14) túg-LUM-LUM = túg-guz-guz; a new interpretation of the « guzguzu » garment in first millennium BC Mesopotamia – A file of eight texts dated from the first millennium BC, including two documents from the Yale Babylonian Collection presented below by Elizabeth Payne, has shed some light on the meaning of the sumerogram túgLUM-LUM<sup>1</sup>.

According to R. Borger, the ideogram "lum" can be read "guz". Therefore, it is very likely that the expression "túgLUM-LUM" has to be read "túgguz-guz", and understood as the equivalent of the Akkadian word "guzguzu". The Practical Vocabulary of Aššur gives the equivalence "nim-ra-\*'u" for the Sumerian "túgLUM-LUM", but this term is never attested in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts³.

The ideogram "túgguz-guz" appears in four texts from the first millennium BC: a letter regarding a high dignitary from Nippur who was abandoned by his escort during a mission for the king (ABL 866), two marriage contracts from Sippar (Nbk 369<sup>4</sup>) and Susa (TBER 93-94<sup>5</sup>), and a small text from the archive of the temple of Uruk which records quantities of dyed wool given to craftsmen (UCP 9/II 12).

This new reading is supported by four other texts dating from the Neo-Babylonian period where a phonetic spelling of the word appears. The text YBC 3941, a list of properties stolen from a house in Uruk, dated from the  $38^{\rm th}$  year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, records in line 6: "2  $^{\rm túg}$ gu-uz-gu-za-nu", or "two guzguzu-clothes/garments". YBC 3819, dated four years later, gives the lists of the properties still due by the thief to the owner, and mentions

- 1 I present my thanks to E. Payne for her precious help and her advices.
- **2** R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon, AOAT* 305, 2003, Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, p. 228-229. R. Borger has not proposed an Akkadian equivalent for the expression "LUM-LUM".
- **3** B. Landsberger & O. R. Gurney, "Practical Vocabulary of Aššur.", *AfO* 18, 1957-1958, p. 328-341, n°255.
- **4** Edited by M. Roth, "The Neo-Babylonian Widow" *JCS* 43-45, p. 19. And "The Material Composition of the Neo-Babylonian Dowry", *AfO* 36/37, p. 35.
- **5** Edited by J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*, Paris, 1981; F. Joannès, "Contrats de mariage d'époque récente" in RA 78, Paris, 1984, p. 71-81 and M.T. Roth, *Babylonian Marriage Agreements* 7<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries BC, AOAT 222, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989, n°34 p. 108-112.

the same two "guzguzu". An undated list of garments, BM 29711<sup>6</sup>, contains "1 gu-uz<sup>?</sup>-zu-zu" without description of the context. Finally, an inventory of supplies for a ritual, BE 8 154<sup>7</sup>, records "3 gu-uz-gu-zu" on line 24, with various other objects.

Text	Place	Date	Description	Writing
ABL 866	(Uruk)	-	Letter regarding a high dignitary who was abandoned by his escort on the	1-en <sup>túg</sup> gu <sup>'</sup> -uz-gu <sup>'</sup> -uz (l.4)
UCP 9/II 12	Uruk	Nbk16 XI.12	road to Nippur  Note of Eanna's administration recording textile materials given to craftsmen	1 <sup>túg</sup> guz-guz (l.3-4)
YBC 3941	Uruk	Nbk 38	List of stolen properties from the house of Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim	2 <sup>túg</sup> gu-uz-gu-za-nu (l.6)
Nbk 369	Sippar	Nbk 40 X.18	Marriage contract	ſ <sup>túg</sup> guz¹-guz (l.2)
YBC 3819	Uruk	Nbk 42 IV.22	List of stolen properties still due by the thief to Nabû-aḥḥē-šullim	2 gu-uz-gu-za-nu (l. 2)
TBER 93-94	Susa	Achae- menid	Marriage contract	「1+en <sup>† túg</sup> guz-guz (l.16-17)
BE 8 154	Central Bab.	-	Inventory of supplies, probably for a ritual	3 gu-uz-gu-zu (l.24-26)
BM 29711	Central Bab.	-	List of clothes	1-en gu-uz <sup>?</sup> -zu-zu (l. 7)

Two texts from Uruk provide information about the appearance and composition of the guzguzu. The first one, UCP 9/II 12, mentions that 53 shekels of red wool (tabarru) were given to craftsmen of the Eanna temple for the work of a guzguzu-cloth in order to cover the base of a chariot, or the pedestal installed in it (šubtu). The text indicates that the craftsmen had to decorate a guzguzu-cloth already manufactured with dyed wool. Coloured wool can be added to a fabric with different techniques such as embroidery or "passementerie" (trimming), creating elaborated decorations and patterns. The second text, YBC 3819, gives a weight of ten minas for each of the two guzguzu stolen in the house

**<sup>6</sup>** Edited by R. Zadok, "Contributions to Babylonian Geography, Prosopography and Documentation", *AOAT* 281, 2002, p. 890.

**<sup>7</sup>** This last text is the only one listed by the CAD in the article "guzguzu" (CAD G p. 147). The CAD does not propose a translation for this word, which is attested only during the Neo-Babylonian period.

of Nabû-aḫḫē-šullim, a notable from Uruk. Even if the weight and shape of a certain type of cloth can vary according to the context, these attestations suggest that the *guzguzu* was a heavy, multicoloured and finely crafted cloth<sup>8</sup>.

The precise use of the guzguzu is rarely explained. Two texts mention a guzguzu used to cover religious furniture. The text UCP 9/II 12 is very explicit: the guzguzu is used to cover the base (šubtu) of a chariot, probably used during a religious ceremony at Babylon, since the materials are brought in this city. In the same way, the text BE 8 154, a long list of supplies, probably for a ritual, registers three guzguzu with textiles destined for a throne: "3 guzguzu, 1 linen fabric for the top of the seat of the throne, thread for the padding of the throne" (lines 24-26).

Other texts, less explicit, suggest that the *guzguzu* was sometimes used as a garment. For example, the list BM 29711 ranks the *guzguzu* among other garments: "2 *uzāru* covers, 6 *šupālītu* undergarments; 2 *sibtu* garments; 2 *mizitu*; 2 *huṣannu* sashes/belts; 2 *na-ru/šub-b/pu*; 1 *guzguzu* garment, a *gulēnu* coat" (lines 1-8). We find the same case in the list of item stolen from a house in Uruk, YBC 3941: "2 new *guzguzu* garments, 6 *gulēnu* garments, 1 new *x-baqqu* garment, 2 belts, 1 head scarf, a neck scarf" (lines 6-11). In these two texts, the *guzguzu* was associated with a woollen coat called *gulēnu*. They may be worn together or pertain to the same set of garments for an outfit. As a garment, the importance of its weight and decoration suggests that the *guzguzu* was worn over the outfit, probably as a coat. We can also note that in the marriage contract Nbk 369, the *guzguzu* appears beside the "*muṣiptu*". While the *muṣiptu* is a generic name for a garment, the *guzguzu* should not be understood as a common item of clothing since it is listed separately.

The determinative "túg" sometimes precedes the term guzguzu. It can mean a garment or a fabric covering the furniture. The temple's archives show that the same textile can have two uses successively. In the two marriage contracts, it is not possible to decide between the two functions. In the first one, Nbk 369, the guzguzu is ranked after the furniture fabrics and before the garments: "a bed with a roll of fabric kirku, a guzguzu, a garment muṣiptu" (line 2). In the second one, TBER 93-94, it is mentioned among various textiles, including again a kirku: "a roll of fabric kirku woven in the house, a fabric/garment SU-DA-AB, a fabric/a garment LAM-LAM, a guzguzu" (lines 16-17). The text ABL 866 records

**<sup>8</sup>** By way of comparison, the heaviest religious cloth (fabric or garment) at Sippar, the *lubāru*, weighed twenty minas, according to S. Zawadzki, *Garments of the Gods*, *Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to the texts from the Ebabbar Archive*, OBO 218, Fribourg, 2006, p. 88-89.

**<sup>9</sup>** F. Joannès, *op. cit.*, p.74, note that the *kirku* is originally a roll of papyrus according to the AHw 468a, but that it also means a garment, quoted in the *Practical Vocabulary of Aššur* (glosed *ki-ir-ku*). The *kirku* is mentioned with the *quzquzu* in the two marriage contracts TBER 93-94 and Nbk 369.

how a high dignitary of Nippur was abandoned by his escort on his way. He had to deliver an order of the king about the intercalation of a thirteenth month in the year. The guzguzu is listed among his baggage: "his harness (and) [his …] were tied together. There were in it a guzguzu and a naṣbatu garment". The guzguzu pertains here to the set of fabrics and garments of a royal agent.

On the one hand, this textile seems to be used for furniture in religious contexts. On the other hand, it appears as a garment or a fabric in the secular lists of textile. Nevertheless, one can deduce from this double use that the *guzguzu* is not cut and sewn with such features as sleeves for example. Its shape should be sufficiently standardized to be adapted for these different uses.

The guzguzu was a valuable textile, because it merited inclusion in the marriage contracts where daily clothes are not registered. Indeed, the guzguzu was decorated with dyed wool, a precious material. In the texts YBC 3941 and YBC 3819, it is the first textile item to be listed. In BM 29711, the guzguzu is the penultimate in the list; here, the scribe ranks the garments starting with underwear and finishing by outerwear.

The guzguzu should therefore be considered an expensive and heavy cloth, sometimes decorated with red wool. It can be used as a covering for a chariot or a throne in religious ceremonies. It seems also be worn as a coat by rich notables and royal agents. But in most of the texts, one cannot determine what its usage was. The fact that this term appears at the same time in religious and secular context is remarkable because the terminology in such contexts was usually different. All the eight texts mentioning the guzguzu come from different cities (Uruk, Sippar, Nippur and Susa), so this textile was widely known in Babylonia even if, according to the texts preserved, it remained a rare object. The term "guzguzu" exists only during the first millennium BC and reflects the change of textile vocabulary at this time.

**10** Line 5 to 8 see S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the king Esarhadon and Assurbanipal*, AOAT 5/2, Neukirchener Verlag, 1983, p. 285 note 525.

```
ù lúre-di-ia-ameš
10
            ki-i is-mu-ú lúre-di-ia
            ki-i ú-maš-ši-ru-uš a-na unugki
            it-tal-ku-ni lúre-di-[x]
            [x]-qu ki-i iš-[tap-ru x]
15
            [......][x x x][......]
            [.....]
            i-na kaskal<sup>II</sup> [.....]
1 rev.
            erín-meš ki-i [.....]
            ki-i ú-ba-'a-ú
            ^{gi\S}si-qa-lá-šú ^{gi\S?}[x\ x]
            șe-en-du 1-en túg gu!-uz-gu!-uz<sup>11</sup>
5
            ù 1-en túg na-aș-ba-tu
            i-na lìb-bi a-du-ú
            lúre-di-ia lúnibruki-meš
            šá ú-maš-ši-ru-uš
            iṣ-šu<sup>II</sup>-meš ki-i ad-du[-ú]
            a-na lugal bé-lí-ia al-ſtap ŀ-[ra]
10
            lugal en-a a-ki-i šá i-le-['u li-pu-uš]
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"[..........] for the king [........] I pray every day Bēlti-ša-Uruk and Nanaia, for the good health of the king, my lord. Arad-Nanaia, the *qurrubutu*, by the hands of whom the king, my lord, had sent a sealed document about an intercalary month, he was on the road to Nippur, [...] when the escort men panicked and abandoned him. They came back to Uruk. [...]

On the way [...] the soldiers, when [...], as they examined, his harness (and) [his ...] were tied together. There were in it a *guzguzu* and a *naṣbatu* garment. Now, I have bounded in fetters the escort men and the men of Nippur who had abandoned him, and I [have written] to the king, my lord. May the king, my lord, [decide] what to do".

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BE 8 154 (NB; Central Babylonia)
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    1 obv. 1 gur še-bar 3 udu-nitá šar-tu<sub>4</sub> síg<sup>hi-a</sup> síg.ta-bar-ri tuq-qu-nu-a-tu<sub>4</sub> hur-da-tu<sub>4</sub> a-šá-gu ab-lu!-tu<sub>4</sub>
    5 la-ar-du a-di-iš-šú áš-tu<sub>4</sub> giš hašhur giš pèš giš nu-úr-ma giš geštin lu!-te-e šá (giš) hašhur 12
    5 bán im ú.sal.la i<sub>7</sub>
    30 gi-izi-lá 1+en gu-un gi-meš qal-pu-tu
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- **11** According to AHw/III, p. 948, "rakusrakus ABL 866 rev. 5 reads túggu!-uz-gu!-uz".
- **12** Lines 6-8 are quoted by B. Landsberger, "The Date Palm and its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources", AfO Beih.17, Graz, 1967, p. 17.

10 sik-kat šá mar-tu-ú lu-pu-ſú¹ duh-làl uzu-gu₄ uzu-udu-nitá 15 uzu-mušen ku<sub>6</sub> lo. e. 5 gín ba-ru!-un-du 1 gín ti-me-tu₄ rev. šá síghi-a a-par-[ra]-tu, ù šar-tu₄ šá ú-ni-qu 1+en kap-ri ha? x meš 20 1 {ú} gi-dùg.ga 1+et sig<sub>4</sub> eš-še-tu<sub>4</sub> 1+en šu-gar-ru-ú šá el-pe-tu₄ 3 qu-uz-qu-zu 1+en túg-gada ana ugu gišgu-zameš 25 ți-me-tú ana ma-li-e šá gišgu-za<sup>meš</sup> 1+et sip-pa-ri ud.ka.bar [1+et] na<sub>4</sub>-gug kup-pu-ut-tu<sub>4</sub> sum.sar

"One gur of barley, three sheep, one fleece (with its) wool, red-purple wool in order, one dried ašagu bar, lardu-grass, adiššu-plant, one branch each of apple tree, fig-tree, pomegranate, and vine, twigs of apple wood, five sūtu of clay from the bank of the river, thirty torches, one talent of peeled reed, ten wooden pegs martū<sup>13</sup>, līpu-tallow, wax, beef flesh, male sheep flesh, bird flesh, fish, five shekels of coloured wool, one talent of thread, of matted wool? and of young goat fleece, one kapru-tray?, one [...], one aromatic reed, one new brick, a basket full of alfa, three guzguzu, one linen fabric for the covering of the throne, thread for the padding of the throne, one bronze sipparu, one carnelian block, (a clove) of garlic."

## UCP 9/II 12 (Nbk 12 XI 16; Uruk) 53 gín dul-lu šá {a-na} síg tab-bar-ri šá a-na 1 túg guz-guz šá muh-hi šu-ub!-ti šá <sup>giš</sup>gigir 1 ma-na síg ta-bar-ri 5 šá in!-za!-hu-re-e-ti ½ ma-na síg ta-bar-ri šá <sup>giš</sup>gigir-me pap 2 ma-na 23 gín <sup>Id</sup>dùg.ga-unug<sup>ki</sup> u <sup>Id</sup>na-na-a-kam 10 lú uš-bar-meš mah-ru u ina $\S u^{II}$ - $\S ú$ -nu a-na tin-tir $^{ki}$ šu-bu-ul iti zíz u4 12-kam mu 16-kam <sup>d</sup>nà-níg-du-uri<sub>3</sub> lugal tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>

**13** 13) CAD M1 "martû", p. 300.

"Fifty-three shekels (for) the work of red-purple wool intended for a guzguzu covering the base of the chariot, one mina of red-purple wool (dyed with <code>inzaḫurētu</code>), one half mina of red-purple wool pertaining to the chariots, a total of two minas and twenty-three shekels, were received from Ṭāb-Uruk and Nanaia-ereš, the weavers, and were delivered by them to Babylon. Month Šabattu, twelfth day, sixteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon".

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**14** For the use of *maḥāru* in the Eanna archive, see Jursa, *Neo-Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents, Typology, Contents and Archives*, GMTR 1, Münster 2005, p. 46.