The Textiles traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia (19th-18th Centuries BC)
Cécile Michel, Veenhof Klaas

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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, 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, packing 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. 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 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.

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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’) 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. 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) untailored 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. 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 (šíg, 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, was at

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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 Archivium 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 “kutānum-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, tūg-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. kuttoneṭ; > χιτών;? However,*qutānum is superfluous alongside ṭāqquṭum, “thin textile”, well attested in Old Assyrian, and there is probably a text where the adjective qutum, “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” (ṣubātam 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 kutānu requested “because there is no Šurbu-wool (ṣaptum šurbūtum) available”.12 Furthermore, in TC 2, 14:6–9 (Michel 2001, no. 108), textiles designated as šurbūtum 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 kuttōnēt 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 nahlapturn (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. kusītum, 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-šī in Kt 87/k 452:3–4 (courtesy of Becker) 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 alsoguilding (§ 3.4.1) requires that one side of a

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’hébreu kuttōnet, 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 knt), 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 subātam, from the root sabātum, “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 qatnimtim, “2 thin kutānu of h.” (or “kutānu of thin h.”; meaning of h. unknown).

11 Note also TC 3, 72:24–26, [x] kutāni [x x x] ū 1 tūg qaṭ[nam x x x] īkla.

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, tūg ša šu-ur-bu-i-ā-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 kutānu. 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” (ṣubātam kībtam).

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 sīg-tī-e-em for šaptim, “wool”. See below § 3.3, s.v. lud/ṯām.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 (ṣubātu) for you to wear (\textit{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”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ṣubātu sāsam lapti} and the first text states “I keep airing his textiles every day” (\textit{ūmešamma ṣubātīšu uttanappaš}). Note also Kt 94/k 823:5–6, “we aired your textiles and your textiles are in good shape” (\textit{šalmū}) and Kt 94/k 1131:36–41, which states that textiles kept in a storeroom (\textit{huršūm}) have to be aired because they are “weary” (\textit{anhum}), presumably by having been kept there too long.

\textsuperscript{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].

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

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{ATHE} 44 mentions 17 pieces produced by Waqqurtum; 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 mādāt). 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” (pāsirū, local traders).24 A group of records in the archive of Šalim-Aššur (excavated in

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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. Özgüc & 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 Imdilum is told: “I hear that much wool has now entered Wahšušana (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. In several transactions, wool also figures alongside hides, in particular “fleecy hides” (maškū šapātim, “hides of /with wool”), also designated as “thick hides” (maškū šapiūtum), and the local Anatolian woollen textile product called pirikannum. 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 ītartam) of Mamma, and the promise in AKT 4, 52: 6–8, “I will give you (for 1 shekel of silver) 6 minas of soft wool”, because fine wool obviously yields textiles of better quality. Apart from the rather frequent adjectives “good” and “soft” and rare references to red and white wool, we promise in AKT 4, 52: 6–8, “I will give you (for 1 shekel of silver) 6 minas of

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, 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 Ššnunna), but wool was cheaper during the Ur III period (usually 10 pounds for 1 shekel of silver). 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.3¾ 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 itaṭīlim šanā’u), 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.

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 narib-t, “soft”, used for textiles (also once for pirikannu-textiles), see below § 3.4.3.

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

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 ušītām”. 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 nu-huttu, used in Neo-Babylonian texts to qualify silver and perhaps linen (see CAD N/2, 318 s.v.).

26 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 its 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.

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. 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 Luhusaddiya and Hurama, but also from Hahhum, Kaneš, Mamma and Timilkiya, and there are some references to wool acquired in Balihum. 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. Regrettably our texts provide no information on this local textile production, although there are a few occurrences of fullers (asläkum) with Anatolian names.

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’atum*), the word for flax and linen, which may refer to the threads and the fabrics made of them (CAD K, s.v. *kitā*), but in Old Assyrian it is only attested as referring to fabrics. This word must be distinguished from *kitūtum*, rarely attested in Old Babylonian under the form *tūgkitūtum*, the designation of a garment, apparently not of linen but of wool, because of the occurrence of *sīg*, “wool”, in the corresponding Sumerian logograms in lexical texts, where it frequently appears alongside raqqatum and *itqu*. CAD K, 466 maintains the etymological link with *kitūm*, “linen”, by proposing a meaning “fine (lit. linen-like) wool”. *tūgkitūtum* is not a combination of noun and adjective, since *tūg*/*subātum* is masculine, nor does it mean “textile of

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32 See for occurrences of a “chief of the shepherds” and “a shepherd of the queen”, Veenhof 2008a, 223 s.v. *rē’ē/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 843–9 (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” (asläkum ša rubā’īm).

38 In Old Babylonian “Proto-Diri”, *sig-bu* = *sulmū*/*itqu*, *kitūtu* (MSL 15, 46: 422–424) and ibidem 172, Diri V:131–136 (cf. Hh XIX:153–158); *sulmū* = *tūg-sig-sud* is equated with *sulmū*, *itqu*, *kitūtu*, raqqatum, lubūštum, lamahuṣšû. *Sulmū* 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-sig*-li-hu-sud* = ŠU-*u*. *Itqu* (CAD I/J, s.v) is “fleece”, “tuft of wool” and “a garment made of fleecy wool”.

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39 Cécile Michel and Klaas R. Veenhof
12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia

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 šubatum 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 Amurrum”, 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, nābīrum 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 rabītām). According to RA 81 (1987) 59 no. 71:36–37 “one supannum, one linen and two samāl-u-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”45, probably referring to the length of this (strip?) of linen.46 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-li, 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 ARM 21, 219:22, “1 10th kitītum, its value in silver 5 shekels”, 318:2, 349:11, 2 1/6 ki-ti-tum, 383 VII:14”, 2 bar-si ki-ti-tum, “2 châles en lin”, 369:8, 1 gû-ê-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 1/6 guz-za, 1 1/6 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‘ītim 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 possible, 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 the

42 Kitītum wool and the head of the guard, 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, nābīrum 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 rabītām). According to RA 81 (1987) 59 no. 71:36–37 “one supannum, one linen and two samāl-u-cups” were sent from Anatolia to Lamassī in Aššur.44

43 See also Prag I 488:8–9, 1 karpatam šarašrānam, a-lá-nu ki-ta-um tamalakkû, and Kt 93/k 196:6–8, 1 ki-ta-am ša Tù-tù-/ul, 3 mana, guz, A. naš’akkunāti.

44 The length of the idum 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-tá-t 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. 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.

2.1.1. Nisbe qualifying textiles

Some textiles are referred to by a nisbe. In Old Assyrian, nisbes derived from a place-name or noun ending in a consonant have the ending -īnum, those formed from place-names on -a, we render as -ānum, notwithstanding a variety of spelling. 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

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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], Gulbâyûm, from Byblos [Durand 2009, 100], Haššûm, from Haššum [Durand 2009, 69], Kakmûm, from Kaknum [Durand 2009, 141], Nurrugayûm, from Nurrugum [ARMT 22, 110], Parahšû, from Marhašû [Durand 2009, 71], Suhûm, from Suha [Durand 2009, 507, n. 100], Šabarûm, from Subartu (ARMT 21, 318, 5; 23, 617, 1) and Tuttubayûm, from Tuttub [Durand 2009, 111, 130]. Of doubtful identification are Buššûrûm, Khîîshû, 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 -āiùm, 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 -āum or –ājum 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 Tî-mî-il,-ki-a-e-em (Kt 00/k 10 III:26'-27’, from the later level lb), 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.\textsuperscript{50} A list of nisbes is given below in alphabetical order.

\textbf{Abarni\textsuperscript{um}.} This nisbe, treated as a noun (plural \textit{Abarni\textmacron{u}u}), 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.\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Abarni\textsuperscript{um}} is attested in an Ur III text from Drehem.\textsuperscript{52} It mentions men and officials from l. 5: Marhaši, l. 6: Ebla, l. 9: Mari, l. 12: Abarni\textsuperscript{um} (\textit{A-ba-ar-ni-um}\textsuperscript{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”,\textsuperscript{53} in the sequence (5’–7’): Ebla, Mari, Tuttil, Ma......, Urkiš, Mukiš?!, x-x-x, x x-la, A-bar-nu-um\textsuperscript{ki}... This again might suggest a town in Northern Mesopotamia.

\textbf{a-li-ú-tum (?).} One text discovered in 1993 mentions some textiles which are qualified as \textit{a-li-ú-tum}. This adjective could be a nisbe of \textit{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”;\textsuperscript{54} it would then be a synonym of the qualification ša \textit{ālim} describing some textiles (see under § 2.1.2). See for another more likely interpretation, below p. 246, d), with footnote 199.

\textbf{Alku\textsuperscript{a}i\textsuperscript{um}.} It occurs twice as the qualification of a \textit{kusītu}-garment,\textsuperscript{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 lubīšu-garments.” The place name Alkuwa is unknown and the nisbe might be a variant (or mistake?) of Malku(w)a, see below.

\textbf{Gasuri\textsuperscript{um}(?).} 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.\textsuperscript{56} If not a nisbe of Gasur, it could alternatively be taken as \textit{kašurum}, a verbal adjective of the D stem of \textit{kašārum}, perhaps referring to a tightly knotted textile. According to the CAD K, 261–262, there is no D

\textsuperscript{50} Takku\textsuperscript{šta}’um never has the nisbe ending –\textit{u}m, so that the underlying word may end in –\textit{ta}. If so, one would have expected the common Old Assyrian nisbe ending –\textit{a}-\textit{u}m, but it is never spelled with inserted –\textit{i}. That šilipka’um is also frequently written šulupka’um and also has forms ending in –\textit{kium} (the normal nisbe ending after final consonant) and –\textit{ka’um} (which suggests a final –\textit{a}), shows that the writers themselves hesitated about its correct spelling (and perhaps derivation). In addition it exhibits plene writings with additional vowel, ši-li-\textit{ip}-\textit{kì-\textit{u}m} (CCT 4, 5a:6), šu-lu-up-\textit{ka’u}\textit{m} (BIN 4, 148:11), ši-li-ip-\textit{ki-\textit{u}m} in KT 94/k 829:10 (but –\textit{ki’u} in lines 15 and 20!), and ši-li-ip-\textit{kà-\textit{a’u}m} (RA 60, 965:8), alongside contracted forms, ši-li-ip-\textit{ku}\textit{m} (CCT 5, 34c:11), šu-lu-up-\textit{ka’u}\textit{m} (91:356:25). The latter is also (but more rarely) the case with takku\textsuperscript{šta}’um: ta-ku-\textit{u}-\textit{u}-\textit{u}\textit{m} (CCT 5, 34c:11), ta-ku-\textit{u}-\textit{u}\textit{m} (AKT 3, 59:19), and ta-ku-\textit{u}-\textit{u}\textit{m} (Yale 13092:11; cf. ta-ku-\textit{u}-\textit{u}\textit{m} in CCT 4, 46b:17). Contraction is normal in the later Mari texts, –\textit{tu}(\textit{u}) [Durand 2009, 121 s.v.] and probably in ši-li-ip-\textit{ki-im}, the only occurrence elsewhere, in Old Babylonian Kisurra 177:20, unless we consider it the genitive form of –\textit{ki-\textit{u}m} and not of –\textit{ku}\textit{-\textit{u}m}.

\textsuperscript{51} See Veenhof 1972, 156–158 and below § 3.3 s.v. Abarni\textsuperscript{um}. They are expensive textiles, qualified as “good” and “extra good”. Correct AKT 2, 24:4–5 to: 1 tüg a-ba-r\textsuperscript{-a-ni-a-am}, sig, wa-at-ra-am. Note the construction with ša: šitrē ša abarnē (TC 1, 19:12) and šitrum ša abarnēm (KT 93/k 75:7).

\textsuperscript{52} CST 468, see Owen 1992, p. 144, no. 17; this text mentions “the messenger of the ensi of Abarni\textsuperscript{um}” 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.

\textsuperscript{53} Civil 1967, 37.

\textsuperscript{54} Kt 93/k 765:13–14, ša-ba 20 tüg sig, a-li-ú-tum, tardī\textsuperscript{tum}. The Assyrians were creative in this respect, as shown by the recently published first occurrence of \textit{ekalliyum}, “of palatial quality”, AKT 4, 28:7, 2 tüg\textsuperscript{d} sig, tim diri é-gal-li-ú-tim, sent from Aššur.

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

\textsuperscript{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 kāṣirum (CAD K, 264) is described as a “craftsman producing textiles by a special technique.”

**Hahhum.** Textiles from Hahhum are usually designated as ša Hahhim, but the nisbe is used a few times, both for wool and for textiles (in lists), in the plural and dual feminine form. 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.

**Malku(w)āium.** 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-ā-i-tām (Kt 91/ k 360:22) and ma-al-ku-ā-tām (Kt 94/1686:17, plural, with the variant spelling ma-lu-ki-ā-tum in Kt 94/k 1687:32, courtesy of Larsen). These occurrences suggest the correcting of CCT 2, 3:15–16 to kusītu ma-al-ku-ā-i-tām, also because the place name Mal’a does not seem to exist, and in RA 81, 14 no. 3:7, we might perhaps also read 6 kusītum [m]a-al-ku-ā-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)ā somewhere in Upper(? Mesopotamia. There is reason to assume that this nisbe was confused with or was an alternative writing of Alku(w)āium (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 kusītu “white”, which recalls VS 26, 74:38–40 where such garments “of Alkuwa” are also an alternative for “white kusītu-garments”.

**Susēium.** A document found in 1962 mentions a garment (lubūšum) with the qualification sū-sē-e-a-am. 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-Maraṣ, not far from Šubat-Enlil.

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

**Šilipkā’um.** The šilipka’um or šulupka’um 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. This nisbe occurs once in a Kisurra letter.
Šurbu‘um. 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 sīg, šu-ur-bu-i-tū-um are bought in Aššur.\(^{71}\) Šurbu is located in the Hamrin mountains, Southeast of Aššur, an area well-known for sheep breeding. The šurbu‘um wool is used to produce the kutānu-texiles 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-texiles.\(^{74}\) It is also attested about ten times in the Mari royal archives, where it is usually written tāk/ta-ak-ku-uš-tu-ú. These textiles come from Babylon, Kurd and Karanā.\(^{75}\) Thus, if it is a geographical name, Takkušta should be located south of Aššur.

Talhatium. 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 īšram garments,\(^{77}\) which are not bought in, but sent to Aššur. The īšram seems to be a specific, local product made in this Northern Mesopotamian town. Less often, this nisbe is used of īšram “belt”.\(^{78}\) Once, a sapdinnum textile is said to come from Talhat, and once, perhaps, a kusītum 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 Akkidē (Akkadium). To the first category belongs the best-known qualification ša Akkidē, 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

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\(^{70}\) 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. šurbuṭu, 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 = šubātu.

\(^{72}\) 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-tú-ú, same form in Yale 13092:11 (1 ta-ku-uš-tum).

\(^{75}\) It primarily qualifies īšram garments, which are not bought in, but sent to Aššur. The īšram seems to be a specific, local product made in this Northern Mesopotamian town. Less often, this nisbe is used of īšram “belt”. Once, a sapdinnum textile is said to come from Talhat, and once, perhaps, a kusītum garment.

\(^{76}\) 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. īšram. 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. īšram.

\(^{79}\) KT 94/k 1672 (courtesy of Larsen), see below § 3.3 s.v. sapdinnum ; kt n/k 1452:10–14 (courtesy of Çeçen) ṭadiam lu kusītam ša Mamma lu šaša 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 exceptionally ša A-ki-dī-im : túg ša suhrim ša Akkidīm; note also 1 túg ša Akkidīm in KT 94/k 368:18 (courtesy of Larsen). The singular Akkidīm is perhaps caused by the singular of subātum.

\(^{81}\) VS 26, 17:4–11: aššumū šīm túg ša a-ki-dī-e, ša tašpuranni, ištu tušu a-ki-dī-ú, ana ālim ša ērubānīm, māssunu saḥi’atma,
Çeçen):13–17, ina šubātī ša Akkidī, (...) ibaššī lubūšum, kusītûm ū šulûpka’-um, >, which suggests that the last three types of garments fall under ša Akkidī. There are various garments which are said to be Akkadian: burû’um, kutûnum, kusītûm (several times), lubûšum, nibrûrum, šitrum, šîlipka’um, šûrum, takkušta’um.  

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 Anatolia and is added to the generic term šubātum (tūg), to nibrûrum and to kusītûm. Three times it occurs alongside ša ālîm, “of the City”.  

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 places 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 and to specific garments such as nibrûrum or šitrum. This adjunct would be a synonym of the once attested adjective a-li-ú-tum that is a nisbe from ālûm. Textiles “of the City” occur a few times alongside textiles from Šubartu.  

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

Hahhum. Alongside the nisbe hahhûm (see § 2.1.1), Hahhum itself also appears in the formula “ša + geographical name” applied to wool or textiles, including tisābûm ēpišûm and pirikannûm said to be “from the land of Hahhum” (ša māt Ḥahhum), both of which are in fact Anatolian products.

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

šumma a-kuṣṣi imtaqātûnimma, šînum ša balāṭîka, ibaššî 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: burû’um ša Akkidû (KT 94/k 966, courtesy of Larsen; AKT 2, 44), kusîtûm ša Akkidû (KTS 2, 22,5, Prag 1 686:21), nibrûrum (kt n/k 524:10) and for unspecific tûg ša Akkidû, AKT 3, 52:61, 91. Note the wrong writing in Yale 13092, 12 (courtesy of Larsen), where lubûšû, kusîtûm, šîlipka’um and Takkušta’um are said to be ša a-ki-di-Nî-im.


84 Tûg²⁹ša Šu-bî-i-ri-im, see AKT 3, 16:2–4; FT 4:5 (Larsen & Möller 1991, 231, 239).

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

86 Prag 1 686, 19.

87 KT n/k 437 (courtesy of Günbatti):3–4, 2 šîtrê, ša ālîm⁴⁷.  

88 See § 2.1.1 s.v. Ālûm and note 54.

89 See above, note 85 for occurrences alongside ša ālîm.  

90 KT 93/k 344:21, 32.  


92 Tûg ša Ḥahhûm : Kayseri 25 (Landsberger), KUG 13:20 = EL 332:20, KT c/k 695:11–12 (courtesy of Derksen). Wool ša Ḥahhûm occurs in Kt b/k 275:6 and OIP 277, 6 + 46, dated to the period of kârum Kaneš level 1b, see Derksen 2001, 47, note 44.

93 KT 94/k 1672:19 (tisâbûm) and KT c/k 729:3, 43 pieces (ēpišûm).

94 KT n/k 518:89–90 (courtesy of Günbatti).

95 BIN 4, 43:29, tûg²⁹ša Ha-qā-ma; KT c/k 753:7 (courtesy of Derksen), tisâbûm ša Ha-qâ; KT 93/k 60:1–2, 34 pirîkannû ša Ha-qâ.
situated north of the Euphrates, 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. This city is located on the Upper Balih, north of Harrân.

**Qaṭṭara,** probably Tell Rimah, is given as the origin of a *nibrārum* textile in a document recovered in 1993.

**Talhat** (see § 2.1.1 s.v *Talhatium*), *subāṭu ša Talhat*, Kt c/k 709:2 (courtesy of Dercksen) and Kt 94/k 1395:16–17 (courtesy of Larsen); *sapdinnū* *sig₂* 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.

**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, 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*.

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 (*şubātum*) could come from the towns of BurušHattum, Hurrama, Šalatuwar, Timilkiya or Tuhpiya; it is, however, not always clear whether they were produced there or simply traded. Typical Anatolian *pirikannum* textiles originated from Kaniš and Mamma, a town also known for its fine wool production.

### 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

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99 Kt 93/k 75:13–14: 1 túg *ni-ib-ra-ra/-am* ša Qaṭṭarā; for the bibliography about the location of Qaṭṭara, see Michel 2006c.
100 Kt 93/k 196:6: 1 *kitā'um* ša Tū-tū-/ul.
101 ATHE 63:17; KTS 2, 4:6; Kt 93/k 517:20.
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.
their nisbes such as Abarnaīum, (M)alkuāīm, Šarzuāīm, Šilipkaʿum and Takkuštaʿum, 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.

Fig. 12.1. Map of Upper Mesopotamia with geographical names connected to textiles.
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 šurūtum wool, used by Assyrian women in Aššur. The abarnīm 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 Abarnī 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 šubūtum, 5 šurūtum, 2 raqqatūm textiles, 1 lubūšum garment, 1 šilipka’um textile and 2 kusūtum textiles”.112 In another letter sent to Imdī-lum, 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 kusūtum malkūtām, 6 heavy burā’um textiles, among which are 3 soft burā’um textiles, [x] white lubūšum garments, [x] šilipka’um textiles, 1 fine kusūtum 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, kusūtum and šurūm textiles are also made there or imported from southern Mesopotamia (see § 3.2).114 The (m)alkūātum and šilipka’um might have been woven in these places or, like the abarnīm-type, produced by Assyrian women according to the fashion or technique of these small towns. The lubūšum is a generic term for

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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 túg kutānu 18 túg, 5 šurūtum 2 túg raqqatān, 1 túg lubūšum 1 túg ši-li-ip-ki-um, 2 túg kusūtum.
113 RA 81 [1997], 13-15, no. 3:5-12: 4 túg liwītim u 2i meat 21 túg, kutānu qadum ša liwītim, 6 kusūtum [m]alkūātum, 6 túg burā’u kabātām, [ṣu]-ba’ 3 túg burā’u narbā, [x túg lubūšu pašiṭūm] [x túg šu-šu-up-ki-i’-i’ 1 túg kusūtum, [1 raqqatu]m sig. diri.
114 Note the occurrence of kusūtum ša akkīdē 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, sapdinnum and tisābūm,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 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, subātum, must be a purās-form from the verb sabātum, “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.118 But this is true of most garments, and in fact this derivation does not even help us to choose between a textile or untailored garment and a ready-to-wear one, because subātum became a generic term and figures as determinative with all kinds of textile names. If kusītum is a purīs-form from the root kasūm, “to bind”, it should, according to GAG § 55k, 16, be used for “substantive diminutiver

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, subātum, must be a purās-form from the verb sabātum, “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.118 But this is true of most garments, and in fact this derivation does not even help us to choose between a textile or untailored garment and a ready-to-wear one, because subātum became a generic term and figures as determinative with all kinds of textile names. If kusītum is a purīs-form from the root kasūm, “to bind”, it should, according to GAG § 55k, 16, be used for “substantive diminutiver

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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 sapdinnum 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 pirikannu was accepted and even figured in the treaty between the Assyrians and the ruler of Kaneš (see Veenhof 2008a, 193, § h).
118 See for the pu/šarakannu, 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 sapdinnum textiles, 2 of which are risābū” (Kt f/k 117: 5–6; same CCT 5, 12a:8–9). Note also “1 sapdinnum 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 šašer).
oder pejorative 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 nahlapum, 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 tūg-gū-ē(-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-Lîm asks him “to put on his shoulders the šubātum and the nahlapum I made”, and in a text from Ugarit the person who breaks a contract “will hang his nahlapum 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 tūg/šubātum = “garment”, tūg-bar-si/paršigum = “sash, headdress”, gada-ša-dū/misarrum = “girdle, belt”, and tūg-gū-dē-a/nahlapum, suggests the meaning “chemise”.123 A set must also be meant in Old Assyrian, KBo 9 rev. 8’, where a sakkum-garment, a nahlapum and a pair of shoes are delivered.124 This might explain the small weight (c. half a pound) of a nahlapum according 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.5¾ shekels of silver, but there may also have been different shapes or applications, such as the (tūg) gū-dē-a riksi, attested at Tell Rimah (OBTR 59:13 and 80:4, “with ties?”), which, moreover, are distinguished as “long and not long” (sūd-a ī lu sūd-a). Note that in Nuzi (HSS 14, 607:14) a nahlapum 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 tūg-gū, 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 nahlapum. Note also the spelling gū-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

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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 “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 ihulāpim lawi).

121 A curse known by Neo-Assyrians was that the moon god will “clad people with leprosy as with a nahlapum”. See Van Soldt 1990, 328, note 50, who defines a nahlapum as “a cloak, i.e. a loose outer garment”. A similar clause attested in Boğazköy and Emar uses simply tūg, “garment”.

122 See also CT 45, 36 II, 2–4, in a summary of textiles delivered by the weavers: 242 tūg, 488 tūg-gū-ē, 79 tūg-bar-si, 31 tūg-bar-si-gal, where the number of nahlapātum is the double of that of the šubātum, and on a more domestic level, in the dowry listed in BE 6/1,84:7–8, 10 tūg 20 tūg-bar-si, 1 tūg guz-za 2 tūg-gū-ē.

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

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. 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-é(-a), and since in a letter by Hammurabi (AbB 2, 44:5) túg-gú and túg-gú-é-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 raqqatum (in Old Assyrian with vowel harmony raqqutum), in Sumerian túg-sal-la, “a thin textile”, well attested in the Old Babylonian period, 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). 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 kusītum (see § 3.2, on túg-bar-dul.).

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”. 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, lubūšum, 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-dul, the logogram for kusītum, already used in Presargonic times and recorded in the lexical tradition, which occurs only once in Old Assyrian, in CTMMA 85A:12: 2
túg-bar-dul, 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-dul, sál-la = [kusītu] raqqatum), which indicates that this quality was apparently typical for a kusītu-garment. According to CAD K, s.v., a kusītu 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. During the 1st millennium BC, according to Babylonian sources, it is a precious and coloured outer garment that belongs to the vestments of goddesses.

Túg-ni-láhm, the logogram for lam(a)huššûm, a well-known name for an expensive, fine garment from the Ur III period, rare in Old Babylonian, has recently turned up in Old Assyrian, in AKT 4,24:1–3, 22½ túg damqütum warâtûnum (3) šâ-ba 1 túg-ni-láhm, “22½ 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 namाššu’um 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.

Of the Old Assyrian textile names kita’um (“linen”, see above § 1.2), kusītu, lubūšūm, nahlaptum, namaššu’um (=lamahuššûm), palītum, paršigum (rare and only for personal use), raqqatum, šilipka’um and takkušta’um, 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 kusītu 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 sál-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, sīg-bar-dul and sīg-bar-dul-sal-la), which foreshadows the sequence in the canonical Hh 19.

131 It only mentions AbB 9, 16:35, kusītu šī-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 kiššātum” [see also Durand 2009, 152, s.v.], and a túg-bar-dul 5, weighing 10 pounds, assigned to various priests in an account of ritual expenses from Old Babylonian Larsa. Additional occurrences are in Edzard Tell ed-Dîr no. 107:18, MDP 18, 100:6, Brussels 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-dīl, qualified as “thin” (sīg), MA-IM-TE-NA (=?), laharītum, and “of second quality” (ús), and where its various finishing treatments are listed.


133 According to Šulgi Hymn A:43, the king ran from Nippur to Ur with his hips covered by a nīg-lám-bān-da, a combination also found in Hh 19:115–116. Hh forerunners equate lamahuššû also with túg-ZīxZī-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 Qatnā and listing goods to be sent to Mari), see Horowitz & Oshima 2006, Hašor 12:8’, 20 túg-ni-lam bu-re-ē (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, kitîtûm, laharîtûm, taddîtûm, takhtîtûm (tûg-an-dul), utba, ut/tublum, yamhadûm, zakûm, tûg-bar-kar-ra, tûg-guz-za, tûg-nî-bar and tûg-si-sâ. 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,\(^\text{137}\) 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 tûg-guz-za, prominent in Ur III texts and attested in Old Babylonian,\(^\text{138}\) 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 šubâtûm, only raqqatûm, kusitûm and lubûšûm are well-known from other sources, as well as the specific, but in Old Assyrian rare kitâtûm, “linen”. Nahlapeturm does occur, but nearly always only one or two pieces,\(^\text{139}\) 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 namaššuhûm = lamahuššûm, šilipka’um (šulupka’um) and takkuštâ’um. Šilipka’um occurs once in an Old Babylonian letter from Kisuerra, quoted in CAD Š/2, 444 s.v. b), and takkuštâ’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,\(^\text{140}\) and this suggests that the takkuštâ’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 Kisuerra mentions that it was made in Babylonia.\(^\text{141}\) The one called makûhûm, 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” (šubārum), 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 now see Durand 2009, passim].

\(^{138}\) Rare in Mari (ARMT 22, 139:7, qualified as bûrûm, “select”; 164 rev. 1–7’, qualified as gîd-a, “long”), once at Haşor (Horowitz & Oshima 2006, Haşor 12:11”), better attested in Babylonia, e.g. Abîb 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, 36:11:5 and III:9, and in Lakenbacher 1982, col. I:5’, 23’ and III:13, where it qualified as “royal” (lugal), “thin” (sîg) and šikîmutûm; in VI:9 such a garment is meant for the goddess Nanaya. Note in BM 16465 II:9–10 (dowry, Dalley 1980, 69), 4 tûg-guz-za ša 2 anû kimâhim, “two of which are for the tomb”, to be used as shrouds? (Cf. Ziegler 1999, 195 no. 12, 215’ an uhûbûl ús [ana] k|mâhim 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 tûg-sîg-zâ a, both as a garment for the wardrobe and as a cover for a chair or throne. One wonders what the Akkadian equivalent of tûg-guz-za was (see CAD I/J, s.v. i’lu = tûg-sîg-zâ a, 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 nahlapatûm in the younger text OIP 27 no. 11:8; paršigum occurs only three times, see CAD P, s.v. a, 2’.

\(^{140}\) 1 tûg ta-ak-ku-uš-tu-um ša qîšti Z. inûma ana Babilim illiku.

\(^{141}\) Cf. also Yale 13092:9–12 (courtesy of Larsen), cited above note 67, and the combination 1 šulupka’um, u kusitûm ša Akkidiê, u 2 kutâni 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” (subātu ša Akkidē) 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 1b (first half of 18th century BC), where kutānum and kusīnum still occur, kuššatum (only attested in TC 3, 61:3 during the earlier period), which also appears at Mari, becomes more frequent. And we now also meet sakkmum, 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. The appearance of kuššatum and sakkmum 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.

abarnium (Veenhof 1972, 156–158), a nisbe derived from the town of Abarn(i)um, usually treated as a noun (2 tūg 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; 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, we have 46 abarnīū lu kamsūtum lu nibrāri ša kutāni damqūtim watrūtim, “46 Abaranian or kamsu- or nibrāru-textiles (made) of fine kutānu-cloth”. 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 abarāni-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 kutānu and Akkadian textiles) and in KT 94/k 1697 quoted above. Twice we meet a śtrum (see below s.v.) qualified as “Abarbian” (TCL 1, 19:12, 2 pieces ša abarnī; KT 93/k 75:7, one piece ša abarnīnum), where the use of ša + genitive instead of simple abarnīnum could mean “belonging with an Abarbian 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 tūg šapṭi, “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 Abarninan textile for me to wear” (allitabšia); also BIN 4, 94:12 (abarī’am ana lītabša lūšēlam). See also § 5, notes 267–268, for evidence of women in Aššur who sent single Abarbian textiles to traders in Anatolia, to sell or perhaps rather to wear them.
145 The 92 pieces in KT 94/k 1446:6 (alongside kutāni), according to Larsen, may belong to the same caravan.
146 Somewhat different in the parallel text KT 94/k 1676:13–15, 46 subātu lu abarī’ū lu kutāni damqūtim watrūtim lu kamsūtum lu nibrārī, “46 textiles, as well Abarbian ones, as kutāni of extra fine quality, kamsu- and nibrāru-textiles”.

12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia
b/palîtum, TPAK 1, 59:17–18, šîm BA-li-tim lu-bi₄-ri-im ... lüptâni(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 ½ shekel apiece”. Veenhof 1972, 182–183, rejecting AHw 816a s.v., “Palâ-Gewand”, and quoting CCT 4, 45b:29 “juttum BA-li-<......> has fallen from me” (followed in line 43 by “send me (from) there whatever BA-li-tâm there is, so that I can depart”), considered the possibility of restoring ba-li-<at>, “mine is worn out”, but CAD P, s.v. palîtu, restores juttum pâ-li-tum, “my own palîtum”. The combination with lubûrû (only occurrence in Old Assyrian, but attested a few times in Middle Assyrian texts and considered a by-form of lubûru by CAD L, s.v.) is not helpful.

burûum (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 burûum, cf. ICK 1, 189:14', EL 110:2, CCT 1, 20b:2 (alongside 26 kutânû), CCT 1, 36a:10 (with a nibrärum), TuM 1, 2c:5 (alongside 46 kutânû). 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 (kabtûtum) burûû 3 of which’ are soft.” It could be worn: BIN 4, 160:12–13, “I clothed him in a burûum 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 litâšia), either a šûrum or a burûum in Akkadian style (ša Akkidiē).” This latter type also occurs in AKT 2, 44, 3–5, “4 Akkadian textiles, among which one burûum”, and in Prag I 709:24, 1 túg bu-ra-u-um ša Akkidiē, alongside a few kusîtu-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 kutânû, in Kt c/k 710:8 (courtesy of Dercksen), 1 túg burûum sig, diri, LB 1268:13–16 one bag contains 3 burûû 2 nibräû ša Apim, 1 tisâbu ú, 1 pirîkannum. 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. makûhu reads tutturû, but this word is not registered in CAD T, s.v.

epattum (Veenhof 1972, 128–129 and above § 2.1.1 s.v. Talhatiûm), plural epadâtum, occurs a dozen times, frequently qualified as Talhatiûm, “of Talhat”, in 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 epadatîm. The use of the determinative túg (only once), the (rather doubtful) identification with the Hebrew ’ēpôd and Syrian peqštâ (see CAD E, 183 s.v.) and its occurrence alongside raqquûm 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 epadûtûm Talhatiûtûm deposited in Kuburnat. The specific features of this product remain unknown.148

ēpišûm (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 epēšûm I, “to make”, or perhaps rather (according to Landsberger) epēšûm II, “a type of weaving”. However, CAD B, s.v. ebîšû, which lists as alternative readings ebîšû, ibî(š)šu and iq/bi(š)ša, considered it a native Anatolian appellative, “a low-priced textile, a subcategory of pirîkannum.”149 It was a woollen product that may also

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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, šû-ba-tâm.
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 epišī šapātim*, “pirikannī (in the shape of/worked into?) epišī of wool”, in VS 26, 9: 6–7, comparable to the combination *maškā šapātim*, “hides with wool” = “woollen fleeces.”†† Perhaps also usable as a saddlecloth, since AnOr 6, 153:5–6 mentions a transport consisting of one donkey, 27 *kutānū* and one [ēpišum], 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 *menuniḫu*-textiles or *i-ši-* or *pirikannū* that are strong enough to serve as clothes...”, and also in KT 89/k 421:4, “209 pirikannī, 41 epišī”. They occur alongside *mākuḫum* 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 *tūg e-ši-* alongside 20 *kutānū*, and KT 87/k 452:3–4 (courtesy of Hecker) has the combination 1 *kutānūm e-ši-, (not *epišim*), perhaps made of *epišu*-fabric? AKT 3, 16:10, mentions 9 *tūg e-ši-* deposited in Wahšušana.‡‡


**hirurum?** Kayseri 4695:11–13, 3 *tūg abarmnī-ū* 1 *tūg lubūšum*, 1 *tūg hi₂-ru-ru-um ù raqqutum*.

‡‡ **illūkum**, BIN 4, 168:16, 121 *tūg i-lu-ki*; TC 3, 192:8, 4 ANŠE ša *pirikannī i-lu-ki*, perhaps to be connected with lexical *tūg-nūg-sal-īl-Šīr, tūg-du₄*-du₄, and *tūg-gu-za = i-lūki = lubēr sāmu*, see CAD I/J, 86 s.v., where no Old Assyrian references are mentioned.

**iṣrum**, “belt” or “scarf”, plural *iṣrātum*, occurs c.20 times. The meaning is indicated by VS 26, 40:13–14 and KT 88/k 625:11–12, both mentioning an “iṣrum for my waist” (*ana qablia*), and CAD I/J, 261 s.v. interprets ICK 1, 88:16–18, 1 *tūg iṣram kīsam ... PN naš'akkum* as “PN is bringing you one *iṣru*-belt (with an attached) money bag”. See also the sequence in BIN 4, 88:4–6, “Give 1 *iṣrum* to yourself, 1 *iṣrum* to [x x], 4 *sakkukātum* to ...”, where the last word is another term for a belt or girdle. ICK 1, 88:16 and CCT 6, 3a:1 (5½ *tūg iṣrātum*) are the only cases where the determinative *tūg* is used.‡‡ In POAT 42:10–13 an *iṣrum* 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 Amurrum. 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 *iṣrātum* of the people of Talhat”, which makes it a very cheap item. *iṣrātum* of Talhat also occur in KT k/k 46:9 (3 pieces), Prag I 488:6 (14 pieces). Prag I 740:2 mentions 10 *iṣrātum* after *kutānū* and *sārūtum* textiles and before 1 *šírum ša lubūšim*.

**kitāṭum**, “linen”, see under “Materials”, § 1.2.
kusītum (Veennhof 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 Akkidiē, “of Akkadian make/style”,\(^{155}\) or qualified by the nisbe (m)alkuānum, 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.\(^{158}\)

kusšatum (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 šīm kuššitīm), more frequent in texts from the younger level Ib, in OIP 27, 11:4–7 (after kutānu and kusītum: 2 kuššatum damqatum 2x-na 5 kuššatum 1 kuššatum ša lubāšī), 36:7–8, and 37:5’, and now also a few times attested in Mari, see above § 3.2.

kusīnum, see 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.), that its finishing treatment had turned it into a woolen cloth. That it was a large, untailored fabric, explains that texts mention fractions of a kutānum, usually 1/2 or 1/3.\(^{159}\) Kutānu 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 nahlpānum (OIP 27, 11:11–13), namaššuhum (Benenian 5:2–3), nibrārum (Kt 94/k 1686:9–10), and širūm (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 kuššatum (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 kuššatum”, 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 ushrīm, “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 kubtum, “heavy” (kt 86/k 193:19–20, and perhaps sānum, “red” (KTS 2, 35:30, 6 kutāni sā-mu-tim). What “thin and yellow kutānu ša hu-šu-x-ī”

\(^{153}\) On the basis of statements such as “x kutānu of which (ša-ba) y are kusītum”, 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-qū-[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 lubūšā 6 kusītum 1 šilipka‘um and 1 takkuštā‘um are added up in line 12 as “together 15 ša A-ki-dī-Nī-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 kusītān u 1 burā‘um ša Akkidiē).\(^{161}\) See for ša Akkidiē, Kt c/k 323:9–10 (courtesy of Derksen), Kt m/k 22:5 (courtesy of Hecker), and 91/k 356:26, and for (m)alkuānum, 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 kusītum 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 sig-tī-ē-em for šaptim, “wool”. See below, s.v. lud/ṭām.

\(^{161}\) šumma aṣṣēr kitāʿātim, [tūg] kutānam allūtabšīa, [tūg k]utānam 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 Akkūdē occur.

**kutānum**, only two occurrences, but, as shown by RC 1749:8–9, 1 tūg ku-ta-num ša T., 1 ku-tí-num ša I., not a rare variant of kutānum. Imported from Aššur, according to KTB 2:3, 5 tūg 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 tūg ḫā šurātim lu-bi-ri”, which cost 8 shekels of silver apiece, and in CTMMA I, 79:19–23, “Send me also garments to wear (ṣubāṭ ša ītāš[i̯a]). I am staying (here) without garments, I am clothed (labbušku) 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 tūg) 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. šīrum ša lubūšim (see below § 5.3).

*lud/tiūm*, perhaps a textile product, attested in Kt 94/297:4–5 (courtesy of Larsen), lu-DĪ-am ša ṣeṣīm ša Apīm, “a l. of a rug/blanket(? ) from Apūm”, followed by: “3 kurusnu, a yoke, for the yoke ša lu-DĪ-i, if (there is) 1 hide (1 <ma-aškum?>) 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-DĪ-e-im, ša ku-ta-ni” (where Garelli’s reading sig-tē-e-im, “of wool”, is excluded). However, what lud/tiūm means is not clear (cf. the remarks of K. R. Veenhof in AbB 14, 210, s.v.).

**makaḫum**, 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 (see CAD M/1, 141 s.v., and Veenhof 1972, 169–170). Etymology and meaning are not clear. Trade in Anatolia is documented under Kt n/k 1689:23–29, “I hear that makaḫu are expensive/in demand in Burušhattum, buy for 10 minas of silver makaḫu 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 tūg makaḫu 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 makaḫu, 1 pirikannum and 2 donkeys belonging to me, 21 makaḫu, 1 donkey belonging to I.”. They occur together with ṣeṣī in TC 3, 132:1 ([x+]40 makaḫu lu ṣeṣī, sold at 9½ shekels of silver apiece) and in Kt 87/k 423:1–2 (courtesy of Hecker, 24 tūg lu makaḫu lu tūg ṣeṣī). 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 šulhu or makaḫu”. Makakhā are never said to be made of a particular fabric (ṣa ...), or to belong to a specific category (“thereof/including x makaḫā”), but they can be summarized under the general category of “textiles” (ṣubāṭu), e.g. in CCT 1, 15a (= El 132):1–6, where 90 kutānum 50 ma-ku-hu 3 lubūšū 3 namaššuhū and 2 šulupkāu are added up as 148 šubāṭu. In AKT 3, 52:17–20, 162 makaḫu appear alongside 15 kutānum 12 takkuštū 1 šulupkām, and 2 tūg ša šubīrīm.162

**mardatum**, occurs only in CCT 1, 29:6–7: 1 tūg kusītam, ma-ar-da-a-tām u sahertam 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

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162 See further: BIN 4, 113 (= El 261): 4–5, copper of (ša, earned by selling?) “his makaḫu or his kutānum, which are his votive gifts” (ikribī); BIN 6, 186:7, 5 tūg makaḫu u DU-DU-ru. According to TC 3, 132:4 “they took 1 makaḫum during the journey”, and in AKT 3, 61:23–25, 98 tūg makaḫu figure as price of an emāqum (=?), 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]bātim) occurs after wool, a [tisā]bum and a šitrum. In BIN 6, 184:4, ½ šubātum, 1 kuṣītum maš-ku-num, as part of a trader’s share, the absence of a numeral before maškānum suggests that it is in apposition and qualifies the kuṣīt- 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 maškūnum of good quality” for shipment overland. The three ma-āš-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 maškunû” (šīm maš-ki-ni-a). A possible identification with maškanum, which in later texts can also mean “tent”, suggested by CAD M, s.v. maškānu, is unlikely.

menuniānum (Veenhof 1972, 171), an Anatolian textile product, never exported from Aššur. In CCT 4, 27a:11–13 menuniānû appear alongside wool, woollen fleeces and pirikannû, in Kt 94/k 463:1–4 (courtesy of Larsen), 21 pirikannû, 14 menuniānû 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 kuṣīt- garments of Mamma and woollen fleeces. In BIN 4, 78:6–9, “pirikannû for clothing of the servants (śa lubūš suhāri), either menuniānû or ēpišû”, 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, 1¼ 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 note117).

nahlapātum, 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” (kallatum). 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 subātum and her nahlapātum”, together apparently a normal set of clothing of a woman. That it was worn on the body is shown by Kt k/k 2:24, “a nahlapātum for your breast” (ana irtika); 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” (nahlapātēn 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 sig, šuknā, where, however, the absence of vowel harmony may indicate a different noun.
164 subāsus u nahlapātsa ihammassima.
165 Cf. the occurrence in Mari, in T 108:9 (Ziegler 1999, 56 note 359), of a [tūg-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 nahlapātum can be purchased for 10 shekels of silver, in Kt u/k 5:5 two(?) pieces cost 7½ shekels, in KBo 9, 263:4–1, one nahlapātum c.5¾ shekels, in Kt 88/ k 71:46, some pieces ¾ shekels. That a nahlapātum 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 uṣublu-garment cut into strips (ana šerti ša 4 nahlapātim; Durand translates “pour le rapiéçage”; see CAD Š/3, 113 s.v. širṭu).

namāššuhum, 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 namāššuhum 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 namāššuhum ša kutāni, they could be made of kutānu-cloth and note also the listing in CCT 1, 39a:17–17 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-sī-sà-tum, their price 3 shekels of silver”, KTS 2, 53:5–6 mention 1 shekel of silver as the price of 2 na-sī-sà-tim (after a long list of pirikannū), and Kt 87/k 458:8 (courtesy of Becker) lists 11 na-sī-sà-tum after wool, tin, palīlu-textiles, a kutānum, šubāttū 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 Lamassū 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, 36:11, 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 kusītārum. 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 sapīnnum and two šītrū 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 šītrū), 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 damqātim warātītim), 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 kusītum, 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.
**pālilum**, 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 níg-šu-gur-ra. In TC 3, 164:12, 2 shekels of silver are paid for 2 túg pālilū, in Kt 94/k 823:25–26 (courtesy of Larsen), 5 pālilū 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 pālilum ša qātim, “of normal quality”, and Kt 94/k 823:27–28 reports that “your servants are bringing you both pālīnum and wool”. Further attestations: Prag I 768:13, pālīnum mādiš šarrītu, “the pālīnum are completely torn into shreds”; Kt n/k 97:3, lists 16 pālīli in between silver, tin and donkeys; in Kt c/k 355:10–12, 2 pālīlu, mentioned alongside pirikannu, cost 2 1/2 shekels 15 grains (of silver); Kt 87/k 45:4 (courtesy of Hecker), “tin, 23 pālīlu 1 kutānum usmum, 10% túg waDiārum; Kt 94/k 843: 3–4 (courtesy of Larsen), “22 fine textiles, a donkey with its harness, 2 pālīlu; Kt 94/k 1302:15–16 (courtesy of Larsen), 2 pālīlēn, alongside Anatolian textiles. The combination kita’tānum pālīli, in CCT 5, 12a:10, “linens being/ servings as pālīlum”, suggests that it denotes a specific funtion or shape, and this is comparable to ARMT 22, 321:3–4, 57 túg-ša-ha pa-li-lu, ša sīg ša-ba za-am-ra, “57 šahhu-textiles being pālīlu, 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 palīlu ša 10–ām túg ša-ba, “35 housses-pālīlum contenant chacune 10 étoffes.”].

**parsīgum**, 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 nahlapatum), BIN 6, 122:11–12, “either a šitrum or a parsīgum”; Kt n/k 1459:27, 2 pār-šī-ge ša šārtim (of goat hair; after 2 ropes of palm-fiber), KT 94k 938:7, 2 pā-ar-šī-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 Istar-bāṣšī” (produced by her or was she involved in their trade?) were converted into “refined copper of Taritar”. Texts record prices ranging between ¾ and 4 shekels apiece, which implies differences in quality (and size?) and we meet pirikannu that are said to be “extremely good” (Kt 94/k 364:15, courtesy of Larsen). Several times “soft” pirikannu 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 pirikannu for garments for servants cost 110 ¾ shekels of silver, and 40 other pirikannu 86 2/3 shekels, i.e. prices of c.1% and 2 shekels apiece. These textiles become more prominent during the later period of kārub 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 2¾ minas of silver, i.e. at c.1 1/2 shekel apiece.168 Pirikannu were used as (or for making) clothing for personnel, ana lubūš šahāri, 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 lubūštī bētim). Prag I 429:17–18 mentions red pirikannā, four of which are ša i-bi-ša, TC 1, 43:16 demands pirikannu that are of

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166  CCT 6, 7a:3–11: 22 túg[hi]-k[ā], ša Šubirīm 1 x [...] 13 me’at 17 túg[hi]-k[ā], pirikan[nū] 22 túg[hi]-k[ā], maškūnā 11 maškū ša[pātim], 22’ pirikannā, 11 pl-[kīr]ūm, [...] 10 [šu-nīgin] 3 me’at 91 túg [...], ša Šubirīm [...] (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 túg parakannū ša ina bēt E ... A. aššumi 2 mana 15 gīn kū.babbar išškumāṭi. 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” (*ṣīmā ūtābī*) are possible. That they are made of wool is likely because they are frequently listed together with woollen fleeces (*maškā*, at times qualified as *ṣāpātim* or *ṣāpiṭūtim*), 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 ī-lu-ki *pirikanni*–textiles, which suggests that they could be worked into cloth of the *kutasu*-type, which explains the verdict of the City of Aššur quoted in VS 26, 94–11, 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 *sapidīnu*– and *pirikanni*–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 *sapidīnu*– and *pirikanni*–textiles and do not buy them!” 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. TC 3, 192:7 mentions 4 donkey loads of *pirikanī i-lu-ki*, where the last word, also a name for a textile, could be a qualification of *pirikanum*.

*pūkum*, a rare designation. We have both ī-lu-ki *pūkum* (RA 60 [1966] 119:24 and FT 4:6, in Larsen & Möller 1991, 231), between a *subītu* of Šubarum and one of the City, and three references to a *ṣīturum ša pūkīm*, 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 *ṣīturū* 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 ī-lu. 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 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 *lubūṣum*, 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 *qatattum* is the result of using “thin yarn”. It occurs in enumerations alongside *lubūṣum*, *šilipka’um*, *kusītum*, *kutasu* and *šīrum*,¹⁷⁵ in KT c/k 458:10–13 together with *kamsu*-textiles, *nāmaššuḥu*, *kusītum*, and *nibrārum*, and it appears regularly alongside *lubūṣum*.¹⁷⁶ Other combinations are: *lubūṣu*, *raqqatum*, *kutasu* (KT 91/k 299:10–12), *raqqatum*, *šilipka’um*, *kutasu* (Prag I 74916–19) and note VS 26, 11: 26–30, “110 textiles, thereof 40 kutasū, 11 takkūṣtu’ū and 11 raqqatum, including 2 šilipka’ū (qāddum šilipkēn), 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 *kutasu* alone (KT 2, 29:4–5; CCT 1, 28b:2–3; in KT n/k 469 *kutasu damqum*, KT 89/k 266:5). Twice *raqqatūm* are qualified as *ikribū*, “votive gifts” (and as such property) of a god, of Aššur in RA 60, 111, no. 43:22, and of Ilibrat 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, *ēpīšu*, *makāhū* and Akkadian textiles, also three bales of *pirikanī*.

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 *raqqatūm* available in Aššur, which could imply imports from Babylonia.

¹⁷³ KT 91/k 491:14, “10 shekels of silver for a *raqqatum* of (=made by?) Lamassū”; 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 lubūši 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 1b: in UF 7 (1975) 318, no. 3:4 (alongside katānū), OIP 27, 11:9 (read: 3 sā-ku), and KBo 9, 8:13 and 9:8 (sā-kā-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 tūg sā-ku sigs, 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 tūg 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 KTS 36c:9–10, 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 burūm/burā um (see above s.v.) than burūm, “reed mat”. Sakkum also qualifies other textile products (see CAD S, s.v. saqqu), e.g. bar-si and gu-ē-a, which suggests that it was a particular type of fabric or cloth.

sapdinnūm, after pirikanum, 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. pirikanum). The meaning of the word is unknown. Lewy proposed, tentatively, “fleecy cloth”, connecting it with Syrian spudnā (with an Anatolian ending –inning?), which is better than Garelli’s interpretation “woollen textiles”, who read the word as saptinnum and connected the word with tūg (šapīt(m), “textiles of wool”, which occur in a few texts from kārum Kaneš level 1b (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 sapdinnūm 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. Sapdinnūm was a category of textiles that comprised products called tisābūm 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 tūg sapdinnūm 1 tūg tisābūm 4 maškē). 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 tūg/subātum in order to indicate its origin or specific nature.

ša Akkidē, “of the Akkadians”, also without tūg, 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 (udū ṣuppū raqqātum ša Akkidē, “thin Akkadian ṣuppu-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 šiṭ̄i tamkārī alqema šiṭ̄i, 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.
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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 șubātim (Kt 93/k 887:27), in FT 4:25, and AKT 3, 163 it occurs alongside “a kusītum of Šubarum”, and Prag I 686:10–20, mentions a nibrārum, either of Šubarum or of the City, or an Akkadian kusītum”. In Kt n/k 437:3–5, 2 šitru ša ālim occur alongside a šitrum ša Akkidē.

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-di-ti”, followed by a payment for pirīkannū. However, the meaning remains unclear.

ša liwītim, “for wrapping” (see Veenhof 1972, 28–30, for the various combinations), a functional designation, usually added to șubātim and occurring in the combination “x textiles, including those for wrapping” (qāдум ša liwītim), but it is also regularly added to the textile called šūrum. Note also kutānu ša liwītim in CCT 4, 23a:14 and 2 șubatēn kabbēn, “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” (șubātam damqam illiwiTIM lá talawwiā), 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 șubātu ša liwītim 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 kutānu of medium quality, including those for wrapping (qāдум ša liwītim), of which 20 are kutānu of good quality”.

ša ma’ēšu, “of its water”, meaning unclear, hardly “waterproof”; two occurrences in Veenhof 1972, 181 and Kt 94/k 723:9, 3 tūg ša ma-e sig,-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] kutānu 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 kabbētum, “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 qātim, “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 suhrim, “of/for children (suhrum is a collective). Qualifies various textile products, such as șubātim, 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 șubātum ša suhrim ša lubūšim, KTS 2, 31:3, and 3 šubātu ša suhrim ša Akkidē, Kuliyu no. 229:10–10 (in Prag I 616:4 written ša Akkidēm). 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

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178 See for the corresponding verb CAD L, 73 s.v. lamū, 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 ganū’ē lawwā) before being entrusted for transport, and Kt n/k 405:10–11 asks to wrap a debt-note “carefully in a hide” (ina maškim damqis lawwā) for sending it overland.

179 In EL no. 143:18 one encounters “bags for wrapping/packing” (naruqqum ša liwītim). 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 šubītam ša suhrīm mer'assu ulabbīs, “I gave his daughter a garment for a child to wear”.

sha šadādim, twice, Prag I 741:B, [x] kutānī ša ša-da-di-im, and Kayseri 4698:46–47, “after the textiles had come down from the palace, A. took a textile (šubītam) qa-du ša ša-da-dim.” Identifying šadādim as a genitive 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 tūg ša-da-im and 18 šaru-textiles”, which confirms that they can be made of woollen cloth, but is equally unclear.

şaddum(?). CCT 1, 37b:9 mentions 1 tūg 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. šaddū, 3 “(uncertain meaning)”, in the second text transliterates ša-tū-tim and translates “delayed(?)( which requires a reading šaddūtim!), starting from a special meaning of the verb šadādim attested in Old Assyrian (CAD Š/1, 30, 6). The first reference is too laconic to decide whether its fits. The younger text KBo 9, 21:1–10 lists a series of tūg ša-DU (unless one emends into ku-ša-tū) 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.

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

ša Šubirūm, “of Šubarum (Šubartum)”, or simply “Šubarian”, see § 2.1.2 and Veenhof 2008, 18–19. It qualifies “textiles” (šubātū) in general (22 pieces in CCT 6, 7a:2–3), but also specific ones, e.g. a kusītū-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 litābšim) could be a nibrūrum, a Šubarian one, one of the City, or an Akkadian kusītū. 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 “6 1/4 heavy and good Šubarian textiles” (šubātim kābūtim damqūtūm ša Šubirūm). 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” (udūšu Šu-ba-ri-ī). Here the real nisbe is used, also attested in tug Šubarūm in Mari, see ARMT 21, 318:5, 2 tūg šu-ba-ru-ū, perhaps also in 23, 617:1 (1 šu-ba-ram, without tūg).

šiknum, only in Prag I 429:63–64, 2 DU-KU-DU 2 tūg kusītātum 1 šī-ik-nu-um 1 raqqūtum, listed in CAD Š/2, s.v. šiknū 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 kusītū-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 tūg ha-li šiknum ša ʾīn-nā, 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 raqqūtum, kusītūm, takkuša’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

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180 We may add to what is mentioned there in footnote 24, that the nisbe in Old Assyrian not only appears as Šubīrum (in amtam šu-ub-ri-tām, CCT 3, 25:35), but also as šubīrum, in Kt n/k 213:28–29 (courtesy of Bayram), wardam šu-bi-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].
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takkuṣṭa’ū 11 raqqātum, including 2 šilipkū”, they seem to belong to the category of “thin textiles”.182 In the letter Kt 93/k 505:12// 781:9–10 a single šilipkā’um turns up as part of a shipment inside Anatolia, for the rest consisting of wool, pirikanu-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 šilipkā’um, on purchase in Aššur cost on average 9.2 shekels of silver, but a similar group of 3 raqqātum, 2 šilipkū, 4 takkuṣṭa’ū and 12 lubūšī 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 šilipkā’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 = τούν = 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 kutānu -cloth”. Kt 88/k 71:47–9 mentions the payment of 4 shekels of silver for some šitru for a woman (alongside one for “her cloaks”, nahlapātum), followed by one of 3 shekels for šitru “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 paršiqum (a headdress)” in BIN 6, 122:13–14, and the sequence 3 šitru 5 išrātim 2 raqqāti šitta nahlapātim 5 musarrētim, 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 šitru 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 šitru was 1 shekel of silver, in Kt 88/71:47–48, 4 and 3 shekels were paid for šitru, 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 šitru 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 “šitru ša pūkim of extremely fine quality”, as may have been the one that was a votive gift for the gods Šin and Šamaš (together!) in Kt 91/372:5–8.184 Some occurrences relate it to a town: šitru 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 šitru ša lubūšē, 2 šitru ša sapdinnē and 2 šitru abarnēi, and such specifications occur more often: ša abarnēi (also in Kt 93/k 75), ša Akkidē185 (also in KTS 4, 28:13; TPAK 1, 28:10, Kt a/k 253:12–13 and Kt n/k 437:4), ša lubūši/lubūsim (OIP 27, 58:25, TC 1, 19:10–11, RA 60 [1966] no. 43:33, and Prag I 740:3), ša kūtānum (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 šilipkū in line 9 are mentioned alongside 3 raqqātum, which suggest that they were a specific type of “thin textiles”.

183 Saptam(n) narībatam ša šitrī šāmamma”ši šiti paniīma šēbīlamīmi ana alāka šītrām, lā išū.


185 As other examples indicate, this is in fact an abbreviation of *ša ša Akkidē, “šitru made of/belonging to (ša) a textile of (ša) the Akkadians”. See also footnote 255.
5, 38b:5 (64 shekels of silver for 7 šulhû) // KTS 48c:5 (64 shekels for 8 pieces). Kt 94/k 1517 mentions a price of 41 shekels for 5 šulhû and 2 textiles of normal weight, owned by somebody in Anatolia, and sale in Anatolia is also at stake in ICK 2, 296:43–4 (cf. 18), where 2 šulhû cost 70 minas of copper. Kt 93/k 277:1–4 mentions 152 šul[hi], alongside 55 makihû and 10maskîn, in TC 1, 109:1–2 11 pieces figure alongside 31 kutânû, 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 šulhû you will buy”, which may refer to purchase in Anatolia, as does Kt 91/344:23–5, “look out for šulhu- or makâhu-textiles that you please there”. Cf. Kt 94/k 1775:6–7 (courtesy of Larsen), which mentions “30 túg šulhû which one will acquire in Ullama”.

šûrum, an adjective (notwithstanding a few plural forms šu-ru-û) 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(-û) (BIN 4, 189:19; 6, 60:17). A clue for its meaning is perhaps offered by ICK 1, 172:13, where šûrum qualifies uduḫī šu-pû-tim. According to CAD Š, 249, s.v. šuppû 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 šûrum might indicate a darker color (brownish?), which then might also apply to these textiles. Túg šûritûm were exported in great numbers from Aššur and in caravan reports they frequently occur alongside the 30 to 50% more expensive kutânû. They were a cheaper and presumably somewhat coarser textile (made from coarser wool or threads?), but they could nevertheless be subsumed under the kutânû, as in Kt/87 k 434:1–3, “23 kutânû-textiles, thereof 5 túg ša-da-îm (and) 18 šûru-textiles”. However the summary of various bales of textiles in VS 26, 11:27–39 lists them separately from the kutânû, takkaša’û and raqqûtûm, but BIN 6, 60:13–15, “We counted 85 textiles, thereof 24 Abarnian ones, including (qâdûm) one šûru-textile” surprisingly ranges one among the Abarnian textiles. We frequently meet túg šûritûm ša li-wîtûm, “for wrapping” (see above under ša li-wîtûm), regularly used for packing the slabs of tin and occasionally also for other merchandise. “Heavy (kabtûm) šûru-textiles for wrapping” occur in CCT 3, 4:7 and ATHE 51:2–3 (read: kêtûn, [ša li-wi]-tim). These textiles were regularly sold in Anatolia. 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. The large memorandum CCT 5, 36a, which lists substantial numbers of textiles, summarizes in lines 17–20: “In all 335 kutânû, 128 šûru or Abarnian textiles, 24 thereof for wrapping” (túg li-wîtûm). Unclear are RA 60 (1966), 141 no. 8:3–4, 10 túgḫî šûritûm lu-bi-ri, according to CAD L, s.v. lubêru, “as clothing”, and Kt c/k 173:1–3, 20 kutânû 17 túg šûritûm ša DU-um šû-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

187 Michel 1997, 109, with note 156, has doubts, observing that šâ-pû-tim is an adjective, while the plural should be šûppû, as in CCT 5, 32a:13–15, 14 uduḫî šû-pû-ul raqqûtûm ša Akkidi, “14 thin Akkadian šûppû-sheep” (another parallel between designations of sheep and textiles). Yet, since no other explanation has been suggested, it seems possible to consider šûppûtim in ICK 1, 272:13 a mistake, understandable since the word follows the noun udu, and perhaps caused by the following šûritûm. See for šûppû also Kt 94/k 462:1–4 (courtesy of Larsen), which record a payment of 2½ shekels of silver for a sheep (u du) and of (only) 1 shekel 15 <grains> for a šû-pî-im.
188 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.
189 Note in Kt c/k 1104:5’, the sequence kutânû, šûritûm, kabtûtûm.
190 E.g. Kt 92/k 1211:11: 30 lá 1 túg šû-ru-um, ša Šu-štar, 15 túg ša En-na Šú-in, šu-nûgin 44 túg šû-ru-um, ša Šu-štar â En-na-Sú-in, ša-ba 4 túg i-na, li-wîtûm, 4 túg ni-is-ha-tum, 4 túg i-ši-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 litabšiā).

ta-dī-im, meaning unknown, in KTS 1, 54b:1–4, ina 22 kutānī, 1 tūg ta-dī-im, 1 tūg kamsum, 2 tūg sapdinnā, 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-dī-im.

takkūš‘a‘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” (mehrātum) of ten pieces was 2 minas of silver or c.12 shekels apiece, but this may not reflect a normal sale.192

tisābūm (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 tūg tisābām damiqtam āturtam ana litabšiā) 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 tisābūm for his wife”.193 The relation of tisābūm 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 sapdinnā of Talhat”, while in CCT 5, 12a:9 (which keeps them separate from pirikanā of Kaneš) and KT f/k 117:5–7 tisābū are said to belong to the category of sapdinnā,194 and KT 93/k 891:5–9 writes, “I gave you 9 pirikanā of Zalpa under my seals, 3 thereof are tisābū”. In KT c/k 141:4–5 a sapdinnum and a tisābūm occur together, while in KT c/k 102:3–5, “4 tisābū of Timilkiya” figure alongside pirikanā and woollen fleeces. In KT a/k 626:1–6 a shipment consists of tin, 61 kutānī, 1 tisābūm 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 tisābūm occurs alongside wool and other items; Prag I 588:2–3 mentions one together with a nibrārum, 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 nibrāū of Apum, 1 tī-sà-bū and 2 pirikanā. The biggest number, 18, occurs in KTB 7:5–6.195

tudiqum (d/tudiqum?), only in TC 3, 49:30, DU-dī-qam ... ša 3 inammitim aq, “I acquired a tudiqum 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 tūg ZI-ru-um, in damaged context, after other textiles, and in KT 94/k 1023:8 (courtesy of Larsen), 2 tūg ZI-ri 1 tūg abarnīm. 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 lawû” 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 takkuša‘u-textiles”.
193 Ina šīm šubātim ša ana asīṣīšu tī-sà-ba-am is-ū-mu-ū.
194 CCT 5, 12:8–9, 14 sapdinnā ša-ba 4 tisābū, KT f/k 117:5–6, 10 tūgāhip sapdinnum ša-ba 2 tūg tī-sà-bi,–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.
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, ni-lám and bar-dul:

Old Assyrian | Ur III
---|---
a) ša (lubuš) šarruttim, “royal class”, “of royal wear” | šàr (lugal)
b) damqum watrum (šig₃ diri), “of very fine quality” | šig₃ / ús-šàr
c) damqum (šig₃), “of fine quality” | ús-sig₃ / 3–kam-ús
d) tardium, “of next good quality” | gin

e) ša qātim / qātum, “of normal/current quality” | (murgu₃ / egir₃)
f) maṭium, “of inferior quality” |

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 reštu) and ús (=terdennu). In Mari, textiles called uvwxyzublum and si-sá are distinguished as sag and ús, and on the Acemhöyük bullae (Karaduman 2008, 283–285) raqqatum, sakkum and baratû are qualified as sag, a sakkum once as ús (Ac, i, 903). At Šušarrā we find the sequence sig₃–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-zāg/zag-ga, frequent with wool), e.g. ARMT 22, 139:7, túg-guz-za bē-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).


b) damqum watrum: several times of kutānā, 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’īm in BIN 4, 160:12, of nahlapturn in Kt 87/k 378:16 (courtesy of Hecker, + narîbtum, “soft”), of namaššuhum in Kt 4, 24:1–3 and CCT 5, 44a:2–3, of pirîkanum in Kt 94/k 364:15–16 (courtesy of Larsen), of tisâbûm in Kt 94/k 1373:1–19, and of unspecified šubātī. 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 kutānā of extra fine quality that cost at most 12 shekels of silver apiece (ša 12 gín-ta kù-babbar ū, 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-úṣ, 4–kam-úṣ, and e). Occasionally 5–kam-úṣ is added before e) and in Lagaš (Gudea) šàr may alternate with or appear alongside sig₃.

197 Note its use of iron, in Kt 94/k 1455:26–27 (courtesy of Larsen): ašiam zakka’am ša šarruttim, “pure, top class iron.”
c) **damqum**: frequent, used of unspecified šubāṭī and of abārnīm, kutānūm, raqqatum (Bursa 3773:5, Kt 94/k 131:5–6), kusītum (TPAK 1, 173:6–7, KTS 2, 25:16), šulup'ā'um (Kt 94/k 131:5–6), kitā'um in CCT 4, 44b:17–18, nibrārum in Kt 91/k 3726, sapdinnu in KTS 36c:9 and Kt k/k 29:4, kuš(š)atūm in OIP 27, 11:4. Note the reference Chantre 10:6–8: x túg sig₅ thereof ...... 4 túgḫ ša liwītim and passim in the sequence “x túg sig₅ y túg”.

d) **tardiurn**: “of next, following (quality)”, 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-šär and ús-sig₅, the relative notion ús, “following after”, is specified and this yields a continuous series: šär, ús-šär = sig₅, ús-sig₅=3–šubúṣ, 4–šubúṣ, 5–šubúṣ. What tardiurn means can become clear when it occurs in a sequence, especially after damqum, as in 1 kutānūm damqum 1 kutānūm tardiurn 1 raqqatum 1 ša Akkidiē (Kt 94/k 98:1:1–3, courtesy of Larsen), in “164 textiles, thereof 20 textiles of good quality, the others (allīīatum?)** tardiurn (Kt 93/k 765:12–14), and in “400 textiles, thereof 25 of good quality, including the Abaraninan ones, 18 textiles tardiūtu ... 17 maṭītūtu (Kt c/k 443:5–8). However, from “603 kutānū, thereof 100 kutānū tardiūtūm” (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 tardiūtūm, packed in 18 bags ... 94 textiles of good quality shipped by L., thereof 25 šubāṭī tardiūtūm (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 tardiurn as an independent mark of quality, as happened in Nuzi, where tertennu figures as a noun without gender congruence, e.g. in itennnūtu hullānu tertennu damīqatum (HSS 19, 79:16), “one nahlaptu tertennu (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 qa-tām 8 kutānī damqātim, and CCT 6, 3:22–23, šubāṭī damqātim qabliūtim ù qa-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 maṭītum allibī ša qātim na[d][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. mahrāt illaku, “the current rate of exchange”. Cf. also sig-gin, “normal/ current wool”, alongside sig-igi-ṣag-ga, “selected wool”.

f) **maṭītum**, “lacking in quality”, a relative notion, rare in enumerations, but 16 kutānū damqātūm 10 kutānū maṭītūm (Kt b/k 198:14–15) and 400 šubāṭī ša 25 šubāṭī damqātū ... 18 šubāṭī tartītū ... 17 maṭītūtu (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-di-im) and of objects, to refer to their size (Kuliya 59: 2, 4, used of wooden beams and boards, after rabīum, “big”).

199 We doubt whether in this sequence a-li-ū-um is a nisbe, “of the city (of Aššur)”. See for the meaning “others”, EL 274B:14–15, where a committee of three “outsiders” (ahīiūm) has to accompany persons to inspect the archive of a dead trader. If some of those asked to do so refuse, allīūtum errūbū, “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. *alā, a), but identify the adjective with allā, used as “the other” in Nuzi texts, cf. CAD A/1, 358 s.v. b.

200 If followed by “of PN”, this qātimum can be wrongly interpreted as “the share of PN” (equated with qāti PN), e.g. in BIN 4, 1857:8–1, šubāṭī qa-tām ša PN, but its meaning is clear from lines 1–3, 162 šubāṭī qa-tām 20 šubāṭī damqātūm watītum, “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 birkīm (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 kūtānā, including 12 kūtānā maṭīṭum 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, šīṭī 3 šubātā maṭīṭišu). Note also “I took 2 kūtānā, 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 tūg sig, ʾilmema maṭīṭam ʾiddī).

In this list we have not included:

**g) qablium**, a nisbe derived from qablium, “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 kūtānā qablišṭum must be bought”; CCT 4, 46a:8–9, “x tin, 50 kūtānā qablišṭum and 2 donkeys”. The statements in Kt c/k 158:15, “your textiles are qabliš as to ... they do not appeal to me” (šubātīka šu-wu-ur qabliš ūnī là mahruš), where the meaning of šuwur is unknown, and Kt 93/93:2–3, “I have looked for šubātī qablišṭim whose inside is perfectly finished” (šubātī qablišṭim ātamarmā ša qerbam šalmūni) are interesting, but not explicit enough. Since qablium expresses a relative notion, we have to look at enumerations, where we see the following sequences: damqum, qablium, ša qātim/qātam; damqum (waturum), tardium, qablium; damqum waturum, qablium, ša Akkidē; damqum, Abarnūn, qablium; and Abarnūn, qablium, ša qātim. It is difficult to draw a conclusion from them, unless one takes Kt 93/k 304:5–9 literally: “81 kūtānā qablišṭum including those for wrapping, of which 20 are kūtānā of good quality”, where kūtānā of good quality seem to range under kūtānā of qablium quality, which would only make sense if qablium referred to size or style and not to quality. However, the sequences damqum - tardium - qablium (2x) and qablium - ša qātim/qātum (2x) point in the other direction. Note also Kt m/k 9:4 (courtesy of Hecker) where 14[0 k]/tūgānā qā-[āb-li-ū-tim], if this restoration is correct, are identical to 140 kūtānā wasmūṭim 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, šuqalam wasumtam, probably referring to its full weight (ideally 65 minas) rather than to its quality. Used alone: Kt m/k 8:5, 140 kūtānā wa-as-mu-tim; TC 3, 161:4, 1 tūg ús-1-mu-um (akkārim labbusim); CCT 6, 25d:1–2, [x+]1 kūtānā wasmūṭum cost 100 shekels of silver; Kt 93/k 288:23, ahamma 20 tūg ús-mu-tim; Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, pirikannā nARBuitim wasmūṭum. In a sequence, after ša qātim: Sadberk 11:6–7, 97 šubāt ʾa qātim u 47 šubāt wasmūṭum, but it also qualifies ša qātim: Kt 94/k 415:6–7, kutānā ša qātim wasmūṭum; perhaps also Kt 94/k 503:21 (courtesy of Larsen), kutānā ša qātim ú-si-mu-tim. Alongside damqum (waturum): Kt 93/k 497:8–9, 10 šubāt was-as-mu-tim u 10 šubāt damqūṭum; Kt 93/765:21–22, 20 tūg wa-sū-mu-tim u 3 kutānā sig, diri; Kt m/k 22:9–10 (courtesy of Hecker), 20+x kutānā ús-mu-tim 5 ku[tānā] sig, (cf. lines 1–3: 22 kutānā sig, 25 kutānā 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 pirikkannā, in Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, pirikkannā nARBuitim wasmūṭim, “soft pirikkannā of fair quality”.

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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 sig.). 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, 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 (*lūšalim*). TC 3, 17 probably also speaks of “striking/beating” (*mašādum*) and “shearing/cropping” (*qatāpum*) the weave, the latter treatment being necessary to create a smooth, flat surface that is not “hairy” (*šartam išûm*), which characterizes a *kutānum* assumed to be woollen cloth. 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”. 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.

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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 TC 3, 17 probably also speaks of “striking/beating” (*mašādum*) and “shearing/cropping” (*qatāpum*) the weave, the latter treatment being necessary to create a smooth, flat surface that is not “hairy” (*šartam išûm*), which characterizes a *kutānum* assumed to be woollen cloth.

204 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.

Fig. 12.2. Cuneiform copy of TC 3, 17. Source: Lewy 1935, plate XIV.
Thus Puzur-Âššur, say to Waqurtum:

“1 mina of silver – its excise added, with the transport fee he is satisfied – Aššur-idî brings you under my seal. The thin textile you sent me, such ones you must make and send me with Aššur-idî and I will send you ½ mina of silver (apiece). One must strike the one side of the textile, and not shear it, its warp should be close.

Add per piece one pound of wool more than you used for the previous textile you sent me, but they must remain thin! Its second side one must strike only lightly. If it proves still to be hairy let one shear it like a kutānum. As for the Abarnian textile you sent me, such a one you must not send me again.

If you make (one), make (it) like the one I dressed myself in there. If you do not manage (to make) thin textiles, I hear that there are plenty for sale over there, buy (them) and send them to me. A finished textile that you make must be nine cubits long and eight cubits wide”.

This letter (see Veenhof 1972, 104–109 and Michel 2001: no. 318) contains the most detailed information on various kinds of textiles women in Aššur made for export to Anatolia. The main problem are the instructions on the finishing of both “sides” (pānum), obviously the inside (elsewhere called qerbum, see §3.4.1) and the outside, of a “thin textile”.

Qatāpum (lines 13 and 22), “to pick, to crop, to shear” (“glattstutzen”), to be applied after mašādu, removes raised hairs, the nap (see Lackenbacher 1982, 144 and CAD Q, s.v., 1. d). It is forbidden for one side (which?) and for the other has to be done “lightly”, if the fabric is still
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-āš-ū*, 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. *našū*, 1, f, which translate “if it has (lit. has raised) a nap”. Since final –u with a singular subject is impossible with *našārum*, the form must be a perfect tense of *ištā*, “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 šišītim*) 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*, “yellow/green”: 7 *lubūši erqātim*, (after 6 white ones, ICK 1, 92:5), 13 *tūg war*(BAR)-*qū-tim* (RA 58, 64, 7:5), 2 *kutānī ša hu-BA-na-ri qatnātim u er-qū-tim*, “2 thin and yellow *kutānū ....*” (Kt 91/k 356:27–29). Note also Kt 94/k 1686:19–21, 600 *samru’ātim ša-bar 86 wa-ar-qā-tim*.

**White, pasium.** There are about a dozen references for “white” (*pasium*) textile products, most numerous are “white *lubūšā*” (Veenhof 1972, 164, and also KTS 2, 26:15’, Kt/n k 533:170), but we also have a “white *kusšām*” (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 *pirikannā ... the *pirikannā* you acquire must be red!”), but KTS 2, 35:30 perhaps mentions 6 *kutānī ša*(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 *makrum*, “reddish”, used of wool in OIP 27, 7:4.

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

**Dyed, šinišum.** The fem. adjective *šinišum*, “dyed”, cf. CAD Ș/3, s.v., is used once of wool, *šīm sīgša šinišum*, BIN 4, 54:15, and it occurs a few times as a noun, a name of a textile, in TC 3, 69:22 alongside *barrumum*, “multicolored”. Note also 2 *tūgša šinišūtim* in CCT 3, 49b:24, and “He offered us 30 textiles but they are affected by the moth (16) *u šī-ni-a-tūm*; since the textiles have lost value *batqū* *u šī-ni-a-tū-ni* we refused to

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207 *salmūṭim lā ta-sā-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*, *aššumī*).
handle them” (Kt n/k 717:13–19, courtesy of Alpayrak). 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[barri]u', 1 tūg šilipka'um 1 tūg waršum.209 Its opposite,


3.4.3. Other qualifications

ad/tum, Cole 6:4–5, 90 tūg, sig, uit 93 tūg ad/t-mu-tu-um, meaning unclear, but perhaps the verbal adjective of the verb adānum, “to invest, have a share in”, rather than to be connected with nîg-ba-ra-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” (ṣubātā anhūtum, ibaššū), that have to be aired (see also footnote 14).

dannum, “strong”, KUG 29:12, 6 tūg há dannātim ana nišī bētim.

eDium, see waDium.

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

kabtum, “heavy” [see for Mari, Durand 2009, 104, s.v. ṣubātum kabtum], more than 30 references. Used as adjective with abarnīum (Prag I 435:11; Kt 86/k 193:15, with added narbam, “soft”), tūg šarūm (CCT 3, 4:7, 4 tūg šūrūtum kabtūtum ša liwītim, used for packing merchandise, cf. ATHE 51:2’, 2 tūg kābēn [ša liwītim]). In most cases, tūg kabtum is used independently, as a heavy textile, according to CCT 3, 20:19–20 “for (wearing on) a wagon” (ana narkātim), and the writer of TC 2, 7:25–28 states that for lack of wool from Šurbu he will buy a “heavy textile” (ṣubātum kabtum) in the market in Aššur. Note AKT 3, 73:13–18, 40 tūg há ša-ba 20 tūg kabtūtum.....32 tūg ša-ba 10 tūg kabtūtum damqātum; Kt c/k 110+4–5, 35 kutānū 10 šūrūtum 5 tūg kabtūtum; AKT 3, 65:4–6, 94 tūg ša-ba 5 tūg kabtūtum 15 tūg tardūtum ..., 17–18, 11 tūg kabtūtum 10 tūg ša qātim. “Heavy textiles” are qualified as damqum, “of good quality”, e.g. AKT 3, 73:18, as “of Šubarum” (6½ tūg há kabtūtum sig, ša Šubīrim, Kt 91/k 344:10–11), as ša liwītim, “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 kutānu of good quality, 20 tūg kutānū tardūtum and [x] Akkadian textiles” were sent to Anatolia. This suggests that kamsu (without determinative tūg!) describes a type of kutānū of fine quality, less than “extremely good”, but better than simply “good”.

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

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 kamsuṭum – kutānū (POAT 15:13–14), šubātū ša qātim – kamsuṭum - Akkadian (Kt 94/ k 204:1–3), Abarnian – kamsuṭum (Kt 94/k 218:19), Akkadian – kamsuṭum – Abarnian (at 45 shekels apiece, followed by kutānū at 30 shekels; BIN 4, 4:3–6), kutānū qaṭum – damqāṭum - kamsuṭum (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 damqāṭum (including the Abarnian ones), 18 tardītum, 17 maṭītu ..., and in lines 12–13, 5 kamsūṭu 6 nibrārū 2 kusītum 1 raqqatūm 1 nibrārūm. Qualifications are rare, we have damqūm, “fine”, in Kt 94/k 1446:15–17, “for a child” in BIN 4, 68:10 (ša suhrim), and in Kt 94/k 204:1–3 they are qualified as “of Akkadian make/style” (2 tūgša qātim kamsuṭum ša Akkidiē). 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 abarnū [kamsuṭum ū nibrārū ša kutānī damqāṭum, in all 181 kutānu”, where “(made) of good kutānu-cloth” qualifies the nibrārū, but perhaps also the Abaranian ones of kamsuṭu-quality. However, the parallel Kt 94/k 1679:13–16 (courtesy of Larsen) gives the second series as “46 šubātū, either Abaranian ones or kutānu of extremely good quality or (lu) kamsuṭum or nibrārū”, where this group seems to comprise four different types of textiles and the qualification ša kutānī damqāṭum has become a separate category!

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

**lahhub/pum, “?”**, ATHE 62:8, 3 tūg lá-hu-b/pu-tīm; Kt c/k 675:15, 3 tūg lá-hu-b/pu-tīm, followed by 1 tūg raqqatūm. From a verb lā-hub/pum, of unknown meaning, see CAD L 239a, with the statement in ICK 1, 15:18-19, “The rest of the textiles I will lā-hub/pum so that they can wear them (ulahhab/pna iltabaššūnīšunu). Compare Kt 94/ k 966:17-18, whose writer asks to provide him, from Hurrama, with a set of garments (1 tūgša-) for his personal dress, either a šārum or an Akkadian burū‘um; “let one lā-hub/pum and bring it into the town” (lu-lá-hi-b/pu luṣeribuniššu).

**narbūm, “soft”,** usually said of wool (see above, § 1.1) but also applicable to textiles made of soft wool, Kt 86/k 193:15ff., tūg abaraniam kabtam na[ba]m a-litābšia, “a heavy (but) soft Abaranian 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 tūg nahlapṭēn damqâṭēn 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 narbūm is also used of Anatolian wool, we are not surprised to meet “soft pirikannā”: Kt n/k 1385:16 (10 pieces) and Kt 94/k 1675:21–22, “soft pirikannā of fair quality” (nabātim wasmūtim).

**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 (šutusū lā madāt), but “the textiles must be thin” (lā 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, tūg raqqatam damqam qattattam, and Kt n/k 391: 4, 1 tūg qatnum has to yield ½ mina of silver. Note Kt 91/ k 356:28–29, 2 kutānū ša hu-BA-na-ri qatnūtim u ergūtim, “(send me) 2 thin and yellow kutānū 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 tūg, in LB 1201:14–15, 1 Abarnūn 2 qatnūtim 4 ša qātim. Note that in § 182 of the Hittite Laws, a tūg-sig is the most expensive quality.

**raqqum, “thin”,** used as substantivated adjective and spelled tūg-raqqutum (not šubātum raqqum!), denotes a light and thin garment. Cf. above § 3.3, s.v. raqqatūm. Occasionally raqqum is used as a real adjective: CTMMA 1, 85a:12, 2 tūg bar-dul, raqqtēn, “2 thin kūsītū-garments”, and KTB 7:4–5, 4 tūg kusītūm raqqāṭum (see under kusītum in § 3.3.3).


The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia

šapium, “padded, thick”, regularly used of wool and woollen fleeces (maškā śapiūtum), and saddlecloths (ukāpum), but occasionally also of textiles, JCS 14, no. 2:18–20: “bring together the rest of my textiles, 7 kutāniš śapiūtim ā eDīūtim; Mixon 10:4–5, 15% tūg śapiūtum 9% tūg waDīūtum.

waDīum, meaning unknown, also written eDīum, usually alongside šapium, “thick”, said of fleeces, saddlecloths and garments, e.g. Kt 94/k 734:51, 4½ tūg wa-Dī-ū-tum; see under šapium and the comments on Kuliya, no. 57:4.

3.4.4. Format and size

The adjectives “small” (ṣahrum) 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 tūg ša li-tab-šī-im, 18 tūg ša’-hu-ru-tum PN ilqi, “PN took 10 textiles to be worn and 18 small textiles”.21 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-[ū]). “Long” (arkum), occasionally attested elsewhere (ARMT 22, 164 rev. 1’, [tūg-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 of the textile.

21 The reading of ZA is not fully certain, Günbatti writes “maybe A”, which would yield ahhhurūtum, “still due, still to be delivered”, which is also unique. Sahhurūtum is the well-known plural of šahrum, a pseudo-D-stem, with an added vowel.
of the threads and density of the weave. 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 0.5 minas apiece for the most current types, kutānū and šubātū was suggested, but a “thin” textile (raqqūtum) 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 šubātū 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 šubātum, 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. 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-nígin) 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”. 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 šīrim ša kutānim (RA 59 1965, n° 14, 15) and below § 4.3.

214 AKT 3, 65 (Michel 2001, no. 167):4–7, 94 túg ša-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. An *abarnīum* textile can be included among extra good quality textiles. 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), among which are 24 *tardiūtum*. This contrasts with the traditional idea that *tardiūtum* refers to items of secondary quality; it seems that *tardiūtum* 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 liwītim). Again, in addition to those called *tardiūtum*, textiles ša liwītim, used for wrapping other textiles and usually cheaper, are included here among good quality pieces.

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 Akkidē, we find textiles for wrapping and a *burāʿum* piece. This shows that a *burāʿum* 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 *ktānu*-textiles, among which some are said to be *abarnīum*.

More informative are the connections between various textile categories where quality or provenance do not play a role. The *ktānu* category, which is the main type exported from Aššur to Anatolia, includes several other categories: *kusītum*, Šārum and once ša šadāʾīm. The *pirikannum* category, which is the main type of textiles produced in Anatolia, also comprises other types: *tisābum* and *menuniānum*, and the *sapdinnum* category also includes *tisābu*-textiles. More difficult to interpret is the combination illustrated in the text CCT 5, 12a, where a bale of 12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia

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1 *lubūsum* 2 nibrārān. See also AKT 3, 61:12–13, 1 meʿat 3 túgšā: *ina ē-galšā iskānim, ša-ba 66 kutānī u 31 túg ša a-ki-dī-i;* AKT 2, 34:8–9, 12 túg ša tamkārim, ša-ba 5 abarnī;* Kt 93/k 765:12–13, 164 šubātā ša-ba 20 túg šig, aliūtum tardiūtum.*

215 AKT 4, 24:2–3, 22½ túg *damqūtum* watrātum, ša-ba 1 túg ni-lām, “22½ textiles of extra fine quality, among which one *namaššuhum*,” shipped from Aššur to Anatolia (see above §3.2. s.v. túg-nī-lām).*

216 Kt 93/k 288, 5–6: 8 túgšā šig, diri ša-ba, 1 túg abarnīum.*

217 Kt 91/k 106, 1–5: ina 82 túgšā šig, ša šēp Ali-abīm, ša 24 tardiūtum, ina 20 lā 2 naruqqātim, darkā. The same remark applies to Kt 93/k 304 where qalbium garments, usually translated as “medium quality textiles”, include good quality *ktānuums* l. 5–8: 81 kutānī, qablitum, qadum : liwītim, ša-ba 20 kutānī šigšā.*

218 Kt 91/k 106, 9–15: 94 túg šig, ša šēp, Laqēpim, ša 25 tardiūtum, 10 túg ša liwītim, ina 20 lā 2, naruqqātim, darkā. The same observation can be made from Chantre 10, 5–7: šu-nīgin [1 meʿat] 15 túg ša dam-gār, 92 túgšā šig, ša-ba 4 túgšā, ša liwītim.*
sapdinnum includes 4 tisabu (and') 2 kita'atum palillu. We know that tisabu-textiles may belong to both the pirikannum and sapdinnum categories, which consist of woollen textiles, but it is impossible to decide whether the kita'atum palillu, which should be translated as "linen being/serving as palillu", could also belong to the sapdinnum type.\(^\text{227}\) Perhaps it is better to suggest that only the 4 tisabu textiles belong to the sapdinnum category, and that the 2 kita'atum palillu are counted apart, but were added to the same donkey load.

4.1.2. Qàdum “including”

The same remarks apply to the less common expression "type A qàdum (including) type B". Beside the most common expression qàdum ša liwîtim "including those for wrapping"\(^\text{228}\) and the examples referring to tûg in general, we find combinations of specific categories with qualities\(^\text{229}\) or with geographical provenance: Akkadian textiles including dirty (waršûtim) textiles,\(^\text{230}\) šûrûm ranging among Abarnian textiles\(^\text{231}\) or raqqûtim textiles including šilipka'um.\(^\text{232}\) More interesting is the reference to kutânu-textiles of qabliûm quality including textiles for wrapping (<ša> liwîtim).\(^\text{233}\)

4.1.3. Šu-nîgin (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-nîgin), thus again combining several types.\(^\text{234}\) In such a combination, textiles made of wool from Šurub (see § 1.1) belong to the kutânu type.\(^\text{235}\) Lubûšu-garments, kusîtu-textiles and two types named by a nisbe, šilipka'û- and takkušta'û-textiles, are totalled as Akkadian textiles.\(^\text{236}\) 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 kutânu-textiles appear as a large category containing several others: šûrûm and takkušta'û\(^\text{237}\) or abarnûm kamsûm and nibrûrum.\(^\text{238}\)

To sum up, there are two main textile categories which include several others: the kutânu type, made in Upper Mesopotamia and the Anatolian pirikannum type. Two terms which were
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 *kusītum* garment may be either *(m)alkuašum or *šilipka’um;*239 a *nibrārum* garment could come either from the Šubarum, from Aššur or be exchanged with an Akkadian *kusītum.*240 Most often, we observe that a “geographical” type and another category can be alternatives. Among textiles exported from Aššur to Anatolia:

- *kusītum* textiles may be either *šurūtum* or Akkadian,241
- good quality textiles may be either *kusītum, abarnīm* or Akkadian,242
- *raqqutu* textiles may be either *lubūšum* or *takkušta’um,*243
- a *lubūšum* from Susē and a *kusītum* 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

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239 TC 3 169:10–12, 1 tūg *kusītum, lu alkuāitum, ū lu šilipka’um.*
240 Prag I 686:19–21, *nibrāram, lu ša Šubirim lu ša ālim,* lu *kusītam ša Akkidē.*
241 CCT 5, 36a:18–19, *1 me’at 28 tūg lu šurūtum, lu ša Akkidē.*
242 CCT 4 29b:3–4, tūg24 : sig, *lu tūg kutānā, lu abarnī ša ša Akkidē.*
243 Kt 93/k 344:19–20, *18 tūg raqqātum lu lubūšū, lu takkuš’āʾ.*
244 AKT 2 24:4–5, 10–11, *1 tūg abarnīam, sig, wtram ... lu lubūšam susēiam, lu tūg katānām sig,*
245 Kt 93/k 517:21–22, *55 tūg lu menunianiā lu ša, Tuhpiya.*
246 Kt 94/k 1672:19–20, *lu tūg tisābī ša Hahhim, lu sapdinni-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 Kt c/k 449:7–9 Kt c/k 458:9–13
5 túg kamsütum 6 túg nibrārū 6 túg kamsütum 6 túg namaššuhū 5 túg kamsütum 6 túg namaššuhū
2 túg kusītān 1 túg raqqatum 2 túg kusītān 1 túg raqqatum 2 túg kusītān 1 túg a-ra-qá-tim
1 túg nibrārum 1 túg nibrārum 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 a-raqqatim into 1 túg raqqatum, “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 Kt 94/k 1687:1–7, 10–11, 13–15
603 kutānū, šà-ba 100 kutānū tar<di>-ütum, 603 túg kutānū, ... ina qerbim, 100 túg kutānū, tardīütum,
ahamma 35 kutānī sig., diri, 35 túg sig., watrūtim,
šà-ba 3 kutānū ... ina qerbim, 3 kutānū ... šu-nígin 600, u 38 túg ...
ahamma 46 túg abarnīū, lu kamsütum ahamma 46 túg lu abarnīū, lu kutānī sig., watrūtim,
lù nibrārū, ša kutānī sig., watrūtim, lu kamsütum lu nibrārū
šu-nígin 684 túghā ...

(again l. 36–39):
in a túg-hū-a 100 kutānī, [tardi]ütim
35 kutānī, sig., diri 46 abarnīē
[ka]msütum, ū nibrārū ša kutānī sig., watrūtim
šu-nígin 181 kutānū

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

“abarnīū textiles either kamsütum or nibrārū of good quality kutānū”,
“abarnīū, kamsütum and nibrārū of good quality kutānū”,

or should we understand:

“abarnīū textiles, either good quality kutānū, or kamsütum 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, abarnīūm is the broad category that comprises kamsütum, 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:
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, sapdinnim, pükum 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, pükum, 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 nahlapn̄tum and nams̄ūhum are made of kutānu-fabric and must correspond to garments.257 The nahlapn̄tum 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”259 may apply to both. Occasional information on garments worn, e.g. in the letter TC 3, 17:23–28, “As for the

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254  Kt 94/k 966:14–15: lu burā‘um, ša Akkidiē; AKT 2, 44:3–5, 4 túg, ša Akkidiē, ša-ba 1 burā‘u[m].
255  Prag I 686:19–20, nibrāram, lu ša Šubarim lu ša Ālimūi.
256  Kt c/k 524:10, 1 túg nibrārum ša Akkidiē.
257  TC 1, 19:12, 2 šîtr ša abarnūm; Kt 93/k 75:7 šitrum ša abarnim.
258  BIN 6, 64:7, 1 šitrum ša Akkadiē; Kt m/k 22:6–7 (courtesy of Hecker), 1 kusîtīm ša, Akkidiē.
259  Kt c/k 524:10, 1 túg nibrārum ša Akkidiē.
260  Kt 93/k 891: 9, túg pirikannum ša Zalpa including 3 tíshum; CCT 5, 12a:9, 14 sapdinnā including 4 tisābū.
261  In Assyrian ša qerbam šalmūnī, 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. Even the distinction been 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”, 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”. 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 subātū, of which y are kutānī” suggests that, in many cases, textile products designated by the generic term subātū may have been kutānū-textiles and not garments. Besides, what is true for kutānum is most probably also valid for šārum (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” (subātum qatnum) could measure c.4 by 4.5 m and a raqqatum 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. 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. For still smaller pieces or fractions due, a “balancing payment” (nipiltum) in silver is made. Such fractions only occur in subātū, 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 nahlapatum, namäššahum, nibrārüm, 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 šuhrē ulabbiš).
265 The curious writing 31 subātū ʿā ¼ tūg ša Akkidē 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 72½ textiles; in CCT 5, 39a: 9 of the presumably 9[1] textiles,
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śūrum, 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. paršīgum), but a nahlapīrum 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 tūg-si-sā (perhaps to be read išārtūm, “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 tūg, tūg-bar-si, tūg-guz-za and occasionally tūg-gū-è(-a), tūg-sal-la, utūblum, laharītum, and kitītum.\(^{270}\) In the text published by Lackenbacher 1982 (III:1 and VI:23), a tūg-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 [8½ pieces] there remain 77½ textiles; in AnOr 6 no. 15, the tax on 27 kutānum amounts to 1½ piece, the tithe to ½ pieces, so that (line 14) 23½ 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 his wife N., A. and E. brought to Suejja”. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia

\(^{268}\) 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 utūblum (text no. 25:3’), which is also given to men; Durand 1980, 405–406, for tūg-si-sā and the fact than an utūblum 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 tūg i-ZU-u in line 8 remains unclear) and 11, and Bruxelles O 342, col. I. An exception could be the tūg-sal-la sūnim in BM 16465 II:5 and 12, and a tūg-bar-si irtim, attested once at Mari (see § 3.3 note 43, but the nahlapīrum ana itirta in KT k/k 24:24–25 is meant for a man).

\(^{271}\) See Leemans 1952,1–2, where apart from various kinds of paršīgū, we also find the rare aguhhum, gadamahhum, tūg tuqātum (meaning unknown), tūg taktītum (perhaps a fine blanket, cf. CAD T, s.v.) and tūg-sal-la = raqqatum.
Taking into account comparative data as well, we may conclude that a *kusītum* 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 *raqqutum*, “thin textile”, because in Kt 94/k 1751:5–7, 2 *šulupka’u*-textiles and 2 *raqqatūm* of good quality are qualified as “for/as garments for our father” (*ša lubūš 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* (= *lamahuššûm*), *šilipka’um* and *takkušta’um*, which figure in small quantities among the items exported, probably also were garments. Babylonian sources show that *lamahuššûm* 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 (*tūg*) *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 *tūg* sig ..., *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 *tūg* ša *suhrim 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 *šuhrī 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 (šubātūm) of good quality for you...”.

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272 However, in VS 26, 40:8–8–10, “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, *allitabšiša*); CCT 6, 3a:24–26 (will be sent when the road is open again); CTMMA 1, 79:19–21 (“send me *šubāti* to put on, I am staying here without *šubāti*”); 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 ʿubūtā for me to wear”.274 That a ʿubūtā 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 ʿubūtā, worn by a woman, is put on a pair with the ʿubātā that to all appearances had been bought in Aššur for export to Anatolia: “Together with your own ʿubātā (plural) one is bringing you a ʿubūtā 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 will ......276 and (so that?) they can wear them”, and Kt 91/k 449:1–8, “When we counted the textiles (ṣubātā) of my transport, the palace took 2 sapdinnū, ... 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” (tūg ištēn u šina kabtūtim ana narkabtim ētapaš), 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:

- **Abarnāium**, 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 kutānā, 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 lubāšum of Susē (? sü-sf-e-a-am, see § 2.1.1, s.v.) or a fine kutānūm for that purpose.

- **burā’um**, BIN 4, 160:11–13, “Š. owes me 11 mins 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. ulabbiššu). 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

- **kutānūm**, CCT 5, 33:9–15, “I gave him a kutānūm to put on (allitabšūšu) 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

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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 anā lītabšiška 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 (ṣubātā 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 mahirīm)”.

275 Attāma tidē šū-ba-tumic bu-di-a [ah-m]u-uš-ma addinakkum. Cf. ARM 10, 17:10–14, where the queen of Mari writes to her husband, “Let my lord put the cloak I made on his shoulders (1 šubātām u nahlap tam ... anā budišu liškan).

276 Šitti šubātā i-lá-ha-ap-ma iltabbušušiššu. CAD L, 18, c, 1’, suggests for lāhhupum a meaning “to set aside” or “to select” (p. 239, s.v. lāhhupu, “to treat textiles in a particular way”); Ahw s.v. la’upum II, referring to Araabic ḫ, 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 tūg A-ni-a-ni-a-am.

278 Lines 12–19, ramakkumu Šulhā, 1 túg inā lītabšiša, lā šārumic lu burā’am, ša Akkidē ištu, Hurama ana mer ummiānim, dimma lu-lā-hi-pu, lāšerrebānisšă, túgic allitabšiša lā išā.

279 Courtesy of Larsen; Hattium, presumably a nisbe derived from Hattum, probably also in KTS 1, 8a:4–5, i-na a-limki (written a ki lim) ša [H]a-tē-e.
with two kutānū as clothing”) (2 kutānī Ha-tí-e ulabbīš), 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 pā-li-li and the slave-girls have put them on” (ištamāšunu).
- 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 ištamāšika 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 sig, ṣutu-ra-tam, ša ana litabša).

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 bring 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 šarruttīm, “as clothing of kings” (see § 3.4.1,a) and ša lubūš šuhārī, “for clothing of servants” (Prag I 429:1, pirīkanbu-textiles), or by means of lubūšum ša, e.g. lubūšam ša šuhrım, “a garment/clothing for a youngster” (AAA 1, 2:5–6). We also find textiles qualified as ša lubūšīm ša, e.g. 1 túg ša lubūšīm ša suhrım, “one textile as garment for a youngster” (BIN 6, 84:30), or “2 šulupkaḫu ... (and) 2 thin textiles (raqqätān) as garments (plural!) of our father” (ša lubūši ša abini, Kt 94/k 1751:1–6). However, ša lubūšīm is also used more independently, as in 1 túg ša suhrım ša lubūšīm (KTS 2, 31:3) and 1 šītrum ša lubūšīm (OIP 27, 58:25, Prag I 740:3, alongside kutānū and išratum). Since a translation “as garment” would amount to tautology and the contexts make “as (part of a) clothing allowance”

280 Old Assyrian also knows lubūšum (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 kassārū qadum lubāšītum), e.g. in KTB 17:8–9. Cf. also POAT 41, 17–18, “send 5 minas of wool, her clothing ration” (lubūšīša, plural or mistake for lubūša?)
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 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, 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 524:8–10 (courtesy of Günbattu), “among the Akkadian textiles, both yours and mine, there are a lubūšum, a kusītum and a šulupka’[um]”. There are a number of references to white and one to yellow lubūšī (see § 3.4.2) and they could be of fine quality,283 expensive products according to Kt n/k 524:16–22 (courtesy of Günbattu), “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.

* * *

282 We have the following enumerations (cf. CAD L, s.v., 2, a): 5 túg lubūšū 1 túg kusītum 2 raqqātān (Prag I 623:1–3); 5 śa[rūtum] [x] lubūšū, [y] raqqātum (Prag I 672:4–6); 7 lubūšū 6 kusītum1 šilipka’um 1 takkuštum, “in all 15 Akkadian textiles” (Yale 13092:8–10); 5 kusītum 1 túg Abarnīum sig. 2 túg lubūšū 1 túg nibrārum ša Akkidī (Kt n/k 524:8–10); 10 kusītum 2 túg burā’ū 5 lubūšū (Kt n/k 524:32–33, exported from Aššur); 1 kutānum 5 túg lubūšū 1 túg raqqūtum (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 Śumma subātī, lu lubūšum pašium, lu Abarnīum, damqātim wātrūtim, ša šarruttim, išširānukkum, dišṣim.

285 Lines 1–6, 1 túg lubūšum pašium, ša A. 2 túg lubūšū, ša P. a-rubātum īšši, 1 túg pašium inūmī ana 5 bēt mūṣīm iqrūsuni, akkārim lubūšūm, “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 māšium 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 respect.

### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AbB</td>
<td>Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung. Leiden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AnOr</td>
<td>Analecta Orientalia, Roma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARM(T)</td>
<td>Archives Royales de Mari (Traduction). Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BE</td>
<td>The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAD</td>
<td><em>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</em>. Chicago (1956–).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCT</td>
<td>Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAOS</td>
<td>Freiburger Altorientalische Studien. Stuttgart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td><em>Hebrew Union College Annual</em>. Cincinnati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICK</td>
<td>Inscriptions cunéiformes de Kültepe. Prag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Berlin.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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286 See also the contribution of A. Wisti-Lassen in this volume.
12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia

KUG

Kuliya

LB
Texts in the collection de Liagre Böhl. Leiden.

MARI

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

OIP
Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.

POAT

Prag I + no.

RA

RGTC
Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes. Wiesbaden

RHA

RIMA 1

Sadberk

TC

TCL

TLB
Tabulæ Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae Leidae Conservatae. Leiden.

TPAK

TuM
Texte und Materialen der Frau Professor Hilprecht Sammlung. Leipzig.

UF

VS

WO

YOS

Bibliography


12. The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia