

NOTES

1 Textiles and Gender in Antiquity: An Introduction

- 1 The International Research Network Ancient Textiles from the Orient to the Mediterranean linked together three CNRS joint research units (Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité at Nanterre, Archéorient at Lyon and Centre de Recherches Historiques at Paris), four Universities in France (Universités Paris 1 Panthéon – Sorbonne, Paris Nanterre, Lumière Lyon 2, Blaise-Pascal Clermont-Ferrand 2), the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and the Ministry of Culture together with the University of Copenhagen and the University of Leicester; it was coordinated by Cécile Michel.

2 Textiles and Gender During the Middle Babylonian Period (c. 1500–1000 BCE): Texts from Syria and Babylonia

- 1 The Nuzi documentation was left aside because of lack of space and will be dealt elsewhere by Abrahams and Lion, in a paper entitled 'Textiles and Gender at Nuzi'.
- 2 For a more general appreciation of textile use in ritual at Emar, see Abrahams (2019). For a recent analysis of this ritual see Masetti-Rouault (2014: 50–4).
- 3 Information regarding the clothing of the high priestess during the Late Bronze Age are scanty. The gift of Nebuchadnezzar I to an *entu*-priestess, recorded on a stela found by king Nabonidus, consists of her appurtenance (*simtu*), her wardrobe (*lubuštu*) and jewellery (*tiqnu*): YOS 1 45: 32–3 (Schaudig 2001: 374). Jewels were also offered by the Assyrian king Ninurta-apil-Ekur to his daughter, an *entu*-priestess: MARV 53 (Jakob 2003: 514). Kassite documentation does not seem to give any information on this issue (Sassmannshausen 2001: 62–4). For cloth allocated to the *entu* in Nuzi documentation, see the forthcoming paper 'Textiles and Gender at Nuzi'.
- 4 For instance, in Emar documentation TBR 28: 19 (Arnaud 1991: 61 and Justel 2008: 59 n. 136) and BL 13: 12'–13' (Westenholz 2000: 36): [...] textiles (túg-meš), 2 beds, [...] *pahatt[arru]*-blanket, [...] as the bridewealth (munus-ú[s-sá...])
- 5 RS 16.146+161, 10–13: 20 túg-me-meš sal-la-meš ša ^{kur}hur-ri 20 túg-me-meš sal-la ša ^{kur}mar-tu^{ki}, 20 túgša-bat-tu₄ ša ^{kur}hur-ri 20 túgša-bat-tu₄ ša ^{kur}mar-tu^{ki}, 50 túgšig₄-za-meš 10 túg-gada-meš 10 túggu-é gada, 50 túgšig₄-za-meš ša giš-gu-za ša sig-za-gin (Nougayrol 1955: 182–4 and Lackenbacher 2002: 290).
- 6 CAD N/1: 200. For the reading túg-me = *nalbašu* see Volk (1995: 145 n. 606) with previous references. At Mari, although it is part of the king's wardrobe, it seems a less luxurious garment (Durand 2009: 73 and 141, sub *zirum*). *Raqqatu* is a common adjective qualifying textile in OA and OB corpus (CAD R: 168). *Qatnu* (= sig) 'thin', 'fine' (CAD Q: 174) is also used for textiles; For OA references see Michel and Veenhof 2010: 228, 239–40, 254 (*raqqatum*), and 254 (*qatnum*).
- 7 Linen cloths are also listed among the items of the *šulmanu*-gift offered to the queen in Nougayrol (1970: 115–16).

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- 8 Lackenbacher (2002: 290) reads ^{túg}guz-za, ‘étouffe rêche’ (instead of ^{túg}sig₄-za-meš), but this does not fit the context. For *i’lu* in NA texts identified as a strip for binding head coverings, see Gaspa (2018: 306). According to Durand (2009: 35), in Mari documentation the word refers to a tight weave (‘trame serrée’). sig₄-za and *šabattu* are also found in RS 16.61, a fragmentary dowry list, see Nougayrol (1955: 39) and Justel (2008: 59).
- 9 The two parallel slashes in the table (//) correspond to the GAM sign used before Hurrian words.
- 10 For small utensils and luxury furnishings made of this wood see CAD T: 281–2. Boxwood combs are not attested in the occurrences collected there.
- 11 For the location of Tukriš as a component of the ‘Oxus Civilization’ during the Ancient and Middle Bronze Ages, see Steinkeller (2014: 701–4). Archi (2016: 30–2) discusses the textual references of this toponym which points to the Iranian mountain lands. The phonetical analogy between Durugasu in Ebla texts and Tukriš is doubtful since Durugasu, probably to be identified with Egypt, is a lapis lazuli importing country and Tukriš is known as a source of it (Biga 2016: 707 n. 23). In OB Mari texts, according to Guichard (2012: 25–9), Tukriš refers to a different region localized in south Turkey; for the possibility that Tukriš might allude to Egyptians present in the Levant, see Durand (2014: 4–7). For other occurrences to *tukrišû* garments (only in MB texts) see CAD T: 459–50.
- 12 CAD I: 241. A plural form *išhanabeâte* is attested in Postgate (1979: 2) (MAH 15854, 7’). For NB occurrences, see Beaulieu (2003: 15), where it is used for the statues of the goddesses Ištar and Belet-ša-Rēs. Supplementary MB occurrences are found in Aro (1970: 25), and in van Soldt (2015: no. 364–66; no. 368–72). MA evidence is discussed in Postgate (2014: 418).
- 13 See also van Soldt (2015: 450 no. 369, 13’: 2 ^{túg}iš-he-na-be a-hi).
- 14 CAD I: 241 and van Soldt (1997: 97), CBS 3235, 10 (*qalpu lā šippu*).
- 15 Postgate (2014: 418). Texts of Bābu-ahha-iddina’s archive which refer to work assignment for the manufacturing of *išhenabe* (with white trim) are conveniently reedited by Faist (2001: 95–6, 103–4).
- 16 As noted by the CAD I. It is also the case in van Soldt (2015) texts and in the present bridal gift.
- 17 L. 3 ‘the women of the city [...]’ are probably the female weavers and not the beneficiaries of this set of clothing. *Nahlaptu* and *išhenabe* garments are often recorded together whether allocated (CUSAS 30 no. 364: 2–3; CUSAS 30 no. 372: 2–3, see van Soldt 2015: 445 and 453) or in the context of work assignments (see KAJ 231 in Freydank and Saporetti 1989: 14 and 56 and CUSAS 30 no. 366: 2–5 and CUSAS 30 no. 369: 13–14, in van Soldt 2015: 447 and 450).
- 18 Zawadzki (2006: 134) agrees with this hypothesis and suggests a possible link with the representation of the hem of Gula’s mantle on a seal from the British Museum; see also Gaspa (2018: 209). The AHw: 13 gives a general translation ‘ein Festgewand’. For the *kusitu* (^{túg}bar-du_{3/5}), see CAD K: 586 ‘an elaborate garment’. For the fourth millennium BCE references, see Molina (2014: 75) ‘a sort of full-body garment’ with previous bibliography. In the OA documentation, it is a costly cloth which is worth 7 shekels of silver (Michel and Veenhof 2010: 234). For the *kusitu* in Nuzi, see Abrahami and Lion (2018: 27–8). For first millennium documentation see Gaspa (2017: 53), ‘This textile designation has been interpreted as referring to a long garment falling straight to the ground, probably as a sort of tunic’, and also Gaspa (2018: 248–50).
- 19 Postgate (2013: 219 n. 47) and most recently Gaspa (2018: 246–7). See also van Soldt (1997: 99) who understand *hullān ahi* as ‘sleeved wrap’.
- 20 van Soldt (1997: 97). In Nuzi, *hullānu* together with *nahlaptu*-wrap were given to men and messengers, see the forthcoming paper ‘Textiles and gender at Nuzi’.

- 21 šu-ni^gín 1 me 1 šu 2 lá túg-síg nu-ur-e₄-ru₆^{ki}, ša i-na ša-kan ha-da-šu-ti, ša^{fd}E₄-ru₆-i-lat, dumu-munus^{md}en-ni-ti, kal-lat^{md}na-bi-um-ku-dur-ru-u-šur, ti-gi-i ša^damar-utu, ^mnap-sa-me-en-ni^{lu}hal nu-èš^dninnu, i-na^{iti}bára ša mu 2-kam, ^damar-utu-na-di-in-ah-hi, lugal šár, i-na šu-an-na^{ki}ú-še-šu-ú.
- 22 Napsamenni is also known from an inscribed duck weight found in Nippur, as ‘overseer of the diviners, *nešakku*-priest of the god Enlil, servant of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, king of Babylon’; see Frame (1995: 48–9) (Marduk-šāpik-zēri B.2.7.2001).
- 23 The full heading (col. i, 1) is as follows: túg-ba kud mu á. mu corresponds to the name of the items, túg-ba kud corresponds to their quantity. Under the heading á (*ahu*: sleeve?), the indication ‘tag’ is most often found, linked to all types of clothes. However, the *nāmaru* and *gú-zu* garments characterized by their adorned edge (ka) or by the word *lu? -hu* are not described as such. In one of the sets distributed (col. ii, 52–58), the same clothes otherwise described as tag are qualified as ús (i.e. standard/ordinary quality). The suggested meaning ‘first quality’ for tag (Aro 1970: 33) as opposed to ús is otherwise not attested and does not fit the context. The CAD N/1: 352 (sub *nargitu*) understands tag as ‘fashioned,’ probably linking it to its common corresponding Akkadian verb *lapātu* and its meaning in El-Amarna texts ‘to fashion an object’ (CAD L: 87).
- 24 The texts published by Gurney (1949: 133–6, no. 4 and no. 5) record the transfer of gifts (barley, sheep, meat and garments) from the father of the bride to the bridegroom, these gifts are actually received by several individuals whose relationship to the groom is not stated (see Gurney comments and CAD Z: 162–3 for an analysis of both texts). In light of HS 157, these individuals might have been members of the bridegroom’s family. Another parallel with HS 157 is the fact that, according to no. 4, the transfer occurs over a period of several years (from ‘year 3 of Nazi-Maruttaš’ (1307–1282 BCE) to the ‘year 4 of Kadašman-Turgu’ (1281–1264 BCE), ‘altogether 7 years,’ ll. 46–7).
- 25 Col i, 19–20: ad dumu-diri *e-mu-um ša-ah-rum* (i.e. ‘son-in-law’, instead of the expected *emum rabûm*, ‘father-in-law’).
- 26 Col. i: 28, Aro has read: [pab 10^m...] *tum ni 2? bal? dumu-diri*. The set of fabrics that this person receives includes the specific male caps (túg sag-šu en túg sagxlum) – see below. Between the father (l. 20) and the brother of the groom (col. ii, 26), one expects an elder brother, or a brother of the father. The number of items is based on subtracting the subtotals of each beneficiary from the total of 158 items disbursed.
- 27 sag é^{lu}nar é (?). According to the copy, the last sign does not look like an uš, as against Aro’s reading.
- 28 In iv 98, the reading of the broken sign (transliterated x by Aro) between the number 44 and the munus determinative before the name of Eru’a-ilat remains unclear.
- 29 This set of eight items is not included in the sum of the 158 items disbursed.
- 30 túg *ziqqi*: the word *ziqqu* refers to the upper part of a wall and its battlements but it is mostly documented as an ornament in this shape for jewellery and garments, see CAD Z: 128. This type of pattern might be compared to the staircase design adorning king Aššurnasirpal II’s tunic figured in one of the bas-reliefs from the North-Western palace in Kalhu, see Bartl (2014: 29 and plate 1a). Clothing of this type are distributed to a messenger of the king in CBS 3235: 11 (van Soldt 1997: 97). It is also given to one of the men listed in the bridal gift list published by Gurney (1949: 134 no. 4: 41).
- 31 Taken as a garment, úr (*sūnu*) is translated as ‘loincloth’ on the basis that the word is also used as a euphemism for sexual parts. However, the CAD separates the two entries and views them as homonyms: *sūnu* A (‘lap, crotch, sexual parts’, CAD S: 386) and *sūnu* B (‘a piece of clothing or part thereof’, CAD S: 388). Durand (2009: 94–5) interprets *sūnu* when it refers to a garment

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as a hem or an ornamental braid and links it to a different root (*su'num*). As suggested by Gaspa (2018: 204 and 302–3), the piece of clothing indicates various ‘band-like textiles of different uses’. See also Wasserman (2019: 1135). In *túg úr-du₁₀* and *túg úr-šu*, the interchanging *du₁₀*/*šu* (‘hand’) suggests for the former term the reading *du₁₀* = *birku* (another euphemism for sexual parts) taking into consideration that the other possible reading *tâbu* (‘good’) is rarely used to describe a textile (CAD T: 24).

- 32 Based on the main meaning of the root, Aro considered that it describes ‘a shiny fabric.’ This garment is already attested in the Old Akkadian period, and, for later periods, only in the present text, according to the CAD N/1: 220. However, the word may be connected to the *namru* garment, rarely attested in OB texts (CAD N/1: 241), and also found in the list of gifts of Tušratta in EA 22 iii 24 beside a ‘*túg-gú* of Hurrian (style)’ and a ‘city *túg-gú*.’ The identification of the *túg-gú* to the *nahlaptu*-wrap (*túg-gú-è-a*) is subject to doubt; see Michel and Veenhof (2010: 228).
- 33 Aro (1970: 23) related the *túg gú-zu* as a pseudo-sumerogram for the *kusitu* (see n. 18 above) or the *nahlaptu*-wrap (*túg gú-è-a*), see Gaspa (2018: 255–8). Another possibility, phonetically closer, would be to consider an abbreviated logographic writing of the NB *túg guz-guz* (*guzguzu*), a heavy and decorated coat (Quillien 2013). In that case, it would be the earliest reference to this kind of garment. However, this assumption, unlike the other reading, does not fit the fact that the word behind this logogram is feminine (see for example col. iii, 78: *ka-ši-na*). The *túg gú-zu* is certainly worn on the upper part of the body as it is provided with breast-pieces (*gaba*).
- 34 ‘Its edge is of a dark red-*tabarru*/multicolored pattern (?)’ (*ka-šu éš-gàr sig hé-me-da gi₆*, col. iii, 61–2; *ka-šu éš-gàr im-gùn-a*, col. iii, 73). Aro (1970: 25) assumes here for *éš-gàr* the meaning *šipru*.
- 35 ‘(With) blue-purple *lu-hu*, which ‘hand’ is attached on the right’ (*lu²-hu ta-kil-tu ša šu ana zag lá*, col. iv, 110). There is no satisfactory meaning for *lu²-hu*, see Aro (1970: 27). Note that *lu* appears as a technical term associated to the *kusitu*-tunic in NA documentation, see Gaspa (2018: 414). The ‘hand’ might be a decorative braid tied to the edge.
- 36 ‘Its edge (at) the neckline is of a Tukriš style’ (*ka-šu tukriš āšitu*, col. iii, 70–1. For *āšitu* as neckline, see the lexical entries *a-ši-it ki-ša-di* = *nahlaptu* et *ša ši-i[t ki-ša-di]*, CAD A/2: 355).
- 37 ‘(With) a pointed edge’ (*ka-ša su-kud-da*, Col. iii, 63); *ka-ša tukriš āšitu* (74–75); *ka-ša éš-gàr im-gùn-a* (76–7); *ka-šina lu²-hu sig hé-me-da gi₆* (78–79); *ka-ša sig hé-me-da* (81–2) ; *ka-ša lu²-hu sig hé-me-da* (84–5) and col. iv, 112–18: 1 *túg gú-zu lu²-hu takiltu, ša šu ana zag lá*, 1 *gán-ba túg gú-zu ka-ša lu²-hu haš-ma-nu*, 1 *min túg gú-zu ka-ša lu²-hu, sig hé-me-da gi₆*, 1 *min túg gú-zu ka-ša éš-gàr sig hé-me-da*. The meaning of *gán-ba*, understood as ‘Gegenwert’ (Aro 1970: 23) remains unclear in this context.
- 38 Col. iii, 88. So far, the word seems to occur only in the present text and in an OB receipt from Suse (MDP 18 94, 7) dealing with garments and various bronze and plated vessels (CAD N/1: 352). Its identification as a headdress is established on the basis of the lexical equivalents to other Akkadian words corresponding to this type of clothing: *paskārum* (CAD P: 221, only Nuzi and EA) and *paršiku* (Gaspa 2018: 315). The corresponding Sumerian word (*túg gu-lá*) ‘hanged/attached thread (or string)’ is an interesting feature: it may correspond to a specific fastening or decoration. The hanging thread could have also shaped a kind of veil.
- 39 ‘6 man-dul blankets, their edges are of a red-*tabarru* pattern, 2 an-ta-dul blankets with red-*tabarru lu²-hu*’ (col. iii, 89–91: 6 *túg man-dul-meš ka-ši-na, éš-gar sig hé-me-da*, 2 *túg an-ta-dul lu²-hu* / <sig> ‘hé-me-da’). Aro read the last three signs on the edge, at the end of l. 91, as *il-x*. The proposed reading (<sig> ‘hé-me-da’) is parallel to ll. 84–5 where the *lu²-hu* feature presents the same colour. Both textiles, in the same order, are found in a MB receipt (Sassmannshausen

2001: 409 no. 372) in which the textile has a multi-coloured edge (ka.gùn). The an-ta-dul-blanket (Akkadian *taktīmu*, CAD T: 89) is described as *ši-bu/pu*, a word which is interpreted differently in the dictionaries: grey (*šibu*, see AHW 1228b A); a red decoration (*šippu*, CAD Š/3: 72). *Šippu* C ‘discoloration’ does not fit the context (CAD Š/3: 94). The same word characterizes this type of blanket in the gift list no. 4, 9 (Gurney 1949: 134). The man-dul is probably also a cover as suggested by the Sumerian word *dul* and its association with the *taktīmu*-blanket. Its Akkadian cognate does not seem to be attested.

- 40 Túg gú-zu gaba ka-ša, síg hé-me-da, túg gú-zu gaba ka-ša za-gìn-kur-ra (col. iii, 80–3).
- 41 The footwear is listed at the end of each set. It is indicated vertically on the lateral edge of the tablet: col. ii, 50a–b and col. iii, 68ab. Col. iv, 107a–b (on the left edge of the tablet, not transliterated by Aro) may be read, according to the copy: 2 *mé-[šen ú-bi-gal]*, 1 *mé-[šen ka-ba-lim]*. One may consider that this footwear is part of the set given to the third man in the list ([x], col. i, 28) as it is noted next to the items that he receives, but this is less possible. As in the other cases, the record of the footwear faces the set subtotal, which here corresponds to the one related to the bride. This analysis fits better with the fact that no other man receives shoes.
- 42 CAD N/1: 141, *lal* = *nahsu* ‘pointed (?)’. This word describes garments in MB texts but the meaning remains uncertain. However, the meaning ‘thin’ (see Aro 1970: 28) fits the context of PBS 2/2 94, 5 (p. 141 under §3) where a number of túg *nahsūtum* are listed just before thick (*kabrūtum*) garments. One ‘thick’ garment and two *paršiku* are given to the father of the bride in the bridal gift published by Gurney (1949: 134 no. 4: 32–3), the former worth one-half shekel of gold and the latter half of this value. In HS 157, the túg úr-me-lal is attributed solely to the bridegroom who receives a ‘white’ one and to his father who receives one without colour indication.
- 43 See already Aro (1970: 23). For the *kubšu* cap, see Gaspa (2018: 308–12) who also considers Mari and MA texts with reference to the possible visual documentation from the Assyrian palace reliefs. More MA evidence can be found in Llop (2016: 201–2). *Kubšu* is written u+sag. In lexical texts *kubšu* is given as equivalent with other words probably borrowed from Sumerian with the component word *sag* (head), such as *sagdū*, *sagkū* or *sagdullum*, see CAD K: 485. Aro (1970: 30) links the *sagxlum* to the MB unidentified textile *qulqullum* (CAD Q: 301) without further explanation, but he may have thought of a graphic play linking *sag* to *gulgullu* ‘skull’. As for *sag.bur* (p. 31), he proposed ‘Ein kopfbedeckung?’ and connected it to the *sak burīm* in the Mari texts for which see now Durand (2009: 92), ‘tissage (serré) pour un matelas’.

3 The Goddess Nanaja’s New Clothes

- 1 ‘Letter of Nabu-šumu-ukin to Iddinaia, my brother. May Nabu and Marduk bless my brother. The ship that Nabu-šumu-ibni has given you out of Borsippa, the Assembly (*kiništu*) of Esagil travelled onto it down to Uruk with Nanaja and the Lady of Uruk. The Assembly (*kiništu*) of Esagil has given the ship back to me in Borsippa.’
- 2 Translation Beaulieu (2003: 310–11): ‘Letter of Šamaš-aḥ-iddin to the *šatammu*, my lord. Daily do I pray to Bel and Nabu for the health (and) longevity of my lord. Now, I have sent 500 pomegranates to my lord for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk. The *kusītu* garment shall come out of Eanna for Antu. I have not withdrawn the *kusītu* garment since the 13th year. I notified my lord concerning this question at Larsa. May the overseers and the scribes clarify this matter, (my) lord. Until I come I will pray to the gods on behalf of my lord. May (my) lord send me the aromatics of the house of the *rab-bane* and juniper cuttings for the regular offerings of Antu, Bēl-aliya, and Mar-bīti. Give orders on my behalf concerning their knobs and *tarkullus*

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of bronze for (the ceremony of) entering (the temple?) and send me 5 minas of honey from Eanna. In exchange let me send to Eanna (supplies for) whatever needs will arise. Let me hear a reply and news from my lord?

- 3 'Letter of Šamaš-idri and Itti-enši-Nabu to the *šatammu* and to Nabu-ah-iddin, our fathers. May Šamaš and Bunene decree the health (and) longevity of our fathers. Itti-enši-Nabu says: "The *kusītu*-garment of the goddess Queen of Larsa is ripped. We also lack turbans of red-purple wool and blue-purple wool for our (religious) duties. In presence of Šamaš, do us a favor! May our lords make bring to us a *kusītu* garment and 2 turbans (embroidered) of red and blue-purple wool!"'
- 4 YOS 6, 229 (Nbn 11) l. 26: 'Five gur of barley for people who are towing the boat of the *kusītu*, given(?) to Šamaš-aḥḥē [...].'
- 5 NCBT, 207 (29.II.1 Ner): 'Rimut, the bargeman of the boat that brought the King's ration to Babylon.'
- 6 YOS 3, 145 (reign of Nabonidus) [translation Beaulieu, cf. also the remarks of Fried 2004, p. 27]: 'Letter of Rimut to Nabu-mukin-zeri, *šatammu* of the Eanna and Nabu-ah-iddin, *bel piqitti* of the Eanna, my brothers. May Nabu and Marduk bless my brothers! Send me one leather mat and five inflatable goatskins for the boat concerning the Lady of the Eanna via the soldiers who will bring the boat parts (*kanduru*) to me, so that the Lady of the Eanna may go upstream to Babylon on the Euphrates.'
- 7 TCL 13, 124 (I.V.1 Cyr): 'Directors and notables in whose presence Remut, son of Nadin, descendant of the Weaver, made the following statement: 'Concerning the first quality oil that I brought in the *kusītu* boat from Esagil to Eanna on the 3rd of the month of Du'uzu in year 1 of Cyrus, King of the countries, until it entered the Eanna, nobody got a hand on it' (...).'
- 8 YOS 21, 8 (a report on arms purchases in Babylon with silver sent by the Ištar Temple): 'May I hear (soon) news from my fathers. I had Eanna-lipi-ušur and Rēmūt carry (this) tablet by the boat of the *kusītu* to my fathers.'
- 9 GC 1, 298: '20 shekels of silver, *irbu*-offering of the boat of the *kusītu*. On the 12th of the month Du'uzu, year 7 of Nabonidus, King of Babylon'; GC 1, 404: '1 mana 20 shekels of silver not refined and 1 shekel of gold: *irbu*-offering of the boat of the *kusītu*, 1/3 2 shekels of gold: *irbu*-offering at the (temple's) gate since the 17th of the month Šabatu. On the 27th of the month Šabatu, year 10 of Nabonidus, King of Babylon.'
- 10 1464, Housed in the National Gallery of Perugia, Italy.
- 11 1445. Housed in the Museo Civico di Sansepolcro, Italy.
- 12 Present in the duplicate.

4 Textiles and Gender at Ugarit

- 1 Neal Thomas (2013: 4–5): 'I will show how relationships between royal women and men structured political life both within Ugarit and between Ugarit and its neighbours ... to show how the political positions and self-identification of royal men were shaped by their relationships to royal women'; *ibid.* 8: 'Rather than simply identifying women's roles in a political system, this study will offer a reconception of the political system in light of women's roles within it.'
- 2 Doctoral thesis at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE). <https://ephe.academia.edu/VanessaJuloux>.

- 3 A possible cognate is Modern South Arabian *sebtét*, ‘belt’ (p.c. from Wilfred Watson).
- 4 Translation according to Izre’el (1991: 70). Lackenbacher (2002: 290), translates: (1) ‘Cette tablette (est celle) des biens meubles de la reine Ahat-milku ... (10–13) 20 vêtements fins hourrites, 20 vêtements fins amorrites, 20 vêtements/tissus *šabattu* hourrites, 20 vêtements/tissus *šabattu* amorrites, 50 (pièces d’étoffe) *guzza*, 10 pièces de lin, 10 capes de lin, 50 (pièces d’étoffe) *guzza* pour sièges de laine bleue.’
- 5 Lackenbacher (2002: 293–94): (1–4) ‘Ainsi (parle) [. . .]: dis à Šar-elli, dame de l’Ugarit: que tout aille bien pour toi ! ... (9)’ “Voici qu’à présent, je donne une coupe d’or, une pièce de lin, cent (sicles de) laine rouge et cent (sicles de) laine bleue à Abimānu pour qu’il te l’apporte.’
- 6 Only rarely do objects bearing an inscription that includes a personal name allow us to make a connection, even hypothetically, with a woman (see the gold ring RS 24.145, from the ‘tranchée Sud-acropole’, which belongs to a Hittite freewoman: Lebrun (2004: 106). See Matoïan (2009: 54–7).
- 7 Yon (2016: 459): ‘Domestic tools and instruments can also shed light on the daily lives of women. One must assume a priori the women of Ugarit had, like all women throughout the Ancient Near East, charge over domestic duties. They took charge of food storage and production, the tending of children and the family, as well as the family’s possessions and profession(s).’
- 8 Amico (1989: 235), ‘The only allusions to women as artisans are in the myths’, although ‘even mythological references to women in the crafts are not very convincing’; *ibid.* 245: ‘there is very little evidence that women played a major part in remunerative work, especially in Ugarit’s guild system’; *ibid.* 260: ‘there is little evidence for women in the trades and crafts represented in the middle-class guild economy of Ugarit. This leads us to the conclusion that women of this class were either active in the trades under their husbands’ and fathers’ names in family enterprises, or that they were fully occupied with domestic work’; *ibid.* 535: ‘A reasonable conclusion may be that the guilds were listed in the name of the male but that the entire family participated in the work, as is so often the case in pre-industrial society. The implication of this conjecture, however, is that households were economic units headed by the males, and that any labour performed by the females, although it would benefit the woman as a member of the family, would officially be credited to her husband.’
- 9 Marsman (2003: 679 and 686–7), following the conclusions of Amico (1989: 680), that the contribution of ordinary women ‘did not count, not even if they participated in the economic life of the kingdom. To a large extent, they were invisible’; *ibid.* 688: ‘it may be said that the administrative records confirm that the main activity of Ugaritic women was confined to managing the household, sometimes including the finances. Their contribution to the thriving Ugaritic society and economy was to a large extent invisible. Those whose role was recorded belonged to the upper classes of society.’
- 10 See also *yšh*, ‘worker who prepares or sizes textiles’ // alt. ‘metal-worker, bronze-smith’ (DUL 971).
- 11 Watson (2007a: 113, 230); Watson (2018: 363). The suggestion, in DUL, 444, to understand *kndpnt* as meaning ‘woman’s underclothes(?)’ must be rejected, see Vita (2017: 545–9).
- 12 Although considerably damaged, see also the following letters: RS 20.151 (Ug 5 no. 50) and RS 20.227: Tr. 3–4 (Ug 5 no. 57).
- 13 Reading and translation of this sign by Nougayrol, PRU 6, 116: *u[qnú(?)]* “b[leuté (?)].”
- 14 Matoïan and Vita (2014: 320–1).
- 15 I. 7. TÚG *maššiyannu* : this term, which occurs in MA, El Amarna and Nuzi, could be a loan from Hittite; see DUL, 598; Vita 2010: 334.

Notes to pp. 41–60

- 16 Gachet-Bizollon (2007: no. 405, 197–8). Recently, V. Matoïan (in preparation) has re-examined the context of the discovery of this work, which had been connected with the ‘Bâtiment aux piliers’ but must now be connected with the residence said to belong to the ‘Queen mother’.
- 17 Pardee (1997: 344, n. 11, 355, n. 132): ‘The word here and for women’s garb below is *npš*, the same as designated the father’s outfit needing washing in the list of duties of the good son.’ del Olmo Lete (1998: 239–40): ‘debajo se vistió ropas del Prócer ... y encima se vistió ropas de mujer.’ Caquot et al. (1974: 456–7): ‘elle revêt l’habit d’un héros’ ... and, ‘par-dessus, elle revêt un habit de femme.’ See also Parker (2006: 563): ‘Un[derneath] she puts on the armaments of a warrior ... And on the top, she puts on the clothes of a woman.’
- 18 Note that RS 88.2158, a tablet connected with international correspondence, discovered in the ‘House of Urtenu’ and published by Lackenbacher (2001: 239–48), may document textiles intended for the temple of the Storm God.
- 19 A new study of this cylinder-seal, by V. Matoïan, is to be published soon.
- 20 DUL, 316–17. According to Watson (2007b: 670), ‘the word *glp* may also denote a plant’.
- 21 DUL, 76: ‘she anointed herself with (essence of) sea snails.’ Tropper (2012: 522), ‘sie besprengete/parfünierte sich mit (der Essenz von) Meeresschnecken’; Parker (2006: 561): ‘She adorns herself with murex’, with a comment on *anhbm*; *ibid.* 558 n. 4.
- 22 Caquot et al. (1974: 162): ‘Elle se pare avec le (produit du) coquillage.’
- 23 See already Wyatt (2002: 72, n. 16): ‘It is hard to imagine that the *odour* of murex (dead) was pleasant!’, the author translates, *ibid.* 76: ‘She made herself beautiful with murex.’
- 24 However, see the reservations regarding this voiced by Pardee (1997: 355, n. 130); he suggests translating: ‘She rouged herself with “husk of the sea”’.
- 25 According to Watson (2007b: 671), ‘it would seem that both these Ugaritic terms – *anhb* and *glp* – denote plants that were used as cosmetics and for personal adornment.’

5 Towards Engendering Textile Production in Middle Bronze Age Crete

- 1 This database has been designed specifically for the research project ‘Textiles and Seals: Relations between Textile Production and Seals and Sealing Practices in Bronze Age Greece’. The database will be available online in open access when the data collection is accomplished. It gathers the evidence of textile production-related iconography, seal-impressed textile tools, and impressions of threads, cords and fabrics on clay sealings from the Aegean Bronze Age.
- 2 The ‘woolly animal’ motif, comprising depictions of sheep and goat, but also wild and feral goats, is still under examination and aims at establishing potential criteria for defining specific *Caprinae* species in the imagery of the glyptic (cf. Ulanowska forthcoming). Therefore, the resultant number of ‘woolly animal’ motifs may change in due course.
- 3 [https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view\[section\]=objekt&view\[layout\]=search_form_category](https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/arachne/index.php?view[section]=objekt&view[layout]=search_form_category) (accessed 19 September 2019).
- 4 Depictions of man and woman on seals may also be read as Cretan Hieroglyphic signs (CHIC 001 and 004, respectively) if they appear in inscriptions (see CHIC).
- 5 For combinations of human figure with vessels see, for example: CMS II, 2 237a; II, 6 29a; 33a; III 160a; VI 44a; with fish: CMS II, 2 174a; bow: CMS III 161b; 163a; spear: CMC VI 68a; P.TSK05/291: Krzyszkowska (2012: 152–3, Fig. 7a).
- 6 I express my thanks to Eva Andersson Strand who kindly shared with me the data from Malia, from the CTR database of textile tools.

6 A Man's Business? Washing the Clothes in Ancient Egypt (Second and First Millennia BCE)

- 1 Vogelsang-Eastwood (2000: 284–5) contains a very useful overview of technical aspects of laundry in Ancient Egypt.
- 2 The meaning of the word *rht* is discussed more extensively at the beginning of the second section of this chapter.
- 3 *rht* / *lhte* as 'place of the washerman' or the 'washing-place' is also attested in toponymy; see, for example, P3- 'wy-*rht*, CDD R (01.1) (2001): 61.
- 4 Wb. II.448.10–11. *rht* was also read by Kruchten (1981: 145) in the Horemheb's Decree.
- 5 Note, in demotic, the rather cryptic occurrence in the *Instructions of Chashehonqy*, P.BM 10508 5.x+13 *inn3w P3-R' h' tr r tš iw=f ir p3y=f rht n tb-m-mš3*. 'When Ra is angry after a nome, he makes his launderer a vizier.' (On the translation of *tb-m-mš3* as vizier, see Lippert 2003.)
- 6 Concerning natron for bleaching linen, Zenon Papyri 3.59304 and the very important chapter written by Lucas (1961: 267).
- 7 One finds the same situation in documents concerning the auctioning of the natron monopoly. All the partners who join forces to raise the capital needed to buy the natron's sales rights are men, see P.Lille dem. II (16 peoples), P.Lille dem. II 95 (13 peoples).
- 8 I leave this expression untranslated because I do not understand its meaning.
- 9 Neo-Babylonian period contracts for laundry operation gathered by Waerzeggers (2006) may illustrate Boserup's hypothesis: if the providers are, as in Egypt, exclusively men, two of these contracts were drawn up at the request of housewives (no. 8 and no. 9).

7 Women, Men, Girls and Boys: Gendered Textile Work at Late Bronze Age Knossos

- 1 Discussions about the character of these palatial sites have been numerous (Darque and Rougemont 2015: 557–73; Halstead 2013; Pullen 2010: 1–10).
- 2 This chapter will not discuss the so-called 'collectors'. These are powerful individuals, in all evidence male, who are in charge of several economic areas and which most often occur on the sheep/shepherd tablets. They are to some extent also present on tablets in connection with textile manufacture. In the present essay, I focus on individuals engaged in textile production more at a grassroots level, regardless of 'collector' presence or not. For a comprehensive study of the 'collector' issue see Rougemont (2009).
- 3 An exhaustive study of the term's occurrences in the Linear B texts and all parameters involved is in progress.
- 4 At the centre for traditional weaving at Casamasella in the Lecce province of Apulia, *Le Costantine*, one person is responsible for making all the fringes.

10 Work Gendering Space? Roman Gender, Textile Work and Time in Shared Domestic Space

- 1 Abbreviations of classical authors and works follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. I refer to two scientific dictionaries of Latin, the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (OLD) and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL). Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

Notes to pp. 113–114

- 2 E.g. Plaut. *Men.* 795; Verg. *G.* 1.390–3; Ov. *Her.* 3.75–6; *Met.* 4.32–54; Stat. *Theb.* 2.439–40; Apul. *Met.* 6.19; Claud. 20.370–5; Hieron. *Ep.* 50.5. Suet. *Aug.* 73 refers to an intergenerational group of women involved in textile production, a pattern mirrored in the friezes of the Forum Transitorium (late first century CE). Cf. also Sil. *Pun.* 7.79–81. Liv. 1.57–8; Ov. *Fast.* 2.741–79; *Her.* 1.7–10; Prop. 1.3; 4.3; Tib. 1.3 will be discussed below. The class bias of authors and ideal readership limits the scope of the chapter to contexts in or near the elite.
- 3 On the presence of children of both genders in textile production contexts, cf. Öhrman (2018b: 96–9); Harlow (2013: 323–4).
- 4 E.g. Heracles, Prop. 4.9.45–50 (cf. Welch 2004: 77–81; Ov. *Her.* 9.73–80; Achilles, Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.681–706; Stat. *Achil.* 1.560–87; Claud. *In Eutr.* 2.365–90 (comparing Eutropius' courtiers to wool-working women). Alberti (2018: 2–4), with further bibliography, surveys other factors that contribute to the gendering of spinning.
- 5 On male and female employment in extra-domestic textile work, e.g. Larsson Lovén (2013: 111–24); Gällnö (2013: 161–9); Holleran (2013: 313–21); Laes and Strubbe (2014: 191–3); Brokaert (2016: 34–7).
- 6 Though less consistently explored, archaeological evidence from domestic contexts in different parts of the Roman world hint at patterns similar to those observed by Allison (2007: 345–350) in Pompeii, e.g. McAllum et al. (2011: 82–3) on textile tool finds in peristyle rubbish heaps of the imperial villa at San Felice (first and second centuries CE); Cassuto (2016: 277) provides evidence for spatial overlap between food preparation and textile production in Gamla (first century BCE–first century CE). Cf. further below n. 9. Extra-domestic textile tool finds, e.g. from deposits, burial, or workshop contexts, fall outside of the scope of this chapter.
- 7 Asconius' commentary on Cicero's *Pro Milone* (Asc. *Mil.* 38) notes that the placement of the loom in the *atrium* is an ancient custom, spatially connecting the weaver's work to both ancestor worship and the business of the *dominus*. In the fourth century CE, Claud. *Rapt.* 3.155 similarly places Proserpine's loom in the *atrium*. Cf. *Nep. praef.* 6–7.
- 8 Cooper (2007: 14–17). On the re-fracturing of these practices in Christian contexts, Wilkinson (2015: 70–3); Sessa (2007: 185). On storage in the *atrium* indicating a well-organized household, Nevett (2010: 111–12). More sceptical of the value of such display in the context of the formal *salutatio*, Goldbeck (2010: 104).
- 9 Wallace-Hadrill (1994: 51–5) on the increasing use of rooms around peristyles for representational purposes from the early empire; Cova (2015: 94–8) on signs of this in Pompeii. On the increasing segregation of representational and private spaces in the fifth century CE onward, Ellis (1988: 565–76); cf. Sessa (2007: 184–5); Danner (2017: 147–53).
- 10 E.g. Trinkl (2006: 292–4) on finds of distaffs in or adjacent to peristyle gardens in Ephesus; Allison (2015: 119) on finds from the fifth-century CE phase at the Roman villa of San Giovanni di Ruoti; Boozer (2015: 186–8) on weaving locations in Late Roman Amheida in Egypt. At the end of Late Antiquity, there is also evidence for textile work being separated from living spaces, e.g. Stolcova and Kolnik (2010: 485–7).
- 11 Elsewhere, I have argued that craft-based sound-mimicking features in Roman poetry support this hypothesis, Öhrman (2017: 278–87); Öhrman (2018a: 143–50).
- 12 Quint. *Decl.* 301.13: *nam et si in aliud diei tempus incidisses, tum quoque tibi uideretur ancilla: uidisses pensa facientem.* (For even if you had arrived at another time of the day, then too she would have appeared to you as a slave girl: you would have seen her working wool.) Cf. Winterbottom (1984: 430).

- 13 Cf. *OLD solor* 1b and 2, esp. Verg. *Aen.* 9.489 (weaving as displacement activity) and Verg. *Mor.* 29–30 (singing for singer's own benefit); Thomson (1988, 118–19); Gale (2009: 166).
- 14 This corresponds to the late-night reading and writing activities undertaken in comparative isolation by male members of the elite household, cf. Ker (2004: 213–19). On the epitaph of Allia Potestas (*CIL* VI.37965), Wilkinson (2015: 64–6).
- 15 Based on Asc. *Mil.* 38, Robinson (2011: 475) locates the *torus*, the marriage bed of the *dominus* and *domina* of the household, to the *atrium*. Overlooking this, Chiu (2016: 54) situates Ovid's Lucretia within the privacy of her bedroom.
- 16 Robinson (2011: 477) notes that Lucretia's request for information from the women around her underlines her status as *domiseda*. Newlands (1995: 149–50); Robinson (2011: 478–9); Chiu (2016: 55–6) on the elegiac parallels of Arethusa (Prop. 4.3) and Laodamia (Ov. *Her.* 13). On Prop. 4.3, see below.
- 17 Robinson (2011: 479) assumes that this distich is focalized through Collatinus, pausing to admire her beauty before announcing his presence.
- 18 Ov. *Fast.* 2.745–6 *mittenda est . . . lacerna* (the cloak . . . must be sent) shows that Lucretia is unaware that her husband and guests have returned. Chiu (2016: 56) reads Lucretia's inattention to their arrival as expressing her (elegiac) focus on her absent lover.
- 19 It is re-awakened when Tarquinius enters Lucretia's bed chamber, where she is described as *nupta pudica* (chaste bride, Ov. *Fast.* 2.794).
- 20 Ventriloquized speech by women engaged in domestic textile work in Verg. *Aen.* 9.489–90; Prop. 1.3.41–2; Prop. 3.6.19–34 (on which, McCarthy 2010: 170–4); Prop. 4.3; also Prop. 4.9.33–50; Ov. *Her.* 1.7–10; 10.89; 19.33–50; *Met.* 4.37–41. Cf. also Sen. *Phaedr.* 103–105; Apul. *Met.* 9.5.
- 21 Verg. *Aen.* 9.486–9; Prop. 1.3.39–46; 4.3; Tib. 1.3.83–90; Ov. *Her.* 1.9–10; Ambr. *In Luc.* 8.11. Only Prop. 3.6.16 implies that the spinner is centrally situated.
- 22 It is paralleled by the performance of male elite identity by dismissal of slaves from the *cubiculum* to facilitate male intellectual pursuits in late night settings, Ker (2004: 213–19).
- 23 On Tib. 1.3 and Delia as an elegiac character, e.g. Lee-Stecum (1998: 126–8); Shea (1998: 22–3, 28–9); Öhrman (2008: 57–9). The use of spinning as a distraction while awaiting a lover recurs in Ov. *Her.* 19.33–50.
- 24 Prop. 4.3.11: *haecne marita fides et pactae in sauiæ noctes* (is this the marital faith and these the nights of kisses you pledged to me?); 29: *noctes . . . amaras* (bitter nights); 55–6 on how only her little dog now warms Lycotas' side of the bed. Arethusa also expresses anxiety over potential rivals, cf. Prop. 4.3.25–6: *haec noceant potius, quam dentibus ulla puella / det mihi plorandas per tua colla notas!* (rather you suffer these things, than some girl gives you marks on your neck for me to weep over).
- 25 *TLL lassus* 1 a, Adams (1982: 196); Janka (1997, 491), cf. Ov. *Am.* 1, 5, 25; 3, 7, 80; 11, 13. Cf. also on *frigidus*, cf. Jacobson (1974: 268); on the passage generally, Spoth (1992: 45).
- 26 Like Arethusa, Penelope fears a rival for her husband's attention, Ov. *Her.* 1.75–80. On this passage, Barchiesi (1992: 90–1); Knox (1995: 103–4); Barchiesi (2001: 36–7).
- 27 The phrase *curas . . . anilis* (old woman's worries, Verg. *Aen.* 9.489) picks up the description of Eurylaüs as his mother's comfort in old age (*Aen.* 9.481–2). Concern for a spinner's home and her children's upbringing also in Verg. *Aen.* 8.407–15.
- 28 Notably, this only applies to Verg. *Aen.* 8.407–15 and Ambrose *Expositio Euangelii Secundum Lucam* 8.11. Commonly expressed in this fashion is the interruption of female work due to love sickness, e.g. *Ciris* 177–80; Sen. *Phaed.* 103–5.

11 Some Remarks on Textiles and Gender in the Ebla Texts of the Third Millennium BCE

- 1 For the iconography on textiles see Foster (2010) and Otto (2016). There are only a few examples of different representations of clothes of men and women in statues, seals and bas-reliefs. Most instances are mentioned in the texts.
- 2 Texts of deliveries of textiles have been published in ARET I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, XII, XV 1, 2, XIX, XX and in MEE II, V, VII, X, XII.
- 3 TM.75.G.1829 rev. III 4–6: 1 *à-da-um-TÚG-I* 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *Ni-zi-ru*₁₂ (masculine Personal Name) *Ir-i-tum*^{ki} (...) rev. VII 10–11: 1 gu-mug-TÚG 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn *En-na-BE* (masculine Personal Name).
- 4 For a long list of zara-textiles given to important ladies of the court on occasion of the ritual of royalty, see the text TM.75.G.2417 quoted in Biga-Capomacchia (2012: 27–30).
- 5 However, some Roman women eschewed gems and jewellery, such as Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi (Val. Max. 4.4.1).
- 6 For this marriage see Biga (2014b). Damurdashein was a girl of the family of the viziers Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir. Not only daughters of the king of Ebla but also other daughters of the most important families of Ebla, as for example the family of the vizier, were sent as brides to courts allied with Ebla. For the identification of DULu with Byblos see recently Biga (2012, 2016, 2017 with previous bibliography). For a different opinion see Archi (2016).
- 7 TM.75.G.2329 obv. I 1–II 5: 10 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG babbar 2 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG ú-háb¹ 10 zara₆-TÚG babbar 10 zara₆-TÚG ú-háb 8 gíd-TÚG babbar 2 gíd-TÚG ú-háb 1 *du-ru*₁₂-*ru*₁₂ 10 *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 10 aktum-TÚG 10 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 2 gada-TÚG mu₄^{mu} 1 gada-TÚG TÚG-šu 1 gada-TÚG PAD ti-TÚG 1 gada-TÚG hul *Da-mur-da-šè-in* dumu-mí *In-ma-lik ma-lik-tum Du-lu*^{ki} *šu-mu-tak₄*.
- 8 TM.75. G. 2329 r. II 6–III 9: 2 *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb-TÚG-gùn *A-bí-za-mu* « ur₄ » DU.DU *áš-da-sù* 10 lá-3 TÚG-NI.NI dumu-mí-dumu-mí šeš-pa₄-mí-sù 6 *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 6 aktum-TÚG 6 íb-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Ra-ḫi-ti-lu-wa Du-rí-ti-lum Wa-da-NE Ti-gi-da-NE-a-du A-wa-ḫi Ib-dur-I-šar Du-lu*^{ki} *in* ud DU.DU ḫi-mu-DU *Da-mur-da-šè-in ma-lik-tum Du-lu*^{ki}.
- 9 I thank J. Pasquali for this suggestion. The veil here is probably not destined for the king but to cover the other textiles.
- 10 TM.75.G.1679:obv.(1) Many jewels then rev. I.²¹ zara₆-TÚG babbar 1 zara₆-TÚG [(x)] ú-háb³² gu-dùl-TÚG ú-háb⁴²⁰ bar₆:kù⁵⁴ *bu-di* ⁶*Ti-a-bar-zú* (2) ⁷²⁰ bar₆:kù² *bu-di* II.¹ zara₆-TÚG ²níg-ba³ *Dar-am₆-ma-lik* (3) ⁴¹ *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn ⁵*Ba-du-lum* ⁶níg-a-dè ⁷¹giš^{8a} sag ⁹*Ti-a-bar-zú* (4) ¹⁰¹ zara₆-TÚG III.¹² *bu-di* 20 bar₆:kù² *Ḫa-lu-du* (5) ³² *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+I-TÚG-sa₆-gùn ⁴*In-ma-lik* ⁵(anep.) IV.¹ (anep.).
- 11 TM.75.G.1776 (king Ishar-damu, vizier Ibrium, month lost), obv. I 1–III 11: 1 *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 1 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+I-TÚG-sa₆-gùn *Ib-du-^dGa-mi-iš* 2 *à-da-um-TÚG-II* 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+I-TÚG-sa₆-gùn šeš *I-ib-ma-lik* níg-dè ì-giš *si-in* sag *Za-ne-ḫi-ma-rí* 3 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* 3 aktum-TÚG 3 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn níg-ba *Ib-du-^dGa-mi-iš Ib-dur-I-šar Ḫal-la* 1 zara₆-TÚG 12 bar₆:kù² 2 *bu-di* sag-sù kù-gi níg-ba *Kir-su-ud* 2 zara₆-TÚG 4 *bu-di* šú + ša gín-DILMUN bar₆:kù² níg-ba *Dar-ga-an wa Téš-da-mu* ama-gal *I-ib-ma-lik* 2 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* 2 aktum-TÚG 2 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 3 zara₆-TÚG babbar 3 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* babbar 1 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* ú-háb 1 zara₆-TÚG ú-háb 1 gada-TÚG 1 *du-ru*₁₂-*rúm* 10 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG *Za-ne-ḫi-ma-rí* 2 gu-mug-TÚG 2 dam-sù *Za-ne-ḫi-ma-rí* šu-mu-tak₄ é *Ib-à-ra* *Ā-šu*^{ki} *in* ud níg-mu-sá.
- 12 For the last edition of the ritual see ARET XI. For different opinions on the interpretation of the ritual see Biga-Capomacchia (2012), Bonechi (2016 with previous bibliography) and Pasquali

- (2019). The ritual is not a ritual of marriage; the marriages were celebrated with music and a banquet and could continue for several days. After the marriage there was no honeymoon: the *voyage de nocces* is a practice born in the period of Belle Epoque. Instead, the king and queen had to perform a ritual to assume their role as royal couple, protected by the divine couple KUra and Barama. During this ceremony they also performed some ritual acts for the fertility of the queen.
- 13 TM.75.G.2164 obv XIII 12–15-rev. I 1–9: 7 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG en 6¹ aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG *ma-lik-tum sikil-sù si-in NE-na-á^{ski} du-da-li-ga-šum 1 à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG 1 íb+III-gùn-TÚG À-lik dumu-nita A-du-ba A`ru₁₂-[gú]^{ki} [...]*.
- 14 TM.75.G.2334 obv. I 1–III 17: 15 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG 2 zara₆-TÚG ú-háb 2 gíd-TÚG ú-háb 6 zara₆-TÚG 6 gu-dùl-TÚG 2 *bu-di*.
- 15 See already Biga (2007–8); Pasquali (2005).
- 16 Biga (2007–8): obv. III 18–IV 16: 6 gíd-TÚG babbar 6 níg-lá-ZI.ZI lú é-ti-TÚG 10 bar₆:kù 2 *bu-di* 15 bar₆:kù 6 *bu-di* 5 lú é-siki *Du-si-gú Sá-rín-da-mu Kéš-du-ut Dar-kab-du-lum Gi-mi-ni-za-du Iš-ru₁₂-ud 4 à-da-um-TÚG-II 4 aktum-TÚG 4 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn Ik-rí- iš-Ḫa-lab_x Ír-kab-da-mu Ír-ib-da-mu Ib-rí-um si-in ÉxPAP Dar-ib-da-mu šu-mu-tak₄*.
- 17 TM.75.G.2337 + 4269 (king Ishar-damu, vizier Ibbi-zikir, month lost, text // to TM.75.G.2426 of the time of the last military expedition against Mari) obv. VII 16–VIII 6: 1 zara₆-TÚG *Má-ga-ra-du dam en si-in ÉxPAP 2 TÚG-dùl 2 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn Ír-kab-da-mu wa Ig-rí-iš-Ḫa-lab_x 1 zara₆-TÚG Du-si-gú Má-ga-ra-du šu-mu-tak₄*.
- 18 TM.75.G.2334 obv. V 13–19: 1 gár-su gi₆ ì-giš-sag en 1 níg-lá-ZI.ZI 2 *bu-di* 10 bar₆:kù ì-giš-sag *ma-lik-tum*.
- 19 TM.75.G.10162:1 zara₆-TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG mu₄^{mu} 2 aktum-TÚG ti-TÚG 10 bar₆:kù 2 *bu-di Dar-am₆-ma-lik nin-ni ama-gal en si-in ÉxPAP 2 TÚG-NI.NI 2 nin-ni-sù 1 à-da-um-T ÚG-I 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn a-mu-sù 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn šeš-sù Dar-am₆-ma-lik šu-mu-tak₄*.
- 20 obv. VIII 8–11: 1 zara₆-T ÚG 30 (shekels) kù-gi 2 *bu-di* ì-giš-sag ama-gal en.
- 21 TM.75.G.2417 rev. XIII 25–XIV 2: 2 aktum-TÚG ú-háb mu₄^{mu} dKU-ra wa dBa-ra-ma du-du si-in NE-na-á^{ski}. In Italy we have a long story of statues of saints and especially of the Madonna dressed with precious clothing; the statue of the Madonna was dressed by women. For textiles for statues see Pasquali (1996).j

13 Belts and Pins as Gendered Elements of Clothing in Third and Second Millennia Mesopotamia

- (Le chercheur doit s'intéresser à) 'la tendance de toute couverture corporelle à s'insérer dans un système formel organisé, normatif, consacré par la société'.
- Translation from ETCSL 2.5.4.11. <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.5.4.11&charenc=j> (accessed 20 December 2018). For perhaps a similar feature, see Volk (1989: 150), L. 65–70 (lines attested already in the Old Babylonian version): 'I place right to left, I place left to right. I change man into woman, I change woman into man. I am the one who decorated a man into a woman. I am the one who decorated a woman into a man.' Streck and Wasserman (2018: 5–6, n. 8) provide further examples.
- The reference to publications and not directly to the artefacts must take into consideration the possible right–left inversion of the photos of reproduced works.
- Michel (1997); Dercksen (1991); Demare-Lafont (2008); Michel (2020: no. 15). The word 'headscarf' is preferred to 'veil' here because this last word is too connoted and has important echoes for our contemporary society (Westenholz 1990; van de Mieroop 1999: 138–60).

Notes to pp. 152–168

- 5 TC 3, 202: 15–16, 13 gín kù-babbar *tù-dí-tám, a-na kà-li-tí-ni*. Later texts from El Amarna and Alalah confirm that such jewels were offered as bridal gifts (see for example EA 25: iii 64).
- 6 Similar clauses may be found, for example, at Nuzi; when a widow, who was also a ‘mother’, wanted to remarry after having inherited from her husband, she had to leave the house ‘naked’, thus giving up everything (see HSS 19, 19).
- 7 Toggle pins made in precious metals are also found in testaments found at Ekalte (WVDOG 102, 19: 12; WVDOG 102, 95: 12).
- 8 Archaeological reports usually give the lengths of the pins while cuneiform texts provide their weight.
- 9 This highlighting of the male belt is visible on representations from the fourth to the late first millennium BCE. For example, on the Uruk vase dating to the end of the fourth millennium BCE, a servant is holding in his hands the hanging part of the king-priest’s belt; the servant himself wears a skirt attached with a long belt (Breniquet 2008: 163, fig. 47).

14 ‘I Made You Put on Garments, I Made You Dress in Linen’: Gender Performance and Garments in Sumerian Literature

- 1 As I will focus on the gender dimensions of textiles in literature, I will not explore all the cultural aspects related to garments and clothes that can be identified in Sumerian literature. For instance, one may find several metaphors and comparisons involving garments: the awe-inspiring divine radiance emanates from the body of the goddess or the god, covering everything like a ‘garment’. There are also mentions of the colours of human clothes, such as white, black and multi-coloured: in the mythological text, untitled *Inana and the me*, Inana is said to receive from the great god Enki all the divine powers-me, such as the power-me of the leadership, the royal throne, the power-me of loyalty, but also metalwork or basketwork, and so on. Among her divine attributions, there are also the black and the multi-coloured garments – probably referring to her cultic staff and their ritual activities. But in all these contexts no specific gender characteristic of the piece of textile is implied, which is why I do not consider them in this chapter.
- 2 eTCSL 1.3.1. For the bibliography, see Attinger (2019b).
- 3 Except for the nude Inana terracottas of the Old Babylonian Period; see Rendu Loisel (2019).
- 4 Pascal Attinger suggests translating this term as ‘epidermis’ in his ‘Lexique sumérien-français (textes traduits dans Attinger’: 15 (with bibliography), available online: <http://www.arch.unibe.ch/atinger> (last accessed September 2019).
- 5 *Inana and Ebih*, l.53–4, eTCSL 1.3.2; Attinger (2019f). This garment of joy is also something the goddess puts on a human being, such as the Sumerian king Lugalbanda: ‘Inana enveloped (dul) him with the joy of the heart (šag₄ hul₂) as if it were a garment (tug₂-gin₇)’ (*Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave*, l.199, eTCSL 1.8.2.1; Wilcke 1969; Vanstiphout 2003: 99–131).

15 The Gender of Garments in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia: An Inquiry Through Texts and Iconography

- 1 According to Gaspa (2018: 255–8), the word *naḥlaptu* sometimes means armour or even a coat of mail, as text SAA 7, 89 records a bronze *naḥlaptu*. In Medio-Assyrian period, though, it was both a garment for soldiers and a royal gift for palatial women.

- 2 Gaspa (2018: 257–68) lists different uses of this garment in a variety of contexts and notes that different types of *naḥlaptu* are described in the lexical list *Practical Vocabulary of Aššur*.
- 3 SAA 7 112 (ADD 680) Nineveh, seventh century BCE, Palace archive, lines 10–12, ‘Gowns (*maqaṭṭu*) of linen, one *urnutu*-garment covering the (entire) figure, Šamaš-iddin is the recipient’.
- 4 ‘3 gín 1 ^{túg}šir’am šá qallat.’
- 5 ‘ina ^{túg}šir’am tikka-šu tuparreq.’
- 6 BE 8 151: 41 ‘1-en túg-mu-šip-tu₄ šá munus’ (Neo-Babylonian).
- 7 Evetts Ner 28 (=BT 6b): 8 ‘2-ta ^{túg}šir’-a-am^{mes} šá uš’; 12 ‘3 ḥu-ša-an-ni-e šá a-mil-tu₄’ (Sippar, Neriglissar’s reign).
- 8 Pinnock (2014) proposes the hypothesis that women were more often represented in Neo-Assyrian art than before because they occupied a more prominent position at the royal court at that time.
- 9 Albenda (1987) made an analysis of the iconography of deportee families on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and showed that different geographic origins of the deportees are expressed by specific costumes and hairstyle.
- 10 Pictures of this relief are visible on the website of the British Museum: <https://research.britishmuseum.org/> (accessed 20 December 2019).

16 White Men and Rainbow Women: Gendered Colour Coding in Roman Dress

- 1 Archaeological Museum of Ancient Corinth, no. T 389. <https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/lucius-romans/2016/10/15/ancient-statues-show-their-true-colours/#>
- 2 This image can be seen at: http://www.museicapitolini.org/en/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_clementino_caffarelli/sala_del_frontone/frontone_da_via_di_san_gregorio_divinita_femminile_diademata
- 3 E.g. Artemis, Archaeological Museum of Delos, no. A4126 (Blume 2015: cat. 20); Muse, Archaeological Museum of Delos, no. A4128.
- 4 Translation from Wood (1954).
- 5 *Purpureae vestes* volumes: I: (2004), *Purpureae Vestes: Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en época romana*, (eds) C. Alfaro, J. P. Wild and B. Costa, Valencia; II: (2008), *Vestidos, Textiles y Tintes: Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consume en lat Antigüedad*, (eds) C. Alfaro and L. Karali, Valencia; III: (2011), *Textiles y Tintes en al Cuidad Antigua*, (eds) C. Alfaro, J.-P. Brun, Ph. Borgard and R. Pierobon Benoit, Valencia; IV: (2014), *Production and Trade of Textile and Dyes in the Roman Empire and Neighbouring Regions*, (eds) C. Alfaro Giner, M. Tellenbach and J. Ortiz (Valencia); V: (2016), *Textiles, Basketry and Dyes in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, (eds) J. Ortiz, C. Alfaro, L. Turell and M. J. Martinez, Valencia; VI: *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society*, (eds) M. S. Busana, M. Gleba, F. Meo and A.R. Tricomi, Zaragoza.
- 6 Translations (with some alterations) taken from Loeb editions. Plautus was also aware of specialist dyers for different colours, *Aulularia* 510, 514.

17 Garments for Potters? Textiles, Gender and Funerary Practices in Les Martres-de-Veyre, France (Roman Period)

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- 2 This programme is sponsored for four years by the Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles of the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes district in France, the Conseil Départemental du Puy-de-Dôme and the Equipe d'Accueil 1001-CHEC. It has also received grants from the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme of Clermont-Ferrand. Several institutions are collaborating in this programme: Musée Bargoin of Clermontmétropole, Université Clermont-Auvergne, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Institut national de recherche en archéologie préventive. The authors thank all the members of the project.
- 3 *Compte-rendu de la séance du 3 août 1893* published in the *Bulletin scientifique et historique de l'Auvergne*: 212–3.
- 4 Here, we choose to keep the nomenclature of Audollent's graves. We know now that the very limited number of graves recorded in his publication is far from the reality. For instance, we were able to understand that the mixed graveyard covered about 6000 m² during antiquity, but the exact number of inhumations and cremations found by the first excavators is hard to determine (probably dozens).
- 5 The anthropological study is conducted by Paloma Lorente-Sebastian under the supervision of Frédérique Blaizot, Inrap.
- 6 Probably four in fact, forthcoming.
- 7 On tunics in general see Croom (2002); Olson (2017); Pausch (2008).
- 8 Fall fruits were present in the graves: grapes, apples, hazelnuts (Audollent 1923: 309–10).

19 Climate Change and Clothing Changes in Late Antique Male Dress

- 1 Translations adapted from Loeb editions.
- 2 Categories from McCormick (2013: 70–1); Manning (2013: 163–5); Harper (2017: 15), with Haldon et al. (2018) for issues. Although caution is needed when discussing such broad timeframes and the vast area of the Roman Empire, these three periods are used for convenience and because they reflect general conclusions from other scholars on the changes in Roman climate (e.g. Sallares 2009; McCormick 2013; Büntgen et al. 2016; Decker 2017).
- 3 'Bracae' appears from Virgil onwards associated with non-Romans, particularly Gauls. Ἀναξυρίδες and the χειριδωτός are worn by Persians in Herodotus 7.61 and by the Gauls in Strabo 4.4.3. On trousers and the tunic from 'northern' peoples, see Roche-Bernard and Ferdière (1993); Rothe (2009: 31–7, 4, 2012a: 152–4, 2012b: 240) and Wild (1985: 369–74, 377–9, 386–8) for the Later Roman tunic; Rollason (forthcoming c).
- 4 The volume edited by Izdebski and Mulryan (2019) is also of relevance but appeared too late to factor here.
- 5 Haldon et al. (2018: 4) dispute Harper's dating, confining LALIA to the years after the volcanic eruptions of the 530s and 540s. However, Harper notes that he does not consider the period c. 450–530 CE the LALIA itself, but rather its prelude (2017: 251). Additionally, Haldon et al. do not comment on the decreased solar activity from the late fourth century, upon which Harper's periodization is based (Harper 2017: 53–5; cf. Manning 2013: 133).

**20 A Note on Gender and French ‘Haute Couture’ in 1970:
‘Les Sumériennes’ by Jacques Estérel**

- 1 On the gendered aspects of clothing, see Bard (2010).
- 2 Published in the *Official Journal of the Senate* on 31 January 2013, p. 339.
- 3 ‘Sous l’influence de la langue anglaise, le préfixe “uni-” prend alors un sens contraire à celui qu’il avait précédemment. La principale caractéristique de l’unisexe n’est plus d’être “unique” – de ne convenir qu’à un seul sexe –, mais d’être “universel” – et donc de convenir aux deux’, Thibault-Starzyk (2016b: 122). See also Thibault-Starzyk (2016a) with references to the 1970 de Jacques Estérel collection.

