ and Kt 93/k 891:5–9 writes, “I gave you 9 *pirikannū* of Zalpa under my seals, 3 thereof are *tisābū*”. In Kt c/k 141:4–5 a *sapdinnum* and a *tisābum* occur together, while in Kt c/k 102:3–5, “4 *tisābū* of Timilkiya” figure alongside *pirikannū* and woollen fleeces. In Kt a/k 626:1–6 a shipment consists of tin, 61 *kutānū*, 1 *tisābum* and three woollen fleeces, BIN 4, 51:39–40 mentions 7 pieces alongside 3 woollen fleeces. In BIN 6, 84:5–6 and 14–15 twice 1 *tisābum* occurs alongside wool and other items; Prag I 588:2–3 mentions one together with a *nibrārūm*, as is the case in Kt 91/k 372:4–5, while LB 1268:13–17 lists as the contents of one bag: 3 *burā’ū*, 2 *nibrārū* of Apum, 1 *tí-sà-bu* and 2 *pirikannū*. The biggest number, 18, occurs in KTB 7:5–6.¹⁹⁵

tudīqum (*d/tudīqum?*), only in TC 3, 49:30, DU-*dí-qam* ... *ša 3 inammitim alqe*, “I acquired a *tudīqum* measuring 3 cubits”, perhaps a textile product if to be connected with the verb *edēqum*, “to don a garment”.

z/š/sirum (quality of the first consonant uncertain), attested in KTS 2, 17:20’, 1 *tóg ZI-ru-um*, in damaged context, after other textiles, and in Kt 94/k 1023:8 (courtesy of Larsen), 2 *tóg ZI-ri* 1 *tóg abarnūm*. This textile, plural *ZI-ra-tum*, is known from Old Babylonian texts from Susa and from Mari, where, in ARM 18, 47:1, 48:1, and 21, 338:1, the words “x *ziratum lawū*” head identical lists with pieces of apparel presumably meant for one person, which suggest a use for wrapping or packing goods; see Durand 1983, 450 note 13.

¹⁹² The mention of “counter value /equivalent” suggests that the situation was not one of normal sale in Anatolia, but that they were taken over by another trader (line 8, “I gave it to you”), who paid a standard price on receipt and it may even have been a preliminary payment, since line 16 mentions (in broken context) “the outstanding claim (for payment of) your *takkušta’u*-textiles”.

¹⁹³ *Ina šīm šubātīm ša ana aššitišu tí-sà-ba-am iš-ú-mu-ú*.

¹⁹⁴ CCT 5, 12:8–9, 14 *sapdinnū šà-ba 4 tisābū*, Kt f/k 117:5–6, 10 *tóg^{há} sapdinnum šà-ba 2 tóg tí-sà-bi₄-im*.

¹⁹⁵ Additional occurrences in TPAK 1, 200:13, a debt consisting of 13 shekels of silver and 2 *tisābū*, and in Kt 93/k 253:33.

[Durand 2009, 140–141, documents its use as saddlecloth (on a donkey, a wagon or a litter), for wrapping and packing, and for making a coat, z/s. *ša nalbašī*]. See CAD Z, 137, s.v. *zīru* B, which suggests a possible link with the adjective *zēru*, “braided, plaited”.

3.4. Qualifications

3.4.1. Indications of quality

The quality of textile products is indicated by the following adjectives, to which are added those attested in Ur III texts, both for wool and for woollen textiles, especially for the more expensive textiles called *guz-za*, *nì-lám* and *bar-dul₅*:

Old Assyrian	Ur III ¹⁹⁶
a) <i>ša (lubuš) šarruttim</i> , “royal class”, “of royal wear”	šàr (lugal)
b) <i>damqum watrum</i> (sig ₅ -diri), “of very fine quality”	(sag)
c) <i>damqum</i> (sig ₅), “of fine quality”	sig ₅ / ús-šàr
d) <i>tardium</i> , “of next good quality”	ús-sig ₅ / 3-kam-ús
e) <i>ša qātim / qātum</i> , “of normal/current quality”	gin
f) <i>maṭium</i> , “of inferior quality”	(murgu _x / egir _x)

Ur III only knows a), the quality *sag*, “top quality”, is not used, but occurs e.g. with *túg-nì-lám-ma* in Hh 19, RS Forerunner (MSL 10, 74ff.), alongside *ús*, but the standard recension in lines 114–118 distinguishes *túg-nì-lám bàn-da lugal*, *sag* (equated with *rēštū*) and *ús* (= *terdennu*). In Mari, textiles called *uṭblum* and *si-sá* are distinguished as *sag* and *ús*, and on the Acemhöyük bullae (Karaduman 2008, 283–285) *raqqatum*, *sakkum* and *baratū* are qualified as *sag*, a *sakkum* once as *ús* (Ac, i, 903). At Šušarrā we find the sequence sig₅-ga – *terdennu* (Eidem 1992, no. 138:1–6), and at Tell Rimah *sag* – *ús* (OBTR no. 70:6–7). Instead of *sag* one occasionally uses *bērum*, “select” (= *igi-zàg/zag-ga*, frequent with wool), e.g. ARMT 22, 139:7, *túg-guz-za bé-rum*; 23, 375:1, *uṭuplu be-ru*). In general the quality depends both on the type of weave and the quality of the wool and therefore wool qualified as *ús* yields a textile qualified as *ús* (ARMT 23, 376:1–2).

a) ***ša (lubuš) šarruttim***: nearly always in combination with b); – CCT 5, 44a:4–5 (“Akkadian textiles”); Kt m/k 8:22–23 (*kutānū*, courtesy of Hecker); Kt n/k 533:17–19 (*šubātū lu lubūšum pašium lu abarnīum*) – but alone in BIN 6, 23:7 (*šubātī 5 ša šarruttim*).¹⁹⁷ A variant of *ša šarruttim* is the nisbe *ekallium*, “of ‘palatial’ quality” (AKT 4, 28:7 and Kt c/k 676:21’, said of sandals, courtesy of Dercksen). A textile (*túg šušinnu*) qualified as *lugal*, appears at Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, no. 134:1).

b) ***damqum watrum***: several times of *kutānū*, but occasionally also of Abarnian (BIN 4, 185:3–4, CCT 5, 44a:1–2) and Akkadian textiles (CCT 5, 44a:4–5), of *burā’um* in BIN 4, 160:12, of *nahlaptum* in Kt 87/k 378:16 (courtesy of Hecker, + *naribtum*, “soft”), of *namaššuhum* (^{túg}nì-lám) in AKT 4, 24:1–3 and CCT 5, 44a:2–3, of *pirikannum* in Kt 94/k 364:15–16 (courtesy of Larsen), of *tisābum* in Kt 94/k 1373:1–19, and of unspecified *šubātū*. Note also Kt m/k 35:11–12 (courtesy of Hecker): 11 *šubātī damqūtim watrūtim qaqqad šubatī*, where “extra fine textiles” are called “top textiles”. “Extra fine” of course means expensive, cf. the order in Kt 94/k 729:12–15 to send from Aššur *kutānū* of extra fine quality that cost at most 12 shekels of silver apiece (*ša 12 gín-ta kù-babbar ù, šapliš*).

¹⁹⁶ See Waetzoldt 1972, 47–48, who distinguishes for wool an older system (with c, d, *ús*, and e) and a younger one (with a, c, 3-kam-ús, 4-kam-ús, and e). Occasionally 5-kam-ús is added before e) and in Lagaš (Gudea) šàr may alternate with or appear alongside sig₅.

¹⁹⁷ Note its use of iron, in Kt 94/k 1455:26–27 (courtesy of Larsen): *ašiam zakku’am ša šarruttim*, “pure, top class iron”.

c) **damqum**: frequent, used of unspecified *šubātū* and of *abarnīum*, *kutānum*, *raqqutum* (Bursa 3773:5, Kt 94/k 131:5–6), *kusītum* (TPAK 1, 173:6–7, KTS 2, 25:16), *šulupka'um* (Kt 94/k 131:5–6), *kitā'um* in CCT 4, 44b:17–18, *nibrārum* in Kt 91/k 372:6, *šapdinnum* in KTS 36c:9 and Kt k/k 29:4, *kuš(š)atum* in OIP 27, 11:4. Note the reference Chantre 10:6–8: x tūg sig₅ thereof 4 tūg^{há} ša liwītim and passim in the sequence “x tūg sig₅ y tūg”.

d) **tardium**: “of next, following (quality)”,¹⁹⁸ presumably after *damqum*, cf. the sequences sig₅ – ús and sag – ús in various texts (Mari, Acemhöyük, Tell Rimah, see above). In Šušarrā (see above) and at Nuzi (see CAD T, 227, b, 2'), we have the syllabic spelling *ter/tdennu*. In Ur III in the combinations ús-šār and ús-sig₅, the relative notion ús, “following after”, is specified and this yields a continuous series: šār, ús-šār = sig₅, ús-sig₅=3–kam-ús, 4–kam-ús, 5–kam-ús. What *tardium* means can become clear when it occurs in a sequence, especially after *damqum*, as in 1 *kutānum damqum* 1 *kutānum tardium* 1 *raqqutum* 1 *ša Akkidīē* (Kt 94/k 981:1–3, courtesy of Larsen), in “164 textiles, thereof 20 textiles of good quality, the others (*allūutum?*)”¹⁹⁹ *tardiūtum* (Kt 93/k 765:12–14), and in “400 textiles, thereof 25 of good quality, including the Abarninan ones, 18 textiles *tardiūtu* ... 17 *maṭiūtu* (Kt c/k 443:5–8). However, from “603 *kutānū*, thereof 100 *kutānū tardiūtum*” (Kt 94/k 1687:1–4) we cannot simply conclude that the other 503 pieces were of good quality. And “82 textiles of good quality shipped by A., thereof 24 *tardiūtum*, packed in 18 bags ... 94 textiles of good quality shipped by L., thereof 25 *šubātū tardiūtum* (and) 10 textiles for wrapping, packed in 18 bags” (Kt 91/k 106:1–6, 9–15), too is unclear. These last occurrences may indicate that many of the good quality textiles could include a number of textiles which were of less good quality, but still too good to be qualified as “current/standard quality” (*ša qātim*). This may explain the use of *tardium* as an independent mark of quality, as happened in Nuzi, where *tertennu* figures as a noun without gender congruence, e.g. in *iltennūtu hullānu tertenu damiqtum* (HSS 19, 79:16), “one *nahlaptu tertenu* (HSS 15, 201:13, cf. CAD T, 227b, 2’).

e) **ša qātim**, “of the hand”, “current, normal quality”, also abbreviated to simple *qātim*, used as an apposition with case congruence, e.g. in BIN 4, 221:6–8, 110 *kutānī qā-tām* 8 *kutānī damqūtim*, and CCT 6, 3a:22–23, *šubātī damqūtim qabliūtīm ù qā-tām*.²⁰⁰ When used in a sequence it always occurs alongside *damqum*, cf. VS 26, 53:10–11, POAT 28:20–22, etc. Note BIN 4, 65:16–17, *ina damqūtika* 2 *maṭiūma allibbi ša qātim nad'[ū]*, “of your good quality textiles 2 pieces are of less quality and they have been added to those of normal quality”. Old Assyrian *ša qātim* is comparable to Ur III/OB gin(= *alākum*), which has the notion of “being current”, cf. *mahīrat illaku*, “the current rate of exchange”. Cf. also sig-gin, “normal/ current wool”, alongside sig-igi-sag-ga, “selected wool”.

f) **maṭium**, “lacking in quality”, a relative notion, rare in enumerations, but 16 *kutānu damqūtum* 10 *kutānū maṭiūtum* (Kt b/k 198:14–15) and 400 *šubātū ša* 25 *šubātū damqūtu* ... 18 *šubātū tardiūtu* ... 17 *maṭiūtu* (Kt c/k 443:5–8). More frequently used to single out some textiles that are below standard and are included in a

¹⁹⁸ In Old Assyrian, the adjective is also used of persons, “second son of” (Kt 94/k 1233:16, DUMU A. *ta-ar-dī-im*) and of objects, to refer to their size (*Kuliya* 59: 2, 4, used of wooden beams and boards, after *rabium*, “big”).

¹⁹⁹ We doubt whether in this sequence *a-li-ú-tum* is a nisbe, “of the city (of Aššur)”. See for the meaning “others”, *EL* 274B:14–15, where a committee of three “outsiders” (*ahiūtum*) has to accompany persons to inspect the archive of a dead trader. If some of those asked to do so refuse, *allūutum errubū*, “others will enter”. We do not accept the interpretation in *EL* I, p. 310, note a, followed by CAD A/1, 210, 1, a, and 390, s.v. **alū*, a), but identify the adjective with *allū*, used as “the other” in Nuzi texts, cf. CAD A/1, 358 s.v. b.

²⁰⁰ If followed by “of PN”, this *qātim* can be wrongly interpreted as “the share of PN” (equated with *qāti* PN), e.g. in BIN 4, 185:7–8, 1 *šubātum qā-tum ša* PN, but its meaning is clear from lines 1–3, 162 *šubātū qā-tum* 20 *šubātū damqūtum watrūtum*, “162 textiles of standard quality, 20 textiles of extra good quality”. In Mari the qualification *šu/qātim* of the textile *šušippum* (ARMT 21, 318:12 alongside ARMT 22, 324 III:51) has again a different meaning, referring to the part of the body this strip of textile has to cover, as shown by *šušip birkim* (ARMT 22, 324 III:50), “for the knee” [see now Durand 2009, 117–120].

lower category, cf. BIN 6, 65:16–17, quoted under e). They are used for various purposes, such as paying taxes, making a deposit in the *kārum*, or for wrapping (Kt 94/k 848:3–4, courtesy of Larsen, “20 *kutānū*, including 12 *kutānū maṭiūtīm* for wrapping”), but they still could be sold: “The rest (of them), 3 pieces of less quality among them, were sold at 16 shekels apiece” (Kt u/k 3–9–11, *šitti 3 šubātū maṭ’ūtīšunu*). Note also “I took 2 *kutānū*, the less good ones have been sold for 36 shekels of silver” (CCT 4, 14a:8), and TC 3, 73:337, “he took one textile of good quality and the one of less quality he rejected” (1 *túg sig₅ ilqema maṭi’am iddi*).

In this list we have not included:

g) **qablium**, a nisbe derived from *qablum*, “middle”, whose meaning is not clear. It might refer to quality, “of middle/mediocre quality”, coming after “good”, or refer to the size of a piece of textile. Textiles with this qualification are among the textiles bought in Aššur for shipment to Anatolia: TC 3, 69:16: “for half of the silver arriving in Aššur *kutānū qabliūtum* must be bought”; CCT 4, 46a:8–9, “x tin, 50 *kutānū qabliūtum* and 2 donkeys”. The statements in Kt c/k 158:15, “your textiles are *qabliū* as to ..., they do not appeal to me” (*šubātūka šu-wu-ur qabliū ēnī lā mahrū*), where the meaning of *šuwur* is unknown, and Kt 93/93:2–3, “I have looked for *šubātī qabliūtīm* whose inside is perfectly finished” (*šubātī qabliūtīm ātamarma ša qerbam šalmūni*) are interesting, but not explicit enough. Since *qablium* expresses a relative notion, we have to look at enumerations,²⁰¹ where we see the following sequences: *damqum, qablium, ša qātim/qātam; damqum (watrūm), tardium, qablium; damqum watrūm, qablium, ša Akkidē; damqum, Abarnūm, qablium; and Abarnūm, qablium, ša qātim*. It is difficult to draw a conclusion from them, unless one takes Kt 93/k 304:5–9 literally: “81 *kutānū qabliūtum* including those for wrapping, of which 20 are *kutānū* of good quality”, where *kutānū* of good quality seem to range under *kutānū* of *qablium* quality, which would only make sense only if *qablium* referred to size or style and not to quality. However, the sequences *damqum - tardium - qablium* (2x) and *qablium - ša qātim/qātam* (2x) point in the other direction. Note also Kt m/k 9:4 (courtesy of Hecker) where 14[0 k] *utānī qá-[áb-li-ú-tim]*, if this restoration is correct, are identical to 140 *kutānū wasmūtīm* in the parallel text Kt m/k 8:5 (courtesy of Hecker).

h) **wasmum** (also *usmum*), “fair, proper”, “of decent quality”, a positive qualification attested a dozen times. Also used of a packet of tin, *šuqlam wasumtam*, probably referring to its full weight (ideally 65 minas) rather than to its quality. Used alone: Kt m/k 8:5, 140 *kutānū wa-as-mu-tim*; TC 3, 161:4, 1 *túg ús¹-mu-um (akkārim labbušim)*; CCT 6, 25d:1–2, [x+]1 *kutānū wasmūtum* cost 100 shekels of silver; Kt 93/k 288:23, *ahamma 20 túg ús-mu-tim*; Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, *pirikannū narbūtīm wasmūtīm*. In a sequence, after *ša qātim*: Sadberk 11:6–7, 97 *šubātī ša qātim u 47 šubātī wasmūtum*, but it also qualifies *ša qātim*: Kt 94/k 415:6–7, *kutānī ša qātim wasmūtīm*; perhaps also Kt 94/k 503:21 (courtesy of Larsen), *kutānī ša qātim ú-sí-mu-tim*. Alongside *damqum (watrūm)*: Kt 93/k 497:8–9, 10 *šubātū wa-as-mu-tim u 10 šubātī damqūtīm*; Kt 93/765:21–22, 20 *túg wa-sú-mu-tim u 3 kutānī sig₅ diri*; Kt m/k 22:9–10 (courtesy of Hecker), 20[+x *kutānī*] *ús-mu-tim 5 ku[tānī] sig₅* (cf. lines 1–3: 22 *kutānī sig₅ 25 kutānī ša qātim*). This suggests the meaning “slightly better than *ša qātim*, but not *damqum*”, and Kt m/k 9:4, quoted at the end of g) may indicate that *wasmum* can be the same as *qablium*, “of medium quality”. The adjective is also used of the Anatolian *pirikannū*, in Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, *pirikannī narbūtīm wasmūtīm*, “soft *pirikannū* of fair quality”.

²⁰¹ 30 *šubātū [damqūtum?]*, 20 *qabliūtum*, 11 *ša qātim*, Chantre 14 rev.:2¹-4¹; [1]7 *šubātū damqūtum 23 šubātū tardiūtum 30 šubātū qabliūtum*, Kt 93/k 308:1–3; 10 *šubātū qabliūtum 10 šubātū ša qātim*, Kt 89/k 257:10–11; 1 *šubātum abarnūm 1 šubātum qablium*, 1 *šubātum ša qātim*, TPAK 1, 145:1–3; 21 *damqūtum watrūtum 7 šubātū tardiūtum 4 šubātū qabliūtum*, Kt f/k 40:17–19; *šubātī damqūtīm qabliūtīm u qātam*, CCT 6, 3a:22; [x *šubātū*] *damqūtum watrūtum*, [y *šubātū*] *qabliūtum [z šubātū] ša Akkidē*, BIN 6, 90:4–6; *ina šalištīm naruqqim 4 damqūtum 2 qabliūtum darkū*, LB 1268:9–11; 77 *šubātū damqūtum*, 6 *šubātū abarnū 32 šubātū qabliūtum qādum ša liwītīm*, Chantre 10:1–4. Note Kt 94/k 829:3-4, 10 *kutānū qabliūtum* for wrapping the tin.

The uncertainty about what quality *tardium*, *qablium* and *wasmum* denote has two reasons. These terms express relative notions and the Old Assyrian system is less rigorous than the Ur III one, where “next good quality”, *ús*, is part of a fixed sequence, as mentioned above under d), *tardium*. In Mari, too, there are traces of such a sequential ranking, e.g. RA 64 (1970) 32, no. 20:4–5, 1 *túg sal-la ús 2 túg sal-la 3-kam*, “one *raqqatum* of second rank quality, 2 of third rank quality”, which implies the existence of “first rank quality” (*sag* or *sig₅*). Old Assyrian texts in general offer no concrete information on what a particular quality means, only the prices and the numbers provide a clue and they show – not surprisingly – that the “extremely good”, “Akkadian” and “Abarnian” textiles occur in small numbers and are more expensive. In Aššur they can cost up to twice as much as normal textiles,²⁰² and the price of course relates to the production costs, that is, the amount of work required, the type and quantity of wool and the thickness of the yarns used for the warp and the weft, their thread count and the finishing procedures. The Ur III texts analyzed in Waetzoldt 1972 and the Old Babylonian tablet AO 7026, edited in Lackenbacher 1982, demonstrate that there were remarkable differences in the amount of labour invested in spinning, preparing the loom, weaving and in the quality and amount of yarn used.

Some Old Assyrian letters show concern for the finishing of the textiles. TC 3, 17:6–22 (see insert) gives instructions about the treatments of both surfaces or sides (“faces”, *pānum*) of a woollen textile, a concern also expressed in three letters insisting that the “inside” (*qerbum*) of textiles has to be well finished (*lū šalim*).²⁰³ TC 3, 17 probably also speaks of “striking/beating” (*mašādum*) and “shearing/cropping” (*qatāpum*)²⁰⁴ the weave, the latter treatment being necessary to create a smooth, flat surface that is not “hairy” (*šārtam išûm*), which characterizes a *kutānum* assumed to be woollen cloth.²⁰⁵ In the unpublished letter “Rendell” lines 5–13, Lamassī in Aššur writes to her husband in Anatolia: “As for the textiles made of wool from Šurbu, about which you wrote me, saying: ‘Send me a garment to dress myself in’, the garment has indeed been made, but it is now with the fuller, so that I have not yet sent it up to you”.²⁰⁶ This is the first reference to the activity of a fuller in Aššur – the other references to this profession refer to people in Anatolia – and it shows that the finishing treatment by a fuller was a normal procedure for such woollen fabrics. Waetzoldt writes “Das Walken der Stoffe ist bisher nur für einige Sorten belegt, doch dürften fast alle Gewebe so behandelt worden sein”, because it is necessary to make woven fabrics suitable for garments.

²⁰² The writer of TC 3, 17:23–24 is not happy with the Abarnian textile a woman sent him and asks her to make one “like the one I wore over there” (i.e. in Aššur), but we do not know what that meant.

²⁰³ BIN 4, 63:19–20, 5 *šubātī damqūtim ša qerbam šalmūni*; Kt 93/k 497:11, dealing with *šubātū wasmūtum* and *damqūtum*, and Kt 93/93:2–3, dealing with *šubātū qabliūtūm*

²⁰⁴ We prefer “to shear” over “to pick off bits of wool from the surface of a textile” of CAD Q, s.v. 1, d.

²⁰⁵ ICK 2, 299:10^f. distinguishes between 1 *túg kutānam* and 1 *túg lá qá-at-pá-am*.

²⁰⁶ Lines 5–13: *aššumi, šubātīm ša šu-ur-bu-i-a-tim, ša tašpuranni, umma attāma, 1 túg ana litabšia šēbilim, šubātum wadde, epiš, išti ašlākimma, adini ulā ušēlišu*.

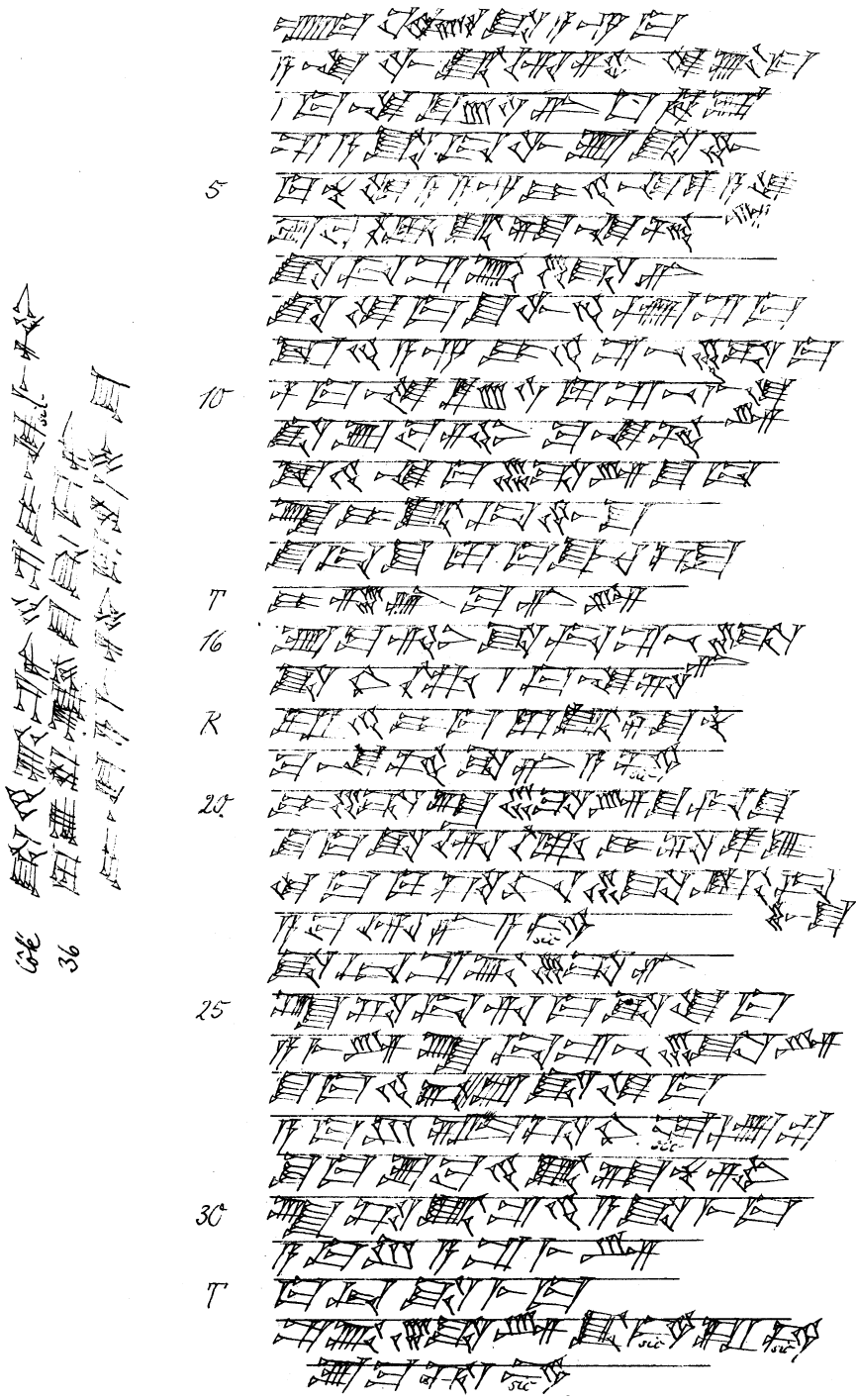


Fig. 12.2. Cuneiform copy of TC 3, 17. Source: Lewy 1935, plate XIV.

hairy (see § 3.4.1 end). *Mašādum* (lines 12 and 20), “to comb”, is applied to wool and hair, not to a fabric (also not in AO 7026 = Lackenbacher 1982), although Landsberger claims this, stating that it has the same effect as *mašārum*, carried out with thorns and thistles (OLZ 60, 1965, col. 158, on no. 299). It seems attractive to follow AHW 623a, who starts from the basic meaning “to beat” (“schlagen, walken”), a treatment applied by the fuller in order to create the smooth surface of a cloth, typical of a *kutānum* (l. 22). Then “lightly” and “cropping” after “striking” fit, but what the technical difference with *kamādum*, “foulage à la main” (Lackenbacher 1982, 141–142) consists of is not clear. *Šumma šārtam i-ta-áš-ú*, in line 21, is translated by CAD Q, s.v. *qatāpum*, 1, d, as “if it still has loose hairs”, which probably is an implicit correction of CAD K, 608, s.v. *kutānu*, d, and CAD N/2, s.v. *našû* A, 1, f), which translate “if it has (lit. has raised) a nap”. Since final -u with a singular subject is impossible with *našā’um*, the form must be a perfect tense of *išû*, “if it (still) has”, in agreement with CAD Q, loc. cit. Note that this text uses the word *šārtum*, “hair”, primarily used for “hair” of animals and humans, in particular “goat hair”, but here clearly referring to the hairs of a woollen fabric. In the only other occurrence of the word in Old Assyrian, Kt n/k 1459:27, “2 headdresses of *šārtum*” (2 *paršigē ša šārtim*), it could mean goat hair.

3.4.2. Colours

Old Assyrian texts offer very little information on colours. Only once (in TC 3, 69:22) a ‘multicolored and dyed textile’ (*šubātam barrumam u šinītam*) is mentioned, but the request in this letter not to buy such a piece implies that they were made and for sale, but the “caravan reports” never mention such specification for exported textiles.

Yellow, warqum/erqum. We have 3 references for *warqum/erqum*, “yellow/green”: 7 *lubūšī erqūtim*, (after 6 white ones, ICK 1, 92:5), 13 *túg war(BAR)-qú-tim* (RA 58, 64, 7:5), 2 *kutānī ša hu-BA-na-ri qatnūtīm u er-qú-tim*, “2 thin and yellow *kutānū*” (Kt 91/k 356:27–29). Note also Kt 94/k 1686:19–21, 600 *samru’atīm ša-ba 86 wa-ar-qá-tim*.

White, pašium. There are about a dozen references for “white” (*pašium*) textile products, most numerous are “white *lubūšū*” (Veenhof 1972, 164, and also KTS 2, 26:15’, Kt/n k 533:170), but we also have a “white *kusītum*” (POAT 7:8). A reference to large amounts (80 and 20 talents) of “white and red wool”, in CCT 4, 47a:30–31 applies to Anatolia, where the Assyrians were involved in the wool trade.

Red, samum. A few occurrences refer to *pirikannu*-textiles, Anatolian products, BIN 4, 162:4, 35 (40 pieces at 2/3 shekel apiece), Prag I 429:17, and TC 1, 43:24–26 (“buy red *pirikannū* ... the *pirikannū* you acquire must be red!”), but KTS 2, 35:30 perhaps mentions 6 *kutānī sá’(copy A)-mu-tim*. “Red wool” in CCT 4, 47a:31 is an Anatolian product, according to this text available in the towns of Durhumit and Tišmurna. There is one reference to *makrūm*, “reddish”, used of wool in OIP 27, 7:4.

Black, šalmutim. One occurrence, AKT 2, 24:23–26, “Let them give you 100 *šubātū* and send them here with the lady, do not black ones!”²⁰⁷

Dyed, šinītam. The fem. adjective *šinītam*, “dyed”, cf. CAD Š/3, s.v., is used once of wool, *šim sig^{há} šinītim*, BIN 4, 54:15, and it occurs a few times as a noun, a name of a textile, in TC 3, 69:22 alongside *barrumam*, “multicolored”. Note also 2 *túg^{há} šiniātum* in CCT 3, 49b:24, and “He offered us 30 textiles but they are affected by the moth (16) *ù ší-ni-a-tum*; since the textiles have lost value (*batqū*) *ù ší-ni-a-tū-ni* we refused to

²⁰⁷ *šalmūtīm lá ta-sá-hi-a* in line 26 is difficult, since the verb *sahā’um*, “to become troublesome, rebellious”, is not construed with an accusative object and requires a preposition (*ana, aššumi*).

handle them” (Kt n/k 717:13–19, courtesy of Albayrak). The combination with damage by moth suggests a negative meaning, but it is uncertain whether the writers want to say that the effect of the moth is more damaging on dyed textiles or that such textiles were anyhow less attractive.”²⁰⁸

Other adjectives that refer to the outward appearance of textiles are:

waršum, “dirty”: three references in Veenhof 1972, 188, j, and one in Or 52, 197, no. 2:5’: 66 [fine(?) *kutānū*] 7 a[*barnū*], 1 túg *šilipka’um* 1 túg *waršum*.²⁰⁹ Its opposite,

zakium, “pure, clean”, once in BIN 4, 23:4, “I gave to K. 2 *kusītān*, 1 túg *za-ki-am* 2 *šulupka’ē*.

3.4.3. Other qualifications

ad/tmum, Cole 6:4–5, 90 túg, sig₅ ú 93 túg *ad/t-mu-tù-um*, meaning unclear, but perhaps the verbal adjective of the verb *adāsum*, “to invest, have a share in”, rather than to be connected with *níg-bàra-ga* = *atmu*, a kind of “spread for the bed” (Civil 1964, 80).

anhum, “weary, old”, Kt 94/k 1106:4–5 (courtesy of Larsen), “there are old textiles” (*šubātū anhūtum, ibaššīū*), that have to be aired (see also footnote 14).

dannum, “strong”, KUG 29:12, 6 túg^{há} *dannūtum ana niši bētim*.

eDium, see *waDium*.

kabrum, “thick”, used of wool and garments: Prag I 487:1–2, “túg GA-ar-ZA-am *kabram* PN is bringing you”.

kabtum, “heavy” [see for Mari, Durand 2009, 104, s.v. *šubātum kabtum*], more than 30 references. Used as adjective with *abarnūm* (Prag I 435:11; Kt 86/k 193:15, with added *narbam*, “soft”), túg *šūrum* (CCT 3, 4:7, 4 túg *šūrūtum kabtūtum ša liwītum*, used for packing merchandise, cf. ATHE 51:2’, 2 túg *kabtēn [ša liwī]tim*). In most cases, túg *kabtum* is used independently, as a heavy textile, according to CCT 3, 20:19–20 “for (wearing on) a wagon” (*ana narkabtim*), and the writer of TC 2, 7:25–28 states that for lack of wool from Šurbu he will buy a “heavy textile” (*šubātam kabtam*) in the market in Aššur. Note AKT 3, 73:13–18, 40 túg^{há} *šà-ba* 20 túg *kabtūtum*.....32 túg *šà-ba* 10 túg *kabtūtum damqūtum*; Kt c/k 110+:4–5, 35 *kutānū* 10 *šūrūtum* 5 túg *kabtūtum*; AKT 3, 65: 4–6, 94 túg *šà-ba* 5 túg *kabtūtum* 15 túg *tardiūtum* ..., 17–18, 11 túg *kabtūtum* 10 túg *ša qātim*. “Heavy textiles” are qualified as *damqum*, “of good quality”, e.g. AKT 3, 73:18, as “of Šubarum” (6½ túg^{há} *kabtūtum* sig₅ *ša Šubirim*, Kt 91/k 344:10–11), as *ša liwītum*, “for wrapping” (ATHE 51:2’), and as *narbum*, “soft” (Kt 93/k 350:10–11). Heavy garments may have been appreciated during the Anatolian winter.

kamsum, a (verbal) adjective of uncertain meaning. AHW’s “etwa mit Appretur versehen” is a guess, possibly by deriving the adjective from *kamāsum* A, “to finish, complete”.²¹⁰ Qualifying a textile as finished (and hence expensive), is a meaning that would fit BIN 6, 165 (see below). There are c.20 references, usually small numbers, and they are also produced by women in Aššur, cf. Veenhof 1972, 184, d, and especially ATHE 31:7–8, where Pūšukēn’s wife entrusted 3 *kamsu*-textiles of good quality and 7 *kutānū*, which she must have produced herself, for transport to Anatolia, and according to BIN 4, 9:24 (cf. line 6) she sent 3 *kamsu*-textiles and 5 *kutānū* there. According to BIN 6, 165:1–6 (note the sequence!), 15 *kutānū* of extra good quality, 5 *kamsūtum*, 20 *kutānū* of good quality, 20 túg *kutānū tardiūtum* and [x] Akkadian textiles” were sent to Anatolia. This suggests that *kamsum* (without determinative túg!) describes a type of *kutānum* of fine quality, less than “extremely good”, but better than simply “good”.

²⁰⁸ There is one Old Assyrian occurrence of *šarpum*, “dyed”, used of woollen fleeces in Kt 93/ k 915: 7–10, 1 *maškim šarpum* 2 *maškē šūrūtum*, “I sold him one dyed fleece and 2 dark coloured(?) fleeces”.

²⁰⁹ Wilcke, who edited the text, pointed out that the same lot of textiles is mentioned in CCT 4, 5a:5–6, where, however, túg *waršum* is omitted.

²¹⁰ Cf. ATHE, p. 46, 7; in Old Babylonian it is used once of finishing an object (AbB 3, 34:19, a reed door).

In lists, where the sequence has informative value, we find *kamsūtum* – *kutānū* (POAT 15:13–14), *šubātū ša qātim* – *kamsūtum* – Akkadian (Kt 94/ k 204:1–3), Abarnian – *kamsūtum* (Kt 94/k 218:19), Akkadian – *kamsum* – Abarnian (at 45 shekels apiece, followed by *kutānū* at 30 shekels; BIN 4, 4:3–6), *kutānū qātum* – *damqūtum* – *kamsūtum* (BIN 4, 221:6–8, shipped off from Aššur). See also Kt c/k 443:7–8 (courtesy of Dercksen): 400 textiles of which 25 *damqūtum* (including the Abarnian ones), 18 *tardiūtum*, 17 *maṭiūtu* ..., and in lines 12–13, 5 *kamsūtu* 6 *nibrārū* 2 *kusītān* 1 *raqqutum* 1 *nibrārūm*. Qualifications are rare, we have *damqum*, “fine”, in Kt 94/k 1446:15–17, “for a child” in BIN 4, 68:10 (*ša šuhrim*), and in Kt 94/k 204:1–3 they are qualified as “of Akkadian make/style” (2 *túg^{há} ša qātim kamsūtum ša Akkidīē*). Note for its relation to other textiles especially Kt 94/k 1686:36–40 (courtesy of Larsen): “Of my 100 ... *kutānu* 35 are of extra good quality 46 *abarnūi*! [*ka*]msūtum *ú nibrārū ša kutānī damqūtīm*, in all 181 *kutānū*”, where “(made) of good *kutānu*-cloth” qualifies the *nibrārū*, but perhaps also the Abarnian ones of *kamsu*-quality. However, the parallel Kt 94/k 1697:13–16 (courtesy of Larsen) gives the second series as “46 *šubātū*, either Abarnian ones or *kutānū* of extremely good quality or (*lu*) *kamsūtum* or *nibrārū*”, where this group seems to comprise four different types of textiles and the qualification *ša kutānī damqūtīm* has become a separate category!

karsum (?) meaning unknown, see Prag I 487:1–2, quoted under *kabrum*.

lahhub/pum, “?”, ATHE 62:8, 3 *túg lá-hu-b/pu-tim*; Kt c/k 675:15, 3 *túg lá-hu-b/pu-tim*, followed by 1 *túg raqqutum*. From a verb *lahhub/pum*, of unknown meaning, see CAD L 239a, with the statement in ICK 1, 15:18–19, “The rest of the textiles I will *lahhub/pum* so that they can wear them (*ulahhab/pma iltabaššūniššunu*). Compare Kt 94/ k 966:17–18, whose writer asks to provide him, from Hurrāma, with a set of garments (1 *túg^{hi-a}*) for his personal dress, either a *šūrum* or an Akkadian *burā’um*; “let one *lahhub/pum* and bring it into the town” (*lu-lá-hi-b/pu lušēribuniššu*).

narbum, “soft”, usually said of wool (see above, § 1.1) but also applicable to textiles made of soft wool, Kt 86/k 193:15ff., *túg abarniam kabtam na[rba]m a-litabšia*, “a heavy (but) soft Abarnian textile for me to wear”; Kt 92/k 112:14–15, a *šubātam narbam* sent by the writer’s sister *ana litabšia*, “for me to wear”. “Soft” implies better quality, cf. Kt 87/k 378:16–17 (courtesy of Hecker), 2 *túg nahlaptēn damqātēn watartēn naribtēn*, “2 extremely good, soft cloaks”, and does not exclude “heavy”, RA 81, 14:8–9, “6 heavy *burā’u*-textiles, including 3 soft ones”. Since *narbum* is also used of Anatolian wool, we are not surprised to meet “soft *pirikannū*”: Kt n/k 1385:16 (10 pieces) and Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, “soft *pirikannū* of fair quality” (*narbūtīm wasmūtīm*).

qatnum, “thin”, refers to the textile as such, also in Old Babylonian, including Mari (CAD Q, 174a, b), because it is made of thin threads (“thin wool”, CAD, *loc.cit.*, c, attested for Old Babylonian but not for Old Assyrian). According to the locus classicus TC 3, 17:6–22 (above, § 3.4.1 end) a *šubātum qatnum* to be made by an Assyrian woman, who has to process 1 pound of wool more apiece than she did, should have a dense warp (*šutāšu lū madât*), but “the textiles must be thin” (*lū qatnū*, line 18). See also Veenhof 1972, 214, Excursus on the difference between *qatnum* and *raqqum*. *Qatnum* is used as an adjective in CCT 4, 48b:18, *túg raqqatam damqam qatattam*, and Kt n/k 391: 4, 1 *túg qatnum* has to yield ½ mina of silver. Note Kt 91/ k 356:28–29, 2 *kutānū ša hu-BA-na-ri qatnūtīm u erqūtīm*, “(send me) 2 thin and yellow *kutānu* of”, and CCT 5, 39b:18–20, “I took 12 Akkadian textiles and from these I took 1 thin textile”. *Qatnum* is used independently, without *túg*, in LB 1201:14–15, 1 *Abarnūm* 2 *qatnūtum* 4 *ša qātim*. Note that in § 182 of the Hittite Laws, a *túg*-sig is the most expensive quality.

raqqum, “thin”, used as substantiated adjective and spelled *túgraqqutum* (not *šubātum raqqum!*), denotes a light and thin garment. Cf. above § 3.3, s.v. *raqqatum*. Occasionally *raqqum* is used as a real adjective: CTMMA 1, 85a:12, 2 *túg bar-dul₅ raqqitēn*, “2 thin *kusiātu*-garments”, and KTB 7:4–5, 4 *túg kusiātum raqqatum* (see under *kusitum* in § 3.3.3).

šapium, “padded, thick”, regularly used of wool and woollen fleeces (*maškū šapiūtum*), and saddlecloths (*ukāpum*), but occasionally also of textiles, JCS 14, no. 2:18–20: “bring together the rest of my textiles, 7 *kutānū*! *šapiūtum* *ù eDiūtum*; Mixon 10:4–5, 13½ *túg šapiūtum* 9½ *túg waDiūtum*.

waDium, meaning unknown, also written *eDium*, usually alongside *šapium*, “thick”, said of fleeces, saddlecloths and garments, e.g. Kt 94/k 734:51, 4½ *túg wa-dí-ú-tum*; see under *šapium* and the comments on Kuliya, no. 57:4.

3.4.4. Format and size

The adjectives “small” (*šahrum*) and “big” (*rabium*) in general are not used to qualify textiles. There is only one possible reference to *šahrum* in Kt n/k 469:2 (courtesy of Günbatti), 10 *túg ša li-tab-ší-im*, 18 *túg ša¹-hu-ru-tum* PN *ilqe*, “PN took 10 textiles to be worn and 18 small textiles”.²¹¹ In a letter to his wife (BIN 4, 10:14–15, see below) Pūšu-kēn states that the textiles she sent him “are (too) small, are not good”. “Big” (*rabium*) is used only once in TC 1, 43:16, an order that *pirikannū* to be acquired should be big (*lu ra-bu-[ú]*). “Long” (*arkum*), occasionally attested elsewhere (ARMT 22, 164 rev. 1’, [túg-gu]z-za *gíd-a*; OBTR 80:4–5, *gú-è-a riksu sud-a ù la sud-a*), does not occur in Old Assyrian. This suggests that the textiles in Old Assyrian trade had standard sizes, known to the parties involved, which need not be mentioned in caravan accounts and lists. Accordingly we only have very few indications of size, only mentioned in letters for particular reasons: a) the request in TC 3, 17:33–38 that a finished woollen *šubātum qatnum* should measure 8 by 9 cubits (*tiše inammitim lu urukšu šamāni ina ammitim lu rupuššu*; see § 3.4.1, end), or c.4.5 by 4 m; b) the statement in Kt 94/kI350: 31–32 (courtesy of Larsen), *raqqatam arbē ina ammitim rupussa u ešar urukša*, “a thin textile, 4 cubits wide and 10 long”, or c.2 by 5 m.; and c), in CCT 4, 44b:17–18, a reference to the size of a piece of “linen” (*kitā^{um}*; see above § 1.2). While the size in a) is in a request to the woman who produced the textile, apparently because such textiles sold well, the purpose of the linen that has to be bought and sent in c) is unknown and we do not know what size “linens” in general had. In b) the measures of the *raqqutum* shipped to the addressee may have been mentioned because they deviated from the standard. In this connection also the letter BIN 4, 10:14–19 is interesting (edited Veenhof 1972, 111–112), where Lamassī complains that her husband had written: “They (the textiles) are (too) small, they are not good”, to which she reacts with: “Did I not reduce their size at your own order? And now you write: ‘Add half a pound (of wool) to each of your textiles!’ – I have done so!” This is comparable to the request made in TC 3, 17:15–18 (above, § 3.4.1) to process in each *šubātum qatnum* 1 pound of wool more than before. These pieces of information show that there could be important differences, but they do not reveal how much wool was processed on average, e.g. in a *šubātum qatnum* or a *kutānum*. If we take BIN 4, 10 at face value, processing more wool yields not only a heavier, but also a larger textile and this may have been implied in TC 3, 17 too, and be the reason why the required size is stated at the end of the letter. The adjectives used, on the one hand “thin” (*raqqum* and *qatnum*), and on the other hand “heavy” and “thick” (*kabtum*, *kabrum*, *šapium*), suggest different weights, which could be based on the nature and/or the amount of wool processed and on the thickness

²¹¹ The reading of ZA is not fully certain, Günbatti writes “maybe A”, which would yield *ahhurūtum*, “still due, still to be delivered”, which is also unique. *Šahhurūtum* is the well-known plural of *šahrum*, a pseudo-D-stem, with an added vowel.

of the threads and density of the weave.²¹² In Veenhof 1972, 89–90, considering both the data provided by texts from Ur III and Nuzi and the carrying capacity of donkeys (one usually carried 25 textiles or a few more), a weight of c.5 minas apiece for the most current types, *kutānū* and *ṣubātū* was suggested, but a “thin” textile (*raqqutum*) and a *kusītum*, also regularly qualified as “thin” (also in lexical texts), must have been lighter and perhaps also (see reference c), above) smaller. This is no problem since the lists of textiles shipped by caravan to Anatolia comprise only small numbers of these textiles. However, we admit that the argument derived from the carrying capacity of donkeys is not very strong, because the textiles’ volume rather than their weight may have determined the amount an animal could carry.

Puzzling and disturbing, finally, is the small text Kt n/k 200 (courtesy of Bayram), which reads: 226½ *ṣubātū šuqultašunu* 7 GÚ 20 *mana*, “226½ textiles, their weight 7 talents and 20 minas”, which yields a weight of less than 2 minas apiece. The type of textiles is not specified, but considering the large number it may well refer to those current in the trade.

4. Categorisation

Apart from the generic word corresponding to “textile”, usually written with the logogram *túg* and less often with the Akkadian term *ṣubātum*, many of the textiles cited in the Old Assyrian tablets belong to specific categories. We have texts with enumerations of various types of textiles that list certain types together or in a particular, probably not coincidental sequence, e.g. by quality/price, in an ascending or descending order. Other enumerations may state that particular types of textiles belonged to or ranged under another, larger category, or that certain types of textiles were considered as alternatives. There are a number of references where a particular type of textile is qualified as *ša* another textile, in particular *ša kutānim*, which most probably means that such a textile was made of a particular type of fabric.²¹³ The study of all these combinations provides an understanding of some connections between the many textile types.

4.1. Textile type included in another type

The most informative combination between two categories is by means of an inclusive link, where we have “X textiles of type A, among which Y are of type B”. This can be expressed either by the logogram *šà-ba* (*iqqerbim*), “among which”, or by the Akkadian word *qādum*, “including”. Also, some accounts give the total number (*šu-nigin*) of textiles of a certain type which comprises several other textile categories.

4.1.1. *šà-ba* (*ina qerbim*), “among which”

Many occurrences of *šà-ba* do not offer much information when the first group is simply “textiles” (*túg*), without any further details. For example, a document presents the following inventory: “94 textiles among which 5 *kabtūtum* textiles, 15 *tardiūtum* textiles, 30 *kusiātum* textiles, 1 *šulupkum* textile, 1 *lubušum*, 2 *nibrarān*”.²¹⁴ We merely learn that all these items are textiles.

²¹² Note that when *Pūšu-kēn*, in BIN 4, 10, qualifies a textile he considers “(too) small” as “not good”, “good” (*damqum*) here, is not the same as when in a list textiles are qualified as “good”; “not good” meaning that they are not appreciated, do not sell well.

²¹³ See for example 3 *šitrim ša kutānim* (RA 59 1965, n° 14, 15) and below § 4.3.

²¹⁴ AKT 3, 65 (Michel 2001, no. 167):4–7, 94 *túg šà-ba* 5 *túg*, [*k*]*abtūtum* 15 *túg tardiūtum*, 30 *túg kusiātum* 1 *túg šilipka’um*,

The enumerated textiles may be of a specific quality. Thus a *namaššuhum* garment is counted among extra fine quality textiles.²¹⁵ An *abarnūm* textile can be included among extra good quality textiles.²¹⁶ An unpublished tablet lists in all 58 bags in which various textiles are packed. In the first 18 bags we find 82 textiles of good quality (túg sig₅) among which are 24 *tardiūtum*.²¹⁷ This contrasts with the traditional idea that *tardium* refers to items of secondary quality; it seems that *tardium* could be used as an independent mark of quality and means “of next good quality”, after *damqum*, “of very fine quality” (see above § 3.4.1 d). The next 18 bags include 94 good quality textiles transported by Laqēp(um), among which are 25 *tardiūtum* textiles and 10 textiles for wrapping (*ša liwītum*).²¹⁸ Again, in addition to those called *tardium*, textiles *ša liwītum*, used for wrapping other textiles and usually cheaper, are included here among good quality pieces.²¹⁹

A link between two textile categories, besides being an indication of quality, may suggest the geographical provenance of a particular type. Among Babylonian textiles qualified as *ša Akkidīē*, we find textiles for wrapping and a *burā’um* piece.²²⁰ This shows that a *burā’um* could be made in southern Mesopotamia, but it does not rule out the possibility that such textiles could also be woven in another geographical area. The same observation can be made for excellent quality *kutānu*-textiles, among which some are said to be *abarnūm*.²²¹

More informative are the connections between various textile categories where quality or provenance do not play a role. The *kutānum* category, which is the main type exported from Aššur to Anatolia, includes several other categories: *kusītum*,²²² *šūrum* and once *ša šadā’im*.²²³ The *pirikannum* category, which is the main type of textiles produced in Anatolia, also comprises other types: *tisābum*²²⁴ and *menuniānum*,²²⁵ and the *sapdinnum* category also includes *tisābu*-textiles.²²⁶ More difficult to interpret is the combination illustrated in the text CCT 5, 12a, where a bale of 14

1 *lubūšum* 2 *nibrārān*. See also AKT 3, 61:12–13, 1 *me’at* 3 túg^{há} : *ina é-gal^{lim} izkūnim*, *ša-ba* 66 *kutānī* u 31 túg *ša a-ki-dí-i*; AKT 2, 34:8–9, 12 túg *ša tamkārīm*, *ša-ba* 5 *abarnū*; Kt 93/k 765:12–13, 164 *šubātū* *ša-ba* 20 túg sig₅ *alīūtum tardiūtum*.

²¹⁵ AKT 4, 24:2–3, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ túg *damqūtum watrūtum*, *ša-ba* 1 túg *nī-lám*, “22 $\frac{1}{2}$ textiles of extra fine quality, among which one *namaššuhum*”, shipped from Aššur to Anatolia (see above §3.2. s.v. túg-nī-lám).

²¹⁶ Kt 93/k 288, 5–6: 8 túg^{há} sig₅ *diri* *ša-ba*, 1 túg *abarnūm*.

²¹⁷ Kt 91/k 106, 1–5: *ina* 82 túg^{há} sig₅, *ša šēp* *Ali-abim*, *ša* 24 *tardiūtum*, *ina* 20 lá 2 *naruqqātim*, *darkū*. The same remark applies to Kt 93/k 304 where *qablum* garments, usually translated as “medium quality textiles”, include good quality *kutānum*s l. 5–8: 81 *kutānū*, *qablūtum*, *qadum* : *liwītum*, *ša-ba* 20 *kutānū* sig₅^{umm}.

²¹⁸ Kt 91/k 106, 9–15: 94 túg sig₅ *ša šēp*, *Laqēpim*, *ša* 25 túg *tardiūtum*, 10 túg *ša liwītum*, *ina* 20 lá 2, *naruqqātim*, *darkū*. The same observation can be made from Chantre 10, 5–7: *šu-nigin* [1 *me’at*] 15 túg *ša dam-gār*, 92 túg^{há} sig₅ *ša-ba* 4 túg^{há}, *ša liwī[tim]*.

²¹⁹ See also EL no. 123:4 and 6 where *šubātū* *ša liwītum* are part of a large group of textiles of good quality (*damqum*) and Kt 93/k 304:5 81 *kutānū* of medium quality, *qadum* *ša liwītum*, of which 20 are *kutānū* of good quality.

²²⁰ Textile *ša liwītum*: CCT 5, 36a:18–20, 128 túg *lu šūrūtum*, *lu* *ša Akkidīē*, *ša-ba* 24 túg *liwītum*. *Burā’um* textile: AKT 2, 44:3–5, 4 túg^{fi}, *ša Akkidīē*, *ša-ba* 1 *burā’u[m]*.

²²¹ Kt c/k 174 (courtesy of Dercksen): 6 túg *kutānū* sig₅^{umm} *watrūtum* *ša-ba* 3 *abarnū*.

²²² AKT 4, 23:1–2, 21 túg *kutānī*, *ša-ba* 5 *kusiātum*; Prag I 616:1–2, 18 túg^{há} *kutānū*, *ša-ba* <x> túg *kusiātum*, followed by few pieces of various types of textiles and we do not know if they are counted among the 18 *kutānū*, l. 3–8, 4 túg *ša šuhrim*, *ša Akkidim*, 3 *šitrē*, 5 *išrātum*, 2 *raqqātim*, 2^{sitta} *nahlapātum*; if we suppose that the missing number of l. 2 is <2>, then we obtain a total number of 18 textiles. Kt c/k 174 (courtesy of Dercksen): 175 *kutānū* *ša-ba* 12 *kutānī qablūtum* 5 *kusiātum* *ša Akkidīē* 3 *šūrūtum*.

²²³ Kt 87/k 434:1–3 (courtesy of Hecker), 23 túg *kutānī*, *ša-ba* 5 túg *ša ša-da-im*, 18 túg *šūrūtum*.

²²⁴ Kt 93/k 59:1–3, 9 *pirikannī* /sig₅, *ša Zalpa*, *ša-ba* 3 *tisābū*; Kt 93/k 891:5–7, 9 túg *pirikannī*, *ša Zalpa kunukkia*, *addinakkum* *ša-ba* 3 *tisābū*; Kt 93/k 60, 1–3: 34 *pirikannī*, *ša Haqqa* *ša-ba* 12 *tisābū*.

²²⁵ Kt 93/k 522:25–27, 71 túg *piri[kannī]*, *ša-ba* 30 túg *menuniāē*, 41 túg *ša Tuhpiya*.

²²⁶ CCT 5, 12:8–9, 14 *sapdinnū* *ša-ba* 4 *tisābū*; Kt f/k 117:5–6, 10 túg^{há} *sapdinnum* *ša-ba* 2 túg *tí-sà-bi₄-im*.

sapdinnū includes 4 *tisābū* (and?) 2 *kita'ātum pālilū*. We know that *tisābu*-textiles may belong to both the *pirikannum* and *sapdinnum* categories, which consist of woollen textiles, but it is impossible to decide whether the *kitā'um pālilum*, which should be translated as “linen being/serving as *pālilum*”, could also belong to the *sapdinnum* type.²²⁷ Perhaps it is better to suggest that only the 4 *tisābū* textiles belong to the *sapdinnum* category, and that the 2 *kita'ātum pālilū* are counted apart, but were added to the same donkey load.

4.1.2. *Qādum* “including”

The same remarks apply to the less common expression “type A *qādum* (including) type B”. Beside the most common expression *qādum ša liwītim* “including those for wrapping”²²⁸ and the examples referring to *túg* in general, we find combinations of specific categories with qualities²²⁹ or with geographical provenance: Akkadian textiles including dirty (*waršūtum*) textiles,²³⁰ *šūrum* ranging among Abarnian textiles²³¹ or *raqqātum* textiles including *šilipka'um*.²³² More interesting is the reference to *kutānu*-textiles of *qablium* quality including textiles for wrapping (<*ša*> *liwītim*).²³³

4.1.3. *šu-nigin* (*ištēniš*) “total amount”

Contrary to the situations outlined above where first the total number of textiles is given, followed by a specification about some categories included in this total, many documents list the number of textiles belonging to each category separately and sum up all the textiles (*šu-nigin*), thus again combining several types.²³⁴ In such a combination, textiles made of wool from Šurbu (see § 1.1) belong to the *kutānum* type.²³⁵ *Lubūšu*-garments, *kusītu*-textiles and two types named by a nisbe, *šilipka'u*- and *takkušta'u*-textiles, are totalled as Akkadian textiles.²³⁶ This combination of two different geographical qualifications is difficult to understand: one name could refer to the real provenance while the second to the technique used to weave the textile or to its shape if dealing with a garment. Again the *kutānu*-textiles appear as a large category containing several others: *šūrum* and *takkušta'um*²³⁷ or *abarniūm kamsum* and *nibrārum*.²³⁸

To sum up, there are two main textile categories which include several others: the *kutānum* type, made in Upper Mesopotamia and the Anatolian *pirikannum* type. Two terms which were

²²⁷ CCT 5 12a:6–10, 50 lá 1 *túg pirikanni*, *ša Kaneški*, 14 *sapdinnū šà-ba*, 4 *tisābū 2^{sita}*, *kita'ātum pālilū*. For the categorisation of Anatolian textiles, see above § 3.3 s.v. *tisābum*.

²²⁸ See for example LB 1268:9–11, 77 *šubātū damqūtum*, 6 *šubātū abarni'ū* 32 *šubātū qabliūtum qādum ša liwītim*.

²²⁹ kt c/k 443:6 // Kt c/k 449:4 (courtesy of Dercksen): 25 *túg sig₅ qādum abarniē*.

²³⁰ CCT 5, 36a:26–27, 3 *túg ša Akkidīē*, [*qā*] *dum waršūtum*.

²³¹ BIN 6, 60:13–15, “We counted 85 textiles, thereof 24 Abarnian ones, including (*qādum*) one *šūru*-textile”.

²³² VS 26, 11:26–30, “110 textiles, thereof 40 *kutānū*, 11 *takkušta'ū* and 11 *raqqātu*, including 2 *šilipka'ū* (*qādum šilipkên*); this could imply that the latter were a specific type of “thin garments”.

²³³ Kt 93/k 304:5–7, 81 *kutānū*, *qabliūtum*, *qādum* : *liwītim*.

²³⁴ CCT 5, 36a:1–9, 1 *me'at* 57 *kutānū*, 43 *túg šūrū-tum*, 4 *túg kutānū ša ikribišu*, 2 *túg namaššuhū*, *šu-nigin* 2 *me'at* 6 *túg ša abini*, 43 *túg kutānū* 8 *túg abarniū*, 32 *túg šūrūtum* 25 *túg ša abuni iddinanni*, 34 *túg ša Akkidīē*, *šu-nigin* 1 *me'at* 42 *túg ja'ūtum*.

²³⁵ TC 2 14:6–9, 27 *túg sig₅ Šu-ur-bu-i-<ú>-tum*, *kù-bi* 3½ *mana* 1 2/3 *gín*, 63 *kutānū kù-bi*, 6 *mana* 1½ *gín šu-nigin* 90 *kutānū*.

²³⁶ Yale 13092 (unpubl. courtesy of Larsen), mentions textiles bought in Aššur, 8–12: 7 *lubūšū*, 6 *kusiātum*, 1 *šulupka'um*, 1 *takkuštūm*, *šu-nigin* 15 *ša A-ki-dí-NI-im*.

²³⁷ CCT 5 36a:10–17, 38 *túg ša Ahā*, 45 *túg lu kutānū lu šūrum*, 7 *túg takkušta'ū*, *ša Ali-ahim*, *dumu Enah-ilī*, 5 *túg ša kārīm*, 14 *túg ša Ali-ahim*, 6 *túg ša Laqēp*, *šu-nigin* 3 *me'at* 35 *túg kutānū*.

²³⁸ kt 94/k 1686:36–39 (courtesy of Larsen), *ina túg^{ha} 100 kutānī [tardi]ūtīm*, 35 *kutānī sig₅-diri* 46 *abarniē [ka]msūtum* *u nibrārū ša kutānī sig₅ watrūtīm šu-nigin* 181 *kutānū*.

considered as referring to medium or second quality textiles, *qablium* and *tardium*, may rather belong to good or top quality textiles. We can imagine, for example, that *qablium*, “medium”, does not refer to quality but to size and would indicate a medium sized piece (see above § 3.4.1. g). This explanation is not completely satisfactory because *kutānum qablium* can be used for wrapping, and one would imagine that this operation requires larger size textiles. Finally, categories defined by a nisbe or geographical name do not necessarily refer to the provenance of the textile, but it could indicate a shape, or a special weaving technique.

4.2. Alternative textile types

Certain types of textiles were considered alternatives, either by the Akkadian expression *lu ... u lu*, or they were interchangeable in parallel documents.

4.2.1. *Lu ... u lu*

The expression “(x textiles a,) either textiles b or textiles c”, used sometimes, implies that some categories could be exchanged and thus are considered equivalent. The choice may occur between textiles of two different geographical origins. For example, a *kusitum* garment may be either (m)alkuaīum or *šilipka’um*;²³⁹ a *nibrārum* garment could come either from the Šubarum, from Aššur or be exchanged with an Akkadian *kusitum*.²⁴⁰ Most often, we observe that a “geographical” type and another category can be alternatives. Among textiles exported from Aššur to Anatolia:

- *kutānu*-textiles may be either *šurūtum* or Akkadian,²⁴¹
- good quality textiles may be either *kutānum*, *abarnīum* or Akkadian,²⁴²
- *raqqutu*-textiles may be either *lubūšum* or *takkušta’um*,²⁴³
- a *lubūšum* from Susē and a *kutānum* of fine quality are alternatives for an extra fine Abarnian textile to be worn by a man.²⁴⁴

Among the Anatolian textiles:

- textiles may be either *menuniānum* or from Tuhpiya,²⁴⁵
- *tisābum* from Hahhum may alternate with *sapdinnum* from Talhat.²⁴⁶

Since we do not know the criteria along which the Assyrian merchants distinguish or compare these categories, it is a difficult task to choose between these alternatives. The trade being the main purpose of this documentation, it is most probable that the first criterion is the commercial value of the textiles (Kt 93/k 344:9–21).

4.2.2. Parallel texts

Some caravan accounts were written in several copies to be kept by the sender, the transporter and the recipient of the merchandise. In few cases, we observe small variations between

²³⁹ TC 3 169:10–12, 1 tūg *kusitum*, *lu alkuaīum*, *ù lu’ šilipka’um*.

²⁴⁰ Prag I 686:19–21, *nibrāram*, *lu ša Šubirim lu ša ālim^{ki}*, *lu kusitam ša Akkidē*.

²⁴¹ CCT 5, 36a:18–19, 1 *me’at* 28 tūg *lu šurūtum*, *lu ša Akkidē*.

²⁴² CCT 4 29b:3–4, tūg^{há}: sig₅ *lu tūg kutānū*, *lu abarnīē lu ša Akkidē*.

²⁴³ Kt 93/k 344:19–20, 18 tūg *raqqatum lu lubūšū^l*, *lu takkušta’ū*.

²⁴⁴ AKT 2 24:4–5, 10–11, 1 tūg *abarnīam*, sig₅ *watram ... lu lubūšam susēiam*, *lu tūg kutānam sig₅*.

²⁴⁵ Kt 93/k 517:21–22, 55 tūg *lu menunianū lu ša*, *Tuhpiya*.

²⁴⁶ Kt 94/k 1672:19–20, *lu tūg tisābī ša Hahhim*, *lu sapdinnī-ma ša Talhat*.

duplicates, either in the number of items counted or in the name of the item. For example, the three parallel documents Kt c/k 443, 449 and 458 (courtesy of Dercksen) show the following variations (underlined).

Kt c/k 443:12–14

5 túg *kamsūtum* 6 túg ***nibrārū***

2 túg *kusītān* 1 túg *raqqatum*

1 túg *nibrārum*

Kt c/k 449:7–9

6 túg *kamsūtum* 6 túg *namaššuhū*

2 túg *kusītān* 1 túg *raqqatum*

1 túg *nibrārum*

Kt c/k 458:9–13

5 túg *kamsūtum* 6 túg *namaššuhū*

2 túg *kusītān* 1 túg ***a-ra-qá-tim***

1 túg *nibrārum*

The 6 *nibrārū* textiles listed in the first text are changed into 6 *namaššuhū* textiles in the two other documents. Either it is a confusion made by the author of the document, or those two types are in fact very alike. Note also the variation between 1 túg *raqqatum* into 1 túg *a-raqqatim*, “1 piece of textile for a *raqqatum*”, which expresses a purpose rather than a textile type.

Another example is given by two texts excavated in 1994 (courtesy of Larsen).

Kt 94/k 1686:3–6, 8–11, 36–40

603 *kutānū*, šà-ba 100 *kutānū tar<di>ūtum*,

ahamma 35 *kutānū* sig₅ ***diri***,

šà-ba 3 *kutānū* ...

ahamma 46 túg *abarnū*, *lu kamsūtum*

lu nibrārū, ša *kutānū* sig₅ *wastrūtum*,

šu-nígin 684 túg^{há} ...

Kt 94/k 1687:1–7, 10–11, 13–15

603 túg *kutānū*, ... ***ina qerbim***, 100 túg *kutānū*, *tardiūtum*,

35 túg sig₅ ***wastrūtum***,

ina qerbim, 3 *kutānū* ... šu-nígin 600, u 38 túg ...

ahamma 46 túg ***lu*** *abarnū*, ***lu*** *kutānū* sig₅ *wastrūtum*,

lu kamsūtum lu nibrārū

(again l. 36–39):

ina túg^{hi-ti}-a 100 *kutānū*, [*tardi*]ūtum

35 *kutānū*, sig₅ ***diri*** 46 ***abarnū***

[*ka*]msūtum, ***ú*** *nibrārū* ša *kutānū* sig₅, *wastrūtum*

šu-nígin 181 *kutānū*

The interpretation of these two tablets is not clear. In lines 8–11//13–15, should we read:

“*abarnū* textiles either *kamsūtum* or *nibrārū* of good quality *kutānū*”,

“*abarnū*, *kamsūtum* and *nibrārū* of good quality *kutānū*”,

or should we understand:

“*abarnū* textiles, either good quality *kutānū*, or *kamsūtum* or *nibrārū*”?

This example demonstrates the complexity of such statements. In the first two translations, the *nibrārum* type may be made of *kutānum* fabric, but not in the third one. In addition, according to the first and the third interpretations, *abarnū* is the broad category that comprises *kamsūtum*, *nibrārum* and perhaps *kutānum* textiles, but not in the second version.

4.3. Textile “ša” another type of textile

Another very informative categorial link is provided by the expression “textile A ša textile B”, which we may understand as “textile A made from/in the style of textile B”. One of the two items again may be a geographical name or nisbe:

- *kusītum* ša *Akkidīē*²⁴⁷
- *burā’um* ša *Akkidīē*²⁴⁸
- *nibrārum* lu ša *Šubirim* lu ša *Ālim*,²⁴⁹ ša *Akkidīē*²⁵⁰
- *šitrum* ša *abarnīē*,²⁵¹ ša *Akkidīē*,²⁵² ša *Ālim*,²⁵³ ša *Zalpa*.²⁵⁴

Several textile types can be produced in different places or made in different shapes or techniques, but it does not help to identify each category.

When the word combinations do not include a toponym, one of the main issues is the question of whether the items mentioned were textiles or garments. For example, the *šitrum* is said to be of (ša): *kutānum*, *sapdinnum*, *pūkum* and *lubūšum*.²⁵⁵ We can imagine that the *šitrum* was a piece of clothing that could be made of several types of textile that are different as regards to their material or weaving technique. This definition nicely fits the first three types, *kutānum*, *sapdinnum*, *pūkum*, but not the last one, *lubūšum*, which has usually been interpreted as a piece of clothing. In this case, a *šitrum* ša *lubūšim* may be translated “a *šitrum* belonging with/of the same type as a *lubūšum*”.²⁵⁶

Both *nahlaptum* and *namašuhhum* are made of *kutānu*-fabric and must correspond to garments.²⁵⁷ The *nahlaptum* is usually translated as an outer garment, a coat or a shirt (see above § 3.3 s.v.). The case of the *nibrārum* type is more complicated. It belongs either to the categories of well-known Anatolian textiles, *pirikannum* and *sapdinnum*,²⁵⁸ or it can be made from a woollen *kutānum* fabric, usually produced in Aššur.²⁵⁹

5. Textiles or garments?

5.1. Context, names and fractions of textiles

Did the Assyrians trade in woollen fabrics in the shape of large sheets or textiles of standard sizes or in ready-to-wear garments? It is a more general problem when dealing with the names of ancient textiles, also encountered in connection with the texts from Mari, where it has been clearly formulated by Durand 1980, 394–395. The names of the “textiles” frequently are not informative enough to answer this question and we also have no pictorial evidence to help us, while information on textile production is almost completely absent. The preference for “soft” textiles (§ 3.4.3, s.v. *narbum*) and for those whose “inner side has been well finished”²⁶⁰ may apply to both. Occasional information on garments worn, e.g. in the letter TC 3, 17:23–28, “As for the

²⁴⁷ ATHE 46:7–8, 4 *kusiātīm*, [š]a *Akkidīē*; Kt m/k 22:6–7 (courtesy of Hecker), 1 *kusītam* ša, *Akkidīē*.

²⁴⁸ Kt 94/k 966:14–15: lu *burā’um*, ša *Akkidīē*; AKT 2, 44:3–5, 4 *túg^{ti}*, ša *Akkidīē*, šà-ba 1 *burā’u[m]*.

²⁴⁹ Prag I 686:19–20, *nibrārum*, lu ša *Šubirim* lu ša *ālim^{ki}*.

²⁵⁰ Kt c/k 524:10, 1 *túg nibrārum* ša *Akkidīē*.

²⁵¹ TC 1, 19:12, 2 *šitrē* ša *abarnīē*; Kt 93/k 75:7 *šitram* ša *abarnīim*.

²⁵² BIN 6, 64:7, 1 *šitrum* ša *Akkadī*; Kt n/k 437:4–5, *šitram*, ša *Akkidīē*.

²⁵³ Kt n/k 437:3–4, 2 *šitrē*, ša *ālim^{ki}*.

²⁵⁴ BIN 6, 184:r9–10, 1 *šitram*, ša *Zalpa*; CCT 1, 50:6, 6 *šitrī* ša *Zalpa*.

²⁵⁵ 3 *šitrim* ša *kutānim* (RA 59 1965, n° 14:15); *šitrum* ša *sapdinnim* (TC 1, 19:11); *šitrum* ša *pūkum* (Kt 91/k 501:6; Kt 93k 542:8); *šitrum* ša *lubūšim* (Prag I 740:3; RA 60, 1966, 113, n° 43:33; OIP 27, 58:25).

²⁵⁶ The correct interpretation of the *lubūšum* is given below § 5.3.

²⁵⁷ *Nahlaptum* ša *kutānim*: OIP 27, 7:11, 13; *namašuhū* ša *kutāni*: Benenian 5:2–3 (unpubl.).

²⁵⁸ Kt 93/k 891: 9, *túg pirikannum* ša *Zalpa* including 3 *tisābum*; CCT 5, 12a:9, 14 *sapdinnū* including 4 *tisābū*.

²⁵⁹ Kt 94/1686, 9–10: *nibrārū*, ša *kutānū sig₅ watrūtum*. Note the writing: Kt 87/k 452:9 (courtesy of Hecker), 1 *túg kutānu ti-sà-bu*.

²⁶⁰ In Assyrian ša *qerbam šalmūni*, see footnote 203.

Abarnian textile you sent, a similar one you must not send again. If you make one, make it like the one I wore there (= in Aššur)", may apply to the woollen fabric from which it was made or to the finished garment.²⁶¹ Even the distinction between a woollen sheet and a garment is not always clear, since some of the latter were hardly tailored and more of the type of a (large) "wrap-around" garment. Of course, tailored garments of various types and shapes, at times provided with fringes and tassels, did exist and there was also a distinction between undergarments and shirts, and outer or upper garments such as cloaks, the more ceremonial "toga-garments",²⁶² and coats.

Above (§ 1.1) we concluded that the most frequent textile product exported to Anatolia, *kutānum*, was not a garment but a woollen fabric, presumably a kind of cloth, which could be used for making garments and specific pieces of apparel qualified as *ša kutānim*, "(made) of *kutānum*".²⁶³ Therefore *kutānum* may also occur as a type or category of woollen fabric under which other textile products or garments, made from it, could be subsumed, e.g. *kusītum*, see above § 4. The absence of a statement of the type "x *šubātū*, of which y are *kutānū*" suggests that, in many cases, textile products designated by the generic term *šubātū* may have been *kutānū*-textiles and not garments. Besides, what is true for *kutānum* is most probably also valid for *šūrum* (see § 3.3, s.v.), essentially a somewhat cheaper and possibly coarser alternative, much used for wrapping merchandise, for which a tailored garment would not have been used.

A further argument for considering most common "textiles" woollen fabrics of standard sizes is the occurrence of parts or fractions of them. While some of these fractions may reflect shared ownership (like the occasional occurrence of "half a donkey") or be the outcome of a balancing of accounts, most are real and imply that certain woollen textiles could be cut into pieces still retaining a commercial value. This is understandable considering the (few) data we have on their large size: a "thin textile" (*šubātum qatnum*) could measure c.4 by 4.5 m and a *raqqutum* c.2 by 5 m (see above § 3.4.4). Fractions usually occur when an Anatolian palace levies a tax (*nishatum*) of 5% on imported textiles and uses its right to pre-empt 10% (or a the tithe, *išrātum*) of the remaining ones. This regularly yields odd figures and in such cases the Assyrians hand over parts of textiles, regularly a half, one third and even occasionally one fourth of a textile, which for the above mentioned items means pieces of between 9 and 2.5 square meters, which could still be used for making garments.²⁶⁴ There are even a few cases where pieces of textile are exported from Aššur, "6⅓ heavy Šubarian textiles of good quality" in Kt 91/k 344:10–12, and "31 textiles and 1/3 Akkadian textile" in Prag I 704:8–9.²⁶⁵ For still smaller pieces or fractions due, a "balancing payment" (*nipiltum*) in silver is made.²⁶⁶ That such fractions only occur in *šubātum*, *kutānum* and

²⁶¹ For the Assyrian text, see § 3.4.1.

²⁶² See the contribution by B.R. Foster in this volume.

²⁶³ As shown here, this applies to *nahlaptum*, *namaššuhum*, *nibrārum*, and *šitrum*.

²⁶⁴ Note also TC 3, 164:21–22, "I paid two shekels of silver for one textile and I used them to provide clothing to two servants" (2 *šuhārē ulabbīš*).

²⁶⁵ The curious writing 31 *šubātū* ù ⅓ *túg ša Akkidīē* suggests that the last item was an addition to the load, still saleable in Anatolia, which is feasible, since an "Akkadian textile" is not a tailored garment, but a woollen fabric or type of textile from which other, more specific pieces of apparel could be made (see above § 2 and 3.3. s.v.).

²⁶⁶ The tax paid may consist of a fraction of a textile plus some silver, and if, in order to avoid fragmentation of textiles, the palace receives a little more, it compensates by paying some silver back, but occasionally tiny fractions are ignored. For examples, see Larsen 1967, 122–134 and 156–159 (the edition and analysis of his texts "type 3" nos. 11–130) and also Veenhof 1972, 85–86 and 94–95. To give some examples: in BIN 4, 61:5–10, the tax on 85 *kutānū* amounts to 4 ¼ pieces and after deduction of the tithe of 8 *kutānū*, there remain 72¾ textiles; in CCT 5, 39a: 9 of the presumably 9[1] textiles,

šūrum, never in textiles called *abarnīum*, *kusītum*, *namaššuhum*, *šilipka'um*, and *takkušta'um*, suggests that the latter were either tailored garments or textiles of specific shapes and styles, that could not be cut into pieces.

A further argument for considering many textiles as being woollen fabrics of standard types is that there is almost no evidence of specific textiles meant as garments for women.²⁶⁷ There are several references that link a *šitrum* with a woman,²⁶⁸ but men also wear it (see § 3.3, s.v.), and there must have been differences in the headdress (e.g. *paršigum*), but a *nahlaptum* was worn by persons of both sexes. The two cases (see below § 5.2) of women claiming to have given up a garment (*šubātum*) of their own to add it to the merchandise sent to Anatolia, suggest that their garment was of a standard type that could be sold in Anatolia, not necessarily only to and for women. According to KTS 50c (= EL 150):1–7, the queen of Wahšušana, on the occasion of her arrival (in town), received as a gift one *kutānum* and one *šūrum* which apparently were suitable for her wardrobe. And the statement in RHA 18, 37:15–16, “I clothed his wife and him in two garments of good quality” (see below § 5.2) does not suggest that they received two different textile products. The same is true of the Anatolian textile called *tisābum*, since *Kuliya* 54:4–6 mentions that an Anatolian bought one for his wife (see § 3.3, s.v. *tisābum*). This picture is confirmed by data from other periods. In Mari, the textiles allotted to women in the royal harem are not different from those given to male personnel of a more or less similar rank, and both usually receive a *túg-si-sá* (perhaps to be read *išār(t)um*, “ordinary, normal textile”), whose name indicates the type of weave and fabric rather than its function or characteristics as a garment.²⁶⁹ Among the “textiles” listed as part of a dowry during the Old Babylonian period (we lack dowry lists for the Old Assyrian period), we also do not find specific garments tailored for women. Those listed are the usual items that occur in administrative and economic texts such as *túg*, *túg-bar-si*, *túg-guz-za* and occasionally *túg-gú-è(-a)*, *túg-sal-la*, *uṭblum*, *laharītum*, and *kitītum*.²⁷⁰ In the text published by Lackenbacher 1982 (III:1 and VI:23), a *túg-guz-za* can belong both to the god Enki and to the goddess Nanaya, and also the garments in the wardrobe of the goddess Ištar of Lagaba, as far as identifiable, do not seem to be typically feminine.²⁷¹

after deduction of the tax of [4½ pieces] and the tithe of [8⅔ pieces] there remain 77⅕ textiles; in AnOr 6 no. 15, the tax on 27 *kutānū* amounts to 1½ piece, the tithe to 2½ pieces, so that (line 14) 23⅙ pieces remain.

²⁶⁷ We must disregard cases where the woman mentioned is not the recipient of the textile, but the one who had made it or sent it to a trader in Anatolia, e.g. in CCT 1, 25 (EL no. 166):26–28, “one textile of good quality and a Abarnian one of the lady I entrusted to A.”; TC 1, 105:5–6, “one Abarnian textile of his wife N., I. and E. brought to Suejja”; TC 3, 158:27–30, “I gave you one Abarnian textile of the daughter' of A.”; AKT 4, 30:11–13, “One *nahlaptum* of our bride-to-be (*kallutum*) P. brought me”.

²⁶⁸ AKT 4, 29:21–23, in a letter to an Assyrian woman in Kaneš, mentions a gift to her from her daughter (in Aššur) : “One *šitrum* of Akkadian make with the seals of Bēlatum, your daughter, Š. is bringing to you”.

²⁶⁹ See Ziegler 1999, 193–196. Higher ranked women may receive an *uṭblum* (text no. 25:3'), which is also given to men; Durand 1980, 405–406, for *túg-si-sá* and the fact that an *uṭblum* is characterized by a specific kind of weave (result of “tissage de la serge”, shared by the textile called *raqqatum*).

²⁷⁰ See the data presented above in § 3.1, with note 7 and 11, and for several texts Dalley 1980 nos. 3–6, 10 col. II (where the meaning of *túg ú-ZU-um* in line 8 remains unclear) and 11, and Bruxelles O 342, col. I. An exception could be the *túg-sal-la sūnim* in BM 16465 II:5 and 12, and a *túg-bar-si irtim*, attested once at Mari (see § 3.3 note 43, but the *nahlaptum ana irtika* in Kt k/k 24:24–25 is meant for a man).

²⁷¹ See Leemans 1952, 1–2, where apart from various kinds of *paršigū*, we also find the rare *aguhhum*, *gadamahhūm*, *túg tuqnātum* (meaning unknown), *túg taktīmum* (perhaps a fine blanket, cf. CAD T, s.v.) and *túg-sal-la = raqqatum*.

Taking into account comparative data as well, we may conclude that a *kusitum* was a type of garment (which could be “thin”, made of *kutānu*-fabric, or “of Akkadian make/style”, see § 3.1 and 3.3 s.v.), although possibly not much tailored and rather of the “wrap-around” type. The same may be true of *raqqatum*, “thin textile”, because in Kt 94/k 1751:5–7, 2 *šulupka’u*-textiles and 2 *raqqātum* of good quality are qualified as “for/as garments for our father” (*ša lubūšī ša abini*). In the Old Babylonian period too, this textile was worn as a garment and belonged to a person’s or a god’s wardrobe (see CAD R, s.v. *raqqatu* A, 169, b–c), which made it appropriate as a gift, e.g. in KTS 57a:6, where two pieces are offered to a local ruler. Products with specific names, such as *namaššuhum* (=lamahuššūm), *šilipka’um* and *takkušta’um*, which figure in small quantities among the items exported, probably also were garments. Babylonian sources show that *lamahuššūm* was a rather sumptuous garment and its Old Assyrian counterpart was worn as a garment by an Anatolian ruler according to Kt 89/k 221 (quoted in § 3.3, s.v. *namaššuhum*). That a *šilipka’um* was a garment is suggested by Kt 94/k 1751, quoted above, and for *takkušta’um*, it may be inferred from the fact that in Mari it figures as a gift received by a man at the court in Babylon (see § 3.3, s.v.), since kings and courts (as is well attested at Ebla, Mari and Babylon) used to hand out (sets of) garments as gifts to important visitors. It is, however, impossible to say what the nature of these garments was: perhaps a specific type of weave, with finishings and perhaps colours, rather than extensive tailoring.

5.2. The use of the verb *labāšum*

Further evidence for the issue of “textiles or garments” can be found by studying the occurrences of the verb *labāšum*, “to put on clothing”, in Old Assyrian attested in the reflexive Gt-stem (*litabšum*), “to clothe oneself in ...”, and in the D-stem (*labbušum*), “to clothe, to provide somebody with clothing”. This raises the question of the meaning of the derivative noun (túg) *lubūšum*, which in Old Assyrian occurs in different contexts and with different meanings.

The D-stem occurs several times (also in the stative) and when the impersonal object is *šubātum*, the latter apparently means “clothing, garment”, see CAD L, 19 b, 1’, and apart from the two examples quoted below, also RHA 18, 37:15–16, “I clothed his wife and him in two garments of good quality” (2 túg^{há} sig₅ ... *ulabbiš*), and Kt 94/ k 486:10–12, “you failed to give me the price of the garment in which I dressed you”. Note also Kt 75/k 78:2–3 and 29–30, “I provided his son / the daughter of Š. with one garment for a youngster” (1 túg *ša šuhrim ulabbiš*), where the garment given matches the age, gender and size of the recipient. However, TC 3, 164:21–22, “I paid 2 shekels of silver for a *šubātum* and clothed (with it) two servants” (2 *šuhārī ulabbiš*), suggests that *šubātum* here was a large sheet of textile that could be cut into two to make garments.

The Gt-stem, *litabšum*, occurs about two dozen times, inter alia in letters where traders in Anatolia ask to send them, usually from Aššur,²⁷² textiles “to be worn, to be put on by me” (*ana litabšia*). In several letters they ask to send or buy an unspecified *šubātum* for that purpose, provided either by a fellow trader²⁷³ or by a female relative. In Kt 91/k 508:13–15, Ummī-Išhara writes to her brother, “With the next caravan I will send two garments (*šubātū*) of good quality for you

²⁷² However, in VS 26, 40:8–10, “a textile for me to put on” (*šubātum ana litabšia*) has to be bought for 6 shekels of silver in Anatolia, since it is followed by a request to buy a *pirikannum* and a belt.

²⁷³ CCT 4, 45b:27–29 (meant for women, *allitabšišina*); CCT 6, 3a:24–26 (will be sent when the road is open again); CTMMA 1, 79:19–21 (“send me *šubatū* to put on, I am staying here without *šubātū*”); Prag I 477:19–25 (may cost 20 shekels of silver); see also ICK 2, 210:2 and Prag I 440:45–47 (“the oil you left behind for me to anoint myself and the *šubātum* to put on...”).

to wear”, Kt 92/k 102:18–20 asks “Why did you hold back the garment (*ṣubātum*) my sister sent for me to wear?”, and TC 3, 210:3–6 mentions the shipment of 12½ shekels of silver (to Aššur) to the address of two women “for buying *ṣubātū* for me to wear”.²⁷⁴ That a *ṣubātum* was worn as a garment is also clear from Kt 91/k 543:25–27, where a woman writes from Aššur, “You know very well that I stripped the garment from my shoulders to give it to you”.²⁷⁵ In Prag I 440:3–6 (also a letter from a woman in Aššur to a trader in Anatolia) such a *ṣubātum*, worn by a woman, is put on a pair with the *ṣubātū* that to all appearances had been bought in Aššur for export to Anatolia: “Together with your own *ṣubātū* (plural) one is bringing you a *ṣubātum* that is my own garment of which I stripped myself!” Other texts also mention that some of the textiles traded could be worn or used as garments: ICK 1, 15:18–19, “The rest of the textiles I will²⁷⁶ and (so that?) they can wear them”, and Kt 91/k 449:1–8, “When we counted the textiles (*ṣubātū*) of my transport, the palace took 2 *ṣapdinnū*, ... 5 textiles they (had) put on” (*iltabšū*). In CCT 3, 20:17–20, “Since the girl has now grown up, I have now made a few heavy textiles for (on) the wagon” (*túg ištēn u šina kabtūtīm ana narkabtīm ētapāš*), it is not clear whether she had to wear them as garments or they were used as covers or blankets on the wagon.

Other texts mention particular types of garments in which people dressed:

- *Abarnūm*, apart from TC 3, 17:23–28, quoted above, also Kt 86k 193:15–25, “If (you have?) a heavy and soft Abarnian textile for me to dress in, wrap it and also select two heavy *kutānū*, either from those of mine or from those belonging to the trader ...”. Perhaps also in AKT 2, 24:4–12, “Š. owes me one Abarnian²⁷⁷ textile of very fine quality. Ask it from him and when you ... Š., make him wear it” (*labbišāšu*), and the letter adds that if Š. refuses, the addressees should give Š. a *lubūšum* of Susē (? *sú-sí-e-a-am*, see § 2.1.1, s.v.) or a fine *kutānum* for that purpose.
- *burā’um*, BIN 4, 160:11–13, “Š. owes 11 minas of refined copper (because) I dressed him (*ulabbiššu*) in a *burā’u*-textile of good quality”, and Kt m/k 43:1–2 (courtesy of Hecker), “When the textile(s) came up from the city, I dressed A. in a *burā’u*-textile (1 *túg burā’am A. ulabbiš*). Also Kt 94/k 966:12–20 (courtesy of Larsen), “Get yourself out of there! Give one of the textiles that I can wear, either a *šūru*-textile or a *burā’um* in Akkadian style ... to an independent trader and let one ... (it) and bring it into the town. There are (here) no textiles I can dress myself in”.²⁷⁸
- *kutānum*, CCT 5, 33:9–15, “I gave him a *kutānum* to put on (*allitabšišu*) and will send up for him from the City an Abarnian textile”; with the D-stem of the verb, Kt 94/k 1226:18, “I provided the Hattians²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴ In Kt 93/k 325:10–13, a woman writes from Aššur: “Send me silver so that we can buy wool and then we will make one garment for you to wear” (1 *túg ana litabšika lu nēpušakkum*). When this was impossible, garments could also be bought, as in TC 3, 17:29–33, “If you don’t manage to make thin textiles (*ṣubātū qatnūtum*), as I hear there are plenty for sale there, buy and send them!”, and this could be done on the local market, cf. TC 2, 7:25–28, “Because there is no *šurbu*-wool (for making a textile) available, we will buy a heavy textile on the market (*ina mahīrim*)”

²⁷⁵ *Attāma tidē šú-ba-tum^{sic} bu-dí-a [ah-m]u-úš-ma addinakkum*. Cf. ARM 10, 17:10–14, where the queen of Mari writes to her husband, “Let my lord put the garment and the cloak I made on his shoulders (1 *ṣubātum u nahlaptam ... ana budišu liškun*).

²⁷⁶ *Šitti ṣubātī ú-lá-ha-áp-ma iltabbušunišunu*. CAD L, 18, c, 1’, suggests for *lahhupum* a meaning “to set aside” or “to select” (p. 239, s.v. *luhhu*, “to treat textiles in a particular way”); AHW s.v. *la’upum* II, referring to Arabic *lh̄f*, proposes “in ein Tuch hüllen”, but this action is always expressed by the verb *lawā’um* in Old Assyrian. For this verb, see also line 18 in footnote 278.

²⁷⁷ Sic? The edition has *túg A-ni-a-ni-a-am*.

²⁷⁸ Lines 12–19, *ramakkunu šulhā*, 1 *túg^{hā} ina litabšia*, *lū šurum^{sic} lu burā’am*, *ša Akkidīē ištū*, *Hurama ana mer ummiānim*, *dimma lu-lá-hi-pu*, *lūšerrebūniššu*, *túg^{hā} allitabšia lā ištū*.

²⁷⁹ Courtesy of Larsen; *Hattūm*, presumably a nisbe derived from *Hattum*, probably also in KTS 1, 8a:4–5, *i-na a-lim^{ki}* (written *a ki lim*) *ša [H]a-tí-e*.

with two *kutānū* as clothing” (2 *kutānī* *Ha-tí-e ulabbiš*), and see above, under *Abarnūm*, for such a use of a (fine) *kutānum* in Kt 86/k 193:19–20 and AKT 2, 24:11.

- *lubūšum*, see AKT 2, 24:10, quoted above, under *Abarnūm*.
- *palīlum*, TC 3, 164:11–13, “I paid 6 shekels of silver for two *túg pá-li-li* and the slave-girls have put them on” (*iltabšāšunu*).
- *raqqutum*, Kt 93/k 93:6–9, “The thin textile that A. promised you – I saw it and it is not fit for you to wear, it would be a shame” (*lā ša litabšika magriat*).
- *šūrum*, TC 1, 19:17–21, “Send two *šūru*-textiles of good quality to me to wear (and) 2 *sapdinnū* of good quality”; also Kt 94/k 966, quoted under *burā’um*.
- *tisābum*, Kt 94/k 1173:18–21, “A. promised me one extra fine *tisābum* to dress myself in” (1 *túg, tisābam sig₅ uttu-<r>tam, ša ana litabšia*).

These data show that different varieties of textiles could be and were used as garments, not only those called *abarnūm*, *burā’um*, *palīlum* and *raqqutum*, but also *kutānum* and *šūrum*, textiles whose names, as indicated above, probably refer primarily to a particular type of woollen fabric. They may have been appropriate to use as “wrap-around garment” or perhaps their fabric, after some tailoring or cutting may have been turned into a garment. This would put them on a par with the unspecified *šubātū*, which various texts show to have been worn as garments, although there is also evidence for cutting them into pieces to yield more than one garment.

5.3. *lubūšum*

This brings us, finally, to the noun *lubūšum*, which etymologically means “what one wears, is put on”, according to CAD L, s.v., “1. clothing, 2. piece of apparel, 3. clothing allowance”. In Old Assyrian it occurs in various constructions and contexts.²⁸⁰

The third meaning is frequent in connection with the hiring of caravan personnel who, in addition to a wage, receive a “clothing allowance”, normally in the form of some silver (c.1½ to 2 shekels per person). This could be the price paid by a trader for buying (cheap) garments for his employees or the silver he had actually handed over to them.²⁸¹

The first meaning, not always well distinguishable from the third one, occurs in general statements, such as “we will spend it (the copper) for clothing (*ana lubūš*) for your wife and son and for their food” (BIN 6, 187 rev. 13’–16’), and in combinations where a textile is qualified as “clothing of/for” a particular person either by a construct state, as in textiles *ša lubūš šarruttim*, “as clothing of kings” (see § 3.4.1,a) and *ša lubūš šuhārī*, “for clothing of servants” (Prag I 429:1, *pirikannu*-textiles), or by means of *lubūšum ša*, e.g. *lubūšam ša šuhrim*, “a garment/clothing for a youngster” (AAA 1, 2:5–6). We also find textiles qualified as *ša lubūšim ša*, e.g. 1 *túg ša lubūšim ša šuhrim*, “one textile as garment for a youngster” (BIN 6, 84:30), or “2 *šulupka’ū* ... (and) 2 thin textiles (*raqqātān*) as garments (plural!) of our father” (*ša lubūšī ša abini*, Kt 94/k 1751:1–6). However, *ša lubūšim* is also used more independently, as in 1 *túg ša šuhrim ša lubūšim* (KTS 2, 31:3) and 1 *šitrum ša lubūšim* (OIP 27, 58:25, Prag I 740:3, alongside *kutānū* and *išrātum*). Since a translation “as garment” would amount to tautology and the contexts make “as (part of a) clothing allowance”

²⁸⁰ Old Assyrian also knows *lubūštum* (see § 3.1), “clothing, clothing allowance”, but it is very rare, see CAD L, 233, d, 1’.

²⁸¹ See Larsen 1967, 150–151, table, under “clothes”, and Veenhof 1972, 97 with note 160. We regularly meet in descriptions of caravan expenses the phrase “x silver the wages of the harnessors, together with their clothing allowance” (x *kaššārū qadum lubūšišunu*), e.g. in KTB 17:8–9. Cf. also POAT 41, 17–18, “send 5 minas of wool, her clothing ration” (*lubūšiša*, plural or mistake for *lubūšša*?)

unlikely, we take it as referring to a particular (kind of) garment to which the item mentioned belonged or which it had to match, to make a set.

In such cases, *lubūšum* may be used because it was the standard type of garment and this may also apply in cases where a number of *lubūšū* are listed together with small numbers of specific types of textiles or garments, exported from Aššur.²⁸² Here a meaning “garment” is not distinctive enough and would make all other exported textiles more or less automatically not garments, which is difficult to accept, as indicated above. CAD L, s.v., 2 therefore takes it as “a specific type of apparel” and the occasional use of the determinative *túg* before *lubūšum* supports this view and distinguishes it from textiles with more specific names that appear alongside it, but what its characteristics were is difficult to say. In the listing in Yale 13092 (see footnote 282), together with other textiles, it is qualified as “Akkadian” and this is also the case in Kt n/k 1228:13–17 (courtesy of Çeçen), “among the Akkadian textiles, both yours and mine, there are a *lubūšum*, a *kusitum* and a *šulupka[um]*”. There are a number of references to white and one to yellow *lubūšū* (see § 3.4.2) and they could be of fine quality,²⁸³ expensive products according to Kt n/k 533:16–22 (courtesy of Günbattı), “if the textiles, either a white *lubūšum* or an Abarnian one, both of extremely fine, royal quality, seem right to you, give one to her”.²⁸⁴ In TC 3, 161:1–3, 3 *lubūšū*, among which a white one, are a gift for a queen,²⁸⁵ and in AKT 2, 24:10–12 a *lubūšum* of Susē (*sú-sí-e-a-am*) and a *kutānum* of fine quality are alternatives for an extra fine Abarnian textile to be worn by a man.

These data indicate that *túg lubūšum* was a fine garment, presumably of a standard type, a valuable product exported in small quantities, which could be provided with a matching *šitrum* and of which also a smaller version, fit for children, existed.

* * *

The Old Assyrian archives contain an important number of textile names, but the data concerning them are restricted to particular features, such as: the numbers, qualities and prices of the textiles traded, their geographical origin and, sometimes, also the material they are made of. The production techniques and the textile usages are rarely mentioned. The Assyrians and the Anatolians used only two materials: wool and linen, goat hair being mentioned only rarely. However, the terminology dealing with textiles is rich: there are about seventy different words referring to the various kind of fabrics, material, shape, use of textiles, and a few data on their weights. We found also twenty different words to specify the colour, quality or appearance of the textiles. The great majority of this vocabulary is peculiar to the Old Assyrian corpus; in fact,

²⁸² We have the following enumerations (cf. CAD L, s.v. 2, a): 5 *túg lubūšū* 1 *túg kusitum* 2 *raqqātān* (Prag I 623:1–3); 5 *šū[rūtum]* [x] *lubūšū*, [y] *raqqātum* (Prag I 672:4–6); 7 *lubūšū* 6 *kusiātum* 1 *šilipka'um* 1 *takkuštum*, “in all 15 Akkadian textiles” (Yale 13092:8–10); 5 *kusiātum* 1 *túg Abarnium* sig. 2 *túg lubūšū* 1 *túg nibrārum ša Akkidīrē* (Kt n/k 524:8–10); 10 *kusiātum* 2 *túg burā'ū* 5 *lubūšū* (Kt n/k 524:32–33, exported from Aššur); 1 *kutānum* 5 *túg lubūšū* 1 *túg raqqutum* (Kt 91/k 299:11–12), etc.

²⁸³ Note RA 60, 139:18–21, “As for the garment (*lubūšum*) for (the woman) A., I looked for a fine *lubūšum*, but I could not find one to send her”.

²⁸⁴ *Šumma šubātū, lu lubūšum pašium, lu Abarnium, damqūtīm watrūtīm, ša šarruttim, išširūnikkum, diššim.*

²⁸⁵ Lines 1–6, 1 *túg lubūšum pašium*, ša A. 2 *túg lubūšū*, ša P. a-*rubātīm išši*, 1 *túg pašium inūmi ana* ⁵ *bēt mūšim iqrāšuni, akkārīm labbušim*, “one white *lubūšum* of A., two *lubūšū* of P. he brought as a gift to the queen; one white garment when they invited him to the house of the *mūšium* to dress the *kārum*”.

there are relatively few words dealing with textiles, which are also found in cuneiform sources from other areas and periods. Thus, textile crafts have a strong regional tradition compared to other crafts. The important geographical aspect of the production is confirmed by the twenty geographical terms referring to textile types.

The study of textile terminology, in the absence of archaeological remains, rests on etymology, categorization and the combination of various terms, apart from a few more detailed descriptions. One can see that, most often, it is difficult to give an accurate and appropriate translation for each term, but, at least, we could distinguish textiles from garments. The translation of the technical terms will be enhanced by a good knowledge of weaving techniques, and the workshop, whose results are published in this volume happened to be very successful in this respect²⁸⁶.

Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool.
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung. Leiden.
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1958–1981.
AKT	Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri = Ankaraner Kültepe Texte. Ankara.
AMMY	<i>Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Yıllığı</i> . Ankara.
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia, Roma.
ARM(T)	Archives Royales de Mari (Traduction). Paris
ATHE	B. Kienast, <i>Die altassyrischen Texte des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer</i> . Berlin, 1960.
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies. New Haven.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago (1956–).
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. London.
Chantre	E. Chantre, <i>Mission en Cappadoce 1893–1894</i> . Paris, 1898.
CST	T. Fish, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester 1982.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London.
CTMMA	<i>Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> , vol. 1. New York, 1988 (nos. 71–98, ‘Old Assyrian Texts’, by M. Trolle Larsen).
EL	G. Eisser & J. Lewy, <i>Altassyrische Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe</i> , I–II. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft 30, 35/3. Leipzig, 1930, 1935.
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien. Stuttgart.
GAG (Erg.)	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> . Analecta Orientalia 33. Roma 1952 (or later); <i>Ergänzungsheft</i> . Analecta Orientalia 47. Roma 1969.
GKT	K. Hecker, <i>Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte</i> . Analecta Orientalia 44. Roma 1968.
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series. Cambridge, Mass.
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i> . Cincinnati.
ICK	Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kültepe. Prag.
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> . New Haven – Boston – Ann Arbor.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Berlin.
KKS	L. Matouš & M. Matoušová, <i>Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln mit Siegeln aus der Sammlung der Karlsuniversität in Prag</i> . Prag, 1984.
KTB	J. Lewy, <i>Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blackertz</i> . Berlin, 1929.
KTH	J. Lewy, <i>Die Kültepe-Texte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn</i> . Berlin, 1930.
KTS	Keilschrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul. Istanbul, 1926.

²⁸⁶ See also the contribution of A. Wisti-Lassen in this volume.

- KUG K. Hecker, *Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*. Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek 9. Giessen, 1966.
- Kuliya K. R. Veenhof, *The Archive of Kuliya, son of Ali-abum (Kt 92/k 188-263)*, Kültepe Tabletleri, Ankara, 2010, quoted by text number = AKT 5.
- LB Texts in the collection of Liagre Böhl. Leiden.
- MARI Mari. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires. Paris.
- MDP Mémoires de la Délégation de Perse. Paris.
- MSL Materialien zum sumerischen Lexicon. Roma.
- NABU *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*. Quoted by year + number of contribution.
- OBTR S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker & J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Texts from Tell al Rimah*, London, 1976.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
- POAT W. C. Gwaltney Jr., *The Pennsylvania Old Assyrian Texts (HUCA Supplement 3)*. Cincinnati, 1983.
- Prag I + no. Siglum of texts in K. Hecker, G. Kryszat & L. Matouš, *Kappadokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*. Prag, 1998.
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*. Paris.
- RGTC Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes. Wiesbaden
- RHA *Revue hittite et asianique*. Paris.
- RIMA 1 A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1155 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, vol. 1. Toronto, 1987.
- Sadberk V. Donbaz, *Sadberk Hanım Müzesi'nde Bulunan Çiviyazılı Belgeler*. Istanbul, 1999.
- TC Tablettes cappadociennes du Louvre. Paris.
- TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre. Paris.
- TLB Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae Leidae Conservatae. Leiden.
- TPAK C. Michel & P. Garelli, *Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe, 1 (Kt 90/k)*. Paris 1997.
- TuM Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Sammlung. Leipzig.
- UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- VS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königl.) Museen zu Berlin. Berlin.
- WO *Die Welt des Orients*. Göttingen – Tübingen.
- YOS Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian Texts. New Haven.

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