

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

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

Centre for Textile Research


2017

Ordinary People's Garments in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Sources

Luigi Malatacca

University of Naples "L'Orientale"

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/texterm>

 Part of the [Ancient History, Greek and Roman through Late Antiquity Commons](#), [Art and Materials Conservation Commons](#), [Classical Archaeology and Art History Commons](#), [Classical Literature and Philology Commons](#), [Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts Commons](#), [Indo-European Linguistics and Philology Commons](#), [Jewish Studies Commons](#), [Museum Studies Commons](#), [Near Eastern Languages and Societies Commons](#), and the [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

Malatacca, Luigi, "Ordinary People's Garments in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Sources" (2017). *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*. 1.

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/texterm/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Centre for Textile Research at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

Ordinary People's Garments in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Sources

Luigi Malatacca, University of Naples
“L'Orientale”

In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the
Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*,
ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, & Marie-Louise
Nosch (Lincoln, NE: Zea Books, 2017), pp. 107-121.

doi:10.13014/K20863GM

Copyright © 2017 Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, &
Marie-Louise Nosch.

Photographs copyright as noted.



5

Ordinary People's Garments in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Sources¹

Luigi Malatucca

The investigation of textiles and clothes in ancient Mesopotamia has been anything but neglected in Assyriological studies. For the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods, in particular, two fundamental monographs have shed light on the clothes worn by the deities worshiped in lower Mesopotamia.² Scholars, however, have focused almost exclusively on clothing in the cultic context. This is due to a prevalence of textual sources – mostly economic or administrative documents – recording clothing items worn by divine images during festivals and rituals. Sources on the clothes worn by common people, instead, are close to non-existent. Still, we cannot overlook the fact that Mesopotamian towns were crowded by people rather than by gods. These people were workers, slaves and soldiers, and each one of them – man or woman – wore clothes in his or her everyday life. The objective of the present paper is to examine the three main clothing items worn by common people, using textual sources of the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods. These items were *túg-kurra* (a blanket of a sort used as garment), *mušiptu* (a generic garment), and *šir'am* (a jerkin).

Methodology

Two essays in the book *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC* (2010) focus on textiles and clothing in the Neo-Babylonian period.³ In his article, Stefan Zawadzki investigates clothing in non-cultic contexts. As a guideline for the study of non-cultic attire, I list below the different types of documents singled out by Zawadzki as being most likely to include references to clothing items not destined for the statues of gods.⁴

- dowries;
- quittances for rations;
- payments for wet nurses;
- text concerning military uniforms;
- texts concerning workmen's clothes.

My focus and Zawadzki's, however, are different. Zawadzki, in his article, deals with clothing in non-cultic contexts, whereas here I discuss clothing for common people. The non-divine clothing items mentioned in text usually belong to the fine apparel

1. This essay is drawn from a poster I presented at the conference cycle *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe 1000 BC – AD 1000*. I would like to thank Professors Stefan Zawadzki and Michael Jursa for their valuable advice and Professor Federico Poole for the English version of this article.

2. In his study of the pantheon of Uruk, Beaulieu 2003 discusses at length the clothing destined for the divine statues of the Eanna, the temple complex of the city. Zawadzki 2006, instead, focuses entirely on the apparel of the gods of the Ebabbar, the main temple of the town of Sippar.

3. Joannès 2010; Zawadzki 2010.

4. Zawadzki 2010, 410.

of the privileged classes of Mesopotamian society. These fall outside of the scope of the present study, which concentrates exclusively on inexpensive clothing items worn by the middle-low classes in Babylon. But who exactly were these ‘common people’?

Neo- and Late Babylonian society was roughly divided into two classes. The first was that of the *mār banê*, the free citizens, while the second gathered individuals legally depending from the central administration (the temple or the palace) or in a condition of slavery. The *mār banê* enjoyed full rights in front of the law and could own one or more slaves. They included temple officials, merchants, bankers, craftsmen, farmers, and also individuals living in poverty.⁵ The second class, instead, included both free individuals deprived of civil rights, such as the ‘royal soldier’ (*bēl qašti*), the ‘partially free dependents’ (*šušānū*),⁶ and totally unfree individuals such as the slaves (*ardū* or *qallū*) or the servants of the temple (*širkū*). Evidently, when we speak of common people we are mainly referring to people belonging to this second class, although we cannot overlook the *mār banê* class, insofar as it also included non-wealthy individuals. To sum up, by ‘common people’ I mean here all the members of Babylonian society, whether free or not, who did not hold prestigious positions, such as dependent workers (workmen, craftsmen, *etc.*), apprentices, or slaves.

The existence in Babylonian society of a clear-cut distinction between higher and lower social classes can also be deduced from the diversity of the clothing worn by the two classes. Obviously, a rich individual

had the means to buy fine clothes, while this possibility was denied to economically disadvantaged persons. It even appears that the lower social classes were forbidden from wearing the garments worn by the elites. Text Camb. 321 is especially illuminating in this regard.⁷ In this legal document, Nabû-ētir, a rich man of the Ētiru family, strikes the slave Madānubēl-ušur, reproaching him for wearing a *šibtu* dress.⁸ Other than this document, there is indeed no evidence of the *šibtu* dress being worn by slaves, workmen, or soldiers. It was often used, instead, in religious ceremonies,⁹ and there is also evidence of its secular use.¹⁰

Thus, starting from Zawadzki’s list of documents to determine what garments the majority of the population wore, we need to exclude both the fine, expensive clothes worn by the upper classes,¹¹ which also appear in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents,¹² and the clothes worn by divine statues. We can thus narrow down our examination to the three garments I will be looking at in detail in the following sections.

túg-kur-ra

The túg-kur-ra is frequently mentioned in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents. Many scholars have dealt with this garment and the various questions concerning it.¹³ The main issue is the actual Akkadian reading of the logograms túg-kur-ra.¹⁴ We owe one of the first hypotheses about túg-kur-ra and its Akkadian equivalent to Dougherty.¹⁵ On the basis of the kur-ra = *šadū* equivalence, this scholar proposed translating the word as ‘mountain garment.’¹⁶ A later reading

5. MacGinnis 1995, 5-6.

6. Stolper 1985, 78-82.

7. The text is collated, translated and commented in Wunsch & Magdalene 2012.

8. The name of the garment is written with the signs ^ug.sal.i.dab. For the Akkadian reading of these logograms as *šibtu*, see Wunsch & Magdalene 2012, 110.

9. Principally used to cover divine statues, the *šibtu* was also worn by priests during the *lilissu*-drum ritual; cf. text UVB 15, 40 and Çağırhan & Lambert 1991-1993, 93.

10. CAD S, 162b.

11. Some individuals belonging to the elites can be identified, especially thanks to the prosopographical studies of Kümmel 1979, Bongenaar 1997, and Payne 2007.

12. Luxury garments include the *gulēnu* (Zawadzki 2010, 419), the *guzguzu* (Quillien 2013), and the *suḫattu* (Jursa 2006, 206-207).

13. Dougherty 1933 (= GC 2), Ungnad 1937, San Nicolò 1945, Oppenheim 1950, Ebeling 1953, Borger 1981, Bongenaar 1997, Janković 2008, Zawadzki 2010, Jursa 2010, Jursa 2014 (= CTMMA 4).

14. Most recently addressed by Zawadzki 2010, 413-414.

15. Dougherty 1933, 21¹.

16. Labat 1995, 167 no. 366.

is found in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD), where kur-ra is regarded as syllabic rather than logographic writing, and is hence read *sad-ra*¹⁷ and translated as 'ordinary garment'. Later on, the CAD itself, following the indications of R. Borger, no longer accepted the reading of kur-ra as *sad-ra*.¹⁸ Once the logographic value of kur-ra was firmly established, several Akkadian readings were proposed over the years, viz., *mušiptu*,¹⁹ *suḫattu* and *kanzu*.

As regards the reading *suḫattu*, S. Zawadzki leans towards the reading proposed in CAD S, 346,²⁰ on the basis of the parallelism between two texts, UCP 9, 271 and Dar. 253, where the word *suḫattu* is evidently used instead of *túg-kur-ra*, and *vice versa*. This leads the scholar to tentatively suggest that *túg-kur-ra* be read as *suḫattu*.²¹ Evidence from other sources, however, speaks against this hypothesis. In at least two loci, the terms *suḫattu* and *túg-kur-ra* appear side-by-side, viz., in CTMMA 4, 13²² and TU 44.²³ This enables us to rule out their equivalence. Furthermore, in the apprenticeship contract BM 54558,²⁴ from the Hellenistic period, a certain Libluṭ, the son of the woman slave Guzasigu, has to learn how to make a *suḫattu birmi*, 'a multicolor *suḫattu*'.²⁵ Now, multicolor *túg-kur-ra* never occurs in the documentation, probably because the *túg-kur-ra* is not a fancy and, hence, prestigious garment.²⁶ Finally, in CT 4, 29d *suḫattu* occurs as a royal gift,²⁷ whereas, again, *túg-kur-ra* does not seem to be a luxury commodity.

Basing himself on text CTMMA 4, 38, Michael

Jursa has recently proposed the Akkadian reading *kanzu* for *túg-kur-ra*:

CTMMA 4, 38

Obverse

1. 2 gun 1^{en} *túgka-an-zu*
2. *šá ul-tu úḫ*^{ki}
3. *na-šá-*'^{ma-a u} *mdutu-gi*
4. *iḫ-ḫi-iṭ* iti.kin ud.8.kám
5. mu.sag.nam.lugal.e ^{mag-níg.du-pab}

Lower edge

6. lugal tin.tir^{ki}

Reverse

7. *ina gub*^{zu} *šá* ^{mden-da}
8. ^{meri-ba-damar.utu} *mzi-ka-ri*
9. ^{ma-a u} *mdutu-pab*
10. *túg-kur-ra ina é.gur*^{meš}

"Two talents (of wool?) (and) one *packing cloth* that where brought from Opis: Aplāya and Šamaš-ušallim weighed (it). Month of Ulūlu, day 8 accession year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. In the presence of Bēl-lē'i, Eriḫa-Marduk, Zikaru, Aplāya, and Šamaš-nāšir the blanket (was put) in the storehouse."²⁸

In the above-quoted text, it is evident, as Jursa remarked, that the term *túg-kur-ra* is used as a synonym for *kanzu*.²⁹ As for *túgkanzu*, the term is never attested

17. CAD S, 225e. *Sad* and *kur* are written with the same sign, so either reading is possible.

18. CAD S, 19-20 s.v. *sadru* 'ordinary'; cf. Borger 1981, 187 no. 536 and Zawadzki 2010, 413.

19. The clearest proof that *túg-kur-ra* and *mušiptu* are not identical is that *mušiptu* is a feminine noun, while *túg-kur-ra* is certainly masculine, being regularly followed by masculine adjectives. See Oppenheim 1950, 188-189, and Zawadzki 2010, 413.

20. Zawadzki 2010, 413-414.

21. "The parallelism between both texts is striking, and the probability that *túg-kur-ra* should be read *suḫattu* or *supātu* is high, though some doubt still exist," Zawadzki 2010, 413.

22. *suḫattu* in obv. l.1; *túg-kur-ra* in rev. l.18.

23. *túg-kur-ra* in col. IV l.14; *suḫattu* in col. IV, l.28; on this text, see Linszen 2004, 252-262.

24. Published in Jursa 2006, 216.

25. ^{gu-za-si-gu} *gē*[me x x x x] *ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú* ^{lib-luṭ} *ṛ* *dumu-šú a*⁷-[na] *la-ma-du dul-lu su-hat-tu*₄ *bir*-[mi]; BM 54558 obv. ll. 1-3. A multicolored *suḫattu* (*suḫattu ša birmi*) also appears in NBC 6164, where it is used as payment for a weaver, Jursa 2006, 207.

26. In the Neo-Babylonian period, the adjective *birmu* often refers to clothing items used in the context of cult, cf. CAD B, 258i.

27. McEwan 1985.

28. Transliteration and translation by Jursa in the volume CTMMA 4, 66-67; the copy of the tablet is on Plate 33.

29. See commentary in CTMMA 4, 38 l. 10.

in Akkadian documents. It could well be a loanword from the Aramaic root *knz* ‘to deposit’³⁰ or it could be interpreted as a Persian loanword, based on the Old-Persian word *kanz* ‘treasure’.³¹ The *túg-kur-ra* = *kanzu* equivalence is possible for two reasons. The first we have already seen, namely, that in CTMMA 4, 38 *kanzu* and *túg-kur-ra* are two different terms used to describe the same object. The second is that the use of *túg-kur-ra* as packing material is also attested in other documents. In the Uruk letter YOS 3, 11, a given quantity of wool is placed inside some *túg-kur-ra*. This is an analogous situation to the one we have seen in CTMMA 4, 38.³² In ritual text TU 44, of the Hellenistic period, a *túg-kur-ra* is used to wrap the carcass of a bull.³³ It is thus clear that, in the present state of the evidence, the term *kanzu* is the best candidate for the Akkadian reading of *túg-kur-ra*. Still, some problems remain unsolved, namely:

- 1) CTMMA 4, 38 is the only occurrence of *kanzu* where it is qualified as a textile;
- 2) *túg-kur-ra* in CTMMA 4, 38 could be a generic term used to qualify the textile *kanzu* as a ‘blanket’;
- 3) wrapping objects is not the main use of *túg-kur-ra*, while the term *kanzu* seems to refer exclusively to a textile used for that purpose.

Although the correct Akkadian reading of *túg-kur-ra* is still not defined, the use of this textile is documented by a wide range of evidence.

In the letter YOS 21, 98, from Uruk, the *túg-kur-ra* is clearly indicated as a garment worn by the workmen: “send 20 *túg-kur-ra*-garments. Here there are many naked workmen.”³⁴

Another document where *túg-kur-ra* are given to workers is BM 63343:³⁵

BM 63343

Reverse

1. 10 gú.un 20 ma.na s[íg.ħi.a]
2. *a-na* 49 *túg-kur-ra*^{meš}
3. *šá*^{lu}erín^{meš} *e-peš dul-lu*
4. *šá qi-i-pi a-na*^{mdutu-še}[š^{meš}-su]

Ten talents and 20 minas of w[ool] for 49 *túg-kur-ras* of the workers of the *qīpu* to Šamaš-ah[ħē-erība]

In this text, the 49 *túg-kur-ras* appear to be used as a medium for payment. The use of these textiles as rations of sorts is well attested in Neo- and Late Babylonian sources.³⁶ Thanks to BM 63343, we know how much wool was required to buy a *túg-kur-ra* at Sippar (during the reign of Nabonidus – 556-539 BC). A *túg-kur-ra* costs 12.65 mine of wool, about six kilograms.³⁷ Other textual sources give different quantities of wool for one *túg-kur-ra*,³⁸ indicating that this price fluctuated. Unfortunately, these texts only tell us how much a *túg-kur-ra* was worth in wool, not how much wool was needed to make one. This information seems to be found, instead, in CT 55, 783, from Sippar:

CT 55, 783

Obverse

1. [12[?] ma.na síg.]ħi.a *a-na* 2 *túg-kur-ra*^{meš}

30. CAD K, 148 s.v. *kanāzu*. *Kunzu* also repeatedly occurs as a leather bag in CAD K, 549 s.v. *kunzu*. See, again, the commentary in CTMMA 4, 38 l. 1.

31. See CDA, 145. I am grateful to C. Michel for this suggestion.

32. 10 gú síg.ħi.a *ina* *túg-kur-ra*^{meš}-šú-nu *ħi-ṭi-ma* (YOS 3, 11: 13-15); see commentary in CTMMA 4, 38 l. 10.

33. ad₆ gu₄ *šá-a-šú ina* 1^{en} *túg-kur-ra sa, ta-qeb-bir* “you will bury the carcass of that bull in a red *túg-kur-ra*” (TU 44, col. II, l. 19); Linsens 2004, 253.

34. 20 *túg-kur-ra*^{me} *šu-bi-la erín*^{me} *e-re-šá-ni-ia a-kan-na ma-'a-du-[tu]* (YOS 21, 98 l. 34-35).

35. Published in Zawadzki 2002, 156-157.

36. See Jursa 2010, 619-623. In particular, see the table of prices on pp. 620-622, showing all the prices of *túg-kur-ra* attested between the reign of Assurbanipal (668-628 BC) and that of Darius (521-486 BC). The average price of a *túg-kur-ra* was thus roughly 5 shekels of silver in Uruk, roughly 6 shekels of silver in Sippar.

37. One shekel = 8.3 grams; one mina = 500 grams; one talent = 30 kilograms. One mina = 60 shekels; one talent = 60 minas.

38. GC 1, 161, from Uruk (Nabucodonosor II – 605-559 BC) has eight minas for one *túg-kur-ra* (four kilograms); NCBT 641 (Uruk – Nabucodonosor II) has eight minas and ten shekels for one *túg-kur-ra* (3.5 kilograms); PTS 2370 (Uruk - Nabonedus) has ten minas for one *túg-kur-ra* (five kilograms).

2. ^far-na-bé u dumu.sal^{meš}-šú
3. 6 ma.na a-na 1^{en} túg-kur-ra
4. ^fdi-di-i-tu₄

“[12⁷ minas of w]ool for two túg-kur-ras to Arnabe and her daughters. Six minas for one túg-kur-ra to Didītu”

In this text, each woman is given a standard quantity of wool (six minas) to make túg-kur-ra. In all likelihood, these women are weavers in the service of an *išparu* (chief weaver).³⁹ Woman weavers are not uncommon in Near Eastern sources, whether epigraphic or iconographic. It is likely that in this geographical area, as well as elsewhere, weaving was an exclusively female occupation.⁴⁰ Other women, probably engaged in spinning, are recorded on some clay dockets dated to the reign of Merodach-baldan II (722-703 BC). Each docket gives the name of the spinner and her supervisor, and was presumably tied with a string to the wool to be spun.⁴¹ Another textual source, Camb. 398, adds some useful information about the characteristics of túg-kur-ra:

Camb. 398

1. 2 túg-kur-ra^{meš} eš-šu-tu šá 8 kùš
2. gíd.da-’ ‘8?’ [kùš dagal]-’ ù
3. 12 ma.na ki.lá-šú-nu

“Two new túg-kur-ra, 8 cubits long each, 8⁷ [cubits wide] each and their weight (being together) 12 minas”.⁴²

According to Camb 398, a regular túg-kur-ra weighing 6 minas (like the túg-kur-ra mentioned in CT 55, 783) should be 8 cubits (about four meters) long, and probably 7 or 8 cubits wide. This is the only Neo-Babylonian record of the measurements of this kind

of garment, although in the text TC 3, 17, of the Old Assyrian period (2000-1740 BC), the measurements of a finished cloth roughly coincide with those of the túg-kur-ra of Camb. 398,⁴³ and the same is true of ITT V, 1921, pl. 63, no. 9996, (Ur III period – 2112-2004 BC), where a cloth measures 8 by 7 cubits.⁴⁴

The large size of the túg-kur-ra induced A. L. Oppenheim to proposed translating the term generically as ‘blanket’.⁴⁵ His intuition seems to have hit the mark, having been adopted in many later studies.⁴⁶ The final test – as Oppenheim himself regards it to be – of whether túg-kur-ra was a blanket is possibly found in text Nbn. 662, where two individuals each receive one half (*mišil*) of the same túg-kur-ra.⁴⁷ Túg-kur-ra could be, therefore, a blanket wrapped around the body as a garment, and it was not used only by workers. The garment is also mentioned as being worn by priests (during particular ritual acts?), slaves, wet nurses, travelers, and soldiers.

Concerning priests, clearly these must be regarded as part of the elite, which, as I specified above, I will not be dealing with in the present study. However, I think it is important to mention, if only in passing, the role of the túg-kur-ra worn by a *galamaḥḥu*-priest in a ritual of the Hellenistic period:

UVB 15, 40

13. ^{lú}galamaḥḥu ^{tú}lu-bar kitî ḥa-líp u ^{tú}gsūna šá šapal rēši qaqqad-su rakis
14. [ina] l[i-l]i-[i]s siparri ina a-šá-bi-šú ^{tú}lu-bar du₈-ma
15. [^{tú}g_x x x] u túg-kur-ra il-lab-biš

“The *galamaḥḥu*-priest will wear a linen *lubāru*-garment and he will tie a *sūnu*-hat for the lower head, but if he wants to

39. Like CT 55, 783, another document, NBC 4920, mentions a *zakītu* weaving túg-kur-ra; see Jursa 2010, 596³²¹⁷.

40. Nemet-Nejat 1999, 106-107.

41. Joannès 2010, 401-402.

42. See also Oppenheim 1950, 189.

43. *ga-am-ra-am šu-ba-ta-am ša té-pí-ši-ni tí-šé i-na-mì-tim lu ú-ru-uk-šu ša-ma-né ina a-mì-tim lu ru-pu-šu* “a finished textile that you make must be nine cubits long and eight cubits wide” (ll. 33-36). See Michel & Veenhof 2010, 250-251.

44. Veenhof 1972, 91-92.

45. Oppenheim 1950, 189.

46. For example, Bongenaar 1997, 39; Janković 2008, 452; Jursa 2010, 619.

47. Oppenheim 1950, 189; cf. Zawadzki 2010, 414.

sit near the bronze kettledrum, he will divest the *lubāru* and he will wear [...] and a *túg-kur-ra*”

In this text, it is evident that *túg-kur-ra* is somehow distinct from the other prestige clothing items mentioned in the text, as it is used by the priest in replacement of a *lubāru*-dress made of linen, a garment frequently used to clothe divine images. This change of clothes occurs at a specific point in the ritual, that is, when the priest is about to sit on the *lilissu*-tympanum. It is not clear why it is required, since the tympanum is usually not viewed negatively or regarded as impure.⁴⁸ Linen was not regarded as an impure fiber either; the opposite, if anything, is true. Probably some actions the priest was called upon to perform were regarded as being somehow impure, and this is why he needed to change his dress into an ordinary garment.⁴⁹ *Túg-kur-ra* are rarely mentioned as being worn by slaves or servants. The text GC 1, 161 records the giving of the garment to a slave, more specifically to a *širku*:

GC 1, 161

1. 1 *túg-kur-ra*
2. *šá a-na* 8 ma.na síg.ḫi.a
3. *ana-šá-*
4. *a-na* ^{md}en-e-*tè-ru*
5. ^{lúšim}ki na-din

“One *túg-kur-ra*, which for 8 minas of wool is brought, to Bēl-ēṭeru, the oblate, is given”.

The *širku* or ‘oblate’ is a particular kind of slave enjoying a rather privileged position, as he is consecrated to the temple and a specific deity. As for mere slaves (*qallū* or *ardū*), instead, they are more frequently mentioned as wearing *šir’am* or *mušiptu*.⁵⁰

48. Linssen 2004, 93.

49. See Zawadzki 2006, 91.

50. For these garments, see below.

51. I will discuss *túg-kur-ra* and *šir’am* for travelers and soldiers below, in my section on *šir’am*.

52. Wunsch 2003-2004, no. 20.

I mentioned above that the *túg-kur-ra* was part of the attire of travelers and soldiers. When clothes are mentioned in connection with travelers or soldiers, these are almost certain to be *túg-kur-ra* and *šir’am*; in most cases, the two clothes are recorded together as the constituent elements of a uniform of sorts.⁵¹ Finally, BM 33978⁵² shows that the *túg-kur-ra* could be one of the items that wet nurses were paid with:

BM 33978

Obverse

1. ^fnu-up-ta-a dumu.sal *šá* ^{md}ag-šeš-i[t-tan-nu ...]
2. *a-na* um.me.ga.lá-ú-tu ^ra-^{di} 2-^rta ^rmu.an.na^{meš}
3. dumu.sal *šá* ^fgemé-ia dumu.sal *šá* ^{mki}-^rag-^{tin} dumu ^{md}en-e-*tè-ru*
4. *tu-še-šab ina* mu.an.na 1^{en} *túg-kur-ra*
5. 3 gín kù.babbar iti 1 *qa* ^rmun-^{ḫi}.a 1 *qa saḫ-le-e*
6. 1^{en} ^rsu-um-mu-nu *šá* ^ri.giš ^u₄-mu 2 *qa qí-me*
7. ^r4[?] ninda.ḫi.a 1 *qa* kaš.sag ^fgemé-ia
8. [*a-na*] [^fnu-up-ta-a ta-nam-din
9. [...] ^rx x ^r[...]

Reverse

10. [1^{en} *túg*].kur.ra ^fgemé-ia *a-na* ^fnu-up-t[*a-a*]
11. [*ta-n*]am-din
(witnesses and date)

“Nūptāya, daughter of Nabû-aḫa-it[tannu ...], receives the daughter of Amtiya, the daughter of Itti-Nabû-balātu, of the Egibi family, for a breastfeeding lasting two years. Amtiya will give [to] Nūptāya: annually 1 *túg-kur-ra* (and) 3 shekels of silver; monthly 1 litre of salt, 1 litre of cress, 1 *summunu*-vessel (full) of oil; daily 2 litres of flour, 4[?] loaves (and) 1 litre of first

quality beer [...] Amtiya [will] give [the túg].kur.ra to Nūptāya [...]"

The text, written in Babylon and dated to the reign of Xerxes (485-465 BC), is a contract for the payment of the wet nurse Nūptāya. She is charged with breastfeeding Amtiya's daughter, in exchange for which she will be paid with silver, staple foods, and a túg-kur-ra.⁵³

Interestingly, in at least two such wet-nurse contracts the term túg-kur-ra is replaced by the term ^{túg}*kabru*.⁵⁴ For example, in BM 74330 a wet nurse is paid four silver shekels and a *kabru*-garment.⁵⁵ This does not enable us to conclude that *kabru* is the Akkadian reading of túg-kur-ra. However, if the *kabru*-garment is actually made of heavy cloth, the very fact that it takes the place of túg-kur-ra in the same type of document suggests that the túg-kur-ra was also made of heavy cloth, at least in this case.

mušiptu

In 1953, in the like-titled entry in his *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefe*, Erich Ebeling explains the word *mušēptu* as follows: “**mušēptu** (D Part. von *šēpu*) “Hülle”, eine Art Burnus, Idgr. ^{túg}kur.ra.”⁵⁶ Although Ebeling's work remains to this day one of the most important studies ever carried out on Neo-Babylonian correspondence, since then some progress has been made in the understanding of the term. In 1950, A.L. Oppenheim had already solved the problem of the incorrect identification of

túg-kur-ra with *mušiptu* by proving that the latter has no ideographic equivalent.⁵⁷ The name *mušiptu* is very likely to derive from *šuppu* ‘to rub’, attested in the Middle Assyrian period (1350-1100 BC) in the context of horse husbandry with the specific meaning ‘to groom’.⁵⁸ Its nominal form *mušiptu* possibly designates the dressing of wool.⁵⁹ According to the authors of the *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (CDA), the verb *šuppu* may also have the meaning of ‘decorating,’ which however is not applicable to *mušiptu*, because evidence for decorated *mušiptu* is just about nonexistent.⁶⁰ In Neo-Babylonian documents, the term *mušiptu* often occurs with the generic meaning of ‘garment.’⁶¹ The *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (AHw) and the CDA hence translate it, respectively, as ‘Gewand’ and ‘garment,’⁶² while the *Assyrian Dictionary of Chicago* (CAD) attempts a more detailed translation ‘(standard size) piece of cloth.’⁶³ By placing ‘standard size’ between parentheses, the authors admit to doubts regarding the actual standardization of the measurements of a *mušiptu* garment, and indeed no text indicating these measurements is known so far. Some sources provide other kinds of information:

YOS 6, 91

1. 5 gín kù.babbar š[ám] 4 *mu-šip-ti*

“5 shekels of silver, the price of 4 *mušiptus*”

53. In rev. 1, it appears that Amtiya gives another túg-kur-ra to Nūptāya. It is likely that this túg-kur-ra is actually part of an annual payment given immediately to Nūptāya together with 3 silver shekels, which were possibly mentioned in the damaged portion of the tablet (obv. 9).

54. Wunsch 2003-2004, no. 214. According to CAD K, 23 s.v. d, *kabru* could be a heavy garment.

55. Wunsch 2003-2004, no. 19 (obv. 8): *i-na mu 4 gín kù.babbar 1^{en} ^{túg}kab-ri*.

56. Ebeling 1953, 140-141.

57. Oppenheim 1950, 188-189; see also the section on túg-kur-ra in the present essay, and Zawadzki 2010, 413.

58. CAD Š, 250; on this term see also Gaspa in the present volume.

59. CAD Š, 249 s.v. **šuppu* C “strip of carded wool.”

60. CDA, 341 s.v. *šuppu* II “to decorate, inlay ?, overlay ?”; cf. Zawadzki 2010, 417.

61. This is true, for example, of texts relative to dowries, where different types of garments are listed under the term *mušiptu*; cf. Roth 1989-1990, 29.

62. AHw, 679; CDA, 220.

63. CAD M2, 242.

YOS 3, 104

10. 5 ^{túg}mu-šip-^rtu₄^r
11. šu-bi-lam
12. udu.níta
13. lu-bu-uk-kam-ma
14. lu-uš-pur-ka

“Send me 5 *mušiptus* and I will take and send you a ram.”

Evetts Lab. 6

1. *i-na* maš ma.na 3 gín kù.babbar
2. *šá a-na mu-šip-tu*₄ sumⁱⁿ

“Out of a half mina (of silver), 3 shekels of silver were given for a *mušiptu*”⁶

VAS 6, 58

5. “2” gín 4-ut *šá mu-šip-e-tu*₄

“2 shekels (and) ¼ for a *mušiptu*”

According to the indications of these four texts, a *mušiptu* was not especially valuable. YOS 6, 91 indicates a price of 1.25 shekels of silver, and the Uruk letter YOS 3, 104 clearly states that five *mušiptus* were worth the same price as a sheep. Assuming the average price of a sheep to be around three shekels of silver,⁶⁵ this *mušiptu* would be worth about half a shekel. These are of course approximate figures, but they clearly suggest that the *mušiptu* was an inexpensive clothing item. The other two documents record, respectively 3, and 2.25 shekels per item. These prices match those attested for a *túg-kur-ra*.

Not only is the cost of a *mušiptu* about the same, in some cases, as that of a *túg-kur-ra*, but the two garments are also used in the same ways. GC 2, 349, where some workers are given large quantities of clothing items, is the best evidence of the fact that the *mušiptu* was not only inexpensive, but also used by common people.⁶⁶

64. CAD M2, 243, has this differently: *ina* 33 gín *kaspi šá ana mušiptu nadin*. According to this reading, the cost of a *mušiptu* is of 33 silver shekels.

65. Jursa 2010, 739.

66. Zawadzki 2010, 417.

GC 2, 349:

Obverse

1. “40” ^{túg}mu-šip-ti ^{md}15-mu-mu a-šú *šá*
^{md}ag-[x x]
2. 30 ^{md}a g-na-din-mu a-šú *šá*
^{mri}mut-^dgu-la
3. 10-ta ^mgar.mu a-šú *šá* ^{md}dù-^d15
4. 10-ta ^{md}en-gi a-šú *šá* ^{md}utu-mu
5. 10-ta ^{md}dù-^d15 a-šú *šá* ^{mšá}-^dag-šú-ú
6. 10-ta ^{md}innin-na-mu-šeš a-šú *šá*
^mmu-^dag
7. 10-ta ^{md}innin-na-numun-be a-šú *šá*
^mgin-numun
8. 10-ta ^{md}innin-na-numun-giš a-šú *šá*
^{md}en-mu-gar^{un}
9. 5-ta ^{md}x x-dù-uš a-šú *šá* ^{md}en-din^{it}

Lower edge

10. pap 135-ta ^{túg}mu-šip-ti

Reverse

11. *ina ú-il-tim šá é.an.na ina ugu*
12. ^{lú}gal^{meš} 50^{meš} *a-di qí-it*
13. *šá iti.kin a-na é.an.na i-nam-di-nu*

“40 *mušiptus* (for) Ištar-šum-iddin son of Nabû?-x-x

30 (for) Nabû-nadin-šumi son of Rimût-Gula

10 (for) Šākin-šumi son of Ibni-Ištar

10 (for) Bēl-ušallim son of Šamaš-iddin

10 (for) Ibni-Ištar son of Ša-Nabû-šu-ú

10 (for) Innina-šum-ušur son of Iddin-Nabû

10 (for) Innina-zēr-ušabši son of Mukīn-zēri

10 (for) Innina-zēr-Išir son of Bēl-šum-iškun

5 (for) x-x-epuš son of Bēl-uballit

Total 135 *mušiptus*

the debit of the Eanna temple over the *rab hanše*. Up to the end of the month of Elūlu they will give (back) to Eanna temple.”

Actually, the text records a total of 135 clothing items to be distributed, in lots of 40, 30, 10, 5, among nine supervisors of working units of 40, 30, 10, and 5 workers. In the final part of the text, these supervisors are identified as *rab ḥanše*.⁶⁷ One of the tasks of these supervisors was to return some of the *mušiptu* within the month of Elūlu, probably the date established for completion of the work. The returning of the clothes to the temple – in this particular case, the Eanna – is undisputable proof that institutions possessed clothes, presumably kept in their storerooms,⁶⁸ which they would distribute among dependents when work was to be done.

A particular feature of *mušiptu*, probably shared with the *guzuzu* clothing item,⁶⁹ was that they could be rolled up.⁷⁰ In the text Nbk. 369, we read: 1^{en} gišná ki-ir-ka túg-guz-guz túg-mu-ši-pe-ti “a bed (with) rolled up *guzguzu* and *mušiptu*.” Dar. 530 reads: giš a-ra-an-nu mu-ši-pe-e-tu₄ ki-iš-ki, where it is evident that rolled up (*kišku*) *mušiptu* were gathered in a basket (*arannu*).

As to how *mušiptu* were used, the information found in letter BIN 1, 6 is particularly surprising:

BIN 1, 6

Obverse

1. im ^mšil-la-a a-na
2. ^fur-a nin-šú
3. ^den u ^dag šu-lum šá
4. nin-ía liq-bu-ú
5. 1^{er} túgšab-bat
6. bab-ba-ni-ti
7. ina túg-mu-šip-ti
8. eb-bé-ti

9. ti-ik-pi-i'
10. ru-'ku'-us-i
11. ku-nu-uk-i
12. u ina šu^{II} lú^a.kin^{me}
13. šá ^mna-din
14. šu-bi-la

“Letter of Šillāya to Kalbāya, his sister. May Bel and Nabû decree good health to my sister. Sew, tie and seal one good-quality *šabbatu* in a clean *mušiptu* and send it through the messengers of Nadin.”

In this document from Uruk, a man named Šillāya asks a woman, Kalbāya, to send him a fine *šabbatu*.⁷¹ To do so, the woman must first of all *sew* the prized garment inside a clean *mušiptu*, tie it, and seal it. Here the verb *to sew* seems to be rendered with the word *ti-ik-pi-i'*, presumably the imperative of the second person singular of the verb *takāpu*. The translation as ‘sew,’ however, is questionable, as the commonly accepted translation for this verb is ‘to bore, to sting.’⁷² The CAD, however, also includes ‘to sew’ among the possible translations of *takāpu*, as an extension of the original meaning, since sewing is done by boring a hole through a textile.⁷³ Leaving aside the yet unsolved issue of the meaning of the verb *takāpu*, the subsequent lines of BIN 1, 6 bear witness to a practice that is rarely attested in the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods, but well-documented for early Assyrian times, namely, the use of packaging and sealing textiles to send them to third parties.⁷⁴ The only other known Neo-Babylonian attestation of the packaging of textiles is a letter (YOS 21, 31) where a garment of the *šir'am* type undergoes the same treatment as the garment *šabbatu* before being sent.⁷⁵ To conclude,

67. The *rab ḥanšū* (CAD H, 81) is the head of a team of 50 workmen or soldiers. A typical team was composed of ten men under the supervision of a *rab eširti*; cf. CAD E, 365.

68. As was the case for túg-kur-ra, cf. Nbn. 290: 9 túg-kur-ra ta è šu^{II} “nine túg-kur-ra in the storeroom (*bīt qāti*)”. For *bīt qāti*, see CAD Q, 199 and Joannès 2010, 401.

69. Quillien 2013, 22.

70. See CAD M2, 242b; Zawadzki 2010, 411 and Roth 1989-1990, 30.

71. The garment called *šabbatu*, mentioned in earlier periods as a luxury clothing item, is never mentioned in Neo-Babylonian documents, except in this case: cf. CAD Š1, 8 s.v. *šabattu*.

72. In the Neo-Babylonian period, the verb for “sewing” is *kubbū*; cf. CAD K, 482-483.

73. CAD T, 68.

74. Veenhof 1972, 41-44.

75. *šir-a-am rak-su-ú u ka-an-gu-ú* “a *šir'am* packaged and sealed” (YOS 21, 31: l.10).

on the evidence of BIN 1, 6 and on the basis of other considerations, it is reasonable to affirm that *mušiptu* is a length of an inexpensive textile used as a garment, but also to wrap things up (possibly by sewing it) and protect fine clothes during transportation.

The term *mušiptu* also occurs as a designation for garments worn by various members of Babylonian society. In several textual sources we learn of *mušiptus* used as female garments. For example, in Dar. 575, a slave woman called Mušezibtum receives a *mušiptu*,⁷⁶ and the legal text BM 103452⁷⁷ refers to the stealing of a *mušiptu* belonging to a woman named Rišāya, possibly a widow:

BM 103452

6. ^mki'-^dutu-tin a-šú ^mla-ba-ši a-na da-na-na a-na é

7. a-na muḥ-ḥi-ia ki-i i-ru-ub iṭ-ṭi-ra-an-ni

8. u ^{túg}mu-šip-ti-ia it-ta-ši

“Itti-Šamaš-balātu, the son of Lâbâši had broken into my house by force, he beat me, took away my *mušiptu*.”

A garment of the *mušiptu* type is mentioned in connection with animal husbandry in BE 8, 106. Here a slave, charged with pasturing cows, receives food rations and a *mušiptu* from the *rē'û* (herdsman) Nabûmukîn-zēri for carrying out the task.

Finally, *mušiptu* are prominently featured in apprenticeship contracts, for example Cyr. 64:

Cyr. 64

1. ^fnu-up-ta-a dumu.sal-su šá ^mmu-^damar.utu a ^mzálag-^d30

2. ^mat-kal-a-na-^damar.utu ^{lú}qal-la šá ^mki-^damar.utu-tin

3. a-šú šá ^mag-šeš^{mes}-mu a ^me-gi-bi a-na ^{lú}iš-pa-ru-tu

4. a-di 5 mu.an.na^{mes} a-na ^md-en-kar^{er} a-šú

76. *mu-šip-tu*₄ ^migi-ir-ki a-na ^fmu-še-zib-tum ú-kát-[tam] (Dar. 575 ll. 10-11)

77. Published in Jursa, Paszkowiak & Waerzeggers 2003-2004, 265-268.

78. J. Hackl has dealt extensively with this theme in Jursa 2010, 700-725.

79. *uzāru* appears in apprenticeship contract BOR 1, 83, *túg-kur-ra* in Cyr. 313.

5. šá ^map-la-a a ^md-en-e-ṭè-ru ta-ad-di-in

6. iš-pa-ru-tu gab-bi u-lam-mad-su

7. ṭup-pi ṭup-pi u₄-mu 1 qa pad.hi.a ù

8. mu-šip-tu₄ ^fnu-up-ta-a a-na ^mat-kal-a-na-^damar.utu

9. ta-nam-din ...

“Nūptāya, daughter of Iddin-Marduk, son of Nūr-Sîn, has given Atkal-ana-Marduk, the slave of Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-ahhē-iddin of the Egibi family, to Bēl-ēter son of Aplāya son of Bēl-ēteru, for learning the weaver’s craft for a period of 5 years. For the entire period of his training, Nūptāya will give daily one *qû* of bread and a *mušiptu* to Atkal-ana-Marduk [...]”

Apprenticeship contracts are typical of the Late Babylonian period.⁷⁸ They consist of a contract between a free citizen and a master craftsman. The citizen entrusts his or her son, daughter or slave to the master for a given period of time for training in a specific craft. Once taken in charge, the practitioner’s keep is paid for by the parent or owner, not the tutor, who in some cases also receives additional payment. The *mušiptu*-garment is one of the most frequently mentioned items among the provisions given to the apprentice, whereas *túg-kur-ra* or *uzāru*-garments⁷⁹ are mentioned, albeit rarely, among the goods given to the teacher in payment, but never *mušiptu*.

šir'am

The *šir'am*-garment occurs quite frequently in Mesopotamian documents. It originally was exclusively an item of military apparel, a cuirass of sorts. It is mentioned as such, for example, in EA 22, a text from the El-Amarna period (ca. 1350 BC):

EA 22, col. III

37. 1 šu sa-ri-am zabar 1 gur-sí-ib zabar ša lú

38. 1 šu *sa-ri-am ša* kuš 1 *gur-sí-ib* zabar
39. *ša lú za-ar-gu-ti* ...

“1 bronze cuirass set, 1 bronze helmet for a man, 1 leather cuirass set, 1 bronze helmet for the *sarku*-soldiers”

In the Neo-Babylonian period, the *šir'am* is still part of the military uniform, but also occurs among the garments worn by civilians. Neo-Babylonian cuneiform sources quite commonly mention *šir'am* as military apparel:

Dar. 253

6. 12 túg-kur-ra 12-ta túgšir-a-am
7. 12-ta kar-bal-la-tu₄ 12 kušnu-ú-tu
8. 24 kušše-e-nu ...

“12 túg-kur-ras, 12 *šir'am*, 12 *karballatus*, 12 *nūtu*s, 24 *šenu*s”

Dar. 253 enumerates the items making up the equipment of 12 soldiers, and is thus a valuable example of the composition of a military uniform. The specific function of each item is well known, not only thanks to abundant data in epigraphic sources, both coeval and from other periods, but also and especially thanks to the availability of iconographic sources that one can compare with textual ones. The persistent depiction of fully armed and clad soldiers in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs is certainly the most informative source for a comparison between the Akkadian term and the actual garment it designated.

In military uniforms, the túg-kur-ra is used as underwear and placed under the *šir'am*. The best translation for *šir'am* seems to be the one proposed by J. MacGinnis,⁸⁰ who renders the Akkadian term as ‘jerkin.’⁸¹ Soldiers wore it either as a simple wool garment or as a cuirass reinforced with pieces of

metal. As regards the *šir'am* as a cuirass, one text more than any other, UCP 9, 271, adds important information, as it mentions a *sir'annu* (= *šir'am*) reinforced with iron (*parzillu*). A *šir'am* of cloth could be a jerkin, but also a tunic of sorts.⁸² This is borne out by Neo-Assyrian reliefs where archers, in particular, wear a long dress reinforced with plates.⁸³ The *karballatu*, made of wool or linen, is the most frequently mentioned headwear in Neo- and Late Babylonian documents.⁸⁴ The above-cited text UCP 9, 271 mentions a *karballatu ša sir'annu*. This suggests that there was a connection between *karballatu* and the iron *šir'am*. It is possible that the headwear was somehow connected to the jerkin, or that the expression *karballatu ša sir'annu* alludes to the fact that the *karballatu* is of metal, just like the *šir'am*. The two remaining elements – which were made of leather, since the term is preceded by the determinative kuš – are *nūtu* and *šenu*. The former term designates a bag used to carry goods, while the latter was normally employed for footwear.

Túg-kur-ra and *šir'am* (often mentioned together with *karballatu*, *nūtu* and *šenu*) were not merely elements of military apparel; they were also worn by individuals undertaking long journeys (*šidītu*) at the behest of the temple or the palace.⁸⁵ A good example of this is BM 78828,⁸⁶ where some carpenters (*naggāru*) receive túg-kur-ra and *šir'am* garments that they may travel to a military camp (*madāktu*).⁸⁷ As F. Joannès had already noted, there existed a broad range of *šir'am*:⁸⁸ for men (*šir'am ša zikāri* in Evetts Ner. 28) and for women (*šir'am ša kitī amilti* in Evetts Ner. 28); of linen (*šir'am ša kitī* in TCL 9, 117); red-dyed (*šir'am ša tabāri* in Nbn. 661), blue-dyed (*šir'am ša inzahurēti* in YOS 7, 7), or of purple-dyed wool (*šir'am ša* ^{si}g^hé.me.da in GC 1, 299); fine *šir'am* worn as undergarments (*šir'am šupālītu eššetu babbanītu* in Nbk. 12); and luxury *šir'am*

80. MacGinnis 2012.

81. The same translation is used by Zawadzki 2010, 414.

82. Janković 2008, 453, gives the same translation.

83. See for example Paterson 1915, Plate 14.

84. CAD K, 215.

85. See Janković 2008, esp. 452-454.

86. MacGinnis 2012, no. 35.

87. The carpenters were probably headed to a military camp to repair wooden objects, such as boats; cf. Zawadzki 2008, 334-335.

worn as outer garments (*šir'am elēnītu murruqītu babbanītu* in AJSL 16, 73 no. 16). This piece of evidence enables us to conclude that the *šir'am* was used in Babylonian society both as an ordinary garment – there are quite a few testimonies of *šir'am* worn by slave men or women⁸⁹ – and as a fine one.⁹⁰ *Šir'am* may have had different values depending on how they were manufactured. This is suggested by some documents indicating their prices:

YOS 19, 242

1. 1/3 1/2 gín kù.babbar 4 túg-kur-ra^{meš}
 2. ù 1 ^{túg}*šir-a-am a-na* 10 gín kù.babbar
 3. pap 1/2 ma.na 1/2 gín kù.babbar šám é
- “1/3 (mina) half shekel, 4 túg-kur-ras and 1 *šir'am* for 10 shekels. The house price is in total half 1/2 and 1/2 a shekel”

In YOS 19, 242, the price of the *šir'am* can be interpreted in two different ways: the ten silver shekels may be the price of the *šir'am* alone,⁹¹ or the overall price of the *šir'am* and the túg-kur-ra. Both interpretations pose problems, of a different order. If we assume the ten shekels to be the price of the two items together, we are unable to determine the exact price of either.⁹² If, instead, we assume the ten shekels to be the price of the *šir'am* alone, it appears to be too high compared to the other recorded prices for a *šir'am*.⁹³

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to investigate a field fraught with insurmountable hurdles. The main difficulty besetting a study of clothing worn by ordinary people is that epigraphic documents provide little information about the lives of those who do not belong to the upper echelons of Babylonian society. In the rare cases when Babylonian common people are mentioned, their role is merely accessory, their actions only being noted down because they are correlated to individuals or events worthy of being recorded.

Another extremely complicated question is that of terminology. The clothes of common people are often generically described as ‘dress’ or ‘garment.’ Túg-kur-ra and *mušiptu*, in particular, are used in this generic way. It is thus hard to understand, in the lack of a clear textual context, whether a *mušiptu* in a given document is just any clothing item or the clothing item thus designated.

The best sources on the wearing of túg-kur-ra, *mušiptu* and *šir'am* by common people are texts recording their donation to groups of people, such as workmen or soldiers.⁹⁴ In exceptional cases, some particular categories of workers to whom specific clothing items were assigned can be discerned. As we have seen, túg-kur-ra, besides being a garment donned by workmen and soldiers was also donated to wet nurses as part of their sustenance. The *mušiptu* was worn by workmen, but above I have indicated one case where it was used in an animal husbandry

88. Joannès 2010, 407; cf. CAD S, 314b and Zawadzki 2010, 414.

89. In Nbk. 408, the slave Apatšu receives a *šir'am* from Tatāya, a freewoman: 1^{en} ^{túg}*šir-a-am* ^{ta-ta-a} *a-na* ^{pa-at-šú} sum^[in] (rev. ll.23-24). Other texts mentioning *šir'am* for slave women are Evetts Ner. 28 and UET 4, 118; in Nbn. 1116, a *šir'am* is given to a slave man, while in NCBT 4692 it is given to *širku* and *zakītu*.

90. This is the case for *šir'am* in dowry texts; cf. Roth 1989-1990, 31.

91. This is the interpretation favored by Janković 2008, 453¹⁰⁹.

92. YOS 19, 242 is dated to the fourth year of Nabonidus. The prices attested for a túg-kur-ra in that year are: 1 shekel, 2 shekels, and 3.5 shekels (see Jursa 2010, 621). Usually the price of a túg-kur-ra is higher than that of a *šir'am*. This suggests that the price of a túg-kur-ra was around 2.125 silver shekels, that of a *šir'am* around 1.5 shekels.

93. 1 shekel (GC 1, 198), 1.25 shekels (GC 1, 299), 1.5 shekels (NCBT 826), 2 shekels (BM 74398), 3.3 shekels (Camb. 340). In CT 56, 317 a bag-maker (*sabsinnu*), Bēl-šulmu-šukun, receives from the temple of Ebabbar 4 silver shekels for a *šir'am*: 4 gín kù'.babbar *a-na* ^{túg}*šir-a-a[m]* *a-na* ^{en-šu-lum-šu-kun} (ll. 4-5). This is a clear proof that the cost of a *šir'am* was not of 4 shekels, since we need to factor in the labor employed to produce the item.

94. For túg-kur-ra, see YOS 21, 98; for *mušiptu*, see GC 2, 349; for *šir'am*, see BM 78828. The Akkadian term commonly used to indicate groups of people is *šābu* (often in the logographic form ^{lu}erín); cf. CAD S, 46-55.

context. More importantly, as we have seen, *mušiptu* are regularly featured in apprenticeship contracts. Finally, *šir'am*, like *túg-kur-ra*, were worn by workmen and soldiers, and it appears it was not unusual for them to be worn by slaves, on the evidence of a number of textual sources.

The present essay, following in the wake of S. Zawadzki's study on clothes in non-cultic contexts,⁹⁵ is a first attempt to investigate clothes worn by common people in Babylonian society. I hope it will provide a stimulus for further research, confirming or contradicting what I have stated in the previous pages.

Abbreviations

ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft	CM	Cuneiform Monographs
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden 1965-1981	CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>	CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
AO	tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, Paris	CTMMA 4	I. Spar & M. Jursa, <i>The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts from the Fourth to the First Millennium B.C.</i> CTMMA 4. New York 2014
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>	Cyr.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon</i> . Leipzig 1890
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn	Dar.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon</i> . Leipzig 1897
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts BINBabylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James Buchanan Nies	EA	J. A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig 1915
BIN 1	C. E. Keiser, <i>Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in Neo-Babylonian Period</i> . New Haven-London 1917	Evetts Lab.	B. T. A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reign of Laborosoarchod</i> . Leipzig 1892
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum	Evetts Ner.	B. T. A. Evetts, <i>Inscriptions of the Reign of Neriglissar</i> . Leipzig 1892
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan	GC 1	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus</i> . Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 1. New Haven 1923
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago 1956-2010	GC 2	R. P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> . Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 2. New Haven 1933
Camb.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon</i> . Leipzig 1890	ITT	Inventaire des tablettes de Tello
CDA	J. Black <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian</i> . Wiesbaden 1999-2000	JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
		JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
		KASKAL	<i>Rivista di storia, ambienti e culture del Vicino Oriente Antico</i>
		N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
		NBC	Tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library
		NCBT	Tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University Library
		Nbk.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon</i> . Leipzig 1889
		Nbn.	J. N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon</i> . Leipzig 1887
		OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
		OIP 122	D. B. Weisberg, <i>Neo-Babylonian Texts in</i>

95. Zawadzki 2010.

- the Oriental Institute Collection*. Chicago 2003
- PIHANS Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
- RA *Revue d'assyriologie et archéologie orientale*
- TC Textes cappadociennes du Louvre (Paris)
- TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
- TU F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes D'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides*. Paris 1922
- UCP University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
- UET 4 H. H. Figulla, *Business Documents of New-Babylonian Period*. Ur Excavations Texts 4. London 1949
- YOS Yale Oriental Series – Babylonian Texts
- YOS 3 A. T. Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*. New Haven-London 1919
- YOS 6 R. P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus*. New Haven-London 1920
- YOS 19 P.-A. Beaulieu, *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus*, New Haven-London 2000
- YOS 21 E. Frahm & M. Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Letters and Contracts from the Eanna Archive*. New Haven-London 2011
- UVB *Vorläufige Bericht über ... Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*
- des Fortifications de Persépolis. État des questions et perspectives de recherches*, 429-464. Paris.
- Joannès, F. (2010) Textile Terminology in the Neo-Babylonian Documentation. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 400-408. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Jursa, M. (2006) Agricultural Management, Tax Farming and Banking: Aspects of Entrepreneurial Activity in Babylonia in the Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods. In P. Briant & F. Joannès (eds.), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistique (vers 350-300 av. J.-C.)*, 137-222. Paris.
- Jursa, M. (2010) *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC*. AOAT 377. Münster.
- Jursa, M., Paszkowiak, J. & Waerzeggers, C. (2003-2004) Three Court Records, *AfO* 50, 255-268.
- Kümmel, H. M (1979) *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk*. ADOG 20. Berlin.
- Labat, R. (1995) *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*. *Revue et augmenté par Florence Malbran-Labat*. Paris.
- MacGinnis, J. (1995) *Letter Orders From Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbara in the Late-Babylonian Period*. Poznań.
- MacGinnis, J. (2012) *The Arrows of the Sun: Armed Forces in Sippar in the First Millennium B.C*. Babylonische Archive 4. Dresden.
- McEwan, G. J. P. (1985) The First Seleucid Document from Babylonia, *JSS* 30, 169-180.
- Michel, C. & Veenhof, K. R (2010) The Textiles Traded by the Assyrians in Anatolia. In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 210-271. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford.
- Nemet-Nejat, K. R. (1999) Women in Ancient Mesopotamia. In B. Vivante (ed.), *Women's Role in Ancient Civilizations. A Reference Guide*, 85-114. Westport, Connecticut-London.
- Oppenheim, A. L. (1950) Review of H. H. Figulla, *Business Documents of the Neo-Babylonian Period*, UET 4, 1949, *JCS* 4, 188-195.
- Paterson, A., 1915. *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sinacherib*, The Hauge, 1915.
- Payne, E. E. (2007) *The Craftsmen of the Neo-Babylonian Period: A Study of the Textile and Metal Workers of the Eanna Temple*, Ph.D. diss. Yale University.
- Quillien, L. (2013) tûg-LUM-LUM = tûg-guz-guz; a new interpretation of the «guzguzu» garment in first millennium BC Mesopotamia, *N.A.B.U.* 2013/1, 21-25.
- Roth, M. (1989-1990) The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry, *AfO* 63, 1-55.

Bibliography

- Beaulieu, P.-A. (2003) *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*. CM 23. Leiden-Boston.
- Bongenaar, A. C. V. M (1997) *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: its Administration and its Prosopography*. PIHANS 80. Leiden.
- Borger, R. (1981) *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Çağırhan, G. & Lambert, W. G. (1991-1993) The Late-Babylonian Kislîmu Ritual for Esagil, *JCS* 43-45, 86-106.
- Dougherty, R. P. (1933) *Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*. GC 2. New Haven.
- Ebeling, E. (1953) *Glossar zu den Neubabylonischen Briefen*. München.
- Jankovic, B. (2008) Travel Provisions in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC. In P. Briant et al. (eds.), *L'archive*

- San Nicolò, M. (1945), *Festschrift für Leopold Wenger*, vol. 2. München.
- Stolper, M. W. (1985) *Entrepreneurs and Empire. The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. PIHANS 54. Leiden.
- Ungnad, A. (1937) *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden. Glossar*. Leipzig.
- Veenhof, K. R. (1972) *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology*. *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiquae pertinentia* 10. Leiden.
- Wunsch, C. (2003-2004) Findelkinder und Adoption nach neubabylonischen Quellen, *AfO* 50, 174-244.
- Wunsch, C. & Magdalene, F. R. (2012) A Slave Is Not Supposed to Wear Such a Garment!, *KASKAL* 9, 99-120.
- Zawadzki, S. (2002) Payment in Wool in the Economy of the Ebabbar Temple at Sippar, *RA* 96, 149-167.
- Zawadzki, S. (2006) *Garments of the Gods. Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to the Texts from the Ebabbar Archive*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 218. Fribourg-Göttingen.
- Zawadzki, S. (2008) Nebuchadnezzar's Campaign in the 30th Year (575 B.C.): A Conflict with Tyre? In M. Cogan & D. Kahn (eds.) *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*, 331-336. Jerusalem.
- Zawadzki, S. (2010) Garments in Non-Cultic Context (Neo-Babylonian Period). In C. Michel & M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, 409-429. *Ancient Textiles Series* 8. Oxford.