

Outward Appearance *versus* Inward Significance

Addressing Identities
through Attire in
the Ancient World

Edited by
Aleksandra
Hallmann

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ISAC SEMINARS • NUMBER 15

OUTWARD APPEARANCE
VERSUS
INWARD SIGNIFICANCE



Seminar participants.

Left to right, top row: Benjamin R. Foster, Jana Mynářová, Laura Gawlinski, Margarita Gleba; second row: Claudia Brittenham, Megan Cifarelli, Robert K. Ritner, Jean Evans; third row: Emily Teeter, Ran Boytner, Margaret C. Miller; fourth row: Petra Goedegebuure, Marie-Louise Nosch, Ursula Rothe, Allison Thomason, Brian Muhs; bottom row: Catherine Witt, Tasha Vorderstrasse, Aleksandra Hallmann, Rita P. Wright, Ann C. Gunter.

Photo by Charissa Johnson.

OUTWARD APPEARANCE VERSUS INWARD SIGNIFICANCE ADDRESSING IDENTITIES THROUGH ATTIRE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

Edited by

Aleksandra Hallmann

with contributions by

HANS BARNARD, RAN BOYTNER, CLAUDIA BRITTENHAM, VICKI CASSMAN,
MEGAN CIFARELLI, BENJAMIN R. FOSTER, LAURA GAWLINSKI, MARGARITA GLEBA,
ALEKSANDRA HALLMANN, KATARZYNA KAPIEC, MARGARET C. MILLER,
BRIAN MUHS, JANA MYNÁŘOVÁ, MARIE-LOUISE NOSCH, ROBERT K. RITNER,
URSULA ROTHE, ALLISON THOMASON, TASHA VORDERSTRASSE,
MAGDALENA M. WOZNIAK, AND ELSA YVANEZ

and responses by

ANN C. GUNTER, BRIAN MUHS, AND RITA P. WRIGHT

Papers from the postdoctoral seminar

“Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities
through Attire in the Ancient World”

held at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago
March 1–2, 2018

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ISAC SEMINARS • NUMBER 15

Library of Congress Control Number: 2025934813
ISBN-13 (paperback): 978-1-61491-127-2
ISBN-13 (Adobe PDF): 978-1-61491-128-9
ISBN-13 (Adobe Digital Editions): 978-1-61491-129-6

Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
of the University of Chicago

ISAC Seminars
continuing
Oriental Institute Seminars

© 2025 The University of Chicago.
All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America.

Publication of this volume was made possible through generous funding
from the Arthur and Lee Herbst Research and Education Fund.

Series Editor
Andrew Baumann

with the assistance of
Connie Gundry Tappy

Cover Illustration
Collage of dress elements from objects in the ISAC Museum, Chicago, and Nubian Museum,
Aswan (see Introduction). Based on a concept of Charissa Johnson used for the
2018 seminar poster and program.

Cover Design
Kevin Quach

Layout
PerfecType, Nashville, TN

The paper used in this publication meets the requirements of
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper). ∞

Table of Contents

<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	vii
Introduction: Approaches to Addressing Identities through Dress in the Ancient World	1
<i>Aleksandra Hallmann</i>	
 PART I: CLOTHING AND IMPERIAL IDENTITY	
1. Dress and Empire in the Ancient Americas	27
<i>Claudia Brittenham</i>	
2. “Silver for Clothing . . .”: Textiles and Diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age Near East	71
<i>Jana Mynářová</i>	
3. Changing Textiles—Shifting Identities? The Transformation of Dress Practices in Gebel Adda, Late Antique Nubia	87
<i>Magdalena M. Wozniak and Elsa Yvanez</i>	
4. Regional Dress in the Imperial Rhetoric of Achaemenid Persia: Subjective (Identity) and Objective (Ascription) Processes	157
<i>Margaret C. Miller</i>	
 PART II: DISTINCTIVE, ASSOCIATIVE, AND TRANSFORMATIVE FUNCTIONS OF DRESS	
5. Dress and Undress in the Akkadian Period	187
<i>Benjamin R. Foster</i>	
6. The So-Called Persian Costume in Late Period Egypt Revisited	203
<i>Aleksandra Hallmann</i>	
7. Clothing as a Marker of Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Libyans	235
<i>Robert K. Ritner, with minor contributions by Foy Scalf</i>	
8. Dress in Rome’s Northern Provinces	259
<i>Ursula Rothe</i>	

PART III: CONSTRUCTION OF CULTIC AND RELIGIOUS DRESS

9. Divinely Royal: Garments of Kings and Priests in Ancient Greece,
with Comparisons from the Ancient Near East and the Levant. 279
Marie-Louise Nosch
10. “A Religion without Priests”? Dressing the Dynamic Identities
of Greek Religious Personnel 319
Laura Gawlinski
11. The Phenomenology and Sensory Experience of Dress in Mesopotamia
and the Ancient Near East. 335
Allison Thomason
12. The Hasanlu Lion Pins and Communal Identity: The Case for Empathy
in Interpretation 357
Megan Cifarelli
13. The Color of Cloth as a Transformative Marker of Identity in
Ancient Egyptian Temple Rituals. 385
Katarzyna Kapiec

PART IV: TEXTILES AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF DRESS

14. Textile Cultures of Mediterranean Europe in the Early First Millennium BCE:
Technology, Tradition, Aesthetics, and Identity. 419
Margarita Gleba
15. Wearing Wealth: Cloth and Clothing as Currency in Ancient Egypt 443
Brian Muhs
16. Identity Based on Coptic Textile Terminology in Late Antique Egypt 457
Tasha Vorderstrasse
17. Textile Dye Technology in Prehistoric Northern Chile. 483
Hans Barnard, Ran Boytner, and Vicki Cassman

PART V: RESPONSES

18. Looking at, Trying on, and Giving Away Other People’s Clothes. 511
Ann C. Gunter
19. Perspectives on Clothing and Identity in the Ancient World. 531
Brian Muhs
20. Understanding the Material World: Weaving, Dress, and Meaning. 533
Rita P. Wright
- Index*. 549

Preface and Acknowledgments

The volume is the result of the fourteenth annual postdoctoral fellow seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World,” held March 1–2, 2018, at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) of the University of Chicago.¹ The seminar aimed to create a venue for an engaging debate about the cross-culturally developed role of dress in construing and projecting various identities. It gathered experts from diverse disciplines, broadly defined as art history; anthropology; archaeology of the ancient Near East, Mediterranean, and ancient Americas; classics; Near Eastern studies; and conservation, to approach the subject from different angles and to cross disciplinary boundaries.

The book contains twenty contributions prepared by twenty-three authors. In keeping with the seminar’s interdisciplinary aim, the chapters here are not organized chronologically or geographically but instead are gathered into four thematic parts, with a fifth part containing three responses. Most of the studies in this volume were presented at the conference, but a few were added to broaden the scope of the topic. Scholars applied various theoretical approaches and methodological strategies, but all of them concentrated on dress-related studies within a wide geographic and chronological spectrum. In doing so, they took us on a journey through the revealing world of ancient dress in places such as North Africa, West Asia, the Mediterranean world, parts of Europe, and the ancient Americas.

The seminar and the publication of the present volume would not have been possible without the support of many people. First, I warmly thank Christopher Woods, Gil Stein, James Gurchek, Petra Goedegebuure, and the entire ISAC postdoctoral committee for their interest in this topic that resulted in the organization of the seminar and the publication of this volume. Generous funding for this event was provided by ISAC, as well as its esteemed patrons Arthur and Lee Herbst. The logistical arrangements were achieved largely thanks to the constant support of Mariana Perlinac. I am grateful to Polina Kasian, D’Ann Yoder Condes, Nate Francia, and volunteer Catherine Witt, who in various ways helped organize this event, as well as to Knut Boehmer, who was of inestimable help with all technical matters during the entire conference. I wish also to thank the chairs of the different sessions—Janet Johnson, Susanne Paulus, and Emily Teeter—who kept us on topic and on schedule and asked stimulating questions. Much gratitude is due to Jean Evans and Kiersten Neumann for their engaging introduction to the ISAC Museum collection. In addition, I offer my thanks to previous postdoctoral fellows Miriam Müller, Stephanie Rost, and Ilona Zsolnay, who were always eager to share their experiences and provide much-needed input.

From the time the conference was held in March 2018 until the time this book was published, the world was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic. During these years ISAC also

¹ For a report on the seminar, see Hallmann 2018.

witnessed changes, and, regrettably, we saw the sad passing of contributors to this volume. In 2020 we learned of the loss of Vicki Cassman, professor at the University of Delaware, who passed away on August 6. The following year, the ISAC community mourned professor Robert K. Ritner, who left us on July 25, 2021. As editor of this volume, I am deeply honored that their legacies will be commemorated in this book. Let me again extend my hearty thanks to all the participants, who stimulated inspiring discussion and created an exceptional atmosphere during the event and who stayed on board through turbulent times, including the extended process of publishing the seminar's proceedings. All of them prepared truly outstanding and inspiring contributions to the present volume, which has been enriched by the inclusion of three additional essays.

The preparation of manuscripts would have been impossible without the assistance of the ISAC editorial office and its consecutive managing editors—Tom Urban, Charissa Johnson, and Andrew Baumann—who provided editorial support for the conference and the book's publication. Huge thanks are due to Charissa Johnson, for designing the stunning poster and conference program and for taking photos during the seminar (including the group photo on page ii), and to Andrew Baumann, current managing editor of ISAC publications, who was essential to the book's smooth production process. I also warmly thank Johannes Weninger for allowing me to publish his painting *Carrying Tutankhamun* in this volume.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Petra Goedegebuure, director of the postdoctoral program, for being a wonderful mentor, as well as all my colleagues at ISAC for sharing their experience and knowledge and for creating a friendly and inspiring atmosphere.

Aleksandra Hallmann

Introduction: Approaches to Addressing Identities through Dress in the Ancient World

Aleksandra Hallmann
Polish Academy of Sciences

... The crown has outlasted the head.
The hand has lost out to the glove.
The right shoe has defeated the foot.

As for me, I am still alive, you see.
The battle with my dress still rages on.
It struggles, foolish thing, so stubbornly!
Determined to keep living when I'm gone!
—Wisława Szymborska, *Museum*

THE IMAGE ON the cover of this book is a collage of various clothing items, taken out of context from objects in museum collections, principally that of the University of Chicago's Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, to visualize metaphorically the role of dress in expressing identity. The collage was made from a fragment of dress represented on an Egyptian statue (ISACM E10618) dated to c. 2414–2347 BCE, an Egyptian faience tile from Medinet Habu depicting a Nubian prisoner (Nubian Museum JE 36457H) dated to c. 946–715 BCE, an Egyptian stela (ISACM E1351) dated to c. 946–715 BCE, a Sumerian statue from Tell Asmar in Iraq (ISACM A12332) dated to c. 2700–2600 BCE, and an Assyrian relief from Dur-Sharrukin (ISACM A7368) dated to c. 721–705 BCE. The collage visualizes the theme of the seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World,”¹ a topic that, on the most basic level, is pertinent to all of us, since the role of dress in identity formation today is similar in many respects to that in the ancient world. Then and now, clothing, an ordinary appurtenance of day-to-day life, has a significance much greater than merely providing protection from the elements. The role of dress in creating and projecting various identities is the leitmotif of this volume, which takes us on a journey through the revealing world of dress in places such as the ancient Near East and North Africa, West Asia, the Mediterranean world, parts of Europe, and the ancient Americas.

1 For a report on the seminar, see Hallmann 2018.

DRESSING IDENTITY

Dress as a universal human phenomenon plays a fundamental role in personal perception. As a powerful tool in communication on a nonverbal level, it is a visible expression of a person's identity.² But how does dress communicate? The communication properties of dress have been widely recognized by scholars, but it was French semiotician Roland Barthes who proposed that clothes can be understood as a system of signs that form a type of language.³ This semiotic approach to dress studies was questioned by American anthropologist Grant McCracken, who argued that clothing, unlike language, cannot communicate new messages, since it lacks a grammatical structure, but instead is a closed "conservative code" revealing a certain and unchanged message.⁴ Thus, even though he rejects dress as a language metaphor, he stresses dress's cultural values.

Although it is no longer considered a language, dress serves as a nonverbal communication tool,⁵ a system of signs helping one navigate social interactions and situating one within a group or society.⁶ Some authors even argue that dress frequently precedes verbal communication in forming an individual's identity.⁷ However, the message dress conveys is very specific to a given culture or group, and the awareness of this condition seems to be the predicate to comprehending dress's meaning. Thus dress, which by its outward appearance aims to communicate many messages, may be perceived on various levels and lead to numerous understandings of its inward significance. But equally important is how dress is defined. The concept of dress as "an assemblage of modifications to the body and/or supplements to the body," proposed by American anthropologists Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne B. Eicher, is currently the most influential in the conceptual framework of dress studies.⁸ This very broad and neutral definition of dress allows for cross-cultural research. It changes the focus from material things—garments that clothe the body—to the body itself and all possible experiences connected with dressing and adornments, including a phenomenological approach to the dressed body. The body seems, then, to be central,⁹ and the meaning of a piece of clothing changes the moment it is worn, for it becomes associated with its wearer.

Having established the basic definition of dress and the way it communicates, the crucial questions for the present volume are *what* dress communicates and, most relevant here, *how* an inward significance of dress manifests in outward appearance. As in the present day, the selection of clothing and its layers in the ancient world constituted a way of affirming and construing not only individual identity but also group identity, which can

2 Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992, 1.

3 Barthes 1990. A similar approach was adopted by Lurie (1981). See also the theoretical discussion in Skov and Melchior 2008, 8; Lee 2015, 20–24.

4 McCracken 1987, 120.

5 Lee 2015, 23.

6 Joseph 1986; Stig Sørensen 1997, 93.

7 Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992, 17.

8 Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992, 1.

9 Kuper 1973; Cordwell and Schwarz 1979; Entwistle 2000.

overlap in many ways.¹⁰ Thus, for example, in the present volume Marie-Louise Nosch asks whether royal and priestly attires in ancient Greece express “their divided or unified functions” (chapter 9), and Laura Gawlinski inquires what priestly identity was in ancient Greece and how it manifested in priests’ dress (chapter 10).

In terms of social impact, dress can include or exclude an individual from a certain group, thereby playing a part in acculturation or assimilation. It does not happen unconsciously but relates to how people appear to one other, since an appearance is usually directed toward a given group.¹¹ These issues are tackled by Benjamin R. Foster (chapter 5), who argues that Akkadian elite distinguished themselves by a newly fashioned form of dress, and by Margaret C. Miller (chapter 4), who observes that the detailed representation of foreign delegations in the Apadana reliefs in Persepolis was purposely done to allow the viewer to recognize various ethnicities that formed the Achaemenid Empire.

However, it is crucial to be aware of the limitations of our interpretations, since only an observer familiar with a particular sociocultural context and understanding of the non-verbal messages that its dress conveys can ascertain what dress may reveal about the ethnicity, beliefs, social rank, profession, gender, and age of the wearer. Moreover, the message encoded in the multiple layers of the clothed body allows for many levels of communication and will be read differently by various observers.¹² As a thought-provoking example, I decided to include here a modern painting depicting a man carrying the bust of the famous boy-king Tutankhamun (see page 4).¹³ The man is an Egyptian worker of the 1920s who carries the statue of the king of his ancestors. The dress of both figures, the textiles that were used to wrap the bust (and that perhaps once served as the pharaoh’s clothes), the environment, and the fact that they are represented by a modern artist evoke an open interpretation about the multifaceted roles of dress in creating and projecting various identities, but also stress the complex role of interpreters.

The sociocultural approach to dress is relatively new to the study of dress in the ancient world. Until recently, studies of clothing in antiquity were pursued mostly from the point of view of construction and draping. Gradually, an interdisciplinary approach that also included textile technology and fiber types was introduced, while studies concerning the social meaning of dress and its wider context continued to be neglected.¹⁴ A milestone in the study of ancient dress in this framework was a seminar organized in 1988 titled “The Religious, Social, and Political Significance of Roman Dress,” the proceedings of which were published in 1994.¹⁵ From this time onward, more studies of the social meanings of attire in antiquity began to appear, and the results have been

¹⁰ Stig Sørensen 1997, 93–95; Lee 2015, 27.

¹¹ Stig Sørensen 1997, 95.

¹² Joseph 1986.

¹³ The painting *Carrying Tutankhamun* was created in 2022 by the modern artist Johannes Weninger to celebrate the centennial of the discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb. I warmly thank the artist for kindly allowing me to reproduce his painting in this book. For the historical document that inspired the artist, see Riggs 2019, 156, fig. 5.8.

¹⁴ Lee 2015, 1–19.

¹⁵ Sebesta and Bonfante 1994.



← *Carrying Tutankhamun*, 2022 (acrylic on canvas, 60 × 45 cm; in a private collection), by Johannes Weninger. The painting depicts an Egyptian workman of the 1920s carrying the statue of another Egyptian, who happens to be the king of his ancestors, the famous boy-king Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 60722). The clothes of both men, including the fabrics that were likely used to wrap the statue and that possibly once served as the pharaoh's clothes, are thought-provoking examples of how open to interpretation the role of dress is in creating and projecting various identities, and they also highlight the role of the observer in interpreting them.

In the words of the artist:¹⁶ “I found it inspiring to see a contemporary Egyptian carrying the bust of the king of his ancestors. I felt as if historic boundaries had blurred and no longer existed. The photograph that was possibly taken by Arthur Mace and published in a recent book by Christina Riggs, *Photographing Tutankhamun*, served as the inspiration for this painting. It originally had more figures, but I chose to paint just one, and the bust, to show the almost intimate relationship of a man and the bust of the king.

“By painting this scene, I wanted to capture the long-lasting relation between people who have lived, and still live, among Luxor's ancient ruins, tombs, and temples. The people who are the descendants of ancient Egypt. Looking at the various depictions of Tutankhamun I constantly see the faces of my colleagues and neighbors with whom I share my life in Luxor.”

published and presented at various thematic conferences.¹⁷ Initially, the focus was on ancient Rome and Greece, whereas other regions, such as the Near East and Egypt, were underrepresented or neglected. This situation is gradually changing. The entire discipline of dress studies is growing (see below) and now also includes studies on ancient textiles and dress.¹⁸ Scholars who focus on areas other than the Greco-Roman world more frequently participate in the dialogue about the sociocultural meanings of dress in the ancient world.¹⁹ Thus, the role of dress in the construction of identities has become widely recognized among scholars.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF DRESS AND FASHION STUDY

The study of dress and fashion study developed into a separate, multidisciplinary field by the last decades of the twentieth century.²⁰ The various backgrounds of the scholars interested in this field are also reflected in different methodological approaches. To some extent, each historical period—because of its specific needs and the availability of primary sources—requires an individualized methodology.²¹ Two general approaches are usually

16 <https://sites.google.com/view/johannesweninger/paintings>. Accessed March 11, 2025.

17 For some conferences, see, e.g., Cleland, Harlow, and Llewellyn-Jones 2005; Harlow 2012; Zimi and Tzachili 2012. Note also the entire Ancient Textiles series, a collaboration of the Centre for Textile Research of Copenhagen University and Oxbow Books, that by 2023 had produced forty-one volumes.

18 There are separate societies; e.g., the Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens in France and the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research in Copenhagen, as well as various networks that center on ancient textiles and dress studies; see Brøns and Harris 2021, 13.

19 E.g., Cifarelli and Gawlinski 2017; Cifarelli 2019.

20 Skov and Melchior 2008, 3, 9; Harlow and Nosch 2014, 1–3; Lee 2015, 19.

21 Various methodological trajectories in dress study are presented in Taylor 2002; 2004, 279–310. A summary of methodologies in dress and textiles study in the Greco-Roman world is offered in Harlow and Nosch 2014. And contemporary dress theory in the framework of studying ancient Greek dress is presented in Lee 2015, 1–32.

distinguished in the study of dress. The first approach, the “study of dress and costume / history of dress,” focuses on the artifact by dealing with its workmanship, style, and type to situate it within a historical context. Such studies lead to new insights into the materiality of clothing, workmanship, and technological aspects based on the given objects or group of objects, which include works of art, textile remains, and the like. The second approach, “fashion studies / fashion theory,” which has emerged in the past few decades, is more theoretically oriented. It focuses on abstract concepts or principles that can be applied to a larger context or phenomenon in which the objects in question existed. Objects serve only as a visualization, an articulation, or sometimes a challenge to the theoretical framework of these research methods.²²

The ongoing discourse can be described as a dialogue between the values of an artifact-centered approach versus a culture-centered approach.²³ This has been the case historically; the early historiography of dress focused heavily on the artifacts themselves and mostly dealt with reconstructions of ancient dress based on visual representations and, more recently, on material remains. Objects served as the sources for such reconstructions, leading to general statements regarding the shape of ancient dress. More recently, dress has been analyzed in a sociocultural framework,²⁴ and this trend has applied also to scholars studying ancient dress.²⁵

The role of an object or artifact in both approaches was recently studied by Italian cultural historian Giorgio Riello, who argues that both approaches are a discourse between “(material) object” and “(immaterial) idea” in which a deductive approach confronts an inductive one.²⁶ Thus, in the “study of dress and costume / history of dress,” an object-based analysis leads to abstract interpretations, whereas in “fashion studies / fashion theory” the analysis starts with abstract ideas that are applied to particular object-oriented case studies.²⁷ The present trend in dress studies is to find a middle ground between both approaches. Riello presents an attempt to merge an artifact-oriented methodology with a theoretical approach by using material-culture theory.²⁸ He argues that material culture, which he defines as the “attribution of meaning to objects by the people who produce, use, consume, sell and collect them,” can serve as a platform to blend both approaches, since it incorporates technical and purely data-driven study with the object’s cultural meaning. Riello coined the expression “the material culture of fashion,” where an artifact is analyzed equally from abstract and material points of view, so the materiality of the object is questioned from the point of view of the object’s maker as well as its consumer. This approach,

²² Taylor 2004, 279ff.; Riello 2011.

²³ Skov and Melchior 2008, 9–11.

²⁴ Skov and Melchior 2008.

²⁵ Cleland, Harlow, and Llewellyn-Jones 2005, xii–xiii; Harlow and Nosch 2014; Lee 2015.

²⁶ Riello 2011, 2–3.

²⁷ Riello 2011, 2.

²⁸ Different methodological approaches to studying the history of dress have been analyzed by Lou Taylor (cf. Taylor 2002, 2004). The application of methodological trajectories is developed in a chapter of Taylor’s titled “The Marriage of New Dress History and New Museology Approaches” (Taylor 2004, 279–310). Those methods from the point of view of “the role of object in the history of fashion and dress” are discussed in Riello 2011.

which relies heavily on the theory of material culture,²⁹ is very relevant for research on ancient cultures because the materiality and agency of an object are important aspects of that discipline. It also refers to the concept of dress used in nonverbal communication, discussed above, that works only within a given social context.

The social and cultural meaning of dress reconstructed from material remains must take into consideration that an object's meaning changes depending on the circumstances of its use and reuse. According to the theory of the cultural biography of things, the cultural connotations of an artifact shift.³⁰ The same object, for example, may lose the status of a commodity and acquire a different cultural meaning, thus gaining its own cultural biography. Until the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, textiles were expensive commodities, and thus their longevity and constant reuse are a good example of a cultural biography of things—in this instance, a garment or textile. Organic remains of textiles are the main source for understanding the patterns of their use and reuse, since such information is difficult to gain from other kinds of evidence.³¹ Ancient Egypt, for example, provides many examples of textiles that were reused for various purposes. The wraparound nature of most Egyptian garments allowed the same textile item to be wrapped around different parts of a body and thus to fulfill various functions. The same item of cloth could be worn, for instance, as a dress or a cloak. This practice is similar to the modern usage of a *kanga* in Africa, where the same item of cloth serves not only as various garments but also, for example, as a sling for a baby.³² In ancient Egypt, clothing and textiles used during a lifetime were frequently reused for wrapping objects in tombs and for wrapping the mummified body. The act of wrapping had the symbolic function of protecting; thus, the secular function of the same garment changed to a ritual one.³³

DRESS AS AN ARTIFACT, DRESS AS AN IMAGE, DRESS IN TEXTS

All the aforementioned approaches to the study of dress utilize various kinds of primary sources, such as artifacts, images, and texts,³⁴ and these categories relate to what Barthes distinguished in his book *The Fashion System* as “image-clothing,” “written clothing,” and “real clothing.”³⁵ Even though his distinction is based on modern fashion, it shows the discrepancy and limitation of these sources if they are each taken into consideration individually. The types of available primary sources may vary depending on the historical period or periods under study. In addition, not all artifacts can be treated as archaeological remains,

29 See, e.g., two seminal articles by Jules Prown about methods and theory in material culture (Prown 1982, 1996). The application of the material-culture theory in dress studies is a subject of numerous investigations; for some recent approaches, see, e.g., Küchler and Miller 2005; Crane and Bovone 2006; Auslander 2014.

30 Kopytoff 1986.

31 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 12.

32 The comparison of the *kanga*'s and other modern garments' function to that of Egyptian clothing is discussed in Hallmann 2023a, esp. 40, 51–52, 68.

33 The function of wrapping and unwrapping in ancient Egypt is discussed in Riggs 2014, 19–32.

34 Lou Taylor, for example, categorizes the application of various types of sources as different methodological approaches; see Taylor 2002, *passim*.

35 Barthes 1990, 3–5.

and visual sources such as paintings, statues, and reliefs can be included in the artifacts category. Not all types of visual sources are available in every epoch, and this is especially true of modern imaging techniques, such as photography and film. Finally, different types of primary sources pervade the methodological approaches and analytical frameworks appropriate for different disciplines, such as art history, archaeology, anthropology, cultural studies, and linguistics. The contributors to the present volume usually use more than one kind of evidence to draw a more comprehensive picture.

Figurative art offers numerous opportunities for analyzing dress and the clothed self, but, like all kinds of sources, it has its limitations. Clothes represented in any artistic medium are governed by artistic conventions and by the skill of the artist. Artistic evidence can illuminate but also obscure the represented garments; it is often debated whether the artist drew on firsthand experience or used various kinds of templates, and to what extent the artistic creation represents reality and a snapshot of dress at a given time or is a selection of elements chosen to create the desired image. Thus, it is a challenge to recognize in iconographic sources whether an evolving image reflects actual differences in fashion or hearkens back to noble tradition. It could even be treated as a fashion anachronism and called “fossilized fashion,” or it might mirror different artistic conventions. Consequently, one wonders to what extent figurative art reflects changes in social customs or economic situations. In either case, there is no doubt that the created image was understandable by the viewer for whom it was created and who was able to comprehend the message the dress conveyed.

A prevailing position of visual material in dress studies has been well captured by English fashion historian Aileen Ribeiro: “The visual arts are the reflection of human history, and carry far more complex intellectual baggage than the actual garments themselves, or the documentary evidence of accounts, invoices and laundry lists. In a work of art, more of the whole picture of clothed humanity is literally revealed; we can see details of the clothes themselves, how they ‘work’ on the body, and what they signify with regard not just to sex, age and class, but to status and cultural aspirations.”³⁶ And indeed, this category of sources prevails in the study of dress; in this volume, visual sources were used by all the contributors of chapters 1–17 at least to some extent.

There is no doubt visual sources are crucial for understanding how clothes were worn on the body and with what accessories. This is especially relevant for cultures in which clothes were draped rather than tailored, such as those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome.³⁷ However, to be able to interpret figurative art, one needs to recognize the garment to contextualize it properly. And it is central to keep in mind that those draped clothes are textiles that are seen on the dressed body and that their appearance may differ when analyzed in two versus three dimensions. Recognition of this fact has led to comparative analyses of depicted dress in various artistic media but also in relation to preserved textiles. Such an approach is, in many situations, fruitful because figurative art and preserved textiles appear to correspond whenever such comparisons are possible.³⁸ Thus, the parallel study of preserved textiles and figurative art can help one both better understand the artistic

36 Ribeiro 1998, 320.

37 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 12; Hallmann 2017; Brøns and Harris 2021.

38 Brøns and Harris 2021, 11; Hallmann 2023a, esp. 43–67.

representation governed by various artistic conventions and contextualize the preserved organic material. For example, comparative analysis of the dress remains of Central Asian nomads—for instance, those presumably of Sakas or related ethnic groups found in the Is-
syk kurgan in Kazakhstan—matches the attire represented on the walls of the Achaemenid Apadana at Persepolis, where Sakas are depicted among the foreign delegations to the Persian king (see also Miller, chapter 4, on the Apadana reliefs).³⁹

The prevalence of visual sources when studying dress in ancient times is obviously dependent on the preservation of organic remains. While some areas allow various kinds of primary sources to be investigated, others do not. This holds especially true for organic material such as textiles, which are prone to decomposition in some environmental conditions.⁴⁰ And while dress, for example, can be analyzed via figurative art and organic remains in ancient Egypt or Sudan,⁴¹ it is more challenging in other regions of the Mediterranean, where textiles do not preserve well.⁴² The striking disproportion is also observed in the preservation of textiles from northern and southern Europe: those from the north are surprisingly well preserved in comparison to “scraps and threads” from the south.⁴³ The abundance of information one can gain when studying fragmentary textiles is represented in this volume by Margarita Gleba (chapter 14), who focuses on textile fragments from first-millennium CE Mediterranean Europe. Textiles serve also as the starting point for the investigation by Magdalena M. Wozniak and Elsa Yvanez (chapter 3), who focus on well-preserved organic material from medieval Nubia.

The developing body of evidence furnished by ongoing studies of ancient textiles in the past few decades allows us to benefit fully from the potential of organic material in dress studies.⁴⁴ Studies of textile remains provide insight into the production techniques, *chaîne opératoire*, and economic value of textiles, as well as their social aspects.⁴⁵ And these aspects are presented in two already-mentioned chapters (those by Gleba and by Wozniak and Yvanez), as well as in the chapter by Hans Barnard, Ran Boytner, and Vicki Cassman (chapter 17), which focuses on textiles from northern Chile.

Also important is the complex relationship of textiles to the body itself, since they constitute the clothes chosen to create the clothed self. When analyzed, they cannot be divorced from the context in which they were discovered. They can be investigated on preserved bodies dressed in clothing chosen specifically for burial purposes, such as the mummified remains of the ancient inhabitants of Central Asia.⁴⁶ Such studies can also be conducted on unintentionally preserved remains—for example, the mummy of Iceman Otzi, whose garments are well preserved.⁴⁷ A significant number of textiles have survived from ancient Egypt, where the deceased was not only wrapped in actual garments and

39 Schmidt 1953, pl. 37; Jacobs 2007; Samašev 2007. On Scythian costume as identity, see Gleba 2008.

40 Gleba 2011, 7–9.

41 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993; Hallmann 2023a, 2023b.

42 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 8; Brøns and Harris 2021, 1.

43 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 7.

44 Brøns and Harris 2021, 11.

45 Barber 1991; Gleba 2011; Harlow and Nosch 2014.

46 Menghin et al. 2007.

47 Egg and Spindler 2009.

bandages frequently made of old clothes but also given textiles as burial goods. The best-known examples are the wardrobes of King Tutankhamun⁴⁸ and of the Eighteenth Dynasty architect Kha and his wife, Merit, from Deir el-Medina.⁴⁹ Moreover, the reuse of textiles (a sort of recycling) was a common practice in ancient Egypt, and many pieces of old clothing were used to wrap not only mummified bodies but also statues and sacred objects.⁵⁰ All these practices reflect the cultural and symbolic values that textiles had in ancient Egypt.

Depending on the geographic area and historical phase in question, ancient texts may bring yet another perspective and level of information useful for dress study. Textual sources of various genres—ranging from law collections to inventories to poems—focused on different sets of information and served different purposes, and thus may even present a contradictory image of the dressed body.⁵¹ The production and consumption of textiles and garments in ancient texts is widely recognized and studied, and at the same time, written records are also important for investigating the clothed self. Administrative, economic, and legal texts, for instance, include information about textile prices, trade, distribution, and exchange as gifts, as well as details about the raw materials used in manufacturing, dye recipes, and quality.⁵² In this volume, the Amarna letters and other written sources allow Jana Mynářová (chapter 2) to discuss textiles in gift exchanges in the Late Bronze Age (sixteenth to twelfth centuries BCE), while various genres of written texts allow Brian Muhs (chapter 15) to trace the use of cloth and clothing as a form of currency in Egypt from the third to the early first millennium BCE. A plethora of classical sources is used by Nosch (chapter 9) to investigate power relations in Classical and Hellenistic Greece among priests and kings as expressed by their sartorial choices. She also contrasts that evidence with written sources from Mesopotamia and Israel. Similarly, Allison Thomason (chapter 11) invokes various historical and literary texts from ancient Mesopotamia to study the sensory experiences that dress provided. One of the most famous literary sources is *The Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld*, in which the undressing of the goddess Inanna during her journey to the netherworld is a metaphor for her vulnerability and humiliation.

An unequal availability of written sources results in bias when using them versus other evidence. For example, the textile industry of some regions, such as the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, traditionally was studied mostly through textual sources.⁵³ This is also the reason a well-established aspect of clothing studies for the ancient Near East, specifically for ancient Mesopotamia, concerns ancient dress terminology.⁵⁴ Until recently, a similar bias dominated in the field of textile study in the ancient Mediterranean, where literary sources were used as a departure point. For example, there was a notion that “Greek dress consisted primarily of the *chiton*, *peplos*, *himation* and *chlamys*, and that Roman wardrobe primarily of the *toga* for men, and the *tunic*, the *stola* and the *palla* for

48 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1997, 1999.

49 Schiaparelli 2007.

50 Riggs 2014.

51 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 9.

52 Janssen 1975; Gleba 2011, 5.

53 Gleba 2011, 4.

54 E.g., Michel and Nosch 2013.

women.”⁵⁵ But recently the field of dress study has changed this approach; various kinds of evidence are now in play, with the consideration that all kinds of sources have their limits—only their juxtaposition can give a broader understanding of the subject.

Written evidence provides a rich terminology related to the types of garments themselves but also their prices, raw materials, and manufacturing technologies. Among the written sources that offer an abundance of dress-related terminology are the royal archives from third-millennium BCE Ebla;⁵⁶ Papyrus Harris I (BM EA9999,43), dated to the end of the reign of Ramesses III (1186–1155 BCE), and various ostraca from the period;⁵⁷ and Diocletian’s edict of maximum prices from Rome, dated to 301 CE.⁵⁸ However, even though the amount of data is large, many terms are simply unidentified, and some are wrongly recognized or applied too widely.⁵⁹ The problem with translating ancient Egyptian items of clothing is tackled in the present volume by Muhs (chapter 15). One of the main obstacles in studying textiles and clothes in texts is understanding ancient terminology and associating ancient terms with items of clothing/textiles unearthed during excavation or represented in art.⁶⁰ Research in the semantics of terms will not advance without taking into consideration the actual garments and textiles. This is a vital problem, especially for civilizations whose clothes were mostly draped and where a single piece of rectangular fabric could have been worn on many parts of the body. The problem is particularly relevant for ancient Egypt⁶¹ but also for the Greco-Roman world.⁶² In the present volume, the terminological difficulties of correlating terms and archaeologically preserved textiles are discussed by Tasha Vorderstrasse (chapter 16), who focuses on Coptic textile terminology in Egypt.

Some information, such as the already-mentioned terminology, can be grasped only from written sources. But other information can be best obtained from written evidence, such as the prohibition or proscription of using certain fibers or wearing certain clothes. For example, according to Herodotus (2.81.1), wool was prohibited in temples and burials in ancient Egypt, and the Theodosian Code (14.10.2) includes restrictions on wearing trousers in fourth-century Rome.⁶³ Imperial policy toward social control of sartorial habits is investigated also in this volume by Claudia Brittenham (chapter 1), who focuses on the Inca and Aztec empires. The written sources tell us not only what was prohibited but also what was appropriate to wear, and here again Herodotus (2.37.3) claims that Egyptian priests were to wear only linen garments and sandals made of papyrus, while detailed epigraphic material illuminates the regulation of the dress code in Greek sanctuaries.⁶⁴ In

55 Brøns and Harris 2021, 11.

56 Gleba 2011, 4.

57 Janssen 1975, 249–98; 2008.

58 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 15.

59 Janssen 1975, 2008; Michel and Nosch 2013.

60 Harlow and Nosch 2014; Brøns and Harris 2021, 12.

61 Hallmann 2023a, esp. 46–69.

62 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 10.

63 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 9, 14.

64 Gawlinski 2017, 163; Harlow and Nosch 2014, 14 and n. 69.

this volume, the contributions by Nosch (chapter 9) and Gawlinski (chapter 10) both tackle the subject of regulating the priestly dress code in ancient Greece.

One of the most famous ancient Near Eastern dress regulations can be found in the Middle Assyrian Laws (twelfth century BCE), where an unusual paragraph (§40) deals entirely with regulations about wearing a veil (see Thomason, chapter 11). Doing so was a unique privilege of married and unmarried women from the *aʾilu* (free and privileged) class. A veil served as a form of nonverbal marker allowing the viewer to recognize that the woman in question was a member of the *aʾilu* class and therefore under the protection of her husband or father (and, consequently, protected by the law). That status was strictly guarded, and independent women (*ḫarimtu*), concubines, and slave women did not share this privilege and therefore were not allowed to wear veils. The punishments for a low-status woman's wearing a veil were quite severe—they included a beating with rods and the pouring of hot, liquid bitumen over her head (essentially an extremely painful execution performed on the body part that transgressed the regulation).⁶⁵

Bringing all these lines of evidence together—visual, archaeological, and textual—allows the material to be investigated from various new angles, and additionally applying various methodological approaches facilitates a more complete and complex understanding of ancient dress. The different kinds of information provided by the three categories of sources was well summarized by two dress historians, Cecilie Brøns and Susanna Harris, regarding the Roman toga.⁶⁶ This approach is seen in all the chapters in this volume that attempt to analyze various types of primary sources and apply diverse methodologies and analytical frameworks. Nevertheless, regardless of the kind of evidence analyzed, the main obstacle in research is the fragmentary state of preservation of the ancient sources.

The mere layering of various types of evidence does not create interdisciplinarity, however, as dress historians Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch pointed out.⁶⁷ They argued that it is necessary to consider broad patterns in dress evolution that are not confined to a specific time or culture and to ask common, simple questions that are relevant for all of human history. For example, questions that are relevant both today and in antiquity, such as “How was clothing worn and used?” “Who wore it, and when?” and “How was it made?” should be posed. And only these common research questions should be the trigger to cross disciplines and use all possible sources to advance knowledge. A similar approach was adopted in this volume, where the contributors ask questions such as who, when, and why.

Obviously, some methods are more challenging or even impossible in ancient studies. The study of dress in modern societies has the advantage of applying anthropological and sociological methods based on ethnological fieldwork that may give tangible insight into cultural interaction. It is impossible to pursue this approach fully in ancient studies, but the outcome of such modern research can be used as a theoretical framework for investigating ancient dress.⁶⁸ An important method employed in such analysis is ethnoarchaeol-

65 See, e.g., the discussion in Assante 1998, 32–34; Lafont 1999, 461–63. For the standard edition of the Middle Assyrian Laws, see Roth 1995, 167–69.

66 Brøns and Harris 2021, 3.

67 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 12.

68 Rothe 2012.

ogy,⁶⁹ which has not yet been widely applied to the study of ancient attire. In this volume, for example, “ethnohistory” is applied by Brittenham (chapter 1). A philosophical approach recently gaining in popularity in the study of dress—namely, phenomenology—is presented in this volume by Thomason (chapter 11). In this approach, not only is the dressed body central to the investigation,⁷⁰ but also, as Ann C. Gunter (chapter 18) points out, this method takes into account the “physical and sensory dimensions of social interactions around attire, which could involve manipulation of ambient light, sound, and scent.”⁷¹

PRINCIPLES, GOALS, AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE SEMINAR AND PROCEEDINGS

The seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World,” organized at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago in March 2018, aimed to continue a dialogue leading to a multidisciplinary and comparative approach to dress study in the ancient world, one focusing on dress as an analytical tool used to inquire the identity of the wearer. Thus, common research questions asked included “Who wears it?” and “What messages can dress convey about various identities?” The outward versus inward meaning of dress was the leitmotif of the seminar, and it is the leitmotif of this volume as well.

The venue brought together scholars who work on clothing-related studies across a wide geographic and chronological spectrum, all while pursuing common themes in their scholarship. The geographic areas included the ancient Near East and Egypt, the ancient Mediterranean world, some parts of Europe, and the ancient Americas. The authors approached the subject with diverse methodologies and conceptual frameworks, as Rita P. Wright has insightfully summarized: “At the seminar, both strategies were at play: on-the-ground identities and the root causes of the symbolism and social organization associated with them, or the inward mental templates invoked to reveal physical structure and technical knowledge.”⁷²

Most of the studies in this volume were presented at the seminar; however, a few (those of Katarzyna Kapiec, Muhs, and Wozniak and Yvanez) were added to broaden the scope of the topic. The book includes contributions by seventeen authors that are divided into four parts, each of which focuses on a different thematic approach to clothing, and concludes with three responses that comment on the evidence presented. Although the chapters are organized into thematic parts, the fact that the content of many of them could fit into other sections as well only stresses the variety and crossover of approaches and methods used. The main issue linking all sections is the relationship between dress and identity and the attempt to construct a definition of the clothed self by applying multiple trajectories of clothing’s role in the construction of various identities in the ancient world.

69 London 2000.

70 Entwistle 2000. See also the discussion regarding the method’s application in studying ancient Greek dress in Lee 2015, 31–32, as well as examples provided by Gunter in chapter 18 in this volume.

71 Gunter, chapter 18 in this volume.

72 Wright, chapter 20 in this volume.

CLOTHING AND IMPERIAL IDENTITY

Dress influences how we perceive social and culture norms, but also tradition and heritage, a fact that holds as true now as it did in ancient times. Those norms and traditions often originated in a top-down manner, from the ruling class to the rest of society. In many instances, sartorial habits were formed and influenced by the imperial ideology that affected how people dressed and were allowed to dress. Thus, those norms had an impact on how people projected but also comprised their various identities, which in many instances could be collective.⁷³

Brittenham, in her contribution (chapter 1), addresses the imperial policies of empires in the ancient Americas toward dress. She notes that, while expanding their empires, the Aztecs and Incas encountered diversity in dress, and consequently both states extended their control over the sartorial habits of their subjects. For example, they both standardized military uniforms. By forcing conquered populations to wear ethnic dress, they curbed the movement of people of various ethnicities who were supposed to stay within a designated region. After the Spanish conquest, Christian standards of dress were imposed on conquered peoples, yet indigenous people were prohibited from wearing noble Spanish dress.

Mynářová (chapter 2) analyzes the role of garment and textile gifts in diplomatic exchange in the eastern Mediterranean based on correspondence and documents from the Late Bronze Age (sixteenth to twelfth centuries BCE), focusing on the Amarna letters and sources from the Ramesside period. She observes that although Near Eastern kings never required garments and textiles, they were sent by Egyptian rulers as part of bride-wealth inventories and were highly valued by the rulers of Alashiya and Arzawa (neighbors of Hatti). Levantine Egyptian vassals were allowed to use textiles as a form of payment in addition to silver. New Kingdom Egyptians seemingly did not value Near Eastern textiles, although they participated in diplomatic exchanges involving these products with the Aegean region.

The study by Wozniak and Yvanez (chapter 3) focuses on textiles found in Nubia at the site of Gebel Adda. The analysis of preserved textiles and iconography led the authors to trace changes in the sartorial habits of the region's elite from the Late Meroitic period (c. 200–300 CE) to the late medieval era (fifteenth century CE). They observe that Meroitic elite dress, which included a loincloth, apron, and cape, was replaced by the tunic after the fragmentation of the Meroitic kingdom, and that archaeological material sees the introduction of trousers during the Early Christian period. During the late medieval era, Middle Eastern attire consisting of trousers and a coat open at the front was adopted. The changes were accompanied by diversification of weaving techniques and an increase in the number of imported textiles during the medieval era. The authors see these changes as reflecting political and cultural developments in the region.

Miller (chapter 4) analyzes dress and ethnicity in Achaemenid Persia (c. 550–330 BCE). She identifies “sartorial biculturalism” in the funerary monuments of the empire's western Anatolian provinces and contrasts it with a lack of sartorial biculturalism in the representations of foreign delegations depicted in Darius I's Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. At the Persian court during the reign of Darius, two main types of dress coexisted: the court

73 On collective identities, see Gunter, chapter 18 in this volume.

robe and riding dress. Miller notes that in Persian Anatolia, elites were sartorially bicultural and, depending on the situation, could wear dress of a different ethnic origin, often mixing local and Iranian elements. Persian glyptic seems to depict two types of enemies: eastern nomads, who wear riding dress, and western enemies, who wear crested helmets and carry round shields (implying inhabitants of Greece and western Anatolia). Persians called Greeks “Yauna,” a term that also included some western Anatolian peoples, but they were aware of subdivisions within this group, to judge from various epithets of the Yauna in Achaemenid inscriptions. The accuracy with which the Persians depicted the ethnic dress of their subjects confirms the importance of such detail in their visual repertoire. Miller argues that people from different parts of the empire could recognize themselves on the Apadana reliefs in Persepolis and thereby see themselves as a part of larger regional ethnic groups.

DISTINCTIVE, ASSOCIATIVE, AND TRANSFORMATIVE FUNCTIONS OF DRESS

Contact with others was always a catalyst for new political and cultural dynamics and the creation of new identities. As Muhs observes, such “identities can be reconstructed or renegotiated through the appropriation and adaptation of foreign attributes or signifiers.”⁷⁴ New encounters also exposed people to new fabrics and weaving techniques, clothing, and fashion trends that could find a place in indigenous fashion or simply be rejected. Changes in clothing behavior were determined by the kinds of interactions between various groups and the longevity of exposure to the new culture. Here, as mentioned above, the imperial setting played an important role. Thus, clothing had the important function of distinguishing oneself from the other. It was used as a fashion statement, especially by collectives that wanted to stress their ethnic identities. Several authors in this volume discuss the distinctive and associative function of dress and the role it plays in society.

Foster (chapter 5) observes that the Akkadian period (c. 2300–2100 BCE) witnessed a radical change in clothing in comparison with earlier periods, and he states that those changes were inspired from “outside.” The newly built Akkadian state created new elites eager to build new identities and to affirm their status through attire. Foster proposes that courtly clothing was inspired by the cultures of subjugated polities, including those in Iran, northern Syria, and southern Anatolia. Those new styles of attire were adopted by both the elites and other parts of Akkadian society to identify themselves as Akkadians. However, as Foster stresses, imperial strategies were applied to worn dress to clearly distinguish the status of the wearer; thus clothes played a role in constructing the wearer’s social identity.

In chapter 6, I discuss the so-called “Persian costume” on the basis of the dress of Ptahhotep on his statue in the Brooklyn Museum dated to the fifth century BCE. Inspired by John Cooney, this and other derivative terms found their way into publications on Egyptian and Near Eastern art and gave birth to theories about the bicultural character of dress among Persian sympathizers during the Persian occupation of Egypt. I show that all elements of Ptahhotep’s attire have well-documented antecedents among indigenous Egyptian pieces of clothing, and I argue that calling the attire of Ptahhotep “Persian” and ascribing

⁷⁴ See Muhs, chapter 19 in this volume.

ideological reasons for it are unfounded. I note that the only clear element of Persian origin is Ptahhotep's jewelry, a torque, most likely a gift from the king or a high Persian official.

In his posthumously published study, Robert K. Ritner (chapter 7) discusses the distinctive and associative functions of dress among Libyans through the lens of Egyptian sources. He perceives that Libyans belonging to various historical tribes are depicted distinctively in Egyptian art: usually naked with a phallus sheath or in a long open cloak, having a hairdo with a single sidelock and adorned with feathers, and so forth. This template appears in Egyptian art since the time of the Old Kingdom and may be based on authentic Libyan rock art presenting some of the same features. When people of Libyan origin started to acquire important administrative positions in Egypt during the late New Kingdom (Twentieth Dynasty) and later, they used some of this ethnic attire along with traditional Egyptian clothing to emphasize their ethnic identity. Only a conscious effort by the Saite Dynasty (also of Libyan descent) removed markers of ethnic identity from Egyptian art, thereby emphasizing the Saite return to "pure" Egyptian forms. Nevertheless, occasional elements of Libyan identity appear until the end of the dynastic period in Egypt.

Ursula Rothe (chapter 8) discusses the various effects of Roman dominion over the sartorial habits of inhabitants of Rome's northern provinces through analysis of their gravestones. She notes that in the earliest phase of Roman rule, the monuments from the northern provinces show a generic indigenous male costume and a more elaborate, tribe-based style for women. The tribe style disappeared in the western provinces, whereas it continued in the Danube provinces. In some families, men used Roman-style dress, while women wore local attire. There was also a hybrid style combining Roman and indigenous elements. This rich material allows Rothe to conclude that some groups continued the old tradition, while others merged Roman tradition with the indigenous one to form "a new, 'pan-Gallic' identity."⁷⁵

CONSTRUCTION OF CULTIC AND RELIGIOUS DRESS

Studies of priestly and royal attire, and their role in ancient societies, lead to discussion about the transformative function of dress and its social importance. The sartorial habits of people give insight into the social structure of society.⁷⁶ The dialogue of the mundane and sacred spheres seen, for example, in ancient Egyptian temple decoration reflects the decorum and social order of society⁷⁷ that is also visualized in the dress of depicted figures. The crucial role of the king and his unique relationship with the gods was shared by many societies of the ancient Mediterranean, Near East, and Egypt, as well as the ancient Americas. This fact leads to the interweaving of iconography in the dress of deities, kings, and possibly some priests (see the chapters by Brittenham, Gawlinski, and Nosch). Several contributions to the present volume discuss the function of dress in the religious sphere from various points of view.

Nosch (chapter 9) discusses the relationship between royal and priestly functions and the attire that signified them in ancient Greece. She questions whether royal official dress

⁷⁵ Gunter, chapter 18 in this volume.

⁷⁶ Kuper 1973, 365.

⁷⁷ Baines 1997.

can be a clue to understanding the combined sacerdotal and secular duties of rulers. The sophisticated royal dress and exquisite quality of royal clothing in the ancient Near East, particularly Persia, was often observed by Greek writers. Hellenistic rulers were known for their extravagant and luxurious clothing, often reflecting their grand ambitions. Whereas evidence for priestly dress in ancient Greece is sparse, the Near Eastern sources offer a plethora of information. Babylonian priests, for example, wore different clothing reflecting their functions, and dress could be changed depending on the rituals and ceremonies being performed. The color purple and a scepter or staff seem to be attributes shared by priests and kings. Many royal insignia, such as the diadem, crown, and mantle, seem to be focused on the head and torso of a ruler, in accordance with a natural focus on the upper parts of the human body. Nosch then discusses the many elements of dress that seem to be shared by kings and priests.

A similar topic is developed by Gawlinski (chapter 10), who notes difficulties in identifying priestly dress in ancient Greece. Thus two chapters, those by Nosch and Gawlinski, are significant contributions to the subject of religious dress in ancient Greece. Gawlinski observes that the priesthood was not easily defined in Greece; the priesthood's eligibility requirements, functions, and titles varied from city to city and seem to have been a largely local affair. Some dress elements, such as color, garment quality, headbands, and a few accessories, could be markers of priesthood, although they were not exclusive to it. The priesthood appears to have reflected status, so the holders of priestly titles are often represented in elaborate attire appropriate to wealth and high social stature. Gawlinski concludes that dress mirrors the fluidity of priestly status in Greece.

Thomason (chapter 11) seeks to study dress in Mesopotamia by applying theories of phenomenology and sensory experience. She questions stereotypical associations of mirrors found at Mesopotamian sites with female self-care and points out that mirrors were also used as cultic objects in magic and rituals, offering a gaze into liminal spaces. She also notes the importance of movement in Mesopotamian dress: tasseled fringes, common in Mesopotamian depictions of attire, were a marker of status because they required sophisticated crafting techniques; tassels were particularly visible when a person moved, thereby intensifying the sensory experience of observer and wearer alike. Jewelry offered similar sensory experiences. Thomason notes that the most lavish garments were reserved for the cult statues of gods and activated the relationship between the divine and human in ritual contexts.

Megan Cifarelli's study (chapter 12) sheds light on ornaments worn by a cult statue at the site of Hasanlu in western Iran. She aims to redefine the purpose of the so-called lion pins found at the site: previously understood as elements of elite attire, they now appear to have been part of the divine dress for a cult statue. The pins were mostly distributed among skeletons found in the large temple (the so-called Burned Building II), the victims of the catastrophic destruction of Hasanlu at the hands of Urartian conquerors around 800 BCE. A crucial comparison is provided by a small Urartian bronze statue of a seated female deity, now in the History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan, which is adorned with an object in the shape of a lion between her breasts—seemingly a lion pin. Cifarelli suggests that the lion pins found at Hasanlu served as part of the dress assemblage of the cult statue in Burned Building II, similar to the pin depicted on the Urartian statue. The lion pins were crafted through an elaborate process, resulting in unique and valuable objects. As such, they were

perhaps used in a ritual connected to the cult statue, after which they were stored in the temple building. For the residents of Hasanlu, the lion pins must have been inextricably connected with the divine power of the deity worshipped in the temple. Cifarelli proposes that during the catastrophic event of their city's destruction, the inhabitants of Hasanlu clutched the lion pins, counting on the protective power of the deity with whom the pins were associated.

Kapiec (chapter 13) discusses colored textiles in the context of temple rituals in ancient Egypt as a marker of associative identity. Her study is based on both textual material (ritual texts and inscriptions) and iconographic sources (temple scenes) from the dynastic and Greco-Roman periods in Egypt. One of the main rituals discussed is the daily temple ritual; a number of other festivals and funerary rituals are discussed as well. Kapiec concludes that colored linen had a transformative character in the context of the temple.

TEXTILES AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF DRESS

Weaving achieved a high level of sophistication in the ancient world and had a significant impact on the economies of ancient civilizations. As they gradually developed, ancient societies increasingly demanded textiles, with the court, temples, and army being perhaps their largest consumers. Temples in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece were not only the consumers but also the producers of textiles, which were used there in the daily cult and service.⁷⁸ Textiles were also in high demand by the army and navy—for example, in Rome.⁷⁹ Research on the technology of textile production has demonstrated that extensive knowledge about a society, its culture, and its economy can be acquired through the study of textiles.⁸⁰ Thus, while many contributions to this volume refer to various aspects of textiles, a few of them focus on their technical features (e.g., the chapters by Barnard and colleagues, Gleba, and Wozniak and Yvanez). Those features, when studied with the application of modern techniques, can shed light on the textiles' function, use and reuse, provenience, and trade, as well as their role in construing identity.⁸¹ Through its material value, dress was also an important tool in manifesting the economic position of the wearer, as several chapters address (e.g., Muhs, chapter 15). The importance of weaving and the culturally constructed mental templates embedded in the production process have been called "hidden identities" by Wright, one of the seminar's respondents (chapter 20).

Gleba's study (chapter 14) is based on the analysis of textile fragments found during archaeological excavations in Mediterranean Europe. The samples studied allowed her to trace similarities and local differences in production techniques, and the various weaving techniques allowed her to trace the traditions of weavers connected with a particular time and culture. Gleba observes that the exchange of "textile-related know-how" between regions requires the movement not only of textiles, through either trade or diplomatic exchange, but also of tools and the weavers who could transmit the craft.

⁷⁸ See various contributions in Brøns and Nosch 2017.

⁷⁹ Harlow and Nosch 2014, 5.

⁸⁰ E.g., Barber 1991; Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001; Völling 2008; Gleba 2011.

⁸¹ Harlow and Nosch 2014, 7.

Muhs (chapter 15) discusses the important role that cloth played in an evolution of money in the third and second millennia BCE, when it served as a store of wealth and a medium of exchange. He demonstrates that large sheets of cloth were stored as stockpiles during the third millennium, whereas items of clothing replaced raw textiles in the second millennium because of the increasing availability of silver and copper. Muhs concludes that the wider accessibility of silver in the first millennium BCE significantly decreased the role of cloth either as a raw material or as a finished product.

Vorderstrasse (chapter 16) argues that known Coptic terms for items of clothing do not match archaeological textile finds. While that situation may partly reflect the vagaries of preservation, some issues remain. For example, Coptic has clear gendered terms for clothing, whereas it is difficult to differentiate textiles gender-wise in the archaeological material. The archaeological remains do reflect a variety of colors and styles, however. On the other hand, archaeological finds show more diversity in children's dress than the textual sources reflect. Vorderstrasse argues that differences between textile terminology usage and excavated textiles result from the different ways that Late Antique Egyptians thought about textiles.

The study by Barnard, Boytner, and Cassman (chapter 17) tackles the subject of dye technology in pre-Columbian northern Chile. The large dataset contains 765 samples from 256 textiles from the Azapa Valley and Arica region in Chile, dating between 8000 BCE and 1500 CE. It shows that the vast majority of the samples were dyed with one dye, and only 15 percent with two dyes. The research confirms the longevity of dyeing techniques and traditions in the study area. The sporadically observed changes in the Arica region are attributed by the authors to trade and exchange activities, since the region was "never dominated by outsiders."

TOWARD THE FUTURE

This volume concludes with responses by Gunter, Muhs, and Wright that comment on various chapters and stress the importance of the topics discussed and the direction of future scholarship. As Wright elucidates, the "written contributions are stunning demonstrations of the ways in which we can connect with the ancient world and human behavior."⁸² Discussing and debating the meanings and interpretations of ancient dress deepens our understanding of the human experience in the past. While clothing was a practical necessity, it also served as a marker of social status and identity and a reflection of cultural and religious beliefs.

Such research is not free of obstacles, as Gunter astutely states: "scholars still contend with a persistent gender stereotyping of studies of dress and ornament, conventionally linked to presumed modern female preoccupations with fashion and jewelry."⁸³ Research is too often dismissed as superficial or focused solely on women's clothing and fashion, rather than on broader issues related to cultural identity and society. The plethora of new approaches and methodologies presented in this volume should help put these prejudices

⁸² Wright, chapter 20 in this volume.

⁸³ Gunter, chapter 18 in this volume.

to rest and further establish dress study as an important branch of art history and the archaeology of the ancient world.

As Muhs puts it, “no single perspective, ancient or modern, can hope to describe the many complex relationships between clothing and identity in the ancient world.”⁸⁴ At the risk of stating the obvious, a cross-cultural framework and multidisciplinary approach to research are the future of dress study. As the editor of this volume and the organizer of the seminar, I hope that an awareness of the state of the art, critiques, and advances in dress studies within the broader field of ancient studies will serve to foster a renewed discourse and help develop potential new strategies for research within the discipline.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Assante, Julia

- 1998 “The kar.kid/ḥarimtu, Prostitute or Single Woman? A Reconsideration of the Evidence.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30: 5–96.

Auslander, Leora

- 2014 “Culture matérielle, histoire du genre et des sexualités: L'exemple du vêtement et des textiles.” *Clio: Femmes, genre, histoire* 40: 171–96.

Baines, John

- 1997 “Temples as Symbols, Guarantors, and Participants in Egyptian Civilization.” In *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, edited by Stephen Quirke, 216–41. London: British Museum Press.

Barber, Elizabeth

- 1991 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special References to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Barthes, Roland

- 1990 *The Fashion System*. Translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brøns, Cecilie, and Susanna Harris

- 2021 “Introduction: Approaching Textiles in Ancient Mediterranean Iconography.” In *Textiles in Ancient Mediterranean Iconography*, edited by Susanna Harris, Cecilie Brøns, and Marta Żuchowska, 1–18. Ancient Textiles Series 38. Oxford: Oxbow.

Brøns, Cecilie, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2017 *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Cifarelli, Megan, ed.

- 2019 *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Cifarelli, Megan, and Laura Gawlinski, eds.

- 2017 *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

84 Muhs, chapter 19 in this volume.

Cleland, Liza, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds.

2005 *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Cordwell, Justine M., and Ronald A. Schwarz, eds.

1979 *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*. World Anthropology. The Hague: Mouton.

Crane, Diana, and Laura Bovone

2006 "Approaches to Material Culture: The Sociology of Fashion and Clothing." *Poetics* 34, no. 6: 319–33.

Egg, Markus, and Konrad Spindler

2009 *Kleidung und Ausrüstung der kupferzeitlichen Gletschermumie aus den Ötztaler Alpen*. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.

Eicher, Joanne B., and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins

1992 "Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles." In *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, edited by Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, 8–28. Oxford: Berg.

Entwistle, Joanne

2000 "Fashion and the Fleshy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 3: 323–47.

Gawlinski, Laura

2017 "Theorizing Religious Dress." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 161–78. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Gleba, Margarita

2008 "You Are What You Wear: Scythian Costume as Identity." In *Dressing the Past*, edited by Margarita Gleba, Cherine Munkholt, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 13–28. Ancient Textiles Series 3. Oxford: Oxbow.

2011 "Textile Studies: Sources and Methods." *Kubaba* 2: 2–26.

Hallmann, Aleksandra

2017 "Clothing (Non-Royal), Pharaonic Egypt." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Huebner. Published June 23. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah30017>.

2018 "Oriental Institute Seminar (OIS): Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance." In *The Oriental Institute 2017–2018 Annual Report*, edited by Christopher Woods, 133–38. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2023a *Ancient Egyptian Clothing: Studies in Late Period Private Representations*. Harvard Egyptological Studies 20/1. Leiden: Brill.

2023b *Ancient Egyptian Clothing: Studies in Late Period Private Representations*. Harvard Egyptological Studies 20/2. Leiden: Brill.

Harlow, Mary, ed.

2012 *Dress and Identity*. BAR International Series 2356. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Harlow, Mary, and Marie-Louise Nosch

2014 "Weaving the Threads: Methodologies in Textile and Dress Research for the Greek and Roman World—the State of the Art and the Case for Crossdisciplinarity." In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 1–33. Ancient Textiles Series 19. Oxford: Oxbow.

Jacobs, Bruno

- 2007 "Saken und Skythen aus persischer Sicht." In *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen*, edited by Wilfried Menghin, Hermann Parzinger, Anatoli Nagler, and Manfred Nawroth, 158–61. Munich: Prestel.

Janssen, Jac. J.

- 1975 *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*. Leiden: Brill.
- 2008 *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina: Words for Clothing*. GHP Egyptology 8. London: Golden House.

Joseph, Nathan

- 1986 *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication through Clothing*. New York: Greenwood.

Kemp, Barry J., and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood

- 2001 *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Kopytoff, Igor

- 1986 "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Küchler, Susanne, and Daniel Miller, eds.

- 2005 *Clothing as Material Culture*. Oxford: Berg.

Kuper, Hilda

- 1973 "Costume and Identity." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3: 348–67.

Lafont, Sophie

- 1999 *Femmes, droit et justice dans l'Antiquité orientale: Contribution à l'étude du droit pénal au Proche-Orient ancien*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 165. Fribourg: Editions Universitaires and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2015 *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

London, Gloria

- 2000 "Ethnoarchaeology and Interpretations of the Past." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63, no. 1: 2–8.

Lurie, Alison

- 1981 *The Language of Clothes*. New York: Random House.

McCracken, Grant

- 1987 "Clothing as Language: An Object Lesson in the Study of the Expressive Properties of Material Culture." In *Material Anthropology: Contemporary Approaches to Material Culture*, edited by Barrie Reynolds and Margaret A. Stott, 103–28. Lanham: University Press of America.

Menghin, Wilfried, Hermann Parzinger, Anatoli Nagler, and Manfred Nawroth, eds.

- 2007 *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen*. Munich: Prestel.

Michel, Cécile, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.

- 2013 *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford: Oxbow.

Prown, Jules David

- 1982 "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1: 1–19.
- 1996 "Material/Culture: Can the Farmer and Cowman Still Be Friends?" In *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, edited by David W. Kingery, 19–30. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Ribeiro, Aileen

- 1998 "Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of the History of Dress." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 2, no. 4: 315–25.

Riello, Giorgio

- 2011 "The Object of Fashion: Methodological Approaches to the History of Fashion." *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 3. DOI: 10.3402/jac.v3i0.8865.

Riggs, Christina

- 2014 *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
2019 *Photographing Tutankhamun: Archaeology, Ancient Egypt, and the Archive*. London: Bloomsbury.

Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, and Joanne B. Eicher

- 1992 "Dress and Identity." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, no. 4: 1–8.

Roth, Martha T.

- 1995 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Rothe, Ursula

- 2012 "Dress and Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire." In *Dress and Identity*, edited by Mary Harlow, 59–68. BAR International Series 2356. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Samašev, Zajnolla

- 2007 "Die Fürstengräber des Siebenstromlandes." In *Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen: Königsgräber der Skythen*, edited by Wilfried Menghin, Hermann Parzinger, Anatoli Nagler, and Manfred Nawroth, 162–70. Munich: Prestel.

Schiaparelli, Ernesto

- 2007 *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha nella necropoli di Tebi*. New ed. Turin: AdArte.

Schmidt, Erich F.

- 1953 *Persepolis*. Vol. 1, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Oriental Institute Publications 68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sebesta, Judith Lynn, and Larissa Bonfante, eds.

- 1994 *The World of Roman Costume*. Wisconsin Studies in Classics. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Skov, Lise, and Marie Riegels Melchior

- 2008 "Research Approaches to the Study of Dress and Fashion." Copenhagen Business School Creative Encounters Working Paper 19. Published November. https://research-api.cbs.dk/ws/portalfiles/portal/59184322/Creative_Encounters_Working_Papers_19.pdf.

Stig Sørensen, Marie Louise

- 1997 "Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe." *Journal of European Archaeology* 5, no. 1: 93–114.

Taylor, Lou

- 2002 *The Study of Dress History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
2004 *Establishing Dress History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

- 1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden: Brill.
1997 *Tutankhamun Textiles and Clothing in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*. Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn.
1999 *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe: Garments from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn.

Völling, Elisabeth

2008 *Textiltechnik im Alten Orient: Rohstoffe und Herstellung*. Würzburg: Ergon.

Zimi, Eleni, and Iris Tzachili, eds.

2012 *Textiles and Dress in Greece and the Roman East: A Technological and Social Approach. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Department of History, Archaeology and Cultural Resources Management of the University of Peloponnese in Kalamata in Collaboration with the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete on March 18–19, 2011, Athens*. Athens: Ta Pragmata.

PART I

CLOTHING AND IMPERIAL IDENTITY

1

Dress and Empire in the Ancient Americas

Claudia Brittenham
University of Chicago

AROUND THE WORLD, people have often used dress to signify aspects of identity, including gender, age, social status, religion, and ethnicity.¹ The Americas are no exception. But while it is possible to summon many ancient and modern examples of clothing signifying identity at the national, regional, linguistic, class, or ethnic level, what is notable about the Americas is how hyperlocal traditional Indigenous dress can be, sometimes signaling belonging within units as small as a single town or community.² In spite of discrimination and reprisal, many Indigenous people continue to wear their traditional, community-specific clothing, often termed *traje*, from the Spanish word for dress or costume. For many, this kind of ethnic attire has become a symbol of pride and resistance.³

Yet dress has never remained static. While there are important similarities, and even continuities, between prehispanic and modern Indigenous costume, scholars have documented drastic changes in various communities' *traje* over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.⁴ But change began even earlier. Crucially, the basic elements of modern Indigenous dress, especially for men, are often those of imperial Spanish rather than precontact Indigenous fashion.⁵ In prehispanic textile traditions, cloth was rarely cut: clothes were either wrapped around the body or woven to size on a backstrap or ground loom. When Spanish missionaries introduced tailored shirts, pants, and other garments in the sixteenth century, the change to a system in which cloth was cut and sewn and tailored

1 I use the terms “dress,” “costume,” and “attire” interchangeably to denote the sum total of clothing, jewelry, body paint, hairstyle, and other adornment that constitute a complete self-presentation. For further discussion, see A. Rowe 1995–96, 38 n. 1; Brezine 2011, 6–26.

2 Hendrickson 1995, 51–66; Avila 1997, 95; Rodman 1997, 27.

3 Meisch and Rowe 1998, 44–45; Carlsen 2003; Velásquez Nimatuj 2003.

4 Cordry and Cordry 1968, 13–16, 172–80; A. Rowe 1981; Hendrickson 1995, 53–55, 182–92; Carlsen 2003; Morris and Karasik 2015. The appeal to continuity with precontact tradition is often more explicit in Mesoamerica, where fewer ancient textiles survive and there are notable iconographic similarities to prehispanic clothing. Often-cited examples include the similarity in textile patterns between the lintels of Yaxchilan Structure 23 (dedicated in 726 CE) and modern Maya *huipils*, or the similar form of head wrapping documented on the seventh- to eighth-century stelae of Copan, Honduras, and today worn by women from the Maya community of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. See, e.g., Altman and West 1992, 22–24; Holsbeke 2003, 26–29; Montoya 2003, 112–17; Morris and Karasik 2003, 82–83; 2015, 7–14, 22–23, 38, 40–44. In the Andes, continuity is often cited at the level of technique (weaving on backstrap or ground looms) and individual types of garments; see, e.g., Franquemont 1991; Rodman 1997.

5 Altman and West 1992, 34–52. On gender and Indigeneity, see de la Cadena 1995.

to the body entailed major ontological and technological shifts.⁶ Other scholars, pointing to resemblances between *traje* and eighteenth-century Spanish peasant dress, suggest it was only at this moment that the intricate and varied *traje* traditions began to develop.⁷ Certain elements of costume have even more historically contingent roots. For example, during Carnival in Chamula, Chiapas, Mexico, the spider-monkey clowns, or *max*, wear costumes based on French army uniforms from the 1860s, a lasting reminder of France's short-lived American imperial ambitions.⁸

While some weaving technologies and garment types have persisted, it is clear that modern systems of *traje* do not have exclusively prehispanic roots. And yet there is something about the ways clothes relate to identity that I wish to suggest may have begun to take on some of its present ideological weight late in precontact history. In the century or so before the Spanish invasion, expansive empires came to dominate regions of Mesoamerica and the Andes. As their territories grew, both the Aztec and Inca states encountered diverse patterns of dress and body adornment among newly conquered peoples. This diversity predated imperial expansion, the result of different climates and resources in different geographic regions. Notably, both states made control over dress an important strategy of governance. Like many other rulers around the world, both Inca and Aztec emperors enacted sumptuary laws to defend elite prerogatives and gave gifts of clothing to their retainers. Military costume was standardized and codified, and, for the Aztecs, an elaborate sumptuary vocabulary points to the importance of insignia of rank. But what is equally important is how both states made the linkage of dress and ethnicity a strategy of imperial control. For the Incas, the requirement to maintain ethnic dress limited the mobility and autonomy of resettled peoples, while for the Aztecs, stereotypes of different ethnic groups were put to the service of state ritual and militarism. In both cases, imperial policy hardened the lines of costume, transforming ordinary habit into political rhetoric.

Regrettably few textiles will appear in the subsequent pages. Textile preservation is extremely poor in the prehispanic Americas, with the exception of the coastal desert of Peru and remote Andean mountain peaks, where climatic conditions have ensured extraordinary survivals.⁹ But even these are rarely sufficient to see the kinds of specific nuances or broad patterns described by textual sources. A number of accounts written in the century or so after the Spanish invasion, by both Spanish and Indigenous chroniclers, address the question of clothing and its regulation. Because they are retrospective records of a world already destroyed, it is important to be aware that these sources could exaggerate the normativity of the practices they describe, presenting a regime far more ordered than the historical reality. Nonetheless, this rhetoric itself is a kind of data about dress and empire, albeit one about aspiration and memory rather than practice. It is also important to bear in mind that these texts came into being during the Spanish occupation of the Americas, yet another imperial project deeply concerned with the regulation of attire.

6 A. Rowe 1981, 14–18; Altman and West 1992, 20–21, 36–53; Miralbés de Polanco and Knoke de Arathoon 2003, 52–53; Brezine 2011, 136–253.

7 Arriola de Geng 1991; Altman and West 1992, 38–50; Miralbés de Polanco and Knoke de Arathoon 2003, 54–61.

8 Blom 1956, 281; Morris 1987, 174; Morris and Karasik 2015, 62–63.

9 For Andean textiles, see A. Rowe 1978, 1992, 1995–96; Stone-Miller 1992; for Mesoamerican textiles, see Johnson 1954; Mahler Lothrop 1992; Filloy Nadal 2017; López Luján and Guilliem Arroyo 2017.

THE INCAS: UNITY AND DIVERSITY

At the time of the Spanish invasion in 1532, the Inca Empire controlled a vast territory stretching from modern Ecuador to Argentina (fig. 1.1).¹⁰ The expansion had been swift: in little more than a century, the land under Inca control grew from a small base in the Peruvian highlands near Cuzco to span a variety of terrains and climates and to encompass a considerable number of preexisting clothing traditions. As the empire expanded, local rulers were required to swear fealty to the Sapa Inca and enter into a system of reciprocal gifts and labor obligations; but in many regions, outside Inca administrative outposts, daily life and everyday clothing may have changed relatively little under Inca rule, although the theorization of clothing practices shifted.¹¹ Indeed, diversity in clothing, headdress, and hairstyle may have been encouraged—or even mandated—by Inca authorities.

Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors commented on the variety of clothing worn throughout the Inca Empire and on the relationships between dress and regional or ethnic identity. These chroniclers used many different words to describe the groupings that are distinguished by dress, including *etnia*, *nación*, *generación*, *casta*, and *parcialidad*,



Figure 1.1. Map showing the extent of the Inca and Aztec Empires, c. 1520. Map by Dale Mertes.

10 For overviews of the Inca Empire, see D'Altroy 2002; Kolata 2013.

11 Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1999, 224–25; J. Rowe 1982, 110. The Inca ruler was known as “the Inca” or “the Sapa Inca.”

none of which correspond exactly to modern conceptions of ethnicity.¹² *Ayllu*, a nominally kin-based social grouping, is one key emic term, although many of the regional groups described in the chronicles seem more like macroethnic groups, which would encompass many different *ayllus*.¹³ For example, writing in the mid-seventeenth century, Jesuit priest Bernabé Cobo cataloged a tremendous diversity of regional and ethnic dress:

They had this insignia on their clothes with different stripes and colors, and the men wore their most distinguishing insignia on their heads; each nation was identified by the headdress. Although they all had long hair, some had it cut off under their ears and others had it very long there; some wore braids, others let their hair hang loose, and the majority had it banded and encircled with diverse kinds of ligatures. The Cañares, who were the natives of Tumibamba, put on their heads a round wooden crown similar to the ring for a sieve or the rim of the small box used for preserves. The Indians of Cajamarca had their hair tied with a sling, and their neighbors used thin cords made of red wool that they wrapped around their heads many times. [The text continues with many more examples of regional dress] . . . the headdresses were distinguished by the fact that some were made of wool, others of cabuya (which is their hemp), some thinner than others, and some of one color and others of another; with these and other differences the Indians of each province were distinguished, but these insignias are used by only a few now, because the Indians are adopting the use of our hats.¹⁴

Cobo describes how outward appearance, including clothing, hairstyles, and headdresses, served to identify different “nations,” corresponding to different regions of the empire. To describe these groups, Cobo sometimes uses geographic terms, such as “the Indians of Cajamarca,” and at other times ethnic ones, such as “Cañares.” Cobo observes that these distinctions persisted well into the seventeenth century, though they were being eroded by the adoption of European-style clothing and hats. Nearly a century earlier, the distinctions were much more marked: conquistador Pedro de Cieza de León wrote that “each tribe was also distinguished by differences in the head-dress. . . . To this day, when we see an assemblage of people, we presently say that these come from such a part and those from such another part; for in this way, as I have explained, they were known from one another.”¹⁵ Neither Cobo nor Cieza mentions body modification, but archaeological evidence suggests that cranial modification was another key marker of ethnic identity.¹⁶

Inca rhetoric cast this sartorial variety as the result of deliberate imperial policy. One Inca origin story, recounted by Indigenous chronicler Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua in 1613, credits the creation of distinctions in ethnic dress to Manco Capac, the first (and largely mythical) Inca king, who “ordered that the dress and costume of every community should be different, as were their ways of speaking, to know them, because in that time one could not simply look at the Indians and know what nation or community

12 For reviews of some relevant concepts, see Jones 1997; Schwaller 2016, 19–30; Ndiaye and Markey 2023.

13 D’Altroy 2005, 265; Kolata 2013, 51–71, 216.

14 Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 24, 196–97; see also Cieza de León 1883 (1554), ch. XXIII, 72–73; Guamán Poma de Ayala 2001 (1615), 901 (915).

15 Cieza de León 1883 (1554), ch. XXIII, 72–73.

16 Verano 2003, 91–97; D’Altroy 2005, 294; Haun and Cock Carrasco 2010.

they belonged to.”¹⁷ Chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, son of an Inca noblewoman and a Spanish conquistador, offers a fuller account of the same origin story, focusing on hairstyle as the most distinctive ethnic marker:

The earliest privilege that the Inca [Manco Capac] granted his subjects was to order them to imitate him in all wearing the plait around their heads, though it was not to be of many colors like his own, but of one color only, which was to be black.

After some time had passed, he granted them the favor of another mark of distinction which they esteemed more highly: this was to order them to have their hair shorn, though in different styles for the various tribes of vassals and all theirs different from his, so that there should be no confusion in the distinction he had ordered to be made between each province and tribe and no lessening of the difference between him and them.¹⁸

In these accounts, preexisting variation is transmuted into imperial intention, explained as a policy that made the origins of imperial subjects immediately legible and at the same time emphasized their distance from the ruler.

Other accounts placed the genesis of ethnic dress in even more remote times, as a decree of the creator-god Viracocha. In an account recorded by Cobo, Viracocha painted varied costumes on the sculptures of primordial people: “the Creator used clay to form all the nations that there are in this land; he painted each one with the clothing to be used by that nation, and he also gave each nation the language they were to speak, the songs they were to sing, as well as the foods, seeds, and vegetables by which they were to sustain themselves.”¹⁹ According to Spanish priest Cristóbal de Molina, the creator ordained that “each nation dress and wear the clothing with which they dressed their *huaca*,” a *huaca* (or *wak’a*) being a kind of sacred thing—a figural image, an aniconic stone, or something else entirely.²⁰ In still other origin stories, the ancestors emerge from their places of origin fully clothed, already wearing markers of status and ethnicity.²¹ These accounts assert that varied ethnic dress was part of the order of creation.

In some cases, historical Inca rulers continued to mandate dress and hairstyle for newly conquered peoples. In northern Ecuador, for example, after the Inca conquest, subjects were required to wear Inca-style tunics and dresses to conform to Inca ideas of modesty and decorum.²² Compulsory “gifts” of Inca-style clothing to local rulers, which brought them into a relationship of reciprocal obligation with the Inca state, also had the effect of remaking local systems of dress, at least for elites.²³ The high prestige of Inca-style cloth-

17 Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1873 (1613), 245–46, my translation; see also Harrison 1982, 62; Herring 2015, 135, 208 n. 83.

18 Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 (1609–17), Part 1, Book 1, ch. XXII, 56, cited and discussed in Stone 2007, 393–94.

19 Cobo 1990 (1653), Book 1, ch. 2, discussed in Zuidema 1982, 446–47; Stone 2007, 391; see also Molina 1943 (1574), 8.

20 Molina 1943 (1574), 9, discussed in Zuidema 1982, 447; Stone 2007, 402; for *wak’as*, see Cobo 1990 (1653), Book 1, ch. 11, 44–46; Bray 2015.

21 Dransart 1992, 146–50, discussed in Pillsbury 2002, 74.

22 A. Rowe 2011, 92–93, citing Cieza de León 1984 (1553), Part I, ch. 38, fols. 56v/124, 125.

23 Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 (1609–17), Part 1, Book 5, ch. 12, 265; Murra 1962, 721–22.

ing also meant that it was copied throughout the empire.²⁴ In decreeing particular kinds of clothing or hairstyle for different communities, later Inca rulers were continuing in the tradition of their gods and ancestors.

Sumptuary privileges were also tightly regulated. Fine textiles, or *qompi*, could be worn only by gift of the Inca ruler, and the wearing of particular kinds of textile patterns was similarly restricted.²⁵ In another foundational act, Pachacuti (r. 1438–71), the first historical Inca emperor, is credited with establishing sumptuary laws. Conquistador Juan de Betanzos, who married an elite Inca woman and included some of her knowledge in his chronicles, wrote:

The [Sapa] Inca ordained that no cacique in all the land, no matter how important he might be, could wear fine clothing or feathers or own valuable litters or wear wool strings on the shoes, only cabuya, unless the garments or feathers or litters had been given by the Inca for their services. And anyone who wore such garments without receiving the things from the Inca would die. Any orejon warrior who found someone like that would hang the person right there on the spot. This was to ensure that there would not be equality and that the vassals could be identified and so that they would not try to be equal to the lords of Cuzco.²⁶

The threat of violence for flouting sumptuary laws highlights the importance of maintaining visible distinctions in rank. Although this is on the surface a ruling about class distinctions, ethnicity is also implicated in it. Betanzos's "lords of Cuzco" are ethnically Inca, and part of the right they are defending is the right to maintain a distinctive ethnic dress.²⁷

In all these accounts, what is crucial is the assertion that status had to be immediately legible through outward appearance. As literary scholar Regina Harrison phrases it, "Knowledge, then, was conveyed through visual signs, and this cultural mapping was so complete that one could identify at a glance the participants at a ceremonial gathering."²⁸ But in addition to a kind of semiotic legibility, these accounts of dress and ethnicity insist on correspondence between internal and external substance: dress does not conceal or disguise but instead makes visible. An orderly realm rests precisely on this correspondence between inward significance and outward appearance.²⁹

The importance of regional and ethnic dress to the Inca Empire is most clear in the case of the *mitmaqkuna* (or *mitimaes* in Spanish), communities that were forcibly displaced from one area of the Inca Empire to another. In groups ranging from tens to thousands

24 A. Rowe 1992; 1995–96, 33–36.

25 Murra 1962, 719–20; J. Rowe 1979, 239; A. Rowe 1995–96, 9–11.

26 Betanzos 1996 (1557), ch. XXI, 105; see Murra 1962, 719–20, and Julien 1996, 72 n. 25, for other citations about Inca sumptuary law.

27 Some particularly favored foreign lords would be titled *Incas de privilegio* ("Incas by privilege") and granted the right to wear these fine garments, along with other prerogatives (Bauer 1992; D'Altroy 2002, 89; Kolata 2013, 78–80).

28 Harrison 1982, 74, cited in Herring 2015, 208 n. 83.

29 Such a synchronicity between interior and exterior recalls Heather Lechtman's remarks on Andean metallurgy: "The essence of the object had to be inside it, as part of its internal structure, in order to be realized at its surface as an innate quality. The surface color was the visible manifestation of an inner state or an inner property" (Lechtman 1996, 41).

of families, *mitmaqkuna* could be resettled thousands of miles from their original homes, although typically in zones of similar climate.³⁰ Resettlements would accompany conquests, as conquered peoples would be moved away from their homes, and other Inca subjects moved into the newly conquered territories. Army families were often transferred to secure borderland garrisons, and underpopulated lands were cultivated by displaced *mitmaqkuna*. Resettlement could be a reward for imperial service or a punishment for rebellion; in addition, artisans were relocated to produce crafts for state-controlled workshops.³¹ Terence D'Altroy estimates that three to five million of the ten to twelve million Inca subjects were resettled in this way.³²

Mitmaqkuna were required to maintain the ethnic dress of their community of origin. Cobo writes that "they were to remain there as perpetual residents of the towns where they were placed; and they were to follow the practices and way of life of the local people, except that they retained the dress, emblems, and symbols of the people from their nation or province."³³ Cobo also describes penalties for disobedience:

The vassals were not permitted to move from one province to another on their own free will. In fact, all vassals had to reside in their towns; they could not leave or wander around or take trips through strange lands without permission from their caciques. The men and women of each nation and province had their insignias and emblems by which they could be identified, and they could not go around without this identification or exchange their insignias for those of another nation, or they would be severely punished.³⁴

In many areas, the *mitmaqkuna* remained identifiable well into the colonial period based on these distinctive traditions of dress.³⁵

This policy had several important effects for Inca imperial rule. First, distinctive ethnic dress reinforced divisions between *mitmaqkuna* and the neighboring communities near which they were resettled. Second, it restricted the mobility of all citizens, but especially that of the *mitmaqkuna*, who would stand out if they strayed far from their own villages, particularly if they sought to return to their territories of origin. Indeed, the Incas played up rivalries between *mitmaqkuna* and Indigenous populations. As Cieza writes, "In this way, all was made secure, for the natives feared the *mitimaes*, while the *mitimaes* suspected the natives, and all learnt to serve and to obey quietly."³⁶ Finally, the visible difference of the *mitmaqkuna* reinforced imperial ideology at the local level, both restating the power of the empire to move its citizens and highlighting the geographic scope of the Inca Empire through juxtapositions of ethnic dress.

30 Cieza 1883 (1554), ch. XXII, 67–71; Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, chs. 23–24, 189–97; Espinoza Soriano 1975; J. Rowe 1982, 105–7, 110–11; Wachtel 1982; D'Altroy 2005; Mumford 2012, 28–39; Kolata 2013, 80–84.

31 D'Altroy 2005, 269–70, 281–85.

32 D'Altroy 2005, 265.

33 Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 23, 190.

34 Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 24, 196–97.

35 Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 23, 190; see also D'Altroy 2005, 281–86, 290–92.

36 Cieza de León 1883 (1554), ch. XXII, 68–69; see also Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 23, 190.

Ironically, the mandate to maintain ethnic dress shifted its meaning. Instead of being a matter of local consensus, negotiated within a community, what constituted “the dress, emblems and symbols of . . . [each] nation or province”³⁷ became a matter of state jurisdiction. It may also have changed the meaning of particular kinds of clothing. Rather than assume that each community in a given region had a sharply and distinctively defined kind of dress, similar to modern *traje*, and that this costume was largely unchanged by forced migration, we might also imagine a kind of continuum of clothing that shifted gradually throughout a region. When a community was uprooted and transported to another region, their clothes, which in their original context had signaled regional identity, now marked them as part of a community of *mitmaqkuna*, and their wearing was mandated in a way it may not have been previously. Even if the rules were enforced by local leaders in the decentralized Inca administrative system, such state control could have resulted in simplified or stereotyped notions of ethnic costume and thereby stunted natural processes of change in attire—all in the service of greater control and legibility.

Indeed, the legibility of ethnic costume became a central part of Inca state ritual. The Inca Empire was called Tawantinsuyu, “the four parts together,” and people clothed in regional dress embodied and made empire visible at key ritual moments. An illustration by Quechua nobleman Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala in Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru* shows the Inca ruler Huascar (r. 1527–32) carried in a palanquin borne by representatives of the four main provinces of the Inca Empire, their bodies enacting imperial order with the ruler at the center (fig. 1.2).³⁸



Figure 1.2. The Sapa Inca supported by bearers from the four quarters of the empire; the names of the four *suyus* are also written on the rails of the litter. Image by Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, c. 1590, pasted into Martín de Murúa’s *Historia general del Piru*, fol. 84r. Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIII 16, Object no. 83.MP.159. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, digital image courtesy of the Getty’s Open Content Program.

37 Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 23, 190.

38 Houston and Cummins 2004, 374–77. This image was created by Indigenous artist Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala in about 1590 for an earlier version of Murúa’s text and pasted into the 1616 manuscript. (I am grateful to Andrew Hamilton for clarifying this sequence of events.) On Tawantinsuyu and its provinces, see Astuhamán Gonzáles 2011.

The varied costumes associated with the four quarters of the empire made this gesture legible to its audiences. In the illustration, different colors and patterns of tunics, the presence or absence of capes, and complex headdresses serve to distinguish the four bearers, and the names of the four provinces are written on the bars of the palanquin to reinforce the message. These regional costumes correspond with visual and verbal descriptions of the dress of the four provinces in other sources, and the four figures are arranged according to the precedence of the provinces within the Inca Empire.

Some of the same patterns can be seen in Guamán Poma's illustration of the Inca ruler with his royal council, including the feathered headdress of the advisor from Antisuyu on the Sapa Inca's privileged right-hand side and the truncated conical headdress of the advisor from Condesuyu on the left (fig. 1.3). Yet costume could quickly grow more complicated: in addition to representing the typical dress of the four regions, or *suyus*, of the empire, Guamán Poma also represents the attire of the upper and lower (*hanan* and *hurin*) moieties of Cuzco, as worn by the two outermost figures on the front plane of the composition.³⁹ There is undoubtedly a degree of ethnic stereotype involved in all these representations, since there were of course many ethnic groups within each of the four provinces, with distinctive patterns of attire—and, furthermore, costume might vary because of status, moiety, and individual expression within each group. As in figure 1.2, these representations may be intended to portray specific historical individuals, although painted more than a generation after the fact.⁴⁰ But simplification was also what made costume so powerfully legible within the empire.⁴¹

Cuzco, the Inca capital, was constituted as a microcosm of empire in many ways; one of them was the resettlement of communities from all over the empire.⁴² As Cieza puts it, "It must be understood that the city of Cuzco

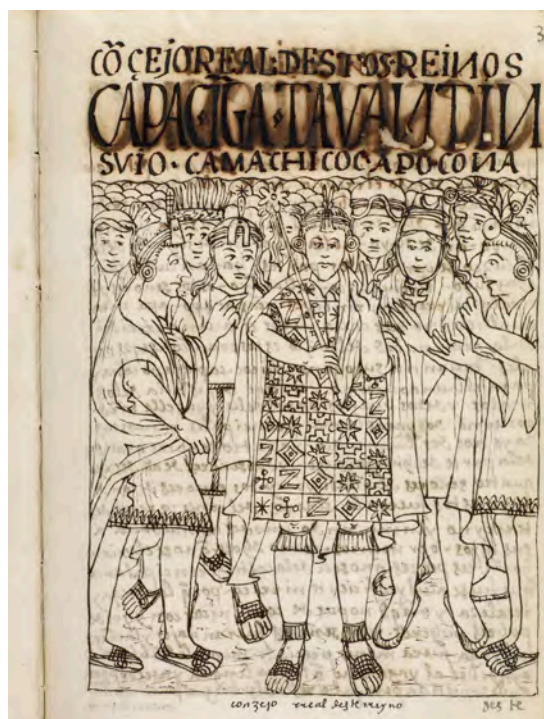


Figure 1.3. "Concejo real destos reinos / Capac Inca Tawantinsuyo Camachicoc," the royal council of the Inca kingdom, showing lords from all the regions of Tawantinsuyu. Guamán Poma de Ayala 2001 (1615), 364 (366). Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart.

39 Ossio 1973, 179–81; Wachtel 1973, 177–78; Adorno 1986, 93–95; Wilson 1998, 189; Frame 2010, 36–37.

40 I am grateful to Andrew Hamilton for this point (personal communication, 2023).

41 Adam Herring discusses Garcilaso's account of other public rituals where clothing makes empire legible, such as when subjects, dressed in their ethnic costume, entered the plaza in the order in which their regions were conquered by the Incas so that their entrance could visibly recapitulate the formation of empire (Herring 2015, 135).

42 J. Rowe 1967, 62.

was also full of strangers, all occupied in some industry. . . . To this day there are in Cuzco men of Chachapoyas and Cañaris, and people from other parts, descended from the settlers who had been placed there.”⁴³ Some of these “strangers” accompanied Indigenous nobles, who were required to live in Cuzco for four months of each year and to leave their sons in Cuzco to be educated by the Incas.⁴⁴ Still other communities may have been more purposefully resettled, in approximately the same geographic configuration as their ethnic homelands.⁴⁵ As archaeologist John Rowe writes, “There was apparently some attempt made to have the people from a particular part of the empire live in an outlying settlement which was in the direction of their home provinces; for example, the Chachapoyas and Cañares, who came from the northern part of the empire, were settled in or near Carmenca, through which passed the main Inca road to the north.”⁴⁶ What matters is that these acts of representative resettlement were made visible through the clothing and hairstyles of the resettled people, who were required to maintain their ethnic dress.

Such resettlement also occurred at other ritually significant places within the Inca Empire. For example, according to one seventeenth-century source, people of at least forty ethnic groups were also resettled by the Incas in the city of Copacabana in modern Bolivia, near the sacred Islands of the Sun and the Moon in Lake Titicaca.⁴⁷ In addition, people of varying ethnicities were often drafted into the service of royal households as royal retainers, or *yanakuna*.⁴⁸ Bioarchaeologist John Verano’s analysis of the bodies buried at the royal estate of Machu Picchu has identified representatives of several ethnic groups based on differences in cranial modification and the ceramics buried with the bodies.⁴⁹ If markers of ethnic difference were preserved in body modifications and also in ceramics, it seems quite possible that they were also visible in dress, although textiles do not survive from Machu Picchu. In all these royal and sacred contexts, the presence of varied forms of ethnic dress and body modification would serve to demonstrate the vast range of the Inca Empire.

In contrast to the diversity of ethnic dress, certain elite units within the Inca army pioneered a dazzling standardization, another kind of demonstration of imperial might. A key army uniform consisted of a tunic with a black-and-white checkerboard pattern and a red yoke (fig. 1.4).⁵⁰ More than twenty examples of this kind of tunic are known, many of them unfortunately looted rather than scientifically excavated. The existing tunics demonstrate an unprecedented degree of standardization and uniformity in the context of Andean textile traditions, pointing to new forms of social organization of craft production and the changing ways that clothing signified in the Inca Empire.⁵¹ At least some army

43 Cieza de León 1883 (1554), ch. XXII, 71.

44 J. Rowe 1967, 62, 69 nn. 27–28.

45 D’Altroy 2005, 270, 288–91.

46 J. Rowe 1967, 69–70 n. 29.

47 Ramos Gavilán 1988 (1621), 93–95, cited in D’Altroy 2005, 290–92; see also Bauer and Stanish 2001, 155, 173.

48 J. Rowe 1982, 96–102; Kolata 2013, 84–87.

49 Verano 2003, 91–97; Burger 2004, 94–97; Burger and Salazar 2004, 126–54; Niles 2004, 57–58; Salazar 2007.

50 J. Rowe 1979, 245–48; Stone-Miller 1992, 172; Pillsbury 2002, 74–75; Stone 2007, 409–13; Herring 2015, 103–13; Hamilton 2018, 213; 2024, 24–25, 197, 200–202.

51 Murra 1962; J. Rowe 1979.

uniforms were woven by professional male weavers called *qompikamayoc* and by *aqllakuna*, or chosen women, wards of the state who produced textiles, maize beer, and other important exchange goods.⁵² The simplicity of the Inca checkerboard tunic allowed it to be produced in standardized form in workshops across the empire: all tunics had a grid of black and white squares, ten squares across (with additional half squares at both sides to create a vertically symmetrical pattern) and ten or eleven squares high, and were remarkably similar in width, although the expanse of the red yoke could be adjusted to make the tunics suitable for wearers of different heights.⁵³

A number of early sources describe army units wearing the checkerboard tunics. For example, Francisco de Xerez, personal secretary to conquistador Francisco Pizarro and an eyewitness to the Spanish capture of the Inca emperor Atahualpa at Cajamarca in 1532, describes the ruler's entry into the city in this way: "First came a squadron of Indians dressed in a livery of different colors, like a chess board. They advanced, removing straws from the ground, and sweeping the road. Next came three squadrons in different dresses, dancing and singing."⁵⁴ Other authors also described the checkerboard tunics, including Juan Ruiz de Arce,⁵⁵ Cristobal de Albornoz,⁵⁶ and an anonymous conquistador.⁵⁷ Yet as Xerez indicates, not all Inca warriors wore this tunic; art historian Andrew Hamilton suggests that it may have been reserved for an elite unit in service to the emperor.⁵⁸ Further, as art historian Joanne



Figure 1.4. Checkerboard army tunic. Inca, Peru, c. 1450–1533. Metropolitan Museum of Art 2017.674, Purchase, Fletcher Fund, Claudia Quentin Gift, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 2017.

⁵² Murra 1962, 717; J. Rowe 1979, 239–41; Stone-Miller 1992, 172; Costin 1998, 134–38; Stone 2007, 409. While it has been proposed that male *qompikamayoc* wove military uniforms (J. Rowe 1979, 239; Stone-Miller 1992, 172; Costin 1998, 136–37), one early account suggests that *aqllakuna* could also have had this task: "They found a great and strong building in that town of Caxas, surrounded by a mud wall with doorways, in which there were many women spinning and weaving cloth for the army of Atabaliba [Atahualpa]" (Xerez 1872 [1534], 28, discussed in Stone 2007, 409). Moreover, Andrew Hamilton notes that there are notable differences in quality between the checkerboard tunics still surviving today (personal communication, 2023).

⁵³ J. Rowe 1979, 245–47.

⁵⁴ Xerez 1872 (1534), 53, discussed in Hamilton 2018, 213.

⁵⁵ Ruiz de Arce 2002 (1543), 85, cited in Herring 2015, 103.

⁵⁶ Albornoz 1967 (after 1580), 22, cited in Pillsbury 2002, 98 n. 40.

⁵⁷ Trujillo 1954 (1571), 133; discussed in Herring 2015, 103.

⁵⁸ Hamilton 2018, 213.

Pillsbury notes, such high-quality cloth would have been restricted to the upper echelons of the Inca military; indeed, Inca subjects could wear fine tapestry weave only if it was a gift from the Inca ruler.⁵⁹

On the battlefield, the effect of an entire unit dressed in this uniform was striking. The varying heights of the red yokes allowed the checkerboard grid to continue from one body to the next, forming an unbroken wall of pattern and color.⁶⁰ It is possible that the checkerboard pattern also thwarted the effective targeting of projectile attacks, as did World War I naval dazzle camouflage.⁶¹ Art historians Rebecca Stone and Adam Herring explore how the uniforms signified collectively as well as singly; they argue that the tunics of soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder produced a pattern evoking the shapes of mountain peaks and valleys.⁶² The claim that the Incas could mobilize the very landscape to their defense has powerful parallels in a foundational episode in Inca history, one recalling the story of the *puruwawqas*, stones that came alive to defend the Incas during the war with the Chancas.⁶³

Checkerboard tunics transformed individual Inca subjects into a collective unity in which each soldier in his tunic became a metonym for that collective. Yet ethnic identity may not have been entirely subsumed by Inca identity in this situation: instead, both may have been expressed on the body through the combination of standardized dress and ethnically varied body modification, hairstyle, and headdress. A mummy bundle now in the Museum der Kulturen, Basel, combines the standard Inca checkerboard tunic with a wrapped headdress, which may have indicated ethnic affiliation (fig. 1.5). Cobo suggests that such combinations were quite common and, indeed, part of Inca military and political strategy:

They were so well known by these insignia that on seeing any Indian or when any Indian came before him, the Inca would notice what nation and province the Indian was from; and there is no doubt that this was a clever invention for distinguishing one group from another. Since the different nations that gathered for any general convocation called by the king were almost innumerable, since all the Indians were beardless and of the same color, aspect, and features, and since they used the same language and dressed the same way, it would be impossible to distinguish each nation in any other way. Moreover, when they went to war, it was something to see the large army composed of such a variety of people as there were marching, distributed in various regiments and squadrons; and with these insignias the variety was evident at a distance, and each group was easily identified by its general and the rest of the field officers, and in battle it was impossible for the nation that showed the most valor to be overlooked.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Pillsbury 2002, 75.

⁶⁰ Stone 2007, 411–12.

⁶¹ Rodriguez McRobbie 2016; I am grateful to Clark Evans for this observation (personal communication, 2018).

⁶² Hogue 2006; Stone 2007, 411–12; Herring 2015, 108–13.

⁶³ Cobo 1990 (1653), Book 1, ch. 8, 35–36; MacCormack 1991, 288–89, 408–9; Niles 1999, 57–61; Dean 2010, 39, 49–50.

⁶⁴ Cobo 1979 (1653), Book II, ch. 24, 196–97. Cobo seems to suggest here that it is only headdress, and not clothing, that distinguishes various Inca ethnic groups, although in other places he mentions the role

Again stressing the themes of immediate legibility, this passage suggests that people in the Inca army may have combined a standardized army uniform, which expressed shared Inca identity, with distinctive headdresses and hairstyles, which expressed diverse ethnic identities. Indeed, a principal strategy of Inca rule was precisely to produce this kind of unity in diversity.

The clothing of the Sapa Inca, or Inca emperor, embodied similar themes of unity and diversity in powerfully distinctive ways. The Sapa Inca might assume, through clothing and headgear, the ethnicity of any of his subjects. Cieza writes of Inca ruler Tupa Inca Yupanqui (r. 1471–93) that “in each town, he wore the dress used by the natives, a thing which gave great pleasure to them.”⁶⁵ Betanzos describes how the emperor Huayna Capac (r. 1493–1527) would be met on the road by messengers carrying the clothing of a local town, along with a matching hairpiece, so that when he entered, the Sapa Inca might look “like a native of that province.”⁶⁶ Through this series of performances, Stone suggests that “what he [the Sapa Inca] wore on his body can be seen to represent the entire empire.”⁶⁷ Yet unlike the Aztec performances of ethnicity that will be considered shortly, these new costumes should not be considered as disguises or temporary identities but instead as revelations of a new aspect of the Sapa Inca’s personhood.



Figure 1.5. Mummy bundle wearing Inca checkerboard tunic. Peru, c. 1450–1533. Museum der Kulturen, Basel © IVC 2813. Acquired from Franz Xaver Weizinger, 1921. Photo by Markus Gruber, 2007.

of dress and headdress (Cobo 1979 [1653], Book II, ch. 24, 196–97). Since this observation is made in the context of army practice, it may be that Cobo is describing the kinds of standardized uniforms discussed above. However, since the basic form of Andean male costume varied little (in most of the empire, an *uncu*, or tunic, was the basic garment for men), Cobo may not have been sufficiently attentive to variations in patterning that signified ethnic difference. It may also be that the adoption of European-style clothing caused patterns of differentiation in clothing to disappear more quickly than those in headgear. Illustrations in Guamán Poma and Murúa suggest that other observers were better able to discern differences in both clothing and headdress (see figs. 1.2 and 1.3).

65 Cieza de León 1883 (1554), chs. LII, 167, LVI, 178; Murra 1962, 721.

66 Betanzos 1996 (1557), ch. XLII, 168–69.

67 Stone 2007, 392.

At other times, the diversity of empire could be represented not through sequential costume but through a single tunic decorated with a multiplicity of patterns. Guamán Poma frequently depicts the Inca ruler as wearing a tunic patterned all over with repeating symbols.⁶⁸ A surviving example of this kind of tunic, now in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks, may well have been a royal tunic worn by the last Inca ruler, Atahualpa; Andrew Hamilton suggests that in the furor of the conquest, it was not burned after it was worn, as was typical for the clothes of the Sapa Inca (fig. 1.6).⁶⁹ Many of the patterns on the tunic, known as *toqapu*, also appear in repeating bands on limited portions of other surviving Inca tunics, but with only a single pattern or a limited number of patterns per tunic (fig. 1.7).⁷⁰ Reduced-scale versions of the checkerboard army tunic also occupy spaces throughout the grid.⁷¹ Other patterns on the royal tunics have no precedent, representing, as Stone has argued, territories yet to be conquered and symbols yet to be assigned meaning.⁷² The result, Stone suggests, is a tumult of chaotic potentiality, which only the charismatic power of the Sapa Inca's body can bring into imperial order.⁷³



Figure 1.6. All-*toqapu* tunic, perhaps intended to be worn by an Inca ruler. Inca, Peru, c. 1530. Dumbarton Oaks PC.18.0005 © Dumbarton Oaks, Pre-Columbian Collection, Washington, DC.



Figure 1.7. Tunic with *toqapu* pattern. Inca, Peru, c. 1500. The Textile Museum, Washington, DC, 91.147. Acquired by George Hewitt Myers, 1932.

68 J. Rowe 1979, 242; Zuidema 1982, 447–48; 1991; Frame 2010; Ossio 2015.

69 For the survival, see Hamilton 2018, 208; 2024, 239–83; for the Dumbarton Oaks tunic more generally, see J. Rowe 1979, 257–59; Rowe and Rowe 1996, 457–65; Stone 2007; Hamilton 2018, 208–15; 2024.

70 J. Rowe 1979, 242, 248–51, 258–59; Rowe and Rowe 1996, 461–64; for *toqapu*, see Cummins 2011.

71 Hamilton 2018, 212–15.

72 Stone 2007, 401.

73 Stone 2007, 404–7; for the Inca royal body, see Houston and Cummins 2004, 372–85.

In sum, costume played a large part in the rhetoric of the Inca imperial order. Inca subjects, especially the resettled *mitmaqkuna*, were required to wear their customary ethnic dress, and people in regional costume embodied the four quarters of the empire in state ritual. The effect depended on the legibility of ethnic costume and its perceived correspondence to inner substance, so that variously dressed bodies made visible the scope of the Inca Empire. At the same time, standardized Inca textile gifts, army uniforms among them, projected Inca identity as superseding and simultaneously coexisting with ethnic diversity, a kind of meta-ethnicity.⁷⁴ The Sapa Inca himself was shown to transcend all sartorial restriction, assuming the clothes of different ethnicities and donning tunics full of symbolic potential. In all these manifestations, the Incas demonstrated an exquisite awareness of how dress might shape identity in service of the imperial state.

THE AZTECS: PERFORMING ETHNICITY

Like the Inca Empire in the Andes, the Aztec Empire in Mesoamerica expanded rapidly in the century before the Spanish invasion to include a diversity of ethnic, geographic, and linguistic groups in territories corresponding to modern Mexico and Guatemala (see fig. 1.1). Sartorial control was also a tool of Aztec rule, deployed in patterns similar, but not identical, to the Inca case. There is no evidence for Aztec sumptuary regulation of the provinces, as there is for the Inca Empire; instead, evidence focuses more tightly on the regulation of subjects within the imperial capital of Tenochtitlan. In addition to standardizing the costume of military ranks, Aztec rulers encouraged performances of ethnicity in the service of militarism, commerce, and state ritual.⁷⁵

For the Aztecs, clothing was a marker of civilization. It was one of the things that distinguished Toltecs, the wise builders of the distant past, from Chichimecs, barbarian nomads from the north who wore only animal skins.⁷⁶ In modern times, it was part of the measure of non-Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups. Writing about the Otomí, for example, in the encyclopedic *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún and his Indigenous collaborators say: “These Otomí had a civilized way of life. The men wore capes, clothed themselves, wore breech cloths, wore sandals. The women wore skirts; they wore shifts. The clothing, the capes, the sandals of the men were of good quality; the skirts, the shifts of the women were of good quality.”⁷⁷ Huastec men, by contrast, wore excellent capes but no loincloths. Sahagún and colleagues write of “the defects of the Huasteca: the men did not provide themselves with loincloths, although there were many large capes.”⁷⁸

74 The term is from Turchin 2009, 201.

75 The term “Aztec” is a colonial invention, popularized during the nineteenth century (Barlow 1945). Before the Spanish invasion, the city-state or *altepetl* was a more important form of identification than any larger political or social unit (see below). I use the term “Mexico” to refer specifically to the inhabitants of the imperial city-state of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and “Aztec” to refer to all Nahuatl-speaking peoples around the Valley of Mexico before the arrival of the Spanish, as well as to subjects of the empire controlled by the Triple Alliance of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, and Tlacopan.

76 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 12, ch. 29, 165–76, 196–97; Umberger 2008, 73–78.

77 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 176, 184; see discussion in Olko 2014, 322–24.

78 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 186.

Even among the relatively homogeneous Nahuatl-speakers of the Central Mexican altiplano, distinctive patterns of dress and adornment defined different ethnic groups. Sixteenth-century accounts give a sense of profoundly local conceptions of identity, what James Lockhart has termed “microethnicity.”⁷⁹ Identification with a community or city-state (*altepetl* in Nahuatl), if not an even smaller lineage-based unit within the community, was far more important than the broad linguistic or religious groups that we tend to identify today.⁸⁰ On folio 42r of the Codex Mendoza, for example, captives from the nearby city-states of Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huejotzingo are listed among the kinds of tribute to be paid by the province of Tepeacac (fig. 1.8).⁸¹ In addition to place-name glyphs, each of these “gentile nouns”⁸² is indicated by a human head wearing the characteristic ornament of the city-state: the *aztaxelli*, or two-heron-feather headband, and a pointed labret for Tlaxcala; the *aztaxelli* combined with a red headband for Cholula; and a red headband and curving labret for Huejotzingo.⁸³ The exceptionally rich sumptuary vocabulary in Nahuatl, the language spoken by the Aztecs, points to the importance of distinctions in rank as indicated by clothing: different capes, headdresses, earrings, labrets, and other items of adornment were known by precise names, as was an equal panoply of warrior costumes, shields, and devices.⁸⁴



Figure 1.8. Captives to be paid in tribute by the province of Tepeacac. Individuals from Tlaxcala, Cholula, and Huejotzingo are indicated by “gentile nouns” combining place-name glyphs with classifiers in the form of human heads with the kind of ornament characteristic of each city-state. All three city-states lie within 120 km of the Aztec capital. Codex Mendoza, detail of fol. 42r. Nahua, Mexico, c. 1540. Bodleian Libraries MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1, fol. 42r. Photo Bodleian Libraries.

⁷⁹ Lockhart 1992, 14–17, 27, 115.

⁸⁰ See also Marcus 1983; Schroeder 1991, 119–53, 205–22; Brumfiel 1994; Brumfiel, Salcedo, and Schafer 1994; Hirth 2003; Restall 2004; Berdan 2008; Umberger 2008.

⁸¹ Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 2:100 and 4:88–89, discussed in Umberger 2008, 78–81. Note that the captives are not included in the Spanish text listing tribute from the province on fol. 41v.

⁸² The phrase is from Umberger 2008, 78.

⁸³ For the *aztaxelli*, see Olko 2014, 57–59.

⁸⁴ Olko 2014.

The right to wear such garments depended on rank. Sumptuary regulations prohibited commoners from wearing cotton, feathers, and other luxury items, at least in public.⁸⁵ Some scholars have questioned how tightly Aztec sumptuary laws were enforced,⁸⁶ given conquistador eyewitness accounts detailing the amazing variety of goods that could be bought in the markets in Tenochtitlan, including many of the apparently restricted items.⁸⁷ But other kinds of evidence point to at least some enforcement of sumptuary law, such as accounts of wealthy merchants wearing their most splendid clothing only on state-sanctioned ritual occasions and otherwise dressing in humble maguey-fiber cloaks to avoid harassment.⁸⁸

Whatever the actuality, colonial-era accounts of sumptuary restriction are important both as normative statements and as rhetorical devices. In the chronicles, the establishment of sumptuary laws occurs at the beginning of imperial expansion, as though control of dress were central to the construction of Aztec rule. It is described as a response to the growing and multiethnic character of the Aztec capital. In his retrospective history, Dominican friar and chronicler Diego Durán assigns the sumptuary regulations to Motecuhzoma I (r. 1440–69), the king who presided over the most dramatic expansion of Aztec territory. He writes, “Motecuhzoma saw that he was now a great sovereign, that his city was rich and prosperous, that it had increased in size, was filled with wealth, that there were innumerable lords and distinguished men, that the city was bursting with people, foreigners as well as locals and Aztec citizens.”⁸⁹ Sumptuary laws begin Motecuhzoma’s law code, with nearly all of the first ten regulations dedicated to appearance and ornament:

1. The king must never appear in public except when the occasion is extremely important and unavoidable.
2. Only the king may wear a golden diadem in the city. . . .
3. Only the king and the prime minister Tlacaelel may wear sandals within the palace. . . .
4. Only the king is to wear the fine mantles of cotton brocaded with designs and threads of different colors and adorned with featherwork; these will be worked with gold and embroidered with royal insignia. The king is to decide which type of cloak is to be used by the royal person and at which times, in order to distinguish him from the rest.
5. The great lords, who are twelve, may wear special mantles of certain make and design, and the minor lords, according to their valor and accomplishments, may wear others.

85 Durán 1971 (1576–79), 200–201; 1994 (1581), chs. XXVI, 208–9; LVIII, 435; Alva Ixtlilxochitl 1975–77, 2:101; Tezozomoc 2001 (1598), chs. 38, 172; 41, 181–82; 70, 300; see discussion in Anawalt 1980; Olko 2014, 310–12.

86 E.g., Olko 2014, 310–11, citing Smith 2003, 255–57; for a competing view, see Anawalt 1980; Clendinnen 1991, 40–41.

87 Cortés 2001 (1520), 104; Díaz del Castillo 2008 (1568), 173–75; Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, chs. 16–17, 61–63; see also Hirth 2016, 59–72.

88 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 9, ch. 2, 5–8; ch. 6, 31–32; Clendinnen 1991, 137.

89 Durán 1994 (1581), ch. 25, 207, discussed in Clendinnen 1991, 41.

6. The common soldiers are permitted to wear only the simplest type of mantle. They are prohibited from using any special designs that might set them off from the rest. Their breechcloths and waistbands must be in keeping with the simplicity of the mantle.
 7. The commoners will not be allowed to wear cotton clothing, under pain of death, but can use only garments of maguey fiber. The mantle must just cover the knee and not be worn longer than this. If anyone allows it to reach the ankle, he will be killed unless he has wounds received in war on his legs. . . .
- [Regulation 8 is the exception: it limits the building of two-story houses to nobles and great warriors.]
9. Only the great lords are to wear labrets, ear plugs, and nose plugs of gold and precious stones, except for commoners who are strong men, brave captains, and soldiers, but their labrets, ear plugs, and nose plugs must be of bone, wood, or other inferior material of little value.
 10. Only the king of Tenochtitlan and sovereigns of the provinces and other great lords are to wear gold armbands, anklets, and golden rattles on their feet at the dances. . . .⁹⁰

According to Durán, Motecuhzoma's sumptuary laws drew clear distinctions between king, nobles, and commoners, as well as between nobles of different ranks. Nobles were granted the right to enforce these rules. Rhetorically, sumptuary laws serve as the basis for all future regulation: only after these questions of precedence and the signs of authority have been established does the law code go on to set up tribunals, define punishments for adultery and theft, and create institutions for schooling. Regulation of attire was thus a foundational imperial act.

Colonial sources also report that extensive regulations governed the dress and hair-style of warriors, with different costumes awarded to those who had taken one, two, three, or more captives in battle.⁹¹ The Codex Mendoza, a mid-sixteenth-century document describing life before the Spanish invasion, describes and illustrates how "these warrior costumes identified the warriors according to rank, rising higher in authority with each rank, by the number of captives they capture in warfare. . . . with their warrior costumes and clothing, the warriors demonstrate the perquisites and ranks that warriors achieved" (fig. 1.9).⁹² Significantly, accomplishments yielded not only kinds of standardized uniforms to wear on the battlefield but also cloth capes with different kinds of decorations that might be worn within the city, making status visible beyond purely military contexts.⁹³

Often, these costumes were gifted from the hand of the Aztec emperor, or *tlahtoani*, in public ceremonies awarding honor to brave warriors, especially those of noble lineage (fig. 1.10). For example, when a noble youth took his first captive without assistance, he

⁹⁰ Durán 1994 (1581), ch. XXIV, 208–9.

⁹¹ Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 8, chs. 20–21, 73–77; Durán 1971 (1576–79), 197–200; see also Olko 2014, 324–31.

⁹² Codex Mendoza fols. 63v, 64r; translation from Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 4:132.

⁹³ Clendinnen 1991, 114–21.



Figure 1.10. The Aztec emperor gives capes and adornments to warriors.
 Florentine Codex, Book 8, ch. 21, fol. 56v. Bernardino de Sahagún and
 Indigenous collaborators, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*,
 Book 9, ch. 5, fol. 18v. Spanish/Nahua, Mexico, 1575–77. Florence, Biblioteca
 Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Med. Palat. 219, fol. 306v. With the concession of the
 Ministero della Cultura. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

was therefore named a leading youth and a captor. And when this came to pass, then they took him before Moctezuma [the Aztec emperor], there at the palace. And by his command he was then stained with yellow ochre; his face was colored with red ochre. They applied it to all of his face. And the majordomos of Moctezuma anointed his temples with yellow ochre.

And at that time, Moctezuma granted him favors; he gave him an orange cape with striped border and a scorpion design to bind on, and a carmine colored breech clout with long ends, and a breech clout of many colors. And then he began to wear capes with designs.⁹⁴

In sum, changes in dress marked the rite of passage of taking one's first captive in battle. A new hairstyle, distinctive body paint, and the right to wear certain capes and loincloths were visible signs of this newly acquired status.

The emperor awarded gifts of clothing on other occasions as well. In preparation for conflict or at the conclusion of a campaign,

the king summoned all the soldiers and valiant men who had accomplished great feats in the war. He congratulated them for their actions and then had special clothing given to them: fine mantles, breechcloths, and sandals, all very luxuriant, well made and adorned, the best among these things that arrived through tribute. These mantles were called "shadow of the kings." They were called this because those mantles could be worn only by the kings and noble lords, thus, they were called "shadow of the kings" because only the sovereign could give permission to wear these; this clothing was a special honor for the king and his lords.⁹⁵

Such sartorial privileges were a signal honor, and the clothes were explicitly recognized as belonging to the ruler who awarded them: "For they did not lightly attain all the ruler's gear that they put on; it was worth their life."⁹⁶ As the ruler's possessions, such honors required ongoing vigilance to maintain. A display of cowardice in battle would result in the stripping of honors and the clothing associated with them.⁹⁷ As archaeologist Elizabeth Brumfiel notes, this had the effect that "traditional markers of ascriptive status were redefined by the state as markers of military achievement," strengthening the military at the expense of the hereditary nobility.⁹⁸

Performances of ethnicity might be incorporated into the gifting and wearing of warrior costumes.⁹⁹ Individuals who had taken one or two captives in battle wore a uniform

94 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 8, ch. 21, 76.

95 Durán 1994 (1581), ch. 19, 167; see also ch. 40, 306; Tezozomoc 2001 (1598), ch. 59, 254.

96 Sahagún 1997 (1561), 245–46, translated in Olko 2014, 33; see also Durán 1994 (1581), ch. 20, 173; also Brumfiel 1987, 109–16.

97 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 8, appendix C, 88; 1997 (1561), 245–46; discussed in Clendinnen 1991, 117–18, 141.

98 Brumfiel 1987, 114, citing Durán 1994 (1581), ch. 29, 234–35. I am grateful to Allison Caplan for directing me to this source (personal communication, 2023).

99 In the 2018 conference presentation that preceded this volume, I referred to this practice as "ethnic drag" as shorthand for the ways these performances exaggerated stereotypes of ethnicity. The term is also used, in a slightly different context, by Sieg (1998, 2002). But upon further reflection, these state-sponsored and normative projects cannot have any of drag's subversive and liberatory potential, and I have removed references to the term in the body of the text. For primers on drag, see Butler 2007 (1990): 186–93; Doonan

called the *cuextecatli* or “Huastec” suit, a colored, full-body suit decorated with parallel black bars similar to Huastec body-paint patterns (see fig. 1.9, center left).¹⁰⁰ The suit was worn with a cone-shaped hat, crescent nosepiece, and unspun cotton earrings, all elements associated with the Huastec peoples of the northern Gulf Coast region. However, there is no clear evidence that people in the Huasteca typically wore these costume elements together, and warrior suits of this form were paid in tribute by twenty provinces in the Aztec Empire, all of them outside the Huastec region.¹⁰¹ As Nahuatl scholar Justyna Olko suggests, “it is not improbable that the *cuextecatli* outfit, as it was used in the Valley of Mexico and beyond at the time of contact, was not a borrowed item in its entirety but a conventional set constructed by the Nahuas themselves of several elements they identified with Huastec origin.”¹⁰² That is, this costume embodied a stereotyped notion of Huastec dress. It was a relatively low-status warrior costume, appropriate to negative stereotypes about the Huastecs as lascivious and cowardly drunkards.¹⁰³ Sahagún and his colleagues identify it as a costume awarded to commoners in public gifting ceremonies during the festival of Ochpaniztli: “to all of those who were only commoners were given the Huastec devices.”¹⁰⁴ At the same time, however, it was one of the most common warrior costumes because it was awarded for taking just one prisoner.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the implicit insult was intended to spur warriors to excel even further in combat.

The performance of ethnicity was made even more explicit in other military ranks. After having taken five or six captives in battle, Aztec warriors were awarded the title of “Otomitl,” a rank named after the Otomí, a northern ethnic group renowned as brave hunters and warriors (see fig. 1.9, lower left).¹⁰⁶ The rank included particular capes, a lip plug, and a distinctive shorn hairstyle, as well as a vow never to retreat in battle. As with the example of the Huastec costume, the idea was not that the warriors were Otomí¹⁰⁷ but instead that they embodied Aztec ideas about Otomí ethnicity, for good and for ill. While the Otomí were praised as great hunters, they were also cast as vain and lazy, and according to the Florentine Codex one might insult someone by calling them an Otomí: “Thus was there the scolding of one untrained. It was said, ‘Now thou art an Otomí. . . . How is it that thou understandest not? Art thou perchance an Otomí? Art thou perchance a real Otomí? Not only art thou like an Otomí, thou art a real Otomí, a miserable Otomí, a green-head, a

2019; Edward and Farrier 2020, 2021. The term “ethnic masquerade,” proposed by Rosa Fong (2020) may be more apt; Philip Deloria’s idea of “playing Indian” may also have some useful resonance (Deloria 1998).

100 Anawalt 1992, 113–15; 1993, 24–25; Berdan 2008, 112; Olko 2014, 117; also Seler 1902–23, 2:604–10.

101 Broda 1978, 128–29; Anawalt 1993, 25.

102 Olko 2014, 117.

103 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 185–86, 193–94; Anawalt 1993, 24–27; DiCesare 2009, 119–20.

104 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 2, ch. 30, 123.

105 Anawalt 1993, 25.

106 Durán 1994 (1581), chs. 19, 164; 40, 306; Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 8, appendix C, 87–88; Book 10, ch. 29, 171, 176–81; Hassig 1988, 45–47; Clendinnen 1991, 34–35; Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 2:185, 3–4; fol. 64r; Brumfiel, Salcedo, and Schafer 1994; Olko 2014, 63–64 et passim.

107 Although there were Otomí speakers living within the Valley of Mexico; see Brumfiel 1994; Brumfiel, Salcedo, and Schafer 1994.

thick-head, a big tuft of hair over the back of the head, an Otomí blockhead.”¹⁰⁸ In this way, performances of ethnicity ultimately reinforced the superiority of the Mexica, leaders of the Aztec Empire.¹⁰⁹

At other times, knowledge of ethnic dress was put to strategic use in service of the expansive state. Long-distance *pochteca* merchants disguised themselves as locals by altering their clothing, hairstyle, body paint, and even forms of speech (fig. 1.11). While ostensibly independent, *pochteca* merchants operated with the support of the Aztec ruler and sometimes served as vanguard for military troops.¹¹⁰ Sahagún and colleagues describe how *pochteca* merchants adopted the speech, manners, and dress of the Maya in the region of modern Chiapas and peoples elsewhere on the borders of empire:



Figure 1.11. Aztec *pochteca* merchants on the road. The Mexica merchants on the left, wearing non-Mexica haircuts, converse with a Totonac on the right (compare the costume with Florentine Codex, Book 10, ch. 29, fol. 134r). Bernardino de Sahagún and Indigenous collaborators, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Book 9, ch. 5, fol. 18v. Spanish/Nahua, Mexico, 1575–77. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ms. Med. Palat. 219, fol. 326v. With the concession of the Ministerio della Cultura. Any further reproduction by any means is prohibited.

When the merchants went into Tzinacantlan before the people of Tzinacantlan had been conquered, to enter so that they did not look like Mexicans, they took on the appearance of the [natives]. As was the manner of cutting the hair of the people of Tzinacantlan, of Cimatlan, of the Otomi, of the Chontal, just so did the merchants cut their hair to imitate them. And they learned their tongue to enter in disguise. And no one at all could tell whether they were perchance Mexicans when they were anointed with ochre.¹¹¹

In contrast to the boastful and stereotyped ethnic performances of warriors of different ranks, the goal of *pochteca* merchants was to inhabit a foreign ethnicity through clothing,

108 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 178.

109 Brumfiel 1994; Brumfiel, Salcedo, and Schafer 1994; Berdan 2008; Umberger 2008. There may be other ethnic performances still to be identified within Aztec warrior costume. The *quauhchictli* or “shorn warrior” next to the Otomí warrior on fol. 64r of the Codex Mendoza (see fig. 1.9) is one possibility; the netted *chalca-ayatl*, or “Chalco mantle,” would be another likely candidate (see Aguilera 1997, 10–11). See also Anawalt 1993, 29–32.

110 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 9, chs. 2, 3–8; 5–6, 17–24; Clendinnen 1991, 133–40.

111 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 9, ch. 5, 21. Brackets are the translators’ original.

body adornment, and language in situations where the consequences for discovery could be fatal.¹¹²

It was not only warriors and merchants who imitated other ethnicities. In the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, performers singing the songs of distant cities would also assume the costume and accents of their inhabitants:

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well was imitated. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huasteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow, and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point] and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.¹¹³

In other words, performances of ethnicity might extend to the realm of entertainment, when musicians within a lord's house dressed and adorned their bodies to resemble the ethnicity of the creators of the songs that they performed. As with other instances of Mexica performances of ethnicity, there is no reason to expect that the costumes or accents in these performances were especially faithful or respectful recreations of ethnic costume.

These performances of ethnicity extended even to state ritual. Individuals dressed as priapic and scantily clad Huastecs also accompanied the *teixiptla*, or god-embodier, of the goddess Toci during the festival of Ochpaniztli (fig. 1.12).¹¹⁴ In this festival, the goddess Toci shared attributes with Tlazolteotl, a deity with roots in the Huasteca whose cult was appropriated by the Aztecs after their conquest of the region during the reign of Axayacatl between 1469 and 1481. The presence of the "Huastecs" accompanying the goddess (a priest dressed in the flayed skin of a sacrificial victim and the goddess's clothing) served as a visible reminder of the goddess's foreign origins. Durán makes it clear that these are "men disguised as Huastecs,"¹¹⁵ and indeed, on close examination, the figures in the Codex Borbonicus illustration appear to be costumed performers embodying familiar notions of exaggerated ethnic performance. The cone-shaped headdresses and "hawk scratch" body paint are familiar markers of Huastec ethnicity, but it is notable that the "Huastec" dancers are wearing loincloths in combination with exaggerated penis sheaths, even though Huastecs were famous for going about without loincloths.¹¹⁶ The loincloths suggest a concession to Mexica morality in the midst of a celebration of fertility. At the end of the festival, "those who had impersonated the Huastecs and the others now took off their disguises, hanging them on the corners of the platform, leaving them as trophies."¹¹⁷ With the clothing set aside, the performance of ethnicity ceased.

112 For another perspective, see Clendinnen 1991, 134.

113 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 8, ch. 14, 45.

114 Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 2, ch. 30, 118–26; Durán 1971 (1576–79), 229–37, 447–49; Brown 1984; Clendinnen 1991, 200–205; Anawalt 1993, 24; Harris 2000, 74–84; DiCesare 2009.

115 Durán 1971 (1576–79), 233.

116 E.g., Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 186.

117 Durán 1971 (1576–79), 236.



Figure 1.12. Performers in Huastec costume accompanying the goddess Toci during the festival of Ochpanitzli. Codex Borbonicus, page 30/31. Nahuatl, Mexico, c. 1530. Bibliothèque de l'Assemblée nationale, Paris.

In the Aztec world, ethnic difference was worn or inscribed on the body rather than being inherent within it. Despite archaeological evidence for ethnically determined body alteration practices, such as head shaping or dental modification, physical features only rarely distinguish different ethnic groups in sixteenth-century accounts.¹¹⁸ Instead, costume, modes of speech, face and body paint, hair color, and hairstyle were the most consistently cited markers of ethnic identity—all elements that could be modified to permit ethnic performances. This lability of ethnic identity and the way it might be assisted by dress also had deeper ontological roots within Aztec society. An instantiation of an Aztec deity, or *teixiptla*, was the result of assembling the proper attributes, be it on a ritually

118 Berdan 2008, 127; see Sahagún 1950–82 (1575–77), Book 10, ch. 29, 165–97.

prepared human body or in the form of a statue.¹¹⁹ Wrapping and dressing thus did not simply change outward appearance; they created a space where a deity might manifest and where identity could be transformed.

The Aztec emperor's own clothing might also be construed as a series of similar acts of transformation. The "turquoise-knotted cape," or *xiuhtlapilli tilmatli*, worn by Aztec rulers was an element of clothing understood to have deep Toltec roots, as was the *xiuhhuitzolli* diadem that was the emblem of rulership.¹²⁰ By assuming these elements, the emperor performed the identity of a Toltec, one of the quasi-mythical progenitors of civilization. On other occasions, the kings might instead perform Chichimec identity, honoring the fierce and austere roots of their nomadic progenitors.¹²¹ For example, on the Teocalli of Sacred War, dedicated in 1507, art historian Emily Umberger argues that Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin appears as a Chichimec warrior, dressed in animal skin (fig. 1.13).¹²²

On other occasions, however, the king would use dress not to assume the identity of a generic class of people, such as the Chichimecs or Toltecs, but instead to become the embodiment of a particular deity, most typically Huiztilopochtli, the patron deity of the Mexica. The Codex Xolotl shows Mexica ruler Chimalpopoca in battle dressed as Huitzilopochtli, only to be represented without the costume after being taken captive (fig. 1.14).¹²³ Both accession and funerary rituals for the Aztec ruler entailed the wearing of successive garments associated with many deities.¹²⁴ Art historian William Barnes suggests that at these and other moments, "the *huei tlatoani* was himself a type of deity impersonator, and his variant costume elements and associated visual material served to signify that specific deities had become manifest in the body of the ruler."¹²⁵

Aztec rulers also represented themselves as coextensive with deities in monumental art. This practice is most clear on the Tizoc Stone, a round sacrificial stone that commemorates a series of Mexica conquests of the surrounding territories. In each scene, the god Tezcatlipoca grabs the hair of a subjugated foe, who wears the costume typical of the ethnic group and/or patron deity of the conquered city.¹²⁶ One conquest scene shows the emperor Tizoc dressed as his patron deity Huitzilopochtli and capturing the representative of the Matlatzinca (fig. 1.15).¹²⁷ Tizoc's name glyph—a spotted leg—indicates that this figure

119 Hvifeldt 1958, 76–100; Boone 1989, 4–9; López Austin 1990, 191–94; Clendinnen 1991, 249–53; Maffie 2014, 113–14, 526; Bassett 2015, 52–88, 130–61.

120 See fig. 1.10; Anawalt 1990, 1993, 1996; Aguilar 1997; Barnes 2009, 56–83; Olko 2014, 37–54, 86–97. On closer examination, both of these items of regalia appear to be "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The *xiuhhuitzolli* diadem is worn by a wide range of social actors at Tula (which the Aztecs understood to be a Toltec capital) and at Chichen Itza, so its adoption as a marker of royal status involved resignification. The story of the *xiuhtlapilli* cape is even more complex: a similar pattern is found on aprons and sandals at Tula, but the creation of the cape, whether knotted or tie-dyed, again appears to be an Aztec invention, although the Aztecs likely understood it as a garment of great antiquity.

121 Umberger 2008, 72.

122 Umberger 1981, 176; 2008, 99–100; Olko 2014, 195–96.

123 Boone 1989, 29–30.

124 Olivier 2006, 208–13; 2008, 70, 78–81, 225; Barnes 2009, 89–127.

125 Barnes 2009, 127.

126 Wicke 1975; Umberger 1998, 249–52; 2008, 86–98.

127 Townsend 1979, 43–46.



Figure 1.13. Teocalli of Sacred War, c. 1507. The emperor Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, shown to the right, wears the animal-skin costume of a Chichimec warrior. To the left of the sun disk is a god with attributes of Huitzilopochtli (the hummingbird-beak helmet) and Tezcatlipoca (the foot replaced with a *xiuhcoatl* serpent). This figure may represent Motecuhzoma's predecessor Axayacatl (r. 1469–81), deceased and deified. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. Photo by Wolfgang Sauber, cropped from File:Teocalli.jpg, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=6838207>.

represents both king and god simultaneously; it is the first named image of an Aztec ruler in monumental sculpture.¹²⁸ As Umberger notes, the victorious deities are also dressed in the attributes of Toltec warriors, so the representation layers god-embodiment and ethnic performance.¹²⁹ Indeed, art historian Cecelia Klein has argued that most of the surviving low-relief images of Huitzilopochtli on Mexica sculpture are actually images of rulers (sometimes recently deceased) impersonating, or assimilated to, the deity (see fig. 1.13).¹³⁰ While a king dressing in the clothes of the god to become the representative of that deity is not identical to him wearing the cloak and diadem of a Toltec ruler, the two kinds of acts share some important commonalities. In both cases, dressing in particular clothing enables the assumption of a different identity. The royal body could assume multitudes.

These sources allow us to see Aztec identity as a series of performances enabled by different forms of clothing and bodily adornment. Particular attire allowed the ruler to appear as a mythical ancestor and enabled a merchant to transact trade and espionage. Within the capital, performances exaggerated the traits of foreign ethnic groups, be it the bravery of Otomí warriors or the lasciviousness of Huastec men. Such stereotypes were recognizable by the caricatures of ethnic dress donned in performance (or lack thereof, in the case of the Huastecs). It is likely not a coincidence that the regions singled out for performances

128 Barnes 2009, 218–19, 253–58.

129 Umberger 1981, 136–37; 2008, 91–91; Olko 2014, 189–91.

130 Klein 1987, 312, 342–44.

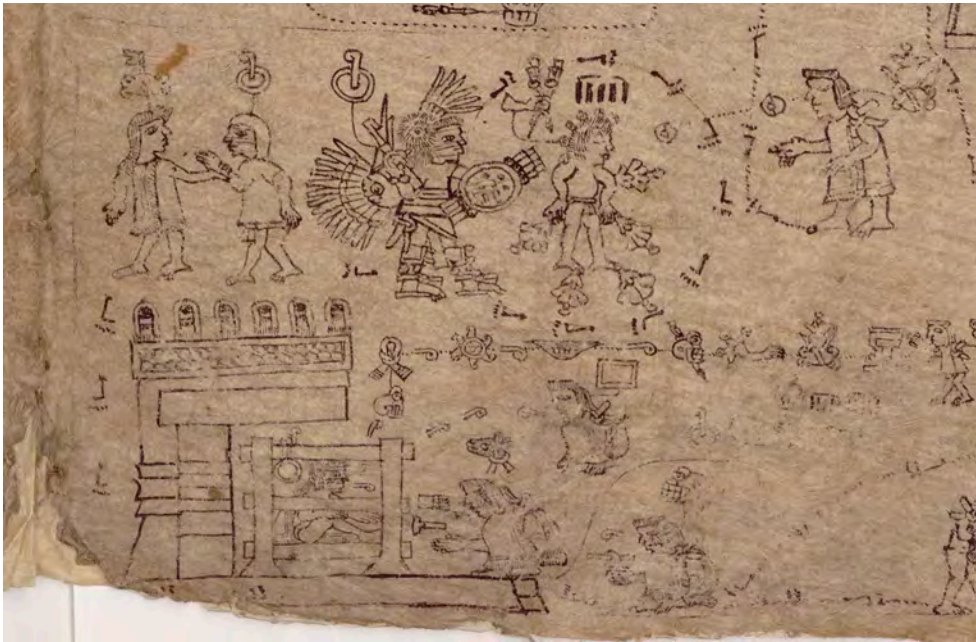


Figure 1.14. The Mexica ruler Chimalpopoca (r. 1417–27) in battle, dressed as Huitzilopochtli. The hummingbird headdress, striped face paint, and other costume elements identify the god, but Chimalpopoca's name glyph (a smoking mirror) is attached to the figure. To the left, Chimalpopoca, now stripped of his regalia, is taken captive and led away. Codex Xolotl, Map 8. Nahua, Mexico, c. 1540. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Mexicain 1–10.



Figure 1.15. Stone of Tizoc, Mexico, c. 1481–87. The stone shows a series of confrontations of the deity Tezcatlipoca (identifiable by the smoking mirror in the place of a foot), dressed in Toltec garb, capturing individuals dressed in the ethnic garb of their communities. One of the confrontations, however, shows the Mexica king Tizoc (identifiable by his leg-shaped name glyph) dressed in the hummingbird helmet of the god Huitzilopochtli, with additional attributes of the god Tezcatlipoca. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. Photo by Ricardo Alvarado Tapia.

lay on the contested borders of the Aztec state. By disparaging and appropriating ethnicity through dress and performance, the Aztecs brought foreign groups into their realm even before they were conquered.

COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Inca and Aztec regimes of control over dress have notable similarities. Both described clothing as the mark of civilization, enacted sumptuary laws, and placed particular weight on gifts of clothing from the hand of the emperor. But in other ways, the two regimes and their underlying philosophies are diametrically opposed. As far as we can tell from existing sources, Inca regulation focused primarily on conquered subjects, requiring them to wear distinctive ethnic clothing, while Aztec interventions often centered on residents of the imperial capital, with much less interest in regulating provincial behavior. The chief goal of Inca sartorial regulation was to maintain congruence between inner substance and outward appearance, so that bodies and identities might be immediately legible representations of empire. By contrast, Aztec encounters with ethnic dress instead focused on performances of ethnicity that assumed qualities of ethnic others, where outward appearance might add a new overlay atop inner substance without ever transmuting it entirely into something else. Despite these differences, both Inca and Aztec regulations of dress reinforced the superiority of the ruling ethnic group against all other imperial subjects.

Ultimately, both Inca and Aztec attention to ethnic costume had similar effects: they codified what might have originally been situations of greater fluidity and change. Contemporary ethnographic observation stresses that people of different ethnic groups often share significant commonalities of clothing and material culture and that the items that become signifiers of identity can be quite arbitrary.¹³¹ It is also clear that ethnogenesis intensifies under pressure, such as in the competition for resources or the need to defend against an encroaching imperial power. In other words, in addition to imperial regulations that defined certain kinds of ethnic clothing, the mere presence of empire may also have hardened the meaning of regional dress into signifiers of ethnic identity. This proposition is extraordinarily difficult to test, as almost all our textual records of clothing practices were made under such conditions, and archaeologically excavated materials rarely offer sufficiently comprehensive samples to sustain an argument. But in at least some cases in Mesoamerica, preimperial materials seem to complicate relationships between dress and ethnicity—the murals of Cacaxtla stage and then subvert ethnic binaries; patterns of dress in the Classic Maya lowlands, 300–800 CE, seem to be regional at best, rather than community based like modern *traje*.¹³² In a similar way, Moche ceramics on the north coast of Peru in the first millennium CE draw distinctions between coastal and highland women's clothing, evoking a highland Andean other without necessarily drawing fine-grained distinctions between particular coastal or highland communities.¹³³

131 Barth 1969; Siverts 1969; Hodder 1982; Jones 1997.

132 Taylor 1983; Brittenham 2015, 133–39.

133 Scher 2019.

Nonetheless, for all that imperial regulation might seek to legislate clothing, fixing traditions in place, there is evidence that costume did change under imperial rule. In Ecuador, Inca-style tunics and dresses are an index of prehispanic imperial presence, as the Incas deemed the preexisting local clothing insufficiently modest.¹³⁴ Women in the Maya community of Zinacatan, Chiapas, Mexico, today wear long *huipils* with central square panels, a style more commonly associated with the Aztecs of Central Mexico, and evidence of Aztec imperial pressures in Southern Mexico in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³⁵

Imperial mobilization of dress was not solely the province of ancient American empires. As Margaret Miller's work in this volume demonstrates, a situation of "vestimental fluidity" in private contexts contrasted with rigidly standardized ethnic costumes on public monuments, as complex realities were simplified into clearly legible images of the vastness of the Achaemenid Empire. Nor is the tendency exclusively an ancient one: the codification of both the Sikh turban and the Scottish tartan kilt may have their origins in British army regimental uniforms.¹³⁶

After the Spanish invasion, sartorial regulation continued to be an important tool of imperial control. Laws decreeing the wearing of shirts and pants to conform to Christian ideas of modesty were promulgated in 1513 and again in 1618, suggesting that the original decrees had been unsuccessful.¹³⁷ Yet emulation could go only so far: sumptuary laws prohibited non-noble Indians from wearing fully Spanish garb, as well as from performing other markers of nobility such as riding horses or carrying swords, part of an uphill attempt to make status legible through dress. As is suggested by the trial of Juan Gerson, an Indigenous man from the community of Tecamachalco, Mexico, who was accused of dressing like a Spaniard, the rules were not always successful.¹³⁸ The continuing efforts of the Spanish Empire to regulate dress and ethnicity are most clearly expressed in *casta* paintings, an eighteenth-century genre of paintings showing a grid of different family units illustrating the products of racial mixing (fig. 1.16).¹³⁹ Documents of an oppressive system of racial classification, they are also inadvertently evidence of its malleability. Dress and other markers of class define identity, sometimes more effectively than skin color or other aspects of phenotype alone, suggesting possibilities for racial mobility through changes in attire. If it is the nature of empires to seek to classify and control, those desires may also be resisted and subverted.

134 A. Rowe 2011, 92–93.

135 Johnson 1957; Morris and Karasik 2015, 54–61, 82; see also the discussion in Avila 1997, 105. This garment is the endpoint of a long and complex history of exchange. Although Nahua women in Central Mexico in the fifteenth century traditionally wore *huipils*, there is little evidence for this kind of garment in Central Mexico before the twelfth century CE; the combination of wrapped skirt and *quechquemitl* (a kind of triangular poncho) was traditional at Teotihuacan, Tula, and other earlier Central Mexican cities. In the Maya world, both *quechquemitls* and long *huipils* are attested in the first millennium CE. Some scholars propose that the *huipil* has its origins in yet a third region, along the Gulf Coast (Anawalt 1981, 212–14; Taylor 1983, 122). There is still much to be investigated about these prehispanic shifts in Mesoamerican fashion.

136 Cohn 1983, 1989; Trevor-Roper 1983, 2008.

137 Altman and West 1992, 21.

138 Camelo Arredondo, Gurriá Lacroix, and Reyes-Valerio 1964; see also Schwaller 2016.

139 Katzew 1996, 2004; Katzew and Deans-Smith 2009; Cohen Suarez 2016.



Figure 1.16. *Casta* painting showing sixteen combinations, Mexico, eighteenth century. While this class of images purports to show the results of racial mixing, it also highlights how dress was used to define race within the Spanish Empire. Oil on canvas, 148 × 104 cm. Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Photo from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4642698>.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to Aleksandra Hallmann for organizing the stimulating conference where this essay was first presented, and to the other participants in the event for their insightful questions and observations. Ann Rowe, Mary Miller, Lisa Trever, Megan Sullivan, and Clark Evans also offered helpful comments. I am especially grateful to Allison Caplan and Andrew Hamilton for reading and commenting so extensively and generously on the manuscript. All errors that remain are my own.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, Rolena

1986 *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Aguilera, Carmen

1997 "Of Royal Mantles and Blue Turquoise: The Meaning of the Mexica Emperor's Mantle." *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 1: 3–19.

Albornoz, Cristóbal de

1967 (after 1580) "Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: *La instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haziendas* [1581–85]," edited and translated by Pierre Duviols. *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 56: 7–39.

Altman, Patricia B., and Caroline D. West

1992 *Threads of Identity: Maya Costume of the 1960s in Highland Guatemala*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Fernando de

1975–77 *Obras históricas*, edited by Edmundo O'Gorman. 2 vols. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Anawalt, Patricia Rieff

1980 "Costume and Control: Aztec Sumptuary Laws." *Archaeology* 33, no. 1: 33–43.

1981 *Indian Clothing before Cortés: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

1990 "The Emperors' Cloak: Aztec Pomp, Toltec Circumstances." *American Antiquity* 55, no. 2: 291–307.

1992 "A Comparative Analysis of the Costumes and Accoutrements of the Codex Mendoza." In *The Codex Mendoza*, edited by Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, 103–51. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1993 "Rabbits, *Pulque*, and Drunkenness: A Study of Ambivalence in Aztec Society." In *Current Topics in Aztec Studies: Essays in Honor of Dr. H. B. Nicholson*, edited by Alana Cordy-Collins and Douglas Sharon, 17–38. San Diego: San Diego Museum.

1996 "Aztec Knotted and Netted Capes: Colonial Interpretations versus Indigenous Primary Data." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 7, no. 2: 187–206.

Arriola de Geng, Olga

1991 *Los tejedores en Guatemala y la influencia española en el traje indígena*. Guatemala City: Taller de Litografías Modernas.

Astuhumán Gonzáles, César W.

2011 "The Concept of Inca Province at Tawantinsuyu." *Indiana Journal of Hispanic Literatures* 28: 79–107.

Avila B., Alejandro de

- 1997 "Threads of Diversity: Oaxacan Textiles in Context." In *The Unbroken Thread: Conserving the Textile Traditions of Oaxaca*, edited by Kathryn Klein, 87–151. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute.

Barlow, Robert H.

- 1945 "Some Remarks on the Term 'Aztec Empire.'" *The Americas* 1, no. 3: 345–49.

Barnes, William L.

- 2009 "Icons of Empire: The Art and History of Aztec Royal Presentation." PhD diss., Tulane University.

Barth, Fredrik, ed.

- 1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown.

Bassett, Molly

- 2015 *The Fate of Earthly Things: Aztec Gods and God-Bodies*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bauer, Brian S.

- 1992 *The Development of the Inca State*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bauer, Brian S., and Charles Stanish

- 2001 *Ritual and Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Berdan, Frances F.

- 2008 "Concepts of Ethnicity and Class in Aztec-Period Mexico." In *Ethnic Identity in Nahua Mesoamerica: The View from Archaeology, Art History, Ethnohistory, and Contemporary Ethnography*, 105–32. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Berdan, Frances F., and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds.

- 1992 *The Codex Mendoza*. 4 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Betanzos, Juan de

- 1996 (1557) *Narrative of the Incas*. Translated by Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan. Austin: University of Texas Press. First published 1551–57.

Blom, Frans

- 1956 "La vida precortesiana del indio Chiapaneco de hoy." In *Estudios antropológicos publicados en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio*, 277–85. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología.

Boone, Elizabeth Hill

- 1989 "Incarnations of the Aztec Supernatural: The Image of Huitzilopochtli in Mexico and Europe." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 79, no. 2: 1–107.

Bray, Tamara, ed.

- 2015 *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Brezine, Carrie Jane

- 2011 "Dress, Technology, and Identity in Colonial Peru." PhD diss., Harvard University.

Brittenham, Claudia

- 2015 *The Murals of Cacaxtla: The Power of Painting in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Broda, Johanna

- 1978 "El tributo en trajes guerreros y la estructura del sistema tributario mexicana." In *Economía política e ideología en el México prehispánico*, edited by Johanna Broda and Pedro Carrasco, 115–74. Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Brown, Betty Ann

- 1984 "Ochpaniztli in Historical Perspective." In *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Mesoamerica: A Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, October 13th and 14th, 1979*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 195–210. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M.

- 1987 "Elite and Utilitarian Crafts in the Aztec State." In *Specialization, Exchange, and Complex Societies*, edited by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and Timothy K. Earle, 102–18. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1994 "Ethnic Groups and Political Development in Ancient Mexico." In *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and John W. Fox, 89–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M., Tamara Salcedo, and David K. Schafer

- 1994 "The Lip Plugs of Xaltocan: Function and Meaning in Aztec Archaeology." In *Economies and Politics in the Aztec Realm*, edited by Mary Hodge and Michael E. Smith, 113–31. Albany: State University of New York at Albany, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies.

Burger, Richard L.

- 2004 "Scientific Insights into Daily Life at Machu Picchu." In *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, edited by Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar, 85–108. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Burger, Richard L., and Lucy C. Salazar, eds.

- 2004 *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Butler, Judith

- 2007 (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.

Camelo Arredondo, Rosa, Jorge Gurriá Lacroix, and Constantino Reyes-Valerio

- 1964 *Juan Gerson, tlacuilo de Tecamachalco*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Departamento de Monumentos Coloniales.

Carlsen, Robert S.

- 2003 "Subversive Threads: An Interpretation of Maya Weaving and Culture." In "With Their Hands and Their Eyes": *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 138–55. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.

Cieza de León, Pedro

- 1883 (1554) *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru*. Translated by Clements Markham. London: Hakluyt Society.
- 1984 (1553) *Crónica del Perú: Primera parte*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Clendinnen, Inga

- 1991 *Aztecs: An Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cobo, Bernabe

- 1979 (1653) *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of the Indians' Customs and Their Origin Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 1990 (1653) *Inca Religion and Customs*. Translated by Roland Hamilton. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cohen Suarez, Ananda

- 2016 "Making Race Visible in the Colonial Andes." In *Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America*, edited by Pamela A. Patton, 187–212. Leiden: Brill.

Cohn, Bernard S.

- 1983 "Representing Authority in Victorian India." In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 165–209. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1989 "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism: India in the Nineteenth Century." In *Cloth and Human Experience*, edited by Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, 303–53. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

Cordry, Donald, and Dorothy Cordry

- 1968 *Mexican Indian Costumes*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Cortés, Hernán

- 2001 (1520) "The Second Letter." In *Letters from Mexico*, translated by Anthony Pagden, 47–159. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Costin, Cathy Lynne

- 1998 "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes." In "Craft and Social Identity," edited by Cathy Lynne Costin and Rita P. Wright, special issue, *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8, no. 1: 123–41. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Cummins, Tom

- 2011 "Tocapu: What Is It, What Does It Do, and Why Is It Not a Knot?" In *Their Way of Writing: Scripts, Signs, and Pictographies in Pre-Columbian America*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone and Gary Urton, 277–317. *Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Symposia and Colloquia*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

D'Altroy, Terence N.

- 2002 *The Incas*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- 2005 "Remaking the Social Landscape: Colonization in the Inka Empire." In *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gil Stein, 263–95. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Dean, Carolyn

- 2010 *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*. Durham: Duke University Press.

de la Cadena, Marisol

- 1995 "'Women Are More Indian': Ethnicity and Gender in a Community near Cuzco." In *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*, edited by Brooke Larson and Olivia Harris, 329–48. Durham: Duke University Press.

Deloria, Philip J.

- 1998 *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Díaz del Castillo, Bernal

- 2008 (1568) *The History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Edited and abridged by David Carrasco, translated by Alfred Percival Maudslay. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. First published 1632.

DiCesare, Catherine R.

- 2009 *Sweeping the Way: Divine Transformation in the Aztec Festival of Ochpaniztli*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Doonan, Simon

- 2019 *Drag: The Complete Story*. London: Laurence King.

Dransart, Penny

- 1992 "Pachamama: The Inka Earth Mother of the Long Sweeping Garment." In *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, edited by Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, 145–63. New York: Berg.

Durán, Diego

- 1971 (1576–79) *Book of the Gods and Rites and The Ancient Calendar*. Translated by Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- 1994 (1581) *The History of the Indies of New Spain*. Translated by Doris Heyden. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Edward, Mark, and Stephen Farrier, eds.

- 2020 *Contemporary Drag Practices and Performers*. Drag in a Changing Scene 1. London: Methuen Drama.
- 2021 *Drag Histories, Herstories and Hairstories*. Drag in a Changing Scene 2. London: Methuen Drama.

Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar

- 1975 "Los mitmas Huayacuntu en Quito o guarniciones para la represión armada, siglos XV y XVI." *Revista del Museo Nacional* 41: 351–94.

Filloy Nadal, Laura

- 2017 "Mesoamerican Archaeological Textiles: An Overview of Materials, Techniques, and Contexts." In *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII / Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII*, edited by Linda Bjerregaard and Ann Peters, 7–39. Lincoln, NE: Zea Books.

Fong, Rosa

- 2020 "Chinoiserie Drag: Masquerading as the Oriental Other." In *Contemporary Drag Practices and Performers*, edited by Mark Edward and Stephen Farrier, 45–57. Drag in a Changing Scene 1. London: Methuen Drama.

Frame, Mary

- 2010 "What Guaman Poma Shows Us, but Doesn't Tell Us, about Tukapu." *Nawpa Pacha: Journal of Andean Archaeology* 30, no. 1: 25–52.

Franquemont, Ed

- 1991 "Dual-Lease Weaving: An Andean Loom Technology." In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology*, edited by Margaret Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer, 283–308. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Garcilaso de la Vega, "El Inca" [Gómez Suárez de Figueroa]

- 1966 (1609–17) *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and a General History of Peru*. Translated by Harold V. Livermore. 2 vols. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe

- 2001 (1615) "El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno." Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibliotek. <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/info/en/frontpage.htm>.

Hamilton, Andrew

- 2018 *Scale and the Incas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2024 *The Royal Inca Tunic: A Biography of an Andean Masterpiece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Harris, Max

- 2000 *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Harrison, Regina

- 1982 "Modes of Discourse: The *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú* by Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua." In *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period*, edited by Rolena Adorno, 65–99. Syracuse, NY: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University.

Hassig, Ross

- 1988 *Aztec Warfare*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Haun, Susan, and Guillermo Cock Carrasco

- 2010 "A Bioarchaeological Approach to the Search for *Mitmaqkuna*." In *Distant Provinces in the Inka Empire: Toward a Deeper Understanding of Inka Imperialism*, edited by Michael A. Malpass and Sonia Alconini, 193–220. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Hendrickson, Carol

- 1995 *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Herring, Adam

- 2015 *Art and Vision in the Inca Empire: Andeans and Europeans at Cajamarca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hirth, Kenneth G.

- 2003 "The Altepétl and Urban Structure in Prehispanic Mesoamerica." In *El urbanismo en Mesoamérica / Urbanism in Mesoamerica*, edited by William T. Sanders, Alba Guadalupe Mastache, and Robert H. Cobean, 1:57–84. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia; University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- 2016 *The Aztec Economic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds.

- 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Canto Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, Ian

- 1982 *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogue, Marianne

- 2006 "Cosmology in Inca Tunics and Tectonics." In *Andean Textile Tradition: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson, 101–22. Denver: Denver Art Museum.

Holsbeke, Mireille

- 2003 "Textile as Text: Maya Traditional Dress and the Messages It Conveys." In "*With Their Hands and Their Eyes*": *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 16–45. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.

Houston, Stephen D., and Tom Cummins

- 2004 "Body, Presence, and Space in Andean and Mesoamerican Rulership." In *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, edited by Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, 359–98. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Hvifeldt, Arild

- 1958 *Teotl and *Ixiptlatli: Some Central Conceptions in Ancient Mexican Religion, with a General Introduction on Cult and Myth*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Johnson, Irmgard W.

- 1954 "Chiptic Cave Textiles from Chiapas, Mexico." *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 43: 137–47.
- 1957 "Survival of Feather Ornamented Huipiles in Chiapas, Mexico." *Journal de la Société des américanistes* 16: 189–96.

Jones, Siân

- 1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.

Julien, Catherine

- 1996 "Spanish Use of Inca Textile Standards." *Indiana* 16: 57–81.

Katzew, Ilona, ed.

- 1996 *New World Orders: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*. New York: Americas Society Art Gallery.
- 2004 *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Katzew, Ilona, and Susan Deans-Smith, eds.

- 2009 *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Klein, Cecelia F.

- 1987 "The Ideology of Autosacrifice at the Templo Mayor." In *The Aztec Templo Mayor*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 293–370. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Kolata, Alan L.

- 2013 *Ancient Inca*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lechtman, Heather

- 1996 "Cloth and Metal: The Culture of Technology." In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 33–43. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Lockhart, James

- 1992 *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

López Austin, Alfredo

- 1990 *Los mitos del tlacuache: Caminos de la mitología mesoamericana*. México City: Alianza Editorial Mexicana.

López Luján, Leonardo, and Salvador Guilliem Arroyo

- 2017 "Mexico Textiles: Archaeological Remains from the Sacred Precincts of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco." In *PreColumbian Textile Conference VII / Jornadas de Textiles PreColombinos VII*, edited by Linda Bjerregaard and Ann Peters, 141–61. Lincoln, NE: Zea Books.

MacCormack, Sabine

- 1991 *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Maffie, James

- 2014 *Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Mahler Lothrop, Joy

- 1992 "Textiles." In *Artifacts from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, Yucatan: Textiles, Basketry, Stone, Bone, Shell, Ceramics, Wood, Copal, Rubber, Other Organic Materials, and Mammalian Remains*, edited by Clemency Chase Coggins, 33–90. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Marcus, Joyce

- 1983 "On the Nature of the Mesoamerican City." In *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon Willey*, edited by Evon Vogt and Richard Leventhal, 195–242. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Meisch, Lynn, and Ann Pollard Rowe

- 1998 "Indigenous Ecuadorian Costume." In *Costume and Identity in Highland Ecuador*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe. Washington, DC: Textile Museum; Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Miralbés de Polanco, Rosario, and Barbara Knoke de Arathoon

- 2003 "Survival Strategies: The Diversity of Maya Dress in Guatemala." In "*With Their Hands and Their Eyes*": *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 46–71. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.

Molina, Cristóbal de

- 1943 (1574) "Fabulas y ritos de los incas." In *Las crónicas de los Molinas*, edited by Francisco A. Loayza. Lima: Los pequeños grandes libros de historia americana.

Montoya, Julia

- 2003 "Maya Textile Motifs: Mirrors of a Worldview." In "*With Their Hands and Their Eyes*": *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 92–127. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.

Morris, Walter

- 1987 *Living Maya*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Morris, Walter, and Carol Karasik

- 2003 "Chiapas Textiles: The Art of Ancient Dreams." In "*With Their Hands and Their Eyes*": *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 72–91. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.
- 2015 *Maya Threads: A Woven History of Chiapas*. Loveland, CO: Thrums.

Mumford, Jeremy

- 2012 *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Murra, John

- 1962 "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State." *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4: 710–28.

Murúa, Martín de

- 2008 (1616) *Historia general del Piru: Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.

Ndiaye, Noémie, and Lia Markey, eds.

- 2023 *Seeing Race before Race: Visual Culture and the Racial Matrix in the Premodern World*. Tucson: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Press.

Niles, Susan A.

- 1999 *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- 2004 "The Nature of Inca Royal Estates." In *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, edited by Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar, 49–70. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Olivier, Guilhem

- 2006 "The Sacred Bundles and the Coronation of the Aztec King in Mexico-Tenochtitlan." In *Sacred Bundles: Ritual Acts of Wrapping and Binding in Mesoamerica*, edited by Julia Guernsey and F. Kent Reilly, 199–225. Barnardville, NC: Boundary End Archaeology Research Center.

- 2008 *Mockeries and Metamorphoses of an Aztec God: Tezcatlipoca, the Lord of the Smoking Mirror*. Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Olko, Justyna

- 2014 *Insignia of Rank in the Nahua World: From the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Ossio, Juan

- 1973 "Guamán Poma: Nueva crónica o carta al rey. Un intento de aproximación a las categorías del pensamiento andino." In *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*, edited by Juan Ossio, 155–213. Lima: Biblioteca de Antropología.
- 2015 "Inca Kings, Queens, Captains, and *Tocapus* in the Manuscripts of Martín de Murúa and Guamán Poma." In *Unlocking the Doors to the Worlds of Guamán Poma and His Nueva Crónica*, edited by Rolena Adorno and Ivan Boserup, 291–330. Copenhagen: Royal Library/Museum Tusculanum Press.

Pillsbury, Joanne

- 2002 "Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru." *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7: 68–103.

Ramos Gavilán, Alonso

- 1988 (1621) *Historia del célebre Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*. Lima: Ignacio Prado Pastor.

Restall, Matthew

- 2004 "Maya Ethnogenesis." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 9, no. 1: 64–89.

Rodman, Amy Oakland

- 1997 "Weaving in a High Land: A Continuous Tradition." In *Traditional Textiles of the Andes: Life and Cloth in the Highlands*, edited by Lynn Meisch, 16–27. New York: Thames & Hudson; San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Rodriguez McRobbie, Linda

- 2016 "When the British Wanted to Camouflage Their Warships, They Made Them Dazzle." *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 7. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/when-british-wanted-camouflage-their-warships-they-made-them-dazzle-180958657/>.

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, María

- 1999 *History of the Inca Realm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowe, Ann Pollard

- 1978 "Technical Features of Inca Tapestry Tunics." *Textile Museum Journal* 17: 5–28.
- 1981 *A Century of Change in Guatemalan Textiles*. Washington, DC: Center for Inter-American Relations.
- 1992 "Provincial Inca Tunics of the South Coast of Peru." *Textile Museum Journal* 31: 5–52.
- 1995–96 "Inca Weaving and Costume." *Textile Museum Journal* 34–35: 5–54.
- 2011 "Costume under the Inca Empire." In *Costume and History in Highland Ecuador*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, 84–95. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Rowe, John H.

- 1967 "What Kind of a Settlement was Inca Cuzco?" *Ñawpa Pacha* 5, no. 1: 59–76.
- 1979 "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics." In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by Ann Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, 239–64. Washington, DC: Textile Museum/Dumbarton Oaks.
- 1982 "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 93–118. New York: Academic Press.

Rowe, John H., and Ann Pollard Rowe

- 1996 "Inca Tunics." In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth H. Boone, 453–65. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Ruiz de Arce, Juan

- 2002 (1543) *La memoria de Juan Ruiz de Arce (1543): Conquista del Perú, saberes secretos de caballería y defensa del mayorazgo*. Madrid: Iberoamericana.

Sahagún, Bernadino de

- 1950–82 (1575–77) *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Translated by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. 13 vols. Santa Fe: School of American Research.
1997 (1561) *Primeros memoriales by Fray Bernadino de Sahagún: Paleography of Nahuatl Text and English Translation* by Thelma Sullivan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Salazar, Lucy

- 2007 "Machu Picchu's Silent Majority: A Consideration of the Inca Cemeteries." In *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, edited by Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta, 165–83. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, Joan de

- 1873 (1613) "An Account of the Antiquities of Peru." In *Narrative of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, edited and translated by Clements Markham, 67–122. London: Hakluyt Society.

Scher, Sarahh

- 2019 "Dressing the Other: Foreign Women in Moche Ceramic Art." *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 26, no. 2: 188–213.

Schroeder, Susan

- 1991 *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Schwaller, Robert C.

- 2016 *Géneros de Gente in Early Colonial Mexico: Defining Racial Difference*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Seler, Eduard

- 1902–23 *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*. 5 vols. Berlin: Asher.

Sieg, Katrin

- 1998 "Ethnic Drag and National Identity: Multicultural Crises, Crossings, and Interventions." In *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, edited by Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, 295–319. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
2002 *Ethnic Drag: Performing Race, Nation, Sexuality in West Germany*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Siverts, Henning

- 1969 "Ethnic Stability and Boundary Dynamics in Southern Mexico." In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, edited by Fredrik Barth, 101–16. Boston: Little, Brown.

Smith, Michael E.

- 2003 "Economic Change in Morelos Households." In *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World*, edited by Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, 249–58. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Stone, Rebecca

- 2007 "'And All Theirs Different from His': The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context." In *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October*

1997, edited by Richard Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta, 385–422. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Stone-Miller, Rebecca

1992 *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. New York: Thames & Hudson.

Taylor, Dicey

1983 “Classic Maya Costume: Regional Types of Dress.” PhD diss., Yale University.

Tezozomoc, Alvarado F.

2001 (1598) *Crónica mexicana*. Madrid: Editorial Dastin.

Townsend, Richard F.

1979 *State and Cosmos in the Art of Tenochtitlan*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 20. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh

1983 “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland.” In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 15–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

2008 *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History*. Canto Classics. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Trujillo, Diego de

1954 (1571) “Relación del descubrimiento del reino del Perú.” In *Tres testigos de la conquista del Perú*, edited by Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, Conde de Carnilleros, 123–46. Buenos Aires: Espasa Calpe.

Turchin, Peter

2009 “A Theory for Formation of Large Empires.” *Journal of Global History* 4: 191–217.

Umberger, Emily

1981 “Aztec Sculptures, Hieroglyphs, and History.” PhD diss., Columbia University in the City of New York.

1998 “New Blood from an Old Stone.” *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 28: 241–56.

2008 “Ethnicity and Other Identities in the Sculptures of Tenochtitlan.” In *Ethnic Identity in Nahua Mesoamerica: The View from Archaeology, Art History, Ethnohistory, and Contemporary Ethnography*, 64–104. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Velásquez Nimatuj, Irma Alicia

2003 “Ways of Exclusion: Maya Dress and Racism in Contemporary Guatemala.” In “*With Their Hands and Their Eyes*”: *Maya Textiles, Mirrors of a Worldview*, edited by Mireille Holsbeke and Julia Montoya, 159–67. Antwerp: Etnografisch Museum Antwerpen.

Verano, John

2003 “Human Skeletal Remains from Machu Picchu: A Reexamination of the Yale Peabody Museum’s Collection.” In *The 1912 Yale Peruvian Scientific Expedition Collections from Machu Picchu: Human and Animal Remains*, edited by Richard Burger and Lucy Salazar, 65–117. New Haven: Yale University Publications in Anthropology.

Wachtel, Nathan

1973 “Pensamiento salvaje y aculturación: El espacio y el tiempo de Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega.” In *Sociedad e ideología: Ensayos de historia y antropología andinas*, edited by Nathan Wachtel, 163–228. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

1982 “The Mitmaes of the Cochabamba Valley: The Colonization Policy of Huayna Capac.” In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 199–235. New York: Academic Press.

Wicke, Charles R.

- 1975 "Once More around the Tizoc Stone: A Reconsideration." *Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists* 2: 209–22.

Wilson, Lee Ann

- 1998 "Survival, Resistance, and Acculturation: Guamán Poma's Use of Costume and Textile Imagery." *Studies in Iconography* 19: 177–210.

Xerez, Francisco de

- 1872 (1534) "Narrative of the Conquest of Peru." In *Reports on the Discovery of Peru*, edited by Clements Markham, 1–74. London: Hakluyt Society.

Zuidema, R. Tom

- 1982 "Bureaucracy and Systematic Knowledge in Andean Civilization." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 419–58. New York: Academic Press.
- 1991 "Guamán Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress." In *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno, 151–202. Berkeley: University of California Press.

2

“Silver for Clothing . . .”: Textiles and Diplomacy in the Late Bronze Age Near East*

Jana Mynářová
Charles University, Prague

TEXTILES AND THE LATE BRONZE AGE NEAR EAST

The Late Bronze Age (c. sixteenth to twelfth centuries BCE) in the Near East (fig. 2.1) is often understood as a period of “internationalism.”¹ It was characterized by intense and long-lasting relations between political centers personified by their rulers, realized through active and reciprocal communication (carried out both orally and by means of written messages), and secured by an increased flow of goods transported over long distances.² The flow of goods was characterized by two main mechanisms, diplomatic exchanges and trade—both maritime and overland—using a vast trade network that started to develop in the region in earlier periods.

In the Late Bronze Age, textiles—widely attested in epigraphic and archaeological sources, as well as by iconographic evidence from the ancient Near East and Egypt—represented one of the essential commodities used to maintain and elaborate these relations. Although references to textiles, cloths, and garments can be found in various types of records, the most valuable source of written information on the role of textiles in diplomatic exchange is represented by correspondence, sometimes accompanied by related gift inventories. Given the political and social status of the individuals involved in the communication, the fabrics and garments mentioned in these texts are undoubtedly to be understood as objects of prestige and high status.

To assess their status and role in the international system of the Late Bronze Age, an analysis of the terminology used and its distribution in the documents dated to the second half of the second millennium BCE is provided here, with priority given to traditions related to Egyptian textiles and garments. To address this problem in a broader context, data from two textual corpora covering two chronological frameworks, the Amarna period

*This study was completed as part of research supported by the Cooperatio Program provided by Charles University, research area Archaeology, implemented at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University.

1 See esp. Feldman 2006, 2015; Irvin 2007; Tucci 2020.

2 As Burna-Buriāš II, the king of Babylon, eloquently formulates in his message to Amenhotep III of Egypt: “(And) wri[te to me] for what you wish from my country, so they can bring it to you. And I will write to you for what I wish from your country, so they can bring (it) [to me]” (EA 1, lines 13–16).

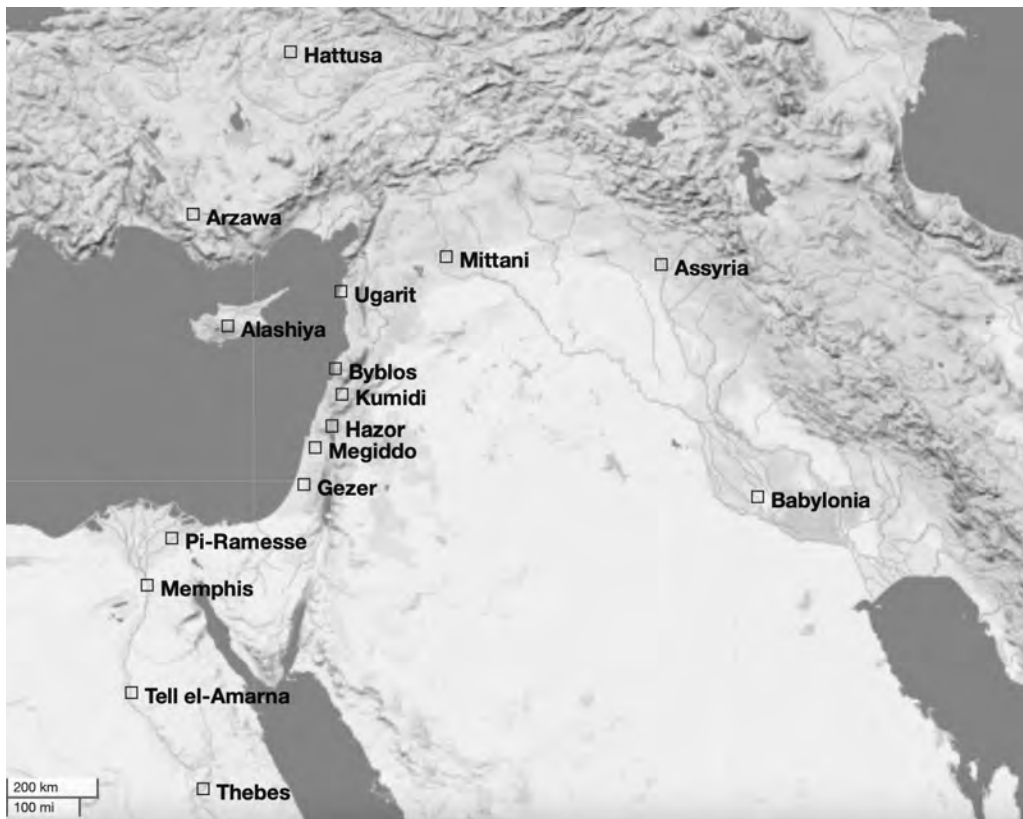


Figure 2.1. Map of Egypt and the Near East in the Late Bronze Age. Map data provided by Pleiades under a CC-BY license. Map tiles provided by Consortium of Ancient World Mappers, also under a CC-BY license.

(c. mid-fourteenth century BCE) and the Ramesside period (c. thirteenth century BCE), are discussed. Such an analysis provides information on the sociopolitical contexts of individual traditions as reflected in the Late Bronze Age written documents, while also identifying the specifics of the Egyptian tradition.

AMARNA EVIDENCE

The earliest evidence, and a more concrete perspective on textiles and garments and their role in the diplomatic and administrative practices of the Egyptian government, are provided by the Amarna correspondence. In none of the earlier texts dispatched from the Egyptian court and addressed to rulers of Levantine city-states³ are any Egyptian garments or textiles mentioned. The importance of this body of documents lies primarily in the fact that it provides a balanced view of both sides of the transaction. On the one hand, documents of Egyptian origin mention consignments of textiles and garments sent from Egypt; on the other hand, dispatches addressed to Egypt refer to textiles and garments sent

³ Texts Taanach 5 and Taanach 6, tentatively dated to the second half of the fifteenth century BCE; see most recently Horowitz, Oshima, and Sanders 2018, 144–47, with further literature.

there. As with other diplomatic gifts,⁴ requests for Egyptian textiles and garments would be expected in letters addressed to the Egyptian king and his government if they were considered luxuries by the Near Eastern rulers and used as a traditional diplomatic tool. The fact that the Egyptian kings of the Amarna period were aware of the value and importance of garments and textiles in diplomatic practice is documented by a passage in a letter from Amenhotep III to Kadašman-Enlil I—“Is it fitting that you give your daughters in order to acquire a garment from your neighbors?” (EA 1, lines 61–62)⁵—which clearly refers to the use of textiles and garments in the diplomatic relations of the time.

As for the Egyptian objects or materials desired by the rulers of the ancient Near Eastern states, they are explicitly mentioned in the international letters addressed to Egypt. Among them, gold and objects made of or decorated with this precious metal (especially statues, occasionally embellished with lapis lazuli) play a major role. The letters also contain references to consignments of gold or objects made of or with gold that have already been delivered from Egypt to their destinations,⁶ and these deliveries are also confirmed by lists of gifts included in the documents sent by the Egyptian kings themselves.⁷ In addition to gold and golden objects, the gifts to be sent from Egypt include, in particular, furniture made of or with ebony and ivory,⁸ chariots and horses, garments and cloths, vessels of sweet/fine oil, silver,⁹ lapis lazuli,¹⁰ statues made of materials other than gold,¹¹ and even persons.¹² As with gold and golden objects, the contents of the letters dispatched from Egypt also largely correspond to these requests, listing silver,¹³ oil,¹⁴ furniture made of or with ebony and ivory,¹⁵ vessels of wine,¹⁶ and linen and garments¹⁷ as gifts sent from Egypt.

4 For an overview, see Cochavi-Rainey and Lilyquist 1999.

5 The translation of Rainey (2015, 63) is based on a new collation (p. 1324) of the problematic part of the text, especially the logogram TÚG; line 61: SIG₇ *ki-i ta-na-an'-din'* DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*ka a-na ra-ši TÚG-ta*, line 62: *ša li-mi-ti-ka*. Moran (1992, 2) reads with reservations: “It is a fine thing that you give your daughters *in order to acquire a nugget of gold* from your neighbors!” (similarly Liverani 1999, 346: “Bella cosa, che tu dai le tue figlie per ottenere doni dai tuoi confinanti!”). For the reading LU-*ta* by Gordon, see Moran 1992, 4 n. 21 (also Knudtzon 1964, 64, 1001, no. 6: “Und doch, wenn sie irgend etwas erreicht, dann übersende ich dir etwas Vortreffliches, da du deine Töchter gibst, *um Gutes zu erhalten* von deiner Umgebung”; EA 1, lines 59–62); this reading suggests either *ra-ši-lu-ta*, “the lucky ones” (see also Artzi 1987, 25 n. 15), referring to *AHw*, 961, or *ṭab-ta*, “(to acquire) good thing(s).” For *a-na ra-ši liq(UR)-ta*, following a collation by Artzi (CAD L, 206b), see Moran 1992, 2 (and 4 n. 21 for discussion).

6 Babylonia: EA 3, 4, 7, 9, 11; Assyria: EA 16; Mittani: EA 19, 20, 24, 26, 27, 29; Alashiya: EA 34; Ḫatti: EA 41, 44.

7 To Babylonia: EA 1, 5, 14; to Arzawa: EA 31.

8 Mittani: EA 24; Alashiya: EA 34.

9 Alashiya: EA 34, 35, 37.

10 Ḫatti: EA 41.

11 Babylonia: EA 4 (probably); Alashiya: EA 35 (see also Moran 1992, 109 n. 5); Ḫatti: EA 41 (made of silver).

12 Babylonia: EA 2, 4 (a daughter of the king); Alashiya: EA 35 (an expert in vulture augury).

13 To Babylonia: EA 1.

14 To Babylonia: EA 1; to Mittani: EA 24; to Arzawa: EA 31.

15 To Babylonia: EA 5; to Mittani: EA 24; to Arzawa: EA 31. A piece of ivory is mentioned in EA 40, which is a letter addressed by an official in Alashiya to an Egyptian official.

16 To Arzawa: EA 31.

17 To Babylonia: EA 1; to Arzawa: EA 31.

As for the textiles and garments, they are named both in separate gift inventories and in lists that are part of individual letters. An inventory of gifts addressed to Burna-Burias II of Babylon (EA 14; see below) provides the most detailed overview of what was sent from Egypt. This long inventory, identified as a dowry list, also contains the most extensive list of textiles and garments (see EA 14, column III, lines 11–33).

AMARNA INVENTORIES OF GIFTS

Unfortunately, only four gift inventories have survived among the Amarna documents: a fragmentary text, EA 13, of Babylonian origin; an extensive Egyptian inventory, EA 14; and two documents from Mittani, EA 22 and EA 25. In terms of the internal organization of the texts, these records represent a largely neglected topic.

The only document of Babylonian origin among the inventories, EA 13 (VAT 1717),¹⁸ is a badly damaged tablet.¹⁹ Like the Mittanian inventories (see below), it does not contain a heading identifying either the sender or the addressee, but it is generally considered to be a dowry list for a Babylonian princess, a daughter of Burna-Burias II.²⁰ Although the text's poor state of preservation does not allow for specific details regarding the individual items, it is clear that the objects are arranged according to type and the materials from which they were made. The inventory begins with the objects decorated with precious stones, gold, ivory, and ebony (lines 1–32), including pieces of furniture (lines 1–5²¹) and metal objects made of silver and bronze (lines 6²²–25²³); possibly, stone vessels decorated with gold (lines 26²⁴–28) are listed as well. There are no references to consignments of textiles or garments to Egypt, and no total or subtotal weight of gold or silver is given or preserved in the text.

The other lists of gifts from Babylonia, contained in individual letters, are also usually very fragmentary, but when they do survive, they often mention lapis lazuli²¹ or horses and/or chariots.²² When these consignments pertain to more than one addressee, each set of gifts is listed separately.²³ In a broken passage of EA 12, from a Babylonian princess, a reference to a colored cloth²⁴ precedes a wish for the well-being of the Egyptian king.

EA 14 (VAT 1615 + VAT 2711 + Ash. 1891.1-41 [415])²⁵ is an extensive, multicolumned dowry list with a clear internal structure. Although the upper part with the heading is damaged and only one to five signs per line are preserved, it is still possible to recognize two parts, separated from each other and from the rest of the text by horizontal rules.²⁶ The rest of the address is preserved in column I, lines 1–4,²⁷ while the content of the second

18 WA 216; VS 12, no. 197; Knudtzon 1964, 100–105; Moran 1992, 24–27; Rainey 2015, 108–11 (the inventories are not discussed in Liverani 1999).

19 The text is not included in the study of royal gifts by Cochavi-Rainey and Lilyquist 1999.

20 Moran 1992, 26 n. 1; see the reference to “the gods of Burna-Burias” in line 7.

21 EA 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

22 EA 2, 3, 7, 9, 10.

23 EA 2, 10, 11.

24 EA 12, line 15; Akk. *širpu*, see CAD Š, 208b–209a.

25 WA 28 + WA 209; VS 12, no. 198; Sayce 1894, pl. XXXII, no. VIII.

26 The horizontal rules are placed in column I between lines 4 and 5 and between lines 7 and 8.

27 Column I, line 1: [. . .]-ri-ia LUGAL GAL, line 2: [. . .]-bu-ra-ri-ia-aš, line 3: [. . . u]l-te-bi-il, line 4: [. . .]-šu. The identity of the sender of the letter is generally reconstructed as Naphururea (Amenhotep IV/

part of the heading cannot be reconstructed with any degree of certainty.²⁸ The objects in the list are divided into groups according to the type of material used for their production and their content (if applicable), sometimes separated by horizontal rules,²⁹ starting with objects made of or decorated with gold (vessels and containers, jewelry and other objects related to the adornment of the body, cosmetic tools, aromatics, statues and statuettes, chariots and furniture; column I, line 8²–column II, line 32³), silver (vessels and containers, cosmetics, furniture; column II, lines 35–70), bronze (column II, line 75–column III, line 7),³⁰ linen cloth (column III, lines 11–32), vessels with “sweet oil” (column III, lines 34–44), empty stone vessels and containers (column III, lines 47–71, 74³¹), and wooden and ivory objects (column III, 75–column IV, line 61³²). Each category of objects made of or with precious metals is followed by subtotals showing the weight of gold³³ or silver,³⁴ the total weight of silver and gold together,³⁵ or the number of objects (in the case of objects made of bronze,³⁶ linen cloth,³⁷ stone vessels with “sweet oil,”³⁸ empty stone vessels,³⁹ and possibly also objects made of wood and ivory⁴⁰).

The large number of textiles and garments is listed in column III, lines 11–32, in a section separated by a horizontal rule⁴¹ from the preceding list of bronze objects, although there is no separation from the next section (listing stone vessels of “sweet oil”) other than the sum of all linen cloths (column IV, line 33). The linen garments seem to be organized according to the quality of the material, with the most valuable pieces listed first—byssus (column III, lines 11–15), followed by garments of *idru*-quality (column III, lines 16–18) and *adaḥa*-quality (column III, lines 19²–23³)—as well as by their type/function and, in some cases, their decoration (column III, lines 24–32). As with the other categories of objects

Akhenaten), though only [. . .]re-ia LUGAL.GAL “[. . .]rea, the Great King” is preserved in EA 14, line 1; see Moran 1992, 27; Rainey 2015, 112–13.

28 Based on the remains of the signs *ma-na* preserved in line 7, Knudtzon (1964, 106) cautiously suggests that the weight in minas might be mentioned.

29 See the horizontal rules in column III between lines 10 and 11, dividing the metal objects from the linen cloth, and between lines 46 and 47, dividing the vessels with “sweet oil” and empty stone containers.

30 There is no horizontal dividing rule between the individual types of metals, and the inner division is represented by the distribution of the respective subtotals (see other categories below).

31 An entry of “117 whetstones for a barber” in column III, line 74, is mistakenly placed after the subtotal of stone objects in column III, lines 72–73.

32 Unfortunately, in column IV, lines 20ff., the inventory is too damaged to reconstruct its content with any degree of certainty, and column IV, line 61 is the last partly preserved line.

33 See column II, lines 33–34.

34 See column II, lines 71–72.

35 See column II, lines 73–74.

36 The total of bronze mirrors is mentioned separately in column II, line 77; the total of all objects made of bronze is mentioned both as the number of objects and as the weight of the bronze (see column III, lines 8–10).

37 See column III, line 33.

38 See column III, lines 45–46.

39 See column III, lines 72–73.

40 The total of all dispatched gifts was also probably mentioned with wooden and ivory objects, but this part of the text is not preserved.

41 Placed between lines 10 and 11.

listed in the inventory, the linen products are often more precisely identified or specified by means of Egyptian loanwords.⁴² On the other hand, apart from an Egyptian calque of “royal linen” or “byssus” quality (Eg. *sšr nšw*; Akk. GADA LUGAL; EA 34, line 25) in a letter sent by the king of Alashiya, not a single Egyptian term referring to linen or a garment can be found in any letter of non-Egyptian origin. The internal structure of the part of the list dealing with the textiles is standardized: the number of pieces is given first, followed by an identification of the type of object (sometimes provided with further details, such as its purpose), the quality of the material, and in some cases the size of the piece or pieces.⁴³

Of the other two international letters of Egyptian origin, EA 1 (BM E29784) and EA 5 (BM E29787 + CG 4744), only EA 5 contains a list of gifts. In this document, addressed by Amenhotep III to Kadašman-Enlil I, the consignment is specified as a greeting gift (*šul-mānu*; EA 5, line 18) for a new house. The items are listed in the following order: wooden pieces of furniture decorated with ivory and gold (lines 20–25), followed by a subtotal mentioning the weight of gold (line 26) and a subtotal mentioning the weight of silver, although no silver is explicitly mentioned in the previous lines (lines 27–28: “The weight of silver: x [mi]na, 8½ shekels of silver”).⁴⁴ As in the first part, so also the second part of the list gives the pieces of furniture decorated with gold (lines 28–30) and the subtotal of gold used for decorating the furniture (line 32: “[Total: x] minas, 10 shek[els] and 7 shekels of gold”). Thus, the two parts of the list contain very similar items. Although it is not stated, it can be assumed that—as with the Babylonian letters EA 2, EA 10, and EA 11, as well as the Mittanian letters EA 17, EA 27, and EA 29—the two “sublists” reflect two consignments of gifts intended for two different recipients.

The other two Amarna inventories, EA 22 (VAT 395) and EA 25 (VAT 340 + VAT 2191 a–c, no. 2), are well-preserved, multicolumned tablets, both sent by Tušratta of Mittani to the Egyptian king Amenhotep III. While in EA 22 the inventory lists gifts for the Egyptian king himself, in the case of EA 25 the objects are intended for Tušratta’s daughter Tadu-Ḫepa and her servants.⁴⁵ As in the Egyptian inventory EA 14, textiles and garments are often identified by means of Hurrian loanwords. Although the internal organization of the objects sent to Egypt differs considerably between EA 22 and EA 25, the number and types of garments and textiles listed in both inventories are quite extensive, and the material and decoration are often mentioned, but the individual entries are scattered throughout the text.

In the case of EA 22, it is obvious that there was no heading identifying either the sender or the addressee, and although the first five lines of EA 25 have not survived at all,

42 The first systematic treatment of Egyptian loanwords in EA 14 was presented by Lambdin (1953), followed by Edel (1974) and most recently Cochavi-Rainey (1998, 2011); see also Helck 1962, 436–39; Herslund 2010. The best quality is identified as “royal linen” or “byssus” (Akk. *lubultu* ša LUGAL; Eg. *sšr nšw*); see Edel 1974, 117–18. There is a word *idru*, “a band” or “a belt(?)” (Eg. *dr?*; see Edel 1974, 117–18), as well as *adaḫa*, probably to be identified as “a woven garment” (see Lambdin 1953, 363), and *paqa* (Eg. *p³qt*, *p(ḫ)qt*) “fine linen” (Lambdin 1953, 367).

43 Edel (1974, 139), for column III, lines 11–23, identifies the amount and the type of the object under one heading as “Verwendungszweck Grössenangaben”; the other two elements are identical.

44 As Moran (1992, 11 n. 9) mentions, “This is the first reference to silver.” It is not discussed by other authors (see Liverani 1999, 351; Rainey 2015, 1330).

45 For the gifts intended for Tadu-Ḫepa’s retinue, see EA 25 column III, lines 55–67.

the absence of a heading there can be assumed as well. In both texts, double horizontal rules separate individual objects rather than groups made of the same material, and the objects are identified in detail. In contrast to the Egyptian inventory EA 14, EA 22 gives the weight of gold for each individual gift made of or decorated with gold or silver, without subtotals or totals throughout the text. On the other hand, in EA 25 the weight of gold or silver is mostly not given with the individual objects; instead, the number of gold threads or the number of precious and semiprecious stones used in these highly decorative pieces of jewelry is given. The weight is mostly given for luxury gifts made of solid gold or decorated with solid gold,⁴⁶ for which it can be specified (e.g., hand bracelets, anklets, ankle bracelets, pins, combs, vessels, mirrors⁴⁷). Similar to EA 22, EA 25 does not provide a subtotal or total of the gold and/or silver used.

SHIPMENTS OF CLOTH TO EGYPT

Consignments of cloth and garments also occur outside the Amarna inventories. For example, in a royal letter from a Babylonian princess to an Egyptian king, a “colored cloth” (EA 12, line 15) is mentioned as a royal gift. Similarly, another lengthy Mittanian document mentions—among other greeting gifts—“3 garments, 3 pairs of [. . .] garments, [1?] city shirt” (EA 29, lines 183–84) for the king, “2 garments” for Teye (EA 29, line 187), and “[x] garments” for Tadu-Ḫepa (EA 29, line 189). In EA 27, the Egyptian king is addressed with the following garments: “[1] Hurrian shirt, 1 [c]ity shirt, 1 robe” (EA 27, line 110). Compared with other products, the number of attestations and the quantity of textiles and garments transported are both relatively small. In contrast to other types of Egyptian objects and materials, there is not a single example of a request for Egyptian textiles in the correspondence of the other “Great Kings” of the ancient Near East.

ALASHIYA

A completely different situation can be observed in the Amarna correspondence from Alashiya. In his letter, the king of Alashiya explicitly asks for pieces of linen to be delivered to him from Egypt: “42 pieces of linen,⁴⁸ 50 linen shawls,⁴⁹ and 2 linen robes” (EA 34, lines 22–23), with a total (EA 34, line 24); “[and] as to byssus, 4 pieces of linen and 4 linen shawls” (EA 34, line 25). His desire for Egyptian textiles is expressed once more in this text: “Moreover, why have you not sent to me oil and linen for clot[hin]g?” (EA 34, lines 46–48).

That textiles and garments were considered important elements in the Amarna correspondence of Egyptian kings with rulers of the eastern Mediterranean is further supported by another gift of Egyptian textiles and garments. In this case it is a letter, EA 31, of the Egyptian king written in Hittite and sent to the king of Anatolian Arzawa. Here the objects

46 Akk. *i-na lib-bi-šu-nu na-di* “used on them”; EA 25 column II, line 28 et passim.

47 EA 25 column II, lines 25–28, 32–39, 41–42, 51–64ff.; column III, lines 14–31, 33–41, 47–70, 73–74; column IV, lines 2–36.

48 Moran 1992, 106: “2 [sic] pieces of linen”.

49 GÚ.GADA.MEŠ; see Akk. *kišādu*: CAD K, 449b; AHw, 490a; Moran 1992, 106 n. 6. Rainey (2015, 337) translates “scarves.”

are listed in the following order: gold, linen garments, vessels with aromatics, and pieces of furniture. Their organization thus corresponds exactly to the sequence preserved in the Egyptian inventory EA 14, with “3 fine linen garments, 3 li[ght] linen coats, 3 linen *huzzi*, 8 linen mantles, 100 linen *walgan*, 100 linen *happ[aʔ]*, 100 linen sashes” (EA 31, lines 32–34).⁵⁰ Although the sequence of objects is indeed identical to the one attested in EA 14 from Egypt, there is also a difference. As in the Mittanian inventory of gifts for the king in EA 22 and partly also in the inventory of gifts for a Mittanian princess and her retinue in EA 25, the weight of gold is given for every single object in the list that was made of or with this precious metal.

Regarding the use of textiles as gifts, the difference between the Egyptian–Near Eastern and the Egyptian–eastern Mediterranean correspondence is striking. The prominence of textiles in the latter, confirmed both by requests for linen garments from Egypt in EA 34 and by reports of actual shipments of them to Arzawa in EA 31, may well reflect the economic and diplomatic traditions of this region.⁵¹ And the probability that EA 34 is not the only consignment of Egyptian linen garments to Alashiya is reflected in the use of the Egyptian calque of “royal linen” or “byssus” used by the king of Alashiya in his own communication (EA 34, line 25).

GARMENTS FOR SILVER

The Levantine part of the Amarna correspondence—the letters of the Egyptian king to city-state rulers and vice versa—presents a completely different picture, however. In these letters, garments are mentioned only in connection with their direct economic function, as a means of payment and exchange of goods. In his letter to Milkilu, the ruler of Gezer, the Egyptian king specifies in detail the amount paid for the acquisition of forty female servants: “silver, gold, linen garments (GADA.MEŠ) \ *ma-al-ba-ši*, carnelian and all (kinds of) precious stones, an ebony chair; all alike, beautiful things. Total: 160 *deben*. Total: 40 female cupbearers; 40 (shekels of) silver is the price of a female cupbearer” (EA 369, lines 9–13). Unfortunately, this is the only detailed example provided by the Amarna correspondence. On the other hand, references to the practice of the Egyptian administration’s paying for services or goods (or both) provided by Levantine rulers occur in other letters. Similar to EA 369—where it is Hanya, a stablemaster of the army, making payment—in EA 265, sent by Tagi of Gintikirmil⁷, a payment is made by the Egyptian official Taḥmaya: “[And] the king, my lord, [s]ent me a consignment in the care of Taḥmaya, and Taḥmaya gave (me) a golden cup and twe[lve] pairs of linen garments” (EA 265, lines 7–13). In contrast to the international letters, these documents mention requests for the shipment of garments, often specifying silver as another means of payment, thus indicating and confirming the economic stability of the Levantine rulers—for example, in EA 287, from Abdi-Ḥeba of Jerusalem (bread, oil, clothing; line 44), and in EA 82, from Rib-Ḥadda of Byblos to Amanappa (silver, clothing; line 30). In EA 101, from Rib-Ḥadda

⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the list of gifts is not discussed in Hawkins 2009. See also Hoffner 2009, 273–77, for a translation and further discussion.

⁵¹ As it is widely attested in the Linear B inscriptions from Pylos, Knossos, and Mycenae; see Burke 2010a, esp. 64–66; 2010b. See also Gleba 2012 (review of Burke 2010a).

of Byblos to the Egyptian king, colored garments⁵² are mentioned as payment or even ransom money to Mittani (GADA ZA.GÌN NA₄.MAR \ *bu-bu-mar*, “garment of lapis lazuli and *mar*-stone color”; line 8).

The cloth and garment transactions attested in the Amarna correspondence thus reveal a complex structure, both geographically and socially conditioned. On the one hand, textiles and garments are clearly used as diplomatic gifts, sent for the purpose of maintaining and confirming relations between individual kings. Although the Egyptian king may mention a consignment of textiles—especially linen cloth—in his communications with Near Eastern kings, the latter obviously do not value it highly, as they never request it in their own dispatches. The correspondence with the eastern Mediterranean, represented in the Amarna corpus by the communications with Alashiya and Arzawa, is quite different; there, textiles play an important role, and Egyptian textiles are highly valued by the local kings. Finally, in the communications between the Egyptian court and the Levantine rulers, garments are attested as a standard means of payment (along with silver) and as such are requested to be sent from Egypt.

THE RAMESSIDE EVIDENCE

During the Ramesside period, the evidence for contacts between Egypt and other Near Eastern states is largely viewed through the prism of the Egyptian–Hittite correspondence from Ḫattusha and the Egyptian–Ugaritic correspondence discovered at Ugarit, both dated to the second half of the thirteenth century BCE. In contrast to the Amarna period, no epistolary sources reflect communication between the Egyptian king and his administration, on the one hand, and the rulers of the Levantine polities (or even regions under Egyptian political control), on the other. Thus, the use of cloth and garments as payment for goods or services cannot be observed and analyzed.

As far as the diplomatic correspondence is concerned, the Egyptian–Hittite letters attest a total of three extensive inventories,⁵³ and similar to the Amarna evidence, further lists of gifts are routinely included in individual messages.⁵⁴ Given the findspots of these texts, it is understandable that the set of outgoing messages from Egypt is considerably more extensive than in the Amarna corpus: there are more than ninety documents in the Egyptian–Hittite corpus,⁵⁵ with two additional epistolary documents of Egyptian origin identified among the Akkadian texts from Ugarit.⁵⁶ In contrast to the Amarna evidence, the Akkadian texts from both Ḫattusha and Ugarit feature textile gifts as a prominent and essential component.

The fact that, during the Ramesside period, lists of gifts are already largely formalized and standardized is well illustrated by the internal composition of these gift lists. In the

52 See also the absence of wool in EA 101, line 7.

53 See ÄHK 92 (KBo 28, 33), 93 (KBo 7, 10), 94 (KBo 28, 32). The inventory ÄHK 90 (KBo 28, 34) is just a small fragment with only a few signs preserved, but it is clear that even in this list textiles were included.

54 See especially ÄHK 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, 75, 76, 91.

55 For a standard edition, consult Edel 1994; see also Singer 2006.

56 RS 88.2158 (Lackenbacher 2001); RS 94.2002+2003 (Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016, 81–86). Because of its fragmentary state of preservation, with only the titulary of Seti II, text RS 94.2176 is not discussed.

documents of Egyptian origin, the order of the items is identical, beginning with objects made of gold, silver, and copper, followed by textiles, garments, and wooden objects. Similar to the Hittite practice, the weight of gold is clearly stated for each object, followed by the subtotal of gold and, if necessary, gold and silver, at the end of the category. Similarly, the number of garments sent is regularly listed after each section of the list. If the message is sent by and/or addressed to more than one correspondent, the distribution of individual items into individual segments—that is, individual sublists of gifts—is clearly visible. In this respect, the very same practice is already attested in the Amarna correspondence, as seen in the letters from Babylonia, Egypt, and Mittani (see above).

In terms of the role of textiles and garments in diplomatic practice, the Ramesside material represents a completely different or new tradition. Is this tradition different from that known from the Amarna evidence? The Egyptian–Hittite correspondence preserved in the Amarna corpus is unfortunately very limited, consisting of only four texts (EA 41–44), one of which is preserved in mere fragments and is practically illegible (EA 43). While two of them are letters of the Hittite king,⁵⁷ the third text is addressed to the Egyptian king by Zit/da, a Hittite prince. Of particular interest is the letter EA 41 from Šuppiluliuma to the Egyptian king Ḫuriya concerning Egyptian–Hittite relations and mentioning the exchange of gifts on both sides. While in his communication, EA 44, the Hittite prince Zit/da sighs for gold (lines 25–28), it is Šuppiluliuma who is more precise in his request, asking for golden and silver statues, a piece of lapis lazuli, and a stand (EA 41, lines 23–28), while clearly listing his own greeting gift consisting of “1 silver rhyton, a stag, 5 minas its weight; 1 silver rhyton, a young ram, 3 minas its weight; 2 silver disks, 10 minas their weight; 2 large *nikiptu*-trees” (lines 39–43). There is no mention in the text of textiles or garments as part of the Hittite gift to Egypt or vice versa (although the Egyptian part of the transaction is damaged). On the other hand, the Hittite list of gifts reveals the very same practice of recording the weight of precious metals (in this case silver) known from the Ramesside Egyptian–Hittite correspondence, and used on both the Egyptian and the Hittite sides. Thus, what we can see in the Egyptian–Hittite correspondence is a combination of tradition and innovation that is not limited to textiles and garments being a part of the gift-exchange practice.

EGYPT AND TEXTILES

Although sheep’s wool, goat’s hair, palm fiber, grass, reeds, hemp, and ramie are attested as fibers used in the production of textiles in ancient Egypt,⁵⁸ it is linen cloth made of flax that is most frequently recorded in the gift inventories. A new boom in the quality of textile production in Egypt is clearly visible in the earlier part of the New Kingdom (fig. 2.2). During this period, a vertical loom (or fixed two-beam loom) was introduced as an important technological innovation, an advance associated with the military activities of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings. Vogelsang-Eastwood cautiously suggests that the vertical loom may have been introduced by the Hyksos as early as the Second Intermediate

57 An opening passage containing the identities of both correspondents is missing in EA 42.

58 See especially Hall 1986; van’t Hooft et al. 1994; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 2003; Tata 2012; for a larger context, see recently Hodgkinson 2018.



Figure 2.2. Egyptian gable-topped chest with linen from Hatnefer's tomb (Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, 36.3.1; c. 1492–1473 BCE). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1936. Accession number 36.3.56a, b. Public domain.

Period.⁵⁹ However, both iconographic and written sources suggest a later date, probably in the middle of the fifteenth century BCE, as a consequence of the military activities of Thutmose III in Syria-Palestine.⁶⁰ Although the king mentions textile workers who were to be assigned to the temple of Amun,⁶¹ neither the list of gifts brought to the king by defeated chieftains nor the lists of booty mention cloths or garments. A similar scenario is found in later documents. The Megiddo booty list consists of a series of sublists of items, and although they come from different sources, their inner structure is identical: items made of gold are followed by those made of silver and wood. But no textiles or garments are mentioned.⁶² Similarly, Minmose's taxes from Upper Retjenu list silver, gold, lapis lazuli, all sorts of precious stones, chariots, horses, cattle, and small livestock.⁶³ The absence of foreign textiles and garments from lists in Egyptian sources of the early and mid-Eighteenth Dynasty is obvious.

⁵⁹ Vogelsang-Eastwood 2003, 278.

⁶⁰ For the iconographic evidence, see especially the tomb of Neferrenpet (TT 133; Davies 1948, pl. XXXV) or the tomb of Djehutynefer (TT 104; Roth 1913, fig. 9); see also Dziobek 1992; Kampp 1992.

⁶¹ *Urk.* IV, 742.

⁶² *Urk.* IV, 663/5–664/7.

⁶³ *Urk.* IV, 1442/4–6.

The theme of the arrival of textiles in Egypt is witnessed in the iconographic evidence by the so-called “tributary” scenes depicted in some Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Leaving aside pottery, stone, and metal vessels, weaponry, jewelry, oxhide ingots, ivory, and so forth, cloths brought as *jnw* from the Aegean are depicted in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), dated to the reign of Thutmose III.⁶⁴ The Aegean textiles are of a multicolored woolen material, quite distinct from the domestic linen cloths. Barber has proposed that the Aegean textiles functioned as a source of inspiration⁶⁵ for the decoration of ceilings in five Theban tombs also dated to the reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III.⁶⁶

In contrast to the Aegean world, the Egyptian epigraphic and iconographic evidence of the early New Kingdom reveals a notable absence of textiles and garments brought to Egypt from ancient Near Eastern regions. This observation is further supported by a lexicographical study of non-Egyptian loanwords in Egyptian texts. So far, only seven loanwords of Semitic origin have been identified in mostly Late Egyptian texts⁶⁷ related to cloth and textiles—*ḥ₂rt* (Hoch no. 353; a garment? a purse?); *sq* (Hoch no. 383; an inferior type of cloth, a sack); *gll* (Hoch no. 471; a garment); *qst* (Hoch no. 505; a garment, a covering); *glp* (Hoch no. 517; “a jalabiya?”); *krt* (Hoch no. 492, a cloth strap); and *s3rt* (Hoch no. 359, wool). However, none of these terms is attested in texts dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Therefore, it seems that for the Egyptians of the early New Kingdom, textiles or garments of Near Eastern origin did not represent a major economic or diplomatic concern. A similar practice is still recognizable in the geographic distribution of the evidence in the Amarna corpus, where the customs and practices related to textiles and garments are well attested in the Alashiyan and Arzawan letters. This practice, in which textiles and garments were part of the royal gift-giving procedure, was thus fully adopted by the Egyptian court at that time.

The importance of textiles and garments in the Egyptian diplomatic correspondence increases considerably between the Amarna and Ramesside periods, culminating in the letters exchanged between the royal courts of Egypt and Hatti shortly before and after the conclusion of the peace treaty (c. 1259 BCE). In fact, other traditions—even outside the Egyptian–Hittite correspondence, such as the Egyptian royal terminology in Egyptian–Ugaritic documents—reveal the importance of the treaty for the “diplomatic vocabulary” of the post–*Pax Hethitica* Levant. As to the use and diffusion of textiles and garments as a component part of diplomatic practice and tools in Egypt, we may suggest tracing it back to the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean milieu of (probably) the mid-fifteenth century BCE, when the first woolen products are depicted being brought to Egypt, over attestations from the mid-fourteenth century BCE of its importance in the Egyptian–Alashiyan and Egyptian–Arzawan correspondence, to its becoming a full-fledged and adequate diplomatic tool in the Egyptian–Hittite and Egyptian–Ugaritic correspondence of the thirteenth century BCE. Undoubtedly, more research is needed, especially regarding the distribution of the individual Egyptian terms used to identify the types and materials of individual garments and cloths, as well as the general distribution pattern of the Late Bronze Age textile terminology.

64 See Wachsmann 1987, pl. III; and recently Matić and Franković 2017.

65 Barber 1992, 346–57.

66 Antef (TT 155), Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), Amenemhat (TT 82), Hapuseneb (TT 67), Amenmose (TT 251).

67 See Hoch 1994.

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄHK	Elmar Edel, <i>Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache</i> . 2 vols. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81
Akk.	Akkadian
BM	British Museum
CAD	Martha Tobi Roth et al., eds, <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . 21 vols. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1964–2010
CG	Catalogue général (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)
EA	Jørgen A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen</i> . 2nd ed. 2 vols. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2. Aalen: Zeller, 1964
Eg.	Egyptian
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig: Hinrichs and Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1921–
RS	Ras Shamra (siglum)
TT	Theban tomb
Urk. IV	Wolfgang Helck, ed., <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Part 17, <i>Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1955
VAT	Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin) tablet
VS	Otto Schröder, <i>Die Tontafeln von el-Amarna</i> . Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 11–12. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915
WA	Hugo Winckler and Ludwig Abel, <i>Der Thontafelfund von El Amarna</i> . Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 1–3. Berlin: Spemann, 1889–90

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Artzi, Pinhas

- 1987 “The Influence of Political Marriages on the International Relations of the Amarna Age.” In *La femme dans le Proche-Orient antique: Compte rendu de la XXXIII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7–10 juillet 1986)*, edited by Jean-Marie Durand, 23–26. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Barber, E. J. W.

- 1992 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Burke, Brendan

- 2010a *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*. Ancient Textiles Series 7. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2010b “Textiles.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean (ca. 3000–1000 BC)*, edited by Eric H. Cline, 430–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cochavi-Rainey, Zipora

- 1998 “Some Grammatical Notes on EA 14.” *Israel Oriental Studies* 18: 207–28.
- 2011 *The Akkadian Dialect of Egyptian Scribes in the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 374. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Cochavi-Rainey, Zipora, and Christine Lilyquist

- 1999 *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age, Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.: Selected Texts Recording Gifts to Royal Personages*. Beer-Sheva 13. Beer-Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1948 *Seven Private Tombs at Ḳurnah*. Mond Excavations at Thebes 11. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Dziobek, Eberhard

- 1992 "Exkurs: Die Gräber TT 80 und 104, 17 und 29." In *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie*, edited by Eberhard Dziobek, Thomas Schneyer, and Norbert Semmelbauer, 60–65. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 3. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag.

Edel, Elmar

- 1974 "Zwei Originalbriefe der Königmutter Tūja in Keilschrift." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 1: 105–46.
- 1994 *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. 2 vols. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Feldman, Marian H.

- 2006 *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 2015 "Qatna and Artistic Internationalism during the Late Bronze Age." In *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism: Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009*, edited by Peter Pfälzner and Michel Al-Maqdissi, 33–41. Qatna Studien Supplementa 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gleba, Margarita

- 2012 Review of *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*, by Brendan Burke. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 132: 238–39.

Hall, Rosalind M.

- 1986 *Egyptian Textiles*. Aylesbury: Shire.

Hawkins, David

- 2009 "The Arzawa Letters in Recent Perspective." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 14: 73–83.

Helck, Wolfgang

- 1962 *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Herslund, Ole

- 2010 "Cloths—Garments—and Keeping Secrets: Textile Classification and Cognitive Chaining in the Ancient Egyptian Writing System." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch, 68–80. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hoch, James E.

- 1994 *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hodgkinson, Anna K.

- 2018 *Technology and Urbanism in Late Bronze Age Egypt*. Oxford Studies in Egyptian Archaeology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoffner, Harry A., Jr.

- 2009 *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom*. Writings from the Ancient World 15. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Horowitz, Wayne, Takayoshi Oshima, and Seth Sanders

2018 *Cuneiform in Canaan: The Next Generation*. University Park: Eisenbrauns.

Irvin, Aaron

2007 “Regional Foundations for Internationalism in the Ancient Near East: The Case of Canaan.” UC (Berkeley) World History Workshop working paper. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5gh13054>.

Kampp, Friederike

1992 “Bemerkungen zur Datierung der Gräber TT 80 und 104 nach topographischen und architektonischen Gesichtspunkten.” In *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie*, edited by Eberhard Dziobek, Thomas Schneyer, and Norbert Semmelbauer, 66–70. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 3. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orientverlag.

Knudtzon, Jørgen A.

1964 *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2. Aalen: Otto Zeller.

Lackenbacher, Sylvie

2001 “Une lettre d’Égypte.” In *Études ougaritiques*, vol. 1, *Travaux 1985–1995*, edited by Marguerite Yon and Daniel Arnaud, 239–48. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 14. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Lackenbacher, Sylvie, and Florence Malbran-Labat

2016 *Lettres en akkadien de la “Maison d’Urtēnu”: Fouilles de 1994*. Ras Shamra–Ougarit 23. Leuven: Peeters.

Lambdin, Thomas O.

1953 “Egyptian Words in Tell El Amarna Letter No. 14.” *Orientalia* n.s. 22: 362–69.

Liverani, Mario

1999 *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. Vol. 2, *Le lettere dei “Grandi Re.”* Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 3/2. Flero: Paideia.

Matić, Uroš, and Filip Franković

2017 “Out of Date, Out of Fashion: The Changing of Dress of Aegean Figures in the Theban Tombs of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty in the Light of Aegean Bronze Age Costume.” *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* n.s. 3: 105–30.

Moran, William L.

1992 *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rainey, Anson F.

2015 *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. Handbook of Oriental Studies I/110. Leiden: Brill.

Roth, H. Ling

1913 *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*. Bankfield Museum Notes. Second Series 2. Halifax: County Borough of Halifax.

Sayce, Archibald H.

1894 “The Cuneiform Tablets.” In *Tell el Amarna*, by William M. F. Petrie, 34–37, pls. XXXI–XXXIII. London: Methuen.

Singer, Itamar

2006 “The Urḫi-Teššub Affair in the Hittite–Egyptian Correspondence.” In *The Life and Times of Ḫattušili III and Tuḫḫalia IV: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Honour of J. de Roos*, 12–13

December 2003, Leiden, edited by Theo P. J. van den Hout, 27–38. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 103. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Tata, Giovanni

- 2012 “The Expansionist Policies of the New Kingdom and the Increase in Craft Specialization in the Textiles Industry.” In *Evolving Egypt: Innovation, Appropriation, and Reinterpretation in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kerry Muhlestein and John Gee, 45–51. BAR International Series 2397. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Tucci, Giulia

- 2020 “Dynamics and Internationalism during the Late Bronze Age: Circulation of Raw Materials and Production between the Western Indian Ocean Basin and the Southern Levant.” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 29, no. 1: 431–43.

van’t Hooft, Philomeen P. M., Maarten J. Raven, E. H. C. van Rooij, and Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood

- 1994 *Pharaonic and Early Medieval Egyptian Textiles*. Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden 8. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

- 1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden: Brill.
 2003 “Textiles.” In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 268–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wachsmann, Shelley

- 1987 *Aegeans in the Theban Tombs*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 20. Leuven: Peeters.

3

Changing Textiles—Shifting Identities? The Transformation of Dress Practices in Gebel Adda, Late Antique Nubia

Magdalena M. Wozniak and Elsa Yvanez
Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen

“NUBIA” IS A TERM applied today to the region located between the extreme south of Egypt (south of Aswan) and northern Sudan, along the river Nile (fig. 3.1). During its long history, this area has been labeled with various names, its partition evolving with the successive political entities and peoples occupying the territory. This article focuses on Late Antiquity and the medieval period (fig. 3.2), illustrating through the evolution of dress practices the deep mutations and complex dynamics that reshaped Nubian culture during this time.

Successor to the kingdom of Napata (760–300 BCE), the kingdom of Meroe (300 BCE–350 CE) extended at its largest from the Egyptian border in the north to the Gezira region in the south, between the Blue and White Niles. The heartland of the kingdom and its new capital city, Meroe, were set between the Fifth and Sixth Cataracts, bordered by the Nile, the Atbara River, and the wadis of the Bayuda Desert. The Kushite realm offered a varied landscape and diverse climatic environments, from the dry and rocky areas of Nubia to the fertile savannahs of the Gezira, prompting different human adaptation mechanisms and subsistence patterns (e.g., sedentary, nomadic, seminomadic). After five centuries, the supremacy of Meroe came to an end: the disappearance of the central power led to the emergence of smaller states, whose geneses remain largely unknown. This period is called “Post-Meroitic” (c. 350–550 CE), and each of those states displays clear Meroitic traits but mixed with diverse influences and local characteristics. In Lower Nubia, this period corresponds with the emergence of the Post-Meroitic Nobadian state, whose rulers were buried in large, royal tumuli at Ballana.¹

Two centuries later, at the beginning of the sixth century CE, the Middle Nile Valley appears reorganized into three main entities. The kingdom of Nobadia, with its capital at Faras, occupied the territory between the First and Third Cataracts. Southward from the Third Cataract extended the kingdom of Makuria, with its capital at Dongola. The kingdom of Alwa began at a location called “al-Abwab” near the Fifth Cataract and established its capital at Soba, at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. The rulers of these states converted to the Christian faith consequently to the arrival of Byzantine missions in the second half of the sixth century. In 641 CE, an important battle with great consequences

¹ Emery and Kirwan 1938, *passim*; Williams 1983, *passim*; Obluski 2010, *passim*.

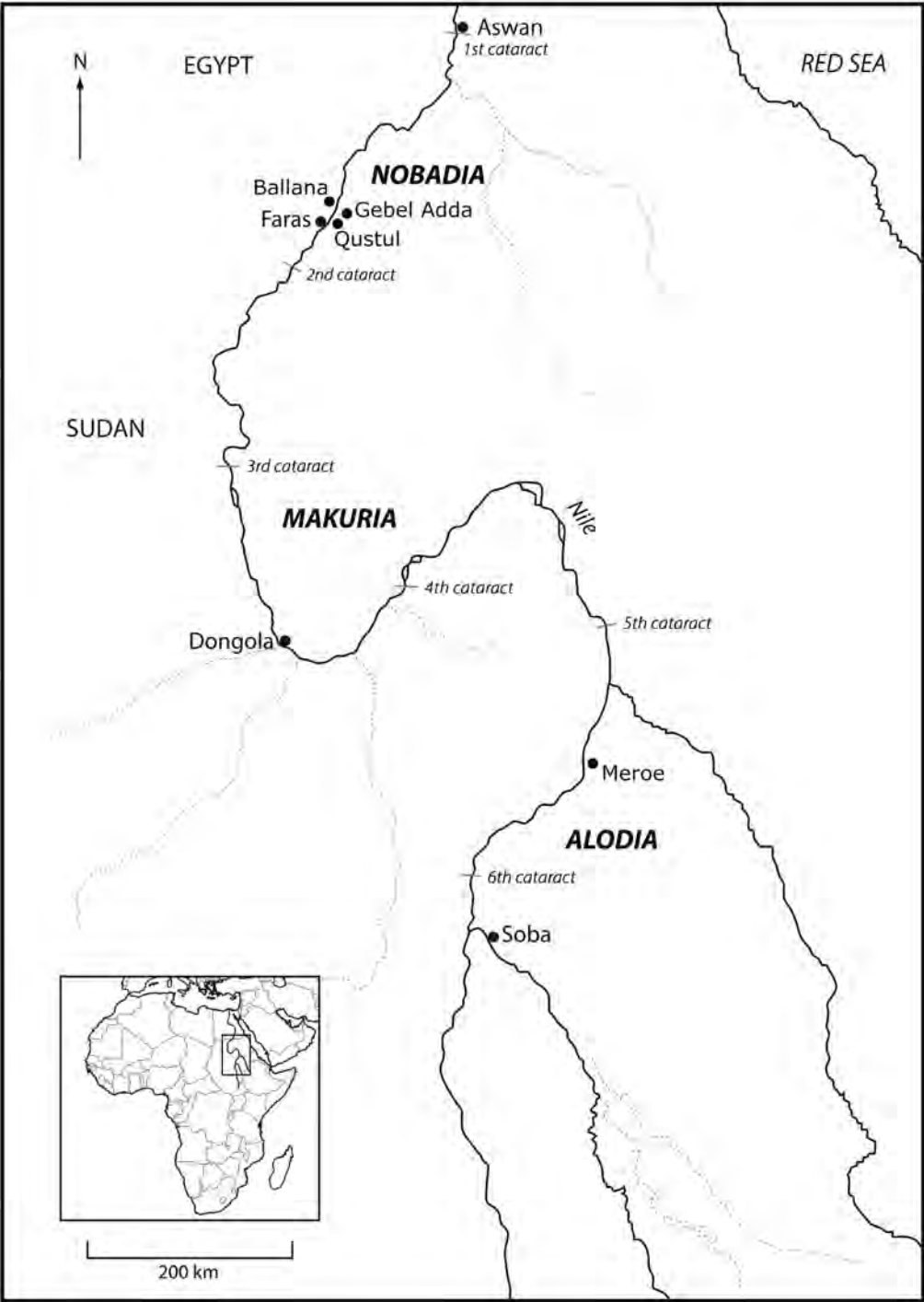


Figure 3.1. Map of Nubia, with the location of Gebel Adda.
Map © Robin Seignobos/Magdalena M. Wozniak.

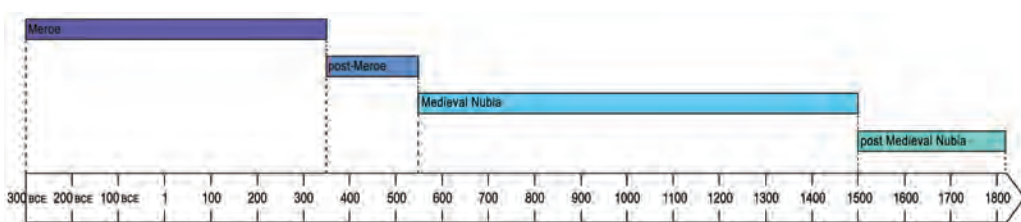


Figure 3.2. Chronological timescale of Late Antique Nubia. Drawing © Magdalena M. Wozniak.

took place at Dongola, where the united armies of Nobadia and Makuria stopped the progression of the Arab conquest.² The protagonists signed an agreement that granted the independence of the Christian kingdoms. Nobadia and Makuria soon merged into one great kingdom, whose golden age lasted for the next five centuries, before internal quarrels combined with numerous Bedouin incursions weakened the royal authority and led to the progressive dismantling of the kingdom of Makuria.³

The postmedieval period saw the development of smaller political entities in Nubia: written sources refer to *meks*, who were the leaders of local *chefferies*. In central Sudan, the situation was different. The kingdom of Alwa probably fell at the beginning of the sixteenth century CE and was replaced by the Funj Sultanate of Sinnar, which maintained a centralized authority until the very beginning of the nineteenth century CE.

Turning to the physical aspects of textiles in Nubia, it must be noted that the arid environment of Sudan—especially the dry lands of Lower Nubia—offers excellent conditions for the preservation of organic material. As with other artifacts, a textile is intrinsically constructed of multiple levels: a piece of fabric is made by the interlacing of a warp and a weft, as well as by the interweaving of economic resources, technical knowledge and actions, and social needs, desires, and choices. Its study therefore requires a multilayered approach.⁴ A textile is always woven for a purpose (e.g., domestic, religious, commercial) and implies the collaboration of various people engaged in the gathering and processing of fibers and their treatment from thread to woven cloth.

The next stage—the confection of garments—engages the same interaction between resources, techniques, and society. Terminology helps us define these different levels of interpretation. The terms “textile” and “fabric” consider the *chaîne opératoire* and economic value of the item; “garment” designates an item of clothing used to dress an individual’s body and can be related to a technical *savoir faire*; and finally, the terms “costume,” “dress,” and “habit” express the embodiment of an individual’s social reality into a garment. This last question—how dress communicates the social reality of its wearer—is of paramount importance in the study of identities.⁵ To reach this level of interpretation, studying textiles must go beyond a catalog based solely on technical analysis. Indeed, it implies considering a variety of approaches and calls for a cross-disciplinary outlook.⁶ Traditionally strongly

2 The Arab army of the Rashidun Caliphate had conquered Egypt ten years earlier, and its progression into the land of Nubia was a direct attempt to conquer these territories and submit them to Islamic rule.

3 Welsby 2002, *passim*; Edwards 2004, *passim*; Seignobos 2015.

4 Andersson Strand et al. 2010.

5 Jones 1997, *passim*; Stig Sørensen 1997.

6 Harlow and Nosch 2014.

focused on material culture, archaeology can use textile studies as an innovative research tool to understand past societies better. The aims of this study are to test the hypothesis that dress practices can help us track cultural changes and to gauge the extent to which they participated in the successive remodeling of identities in ancient and medieval Nubia.

Of the theoretical models developed by anthropologists and archaeologists, we chose to integrate the observations of Roland Barthes on the semiology of dress, which he saw as part of “a formal system, organized, normative, consecrated by the society.”⁷ In his seminal work *Histoire et sociologie du vêtement*, he defined dress as “both an individual action and a collective institution”⁸ and demonstrated how dress “constitutes an intellectual and meaningful relationship between the wearer and his/her group.”⁹ His study invites us, when describing an item of clothing, to assess its positioning within society in terms of the institutional system that made its creation and sustainability possible.

Another concept we found interesting is the theory of mediation, which was developed by Jean Gagnepain during the 1960s and 1970s. It was applied to archaeology by Philippe Bruneau and Pierre-Yves Ballut, who sensed its usefulness in the study of clothing practices. In 1983, Bruneau devoted a long article to dress, advocating for its reconsideration in archaeology, since, despite being a product of human industry, textiles and clothing have been largely ignored by the discipline.¹⁰ From his analysis, we find it particularly stimulating to integrate the notion of social time. People change their clothing depending on changes in their own social time: When is a garment worn, and why? A second important idea is that dressing is a two-way mode of communication between the wearer and viewers. A garment embodies constant negotiation between these two identities: Who is wearing it? Who is showing it to whom? With these questions in mind, we have tried to develop in the following pages an archaeology of dress at Gebel Adda.

GEBEL ADDA: GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE SITE

The site of Gebel Adda is located in Egyptian Lower Nubia, about 300 km south of Aswan and about 20 km north of the modern Sudanese border. It was continuously occupied from 200 CE to the Ottoman period. It comprised two main areas: a fortified town built on a hill overlooking the Nile, and a series of large cemeteries stretching across the plain below (fig. 3.3). The town, designated in field reports as “the Citadel,” included settlement buildings, a temple, and several churches. Numbered I to VII, the cemeteries contained the burials of Gebel Adda’s inhabitants from the Late Meroitic, Post-Meroitic, Christian, and Islamic periods. Two churches were also identified in Cemeteries II and VII.

The site was first surveyed in the early twentieth century by Arthur E. P. Weigall,¹¹ later by Ugo Monneret de Villard in 1932–33,¹² and finally by a team from the University of

7 Barthes 1957, 433–34: “un système formel organisé, normatif, consacré par la société.”

8 Barthes 1957, 435: “à la fois . . . acte individuel et institution collective.”

9 Barthes 1957, 437: “constitue une relation intellectuelle, notificatrice, entre le porteur et son groupe.”

10 Bruneau 1983.

11 Weigall 1907, *passim*.

12 Monneret de Villard 1938, *passim*.



Figure 3.3. View of the citadel and surrounding cemeteries in 1963, before flooding. Photo © Reinhart Hubert.

Alexandria in 1959 under the supervision of Mostapha el-Amir.¹³ The Alexandrian expedition conducted excavations in Cemeteries II and I, as well as in some of the Late Christian houses in the eastern part of the citadel. Between 1963 and 1967, within the context of the International Nubian Campaign, the site was excavated on a high scale by a team from the American Research Center in Egypt directed by Nicholas B. Millet.¹⁴ Because time and financial support were limited, the site could not be excavated in its entirety. A total of four excavation seasons allowed an “average sample” of every cemetery and important areas of the citadel to be documented, in varying degrees.¹⁵

While the cemeteries cover all the periods of Gebel Adda’s occupation, from Meroitic to Ottoman times, the citadel’s original buildings date to the Early and Middle Christian periods. They were deliberately razed to set up a new city during the Late Christian period. Artifacts retrieved from the destroyed layers were necessarily limited. However, the general outline of Gebel Adda’s history could still be reconstructed.¹⁶ The city was an important administrative center during the Late Meroitic period and, in the fourth century CE, was probably the capital of the first rulers of Nobadia.¹⁷ In the medieval era, Gebel Adda remained one of the greatest urban sites of Nobadia and is often compared

¹³ El-Amir 1963, 35–38.

¹⁴ Millet 1963, 1964, 1967; Huber and Edwards 2009, 2010, 2012, 2016.

¹⁵ Millet 1967, 62–63.

¹⁶ Millet 1963, 1964, 1967.

¹⁷ Edwards 2004, 205.

to the better-known site of Qasr Ibrim.¹⁸ It was placed under the authority of the eparch of Nobadia, a kind of viceroy, and may have been the see of his deputy in the second half of the eleventh century CE. Finally, in about 1365, the royal residence was transferred from Dongola to Gebel Adda, where the kings of Makuria occupied the throne until the fifteenth century.

TEXTILES FROM GEBEL ADDA: PRESENTATION OF THE COLLECTION

Despite the lack of a final publication and inventory,¹⁹ we estimate that about 80 percent of the objects recovered from the site are today housed in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto, while the remaining 20 percent are housed in Egypt in the Nubian Museum in Aswan. The textiles, if limited in number (170 pieces), represent one of the most interesting and best-preserved collections of fabrics found in Nubia but remain largely unknown to scholars.

With the notable exception of the crypt burials in the citadel's churches, all the textiles were discovered in the vast cemeteries surrounding the town. High over the level of the Nile waters and dug into the desert plain, far from the wadis, the tombs stayed very dry and offered optimal conditions for the preservation of organic material. The textiles interred with the deceased were in most cases reused items of clothing, carefully selected to accompany the body through the funeral and on its last journey. Textiles could fulfill different functions in the tombs: they could dress or wrap the body (fig. 3.4; see also fig. 3.10 below), form a funerary bed, and wrap certain offerings or be deposited among them for their intrinsic value. In every instance, they were also participating in the funerary display and therefore were meant to be seen. Items of clothing were particularly important in this case, bridging dress practices of the living with wrapping practices of the dead and communicating to the assembly the social status of the deceased and his or her close community. This essay attempts to trace the evolution



Figure 3.4. Textile in situ in a Post-Meroitic grave, used as a shroud to wrap the remains of a child. Photo © Reinhart Hubert.

¹⁸ Seignobos 2015, 208–10.

¹⁹ Grzymski 2010, 25.

of dress practices in Gebel Adda from the Late Meroitic period to the late medieval era and, in doing so, questions the relationship between clothing and identities in Lower Nubia. It proposes an interpretative framework to understand the changing fashion of Late Antique Nubia and, we hope, opens new lines of inquiry in the much-debated question of cultural identity in this border region.

Today, the textiles from Gebel Adda are curated both at the ROM and in the Nubian Museum. Together with leather finds²⁰ and personal ornaments, they are part of a vast assemblage documenting body and dress practices at the site over many centuries. The textiles were first examined in 1979 by Elisabeth Crowfoot, who compiled a short report that included detailed comparisons with textiles from Qasr Ibrim. In 1990, Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood was awarded a Veronika Gervers Memorial Fellowship to pursue her research on the textiles from Quseir al-Qadim and to further Crowfoot's work. A first attempt to publish the Gebel Adda textiles in 1992 was planned, but the project could not be completed. Building on previous research and our new, in-depth analyses, this essay is based on several case studies focusing on textile garments (see their full descriptions in the chapter appendix). Each of them supports the discussion outlining the general evolution process of textile craft and clothing patterns.

MEROITIC COSTUME: KUSHITE DRESS TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION TO MEROITIC GEBEL ADDA

Since its foundation in the Late Meroitic period (c. 200–300 CE), Gebel Adda undoubtedly played a prominent role in the political landscape of Lower Nubia. Located on a high promontory, the site was first selected for defense purposes, as a massive mudbrick wall with protective bastions and a gate was built around three sides to form a large enclosure or fort. The first settlement consisted of a few habitation structures with associated storage pits and animal enclosures. It then grew considerably, in successive phases, to become a true town, with several official buildings and a ceremonial center with an important temple.²¹ Simultaneously with the town's development, several large cemeteries sprouted around the city's periphery in the vast plains stretching up to the wadis and the river. Cemetery III accommodated most of the Meroitic graves, many of which were covered with small pyramids.²² Despite widespread plundering, the contents of the tombs show rich funerary assemblages, containing diverse and high-quality artifacts.²³ Added to the monumental architecture deployed in the town—podium, administrative building, and temple, to give a few examples—the material retrieved at Gebel Adda indicates the prosperity of its population. The political importance of the site is particularly well represented by the affluent Wayekiye family, who originated from Gebel Adda and held high administrative and military offices across the region during the second and third centuries CE.²⁴

²⁰ Veldmeijer 2016.

²¹ Millet 1964, 8; 1967, 54–56; 1968, 47–52.

²² Millet 1964, 8; Huber and Edwards 2016.

²³ Grzymski 2010.

²⁴ Millet 1968, 54–55; Török 1978.

TEXTILES AS GRAVE GOODS

The prominence of its inhabitants had important consequences for the dress practices observed at Gebel Adda. All the textiles discussed in the present study were found in the context of elite burials. We ought to remember that a large part of the Nubian population probably lived unclothed or partially dressed, using minimal coverings often made of leather or material from animal sources, with the occasional textile or skin wrapper.²⁵ It appears so quite clearly in classical sources, which record that Nubians “lived naked all the time. . . . Some cut the tails off the behind of their sheep and cover their hips with them. . . . Some also use the hides of their animals.”²⁶ Together with many leather finds, archaeology and iconography seem to confirm this literary motive, a true topos of the “barbarian” figure of classical literature. Most of our knowledge also rests on the excavation of elite cemeteries, while traces of smaller farming or pastoral communities are more difficult to locate. The presence of woven textiles in a grave is, therefore, in itself a strong indication of its rather high status.

Kept in the ROM, the site’s inventory and the excavation archives contain much valuable information regarding the textiles’ findspots in the graves. Generally, textiles were found well preserved—if rather desiccated—in a fragmentary form. Among the material, pieces of garments can be identified with a good degree of confidence, while other fragments can be tentatively assigned to blankets, body wrappings, or textile tapes. Tapes were created by shredding a large piece of fabric into long, thin strips, which were used to tie the wrappings around the body. This “shroud” was rarely woven for this purpose: it consisted of a large, rectangular piece of fabric, often a reused mantle or tunic. Items of clothing can therefore be identified as such or among the fragmentary body wrappings. Many bear heavy traces of repairs, such as coarse seams closing a tear or keeping the different layers of textiles together around the body. Because the graves were reused many times and were further disturbed by robbing, it is rarely possible to allocate objects to a specific inhumation. Data regarding the sex of the bodily remains are therefore very uncertain.

Similarly, textile fragments were seldom found in direct connection with the skeleton but were instead scattered among other finds in the filling of the access ramp and the tomb cavity. As a result, the modalities of funerary gestures such as body wrapping and covering remain difficult to ascertain. One element seems clear, however: the bodies were not dressed but wrapped in reused items of clothing (see below).²⁷ In this regard, funerary rituals relating to body preparation and perception differ from those at contemporary Egyptian sites, such as Antinoe.²⁸ In the rare instances where textiles still adhered to the skeleton, fragments tended to be visible around the head and on the leg bones, indicating that the body—in an extended supine or crouched position—was not partially covered but entirely wrapped (see fig. 3.4). Textiles are indifferently associated with female, male, and child inhumations. Notable is the frequency of finds in archers’ graves: fragments of bows, thumb rings, wrist braces, and arrowheads all composed the archer panoply of many

25 Yvanez 2018a.

26 Agatharchides of Cnidus, *On the Erythraean Sea*, copied by Diodorus of Sicily, second century CE.

27 Yvanez 2023.

28 E.g., Cortopassi 2006.

high-ranking males in the Kushite hierarchy. The context of the textile finds continues to paint the picture of an elite population, well integrated in the Meroitic cultural world and sphere of influence.

Of the hundreds of textiles retrieved from Gebel Adda cemeteries, one of the present authors²⁹ has managed to conduct a detailed analysis of about 100 objects dated to the Late Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods and kept at the ROM. Research in the excavation archives and detailed observation of weaving methods have permitted an outline of the evolution of textile production to be drawn. However, because no radiocarbon analysis was ever undertaken on the Gebel Adda textiles, we have no absolute dating; and many craft traditions such as pottery and weaving were perpetuated through time with little noticeable change. Consequently, the clear assignment of the textiles to specific periods remains at times problematic. Most of them were brought to the ROM and safely stored there without being subjected to a major conservation program. Many pieces are therefore still matted together and too desiccated to be manipulated safely. Neither rehumidified nor flattened, some textiles are difficult to envision in their entirety, thus precluding their identification as specific garments. Without clear chronological boundaries and with the textiles in sometimes unintelligible shape, typological approaches are difficult to implement. Comparisons with other sites and bodies of material can, in some instances, partially remedy these issues. Interestingly, the Meroitic textiles and garments found at Gebel Adda fit very clearly in the classic Meroitic textile traditions, developed since the end of the first century BCE and well represented through Nubia and central Sudan.³⁰

MEROITIC TEXTILE TRADITIONS

A very high proportion of the Meroitic textiles found at Gebel Adda is made of cotton. Far from insignificant, the choice of this fiber is a strong indicator of the textiles' belonging to the Meroitic sphere, as the central authorities appear to have been heavily engaged in the development of cotton's cultivation.³¹ Like many other specimens of this period, the fabrics are woven in a simple tabby technique (balanced, half-basket, or basket weave), with a rather low density (thread count) and with S-spun threads measuring approximately 0.5/0.6 mm in diameter. Many textile fragments bear typical Meroitic decorations—bands of openwork forming decorative lattices; bands and other patterns in blue tapestry; blue embroideries; and long, tasseled fringes.

These types of ornaments most probably decorated large, rectangular pieces of fabric, which could be used as clothing in a multitude of arrangements. Wrapped around the waist, it could become a skirt; wrapped around the chest and shoulders, it could form a long dress or a mantle for warmth on a chilly night. Deprived of diagnostic features such as seams and hems, these rectangular, multiuse fabrics are difficult to identify with certainty among heavily fragmented items. Comparison with iconographical documents can help us understand the combination of decorative elements and the way those fabrics were

²⁹ Elsa Yvanez.

³⁰ Wild 2011; Yvanez 2015.

³¹ Yvanez and Wozniak 2019.

worn. It is especially useful in the case of female costume, which seems mostly to have consisted of a long, wraparound skirt.³²

The large fragment chosen as our first case study (textile A) is a good example of “classic” Meroitic textiles: it is made of rather thick cotton threads, spun in an S direction, in a balanced tabby weave with a denser weave along the lower edge, where the weaver integrated a couple of thin, decorative bands in blue weft-faced tabby. This fragment could have belonged to the bottom of a rectangular fabric used as a wraparound garment. The bushy fringes are especially congruent with the long skirts worn by Meroitic women and men, as shown on painted stelae and reliefs from both Nubia and the region of Meroe. This particular element is depicted by means of a series of vertical hatches, generally covering the calves down to the feet.³³ The addition of blue details along the lower edge of the garment—here reduced to its simplest expression—is also typical of this type of piece. A female *ba*-statue from Gebel Adda actually depicts a woman wearing a wraparound skirt of an entirely blue fabric, with a white horizontal band around the waist.³⁴ Other textiles of similar manufacture show more complex versions of tapestry bands, with apotropaic designs of pharaonic origin such as offering tables or *ankh*-crosses.³⁵ This type of large fabric must have been especially useful in a funerary context, where it could easily have wrapped an individual.

A UNIFORM FOR MEROITIC MALE OFFICIALS?

Along with unidentified fragments of cotton clothing and wool or cotton blankets, a particularly well-preserved grave offers a formidable case study (textile B) for the analysis of male costume. Located in Cemetery III, tomb 622 contained the inhumations of two adult males, one of them totally enveloped in several layers of textiles. The arrangement of the grave is unknown, but pictures taken during the excavation show several items of clothing laid on the legs of the deceased—an apron—while the body appears wrapped in a larger item—a cape(?)—and laid on a thick blanket or rug used as a funerary bed. He was not dressed in clothes but rather wrapped in them. Among other textiles in the funerary bundle, three pieces form a coherent outfit: a loincloth, a pendant apron, and a cape.³⁶

Traces of knots and corded links on both upper angles of the loincloth show that, in life, it surrounded the waist and was fastened at the front, while the pointed extremity was passed between the legs, brought in front of the genitals, and secured at the navel. Like other Meroitic loincloths, this specimen differs from pharaonic examples, with their sharp and acute angles: rather wide and with scalloped edges on the sides, it would have enveloped the crotch and stayed rather loose on the hips, probably descending all the way to mid-thigh (see fig. 3.13 below). The pendant apron is made of two embroidered panels, which, once assembled, form a roughly rectangular shape with a hemispheric top and a triangular bottom, reminiscent of a phallus. The left panel of the apron appears still to be

32 Adams and Adams 2013, pl. 41; Yvanez 2018a, 87.

33 E.g., SNM 5587 in Baud 2010, fig. 343; Yvanez 2018a, fig. 4.

34 Unpublished; Reinhard Huber, personal communication, July 2019.

35 E.g., Yvanez 2018a, fig. 3.

36 Yvanez 2023.

tied in a thick knot to a band of textile, which could have been used as a belt to attach the pendant apron around the waist. Wide and long, the piece would have effectively covered much of the man's front, descending to mid-calves. The outfit was completed with a large-sized cape(?), probably attached around the neck, hanging down the back and behind the legs, and finishing in a triangular shape.

Although this assemblage represents the one and only complete example of the tripartite male outfit, other pieces belonging to the same ensemble have been identified from Gebel Adda, Qasr Ibrim, and Karanog, while iconographical representations (*ba*-statues, stelae, and reliefs) give concrete illustrations of the way it was worn in Nubia and at Meroe (central Sudan). Every textile specimen seems to follow similar technical features and decorative patterns, especially the "sunburst" flowers.³⁷

The reliefs in the "Meroitic chamber" of the Isis temple at Philae show a procession of high officials dressed in this manner,³⁸ each of them designated with his name and list of titles in an inscription above. Comparing the different combinations of garments with these administrative titles indicates that this specific outfit was worn by male high dignitaries related to the administration of the viceroy of Nubia (*peseto*), especially by those holding important military or defensive functions.³⁹ Interestingly, the fact that the leader of this procession and two other nobles depicted on the Philae monument belong to the Wayekiye clan⁴⁰ reaffirms the connection between Gebel Adda and military officials. Historical sources find here a telling parallel in the many archery-related finds from Gebel Adda cemeteries. Bows, arrows, quivers, and thumb rings provide clear examples of the military attributes of prestige favored in Kushite culture, here especially relevant in symbolizing the power of Meroitic officials in safeguarding the integrity of the kingdom in this disputed region.⁴¹ A diversified network of evidence therefore seems to indicate a close relationship between the tripartite outfit and high-ranking officials with administrative and military duties.

As mentioned above, the Gebel Adda ensemble is not the only one of its kind. A simplified version—the loincloth and apron ensemble—was discovered at Qasr Ibrim in a child's size, for a two- to four-year-old boy. Repeated through the Meroitic territory from about the first century to the fourth century CE, this outfit thus very much befitted the social persona of high-ranking males regardless of age, time, and location, rather than specific individuals. The Meroitic loincloth and apron outfit therefore makes manifest a general social and cultural theory on its wearer, immediately recognizable through codified characteristics. In this regard, it fits the definition of a "uniform" as formulated by Bruneau.⁴² By its uniformity, the garment implies the wearer's conformity to a certain institution and its rules. In a Nubian context such as Gebel Adda, it is particularly interesting to note the continuity of this type of uniform until the very end of the Late Meroitic period, proving the long-lasting influence of the central authorities in this remote northern region.

37 E.g., Wild and Wild 2006, fig. 13; Yvanez and Wozniak 2019, fig. 13.

38 Pompei 2015.

39 Yvanez 2018b, 113–14; see also Török 1978.

40 Török 2002, 77.

41 Drici 2015, 68–69.

42 Bruneau 1983.

Taken as a whole, the Meroitic textiles found at Gebel Adda form a homogenous group comparable to other textile corpora of the same period in Lower Nubia and, to a lesser measure, central Sudan. The repetition of distinctive traits—such as the use of cotton, the tabby weave, the blue tapestry or embroidery decorations, and the frequent openwork lattices, tassels, and fringes—suggests a certain standardization of Meroitic textile production. Clearly sustained by elite consumption, we could infer a certain degree of production control and, therefore, the involvement of the royal authorities in the manufacture of specific types of garments.⁴³ This hypothesis is further supported by additional data, such as textile tools, that point to the centralization of parts of textile production in settlements linked to royal power and by the significant role of cotton cultivation, probably developed with the state's tutelage.⁴⁴ Brought together, these different elements indicate that, during the Meroitic period, textiles and the sartorial arts carried powerful social meanings at the heart of complex relationships between the central authorities in Meroe and the local elite in Nubia.

The distinctive style of Meroitic textiles, with its mix of pharaonic decorative elements (e.g., *ankh*-crosses, uraei) and Hellenistic patterns (e.g., swastikas, meanders), constitutes a sort of visual message professing the elite's belonging to an ancestral and prestigious pharaonic culture, and affirming through dress forms and decoration their religious knowledge and close relationship to the gods. It also shows the elite's integration into the larger world and their contact with Roman Egypt. Within the Meroitic world itself, this type of dress must have been a particularly powerful manifesto: dressed in such a distinctive way, the nobles set themselves apart from the rest of the population and, posted throughout the kingdom, represented Meroitic power all across the territory.

It seems that as long as Meroe kept a strong foothold in Nubia, this dress type and its associated textile traditions endured. However, with the crumbling of the Meroitic state, Nubian nobles eventually lost their connection to the capital and their administrative functions. The tripartite outfit, now rendered apparently obsolete, quickly disappeared as well.

LATE MEROITIC/POST-MEROITIC DRESS: A SHIFT TOWARD THE MEDITERRANEAN?

POST-MEROITIC TRANSITIONS IN GEBEL ADDA

The town of Gebel Adda continued to grow through the fourth century, including larger settlement areas and cemeteries (Cemeteries I, IV, V). After the “fall” of the Meroitic kingdom in about 350 CE, Gebel Adda became part of the Nubian kingdom of Nobadia.⁴⁵ Now cut off from the Meroitic heartland of central Sudan and the Kushite royal authorities, Gebel Adda found its place in the Post-Meroitic cultural landscape of Nubia.⁴⁶ The material culture developed in the two centuries before the arrival of Christianity (c. 550 CE) is a good representation of the melting pot of Late Antiquity, which defines so well the complex

⁴³ Yvanez 2018a.

⁴⁴ Yvanez and Wozniak 2019.

⁴⁵ Obluski 2010, *passim*.

⁴⁶ Edwards 2004, 195–211; 2018.

dynamics of cultural entanglement occurring at that time throughout the eastern Roman provinces.⁴⁷ While retaining many Kushite traditions, the Post-Meroitic people of Nubia stopped looking farther south and turned to the north, toward Egypt and the growing Byzantine influence. In Gebel Adda, as at other Nubian sites, this transition is hard to place on the timescale with any exactitude. The cemeteries were used continuously (with successive burials in single graves), and the burial traditions themselves seem to have endured with little change. In the absence of a detailed ceramic typology and radiocarbon dating, a precise chronological attribution for each grave remains extremely difficult. As a result, many textiles are provisionally dated to the very end of the Late Meroitic period or the first phase of the Post-Meroitic period. In any case, establishing a definitive division between Meroitic and Post-Meroitic textile traditions could lead to methodological mistakes. Craft techniques, access to specific raw resources, and aesthetic choices do not perfectly mirror political changes: they can take sharp turns or, conversely, be very slow to change, and they frequently allow the evolution of divergent but nonetheless concomitant trends.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE TUNIC AND MANTLE

After more than three centuries of development, and as distinctive as it was, the classic Meroitic textile tradition seems to have faded out quite quickly in Nubia with the withdrawal of the central authorities. It may have persisted a bit later in Qasr Ibrim, until the final abandonment of the Isis cult and the desertion of her last shrine at that site.⁴⁸ But at Gebel Adda, as well as at Ballana,⁴⁹ cotton textiles with blue decorations were replaced by different kinds of clothing models, heavily influenced by the Mediterranean basin and widespread in Egypt: the tunic and mantle. Instead of being exposed down to the waist in skirts, or loincloths and aprons, the local elite opted for a much more modest outfit, covering themselves from shoulders to shins in a baggy, rectangular piece of clothing. Such a meaningful transition is plainly illustrated by a Late Meroitic funerary stela showing a dignitary and his successor (son or nephew) dressed in tunics (fig. 3.5). Man and child are wearing the same style of tunic: long sleeved, extending below the knees, and decorated with a “band” around the collar and two long, vertical stripes (*clavi*) on the front. Besides this outfit, nothing distinguishes this monument from other Meroitic funerary stelae: the composition is the same, as are the iconography and attributes (scepter, headband, funerary cloth in hand). The outfit, repeated on a child, continues to endorse a specific social meaning, this time turned toward another political entity. While clearly belonging to the Meroitic world, this dignitary chose to represent himself not in a Kushite outfit but in a “Roman” fashion, proclaiming his ties to Hellenistic Egypt and the Mediterranean world.

This type of outfit is not indigenous to Nubia. If several tunics are attested in the Qasr Ibrim corpus⁵⁰ and more generally on royal iconography,⁵¹ the pharaonic prototype of the long “bag-tunic” dress did not establish very solid roots in the Kushite lands. The

47 James 2008; Dann 2009, *passim*.

48 N. K. Adams 2006, 2010a.

49 Mayer-Thurman and Williams 1979, *passim*.

50 E.g., Wild 2011, 119, fig. 19.

51 Török 1990.

Late Antique tunics and mantles are the products of the evolution of dress practices in the classical world and are strongly linked to the history of the Roman toga. The outfit is composed of a tunic (*tunica*)—with or without sleeves, reaching down to the knees, and often tightened around the waist with a belt—and a rectangular mantle draped over the shoulders (*pallium*).⁵² During the first three centuries CE, the tunic was generally of natural-colored wool and decorated with two vertical stripes of contrasting color (*clavi*). The mantle is often decorated with tapestry *segmenta* in its four corners: large, geometric figures in squares (*tabulae*), circles (*orbiculi*), or shapes like the Greek letters gamma (Γ), eta (Η), or iota (Ι).⁵³ This model is amply attested in Late Antique textile assemblages,

particularly in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, where such tapestry figures appear frequently at ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian sites.⁵⁴ It was also present in Lower Nubia, where it first appeared during the Late Meroitic period and finally imposed itself during the Post-Meroitic period. It is notably attested in the Ballana region, for example in Qustul, Serra, Sahaba, and Debeira.⁵⁵

It is, then, not surprising to find fragments of tunics and mantles in the Gebel Adda textile corpus. They are especially prominent in Cemeteries III and V, congruent with the Late Meroitic to Post-Meroitic date established at other sites. The textile presented here as a case study (textile C) for the arrival of tunics in Lower Nubia is a finely woven fabric, very fragmented, and made of wool. The ground weave is of natural color, with many fragments showing the presence of a dark-blue band, itself crossed by four picks of natural-colored weft threads. The bands continue to the selvages, which are reinforced with three warp cords and are densely woven. We propose to interpret this double band as a *clavus*, the vertical band used to decorate tunics.⁵⁶ It would have been woven horizontally on the



Figure 3.5. Funerary stela from Gebel Adda (64.1.320).
Cairo Museum (Millet 1964, pl. III, no. 5).

⁵² Lorquin 2003; Baratte 2004.

⁵³ Thomas 2000; Lorquin 2003.

⁵⁴ E.g., Crowfoot 1961; Yadin 1963, 193–97, 204–40; Mannering 2000; Lorquin 2003; Pritchard 2006, *passim*.

⁵⁵ Bergman 1975, *passim*; Mayer-Thurman and Williams 1979, *passim*; Szymaszek 2017.

⁵⁶ Bender Jørgensen 2011.

loom—the bands parallel to the ground—before being turned 90 degrees to form the tunic, so the bands became vertical. Folded in half and completed with a neck opening, the tunic would need only two lateral seams to be tailored, by closing the sides of the rectangle while reserving arm holes. This type of garment was “woven in shape” and required minimal processing after the weaving. On our example, no trace of sewing is preserved, but the finesse of the weave (still soft to the touch), the blue bands (*clavi*?), and the reinforced selvages are all good attributes to support its identification as a tunic.

Our next case study (textile D) is an entirely blue woolen fabric, made of a rather loose and open tabby that ensures its suppleness. Today torn into several large pieces, the garment was decorated with four *gamma* figures in the corners, each approximately 30 cm wide and completed by a “tail” woven with red woolen threads. The selvages were once again reinforced with three warp cords, and the preserved portions of the edge (starting or finishing border?) show a thick, interlaced cord incorporating the warp threads. The finished garment would have been a rather light rectangular fabric of dark-blue color with large red patterns, flanked on its four sides by heavy borders. This composition is congruent with a mantle, and we can imagine the effect that such heavy elements would have had on the fall and drape of the piece.

These technical characteristics are not fundamentally opposed to traits of earlier Meroitic textiles: we notice the same types of reinforced selvages, the overwhelming representation of blue dyes and patterns, and the frequency of bands along the upper and lower edges. In many ways, they represent the adaptation of Mediterranean textile codes into the local repertoire and fashion aesthetics. The Late Meroitic weavers even pushed this concept in creating cotton textiles with large, blue tapestry figures (*gamma*, swastika, etc.) filled with a semis of Kushite patterns. By the Post-Meroitic period, however, simpler interpretations of the tunic and mantle, with bicolored garments closer to the Mediterranean originals, were widespread in Nubia. One local specificity remained in the important size of the *segmenta*, which regularly measure up to 20 or even 30 cm wide. We also note a certain predilection for blue and (to a lesser extent) red fabrics, which stems from the Meroitic textiles’ color code and contrasts with the frequent purple designs of Egyptian garments. Since we know that the Kushites were not totally unfamiliar with tunics, it looks at first glance as though the two textile and dress traditions were not very far apart. However, we would like to argue that the two types of dress practices follow widely different body acculturation processes, based on different views of nudity and “body exposure.” Each results from its own ancestral customs: the sub-Saharan tradition with its loincloth and skirts of textile and/or leather, and the Greco-Roman one with its great lengths of drapery and heavily wrapped bodies. The accentuation of gendered physical attributes, explicit in the Kushite costume, is also replaced by unisex garments of loose fit. The adoption of the tunic and mantle as the main mode of clothing is therefore very significant for the understanding of Post-Meroitic transitions in Nubia and suggests an important cultural mutation deeply rooted in peoples’ bodies.

DIVERSIFICATION OF TEXTILE TECHNIQUES

Accompanying the spread of new dress practices in Nubia, the local textile production underwent major developments touching on every aspect of the textile economy. The tunic

and mantle did not come alone—their arrival in Nubia coincided with the appearance of new weaving techniques and a true explosion of colors. As case-study textiles C and D have shown, the fiber of choice is no longer cotton but wool, from sheep but maybe also dromedaries.⁵⁷ At first glance quite simple, this shift in raw material must in fact have had a deep impact on the local economy. We can wonder about the reasons for cotton's momentary downfall,⁵⁸ but from a technical point of view, the widespread adoption of wool translated to the sudden diversification of the color repertoire. Wool is indeed reputed to absorb dyes much better than flax and cotton, and the weavers and dyers of Late Antique Egypt made use of this characteristic in creating polychrome masterpieces of textile craftsmanship. In Nubia, new colors started to appear in multihued compositions playing with the juxtaposition of red, yellow, blue, green, white, and brown threads. This diversification is accompanied by the arrival of different techniques exploiting these newly developed color opportunities, such as brocade and other supplementary wefts.⁵⁹

Our next case study, textile E, is a perfect example of such evolution. It presents very bright starting and finishing borders, alternating red, yellow, and blue threads in diverse interlacing techniques. Its lower border may have been created in twinning technique or with weaving tablets, a new tool that appeared in the region at the end of Late Antiquity. The dark-brown ground weave is decorated with two polychrome bands crossing the fabric horizontally approximately 5 cm from the borders. Supplementary wefts of red, yellow, white, and blue color form a pattern of vertical hatches, with a ribbed effect. Long braids are formed out of the borders and continue for about 25 cm from each corner of the rectangle. Interestingly, similar technical attributes can be observed on at least one other textile in Gebel Adda, two from Qustul, three from Serra East, and one from Debeira. They are all made of dark-brown wool, possibly from dromedaries. When complete, these pieces would have exhibited larger sizes than our 23 cm wide textile E: the Gebel Adda specimen was 93 cm wide and 198 cm long, and the Qustul examples were 114 cm wide and 180 cm long. All cases show a rather narrow rectangle, with at least one lace at each corner and another one positioned approximately 10 cm below. This construction indicates their use as garments with a codified fastening system, although of unspecified function.

DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTILE IMPORTS

The diversification of textile techniques and of the polychrome decorative repertoire was accompanied by the notable augmentation of imported fabrics. It is clearly visible at Gebel Adda, as well as in Qustul and Ballana, and is part of a global phenomenon in Post-Meroitic elite and royal cemeteries.⁶⁰ During this period, the funerary assemblages are marked by the arrival of precious objects from the Romano-Egyptian world: folding chairs, silver vessels embossed with mythological scenes, bronze lamps, and wooden board games

⁵⁷ Bergman 1975, 10–12.

⁵⁸ Fuller 2015; Yvanez and Wozniak 2019.

⁵⁹ E.g., Yvanez 2018b, 117–18.

⁶⁰ Dann 2009, *passim*; Obłuski 2010, *passim*.

on tripods with ivory inlays, all reflections of the “good life” of Roman citizens.⁶¹ The precious imported textiles answer to the same dynamics of diplomatic gift-giving, cementing relationships between the Post-Meroitic authorities and their Egyptian neighbors, on the one hand, and between the local authorities and the elite, on the other hand.⁶² This category of imported textiles is not too difficult to identify, as the fabrics generally present one or several elements that clearly stand apart from those of the local production: it could be a polychrome rug, a complex piece of “Coptic” tapestry, a fragment of *taqueté* compound weave from a furnishing textile,⁶³ or, from the end of the Post-Meroitic period onward, a piece of silk fabric.

Our next case study, textile F, is most probably an example of these fine tapestries. It exhibits a diversity of colors unparalleled in the Nubian corpus, with different shades of purple, pink, orange, light and dark blue, turquoise, and red, as well as the natural beige color of the untreated or bleached wool. The entire surface of the preserved fabric bears a succession of horizontal registers filled with friezes of motives from the natural world, such as birds (ducks?), fish, palmettes, leafy rinceaux, and trilobe leaves. This group of patterns is well known on Late Antique tapestries from Egypt and neighboring countries, where they form the iconographical theme of abundance, but is very rare in Sudan and Nubia. To our knowledge, it appears on only one other piece, probably imported as well and found in a royal grave at Qustul.⁶⁴ The tapestry from Gebel Adda was most likely used as a furnishing textile, not as clothing. It is, however, a very good illustration of the value bestowed on imported textiles in Post-Meroitic Sudan, as two or three phases of repairs attest the long life of the piece before it was finally chosen to participate in the funerary decorum of an important individual at Gebel Adda.

During the fourth and fifth centuries CE, the Nubian textile traditions underwent deep transformations, sourcing much of their outside inspiration from the lively Egyptian industry. Local weavers were nourished by the arrival of imported fabrics and—most probably—by growing contacts between craftspeople. The raw resources for textiles shifted from a powerful cotton industry to predominantly animal fibers (wool from sheep and dromedaries) and included many more plant dyes. New techniques were developed, either locally or in Egypt, and Mediterranean dress practices seem to have been widely adopted. The tunic with *clavi*, which used to be the exclusive attribute of the Roman soldiers captured by Meroitic kings and queens,⁶⁵ became a frequent occurrence in the wardrobes of the elite. At the turn of the Post-Meroitic period, the long transition that started in the Late Meroitic period seemed well established. The focus of the textile industry had shifted: weavers stopped looking southward to Meroe and turned toward Roman and then Byzantine Egypt, and Nubian dignitaries, while retaining much of their Kushite heritage, chose to identify themselves as members of the greater Mediterranean world.

61 Williams 1983, passim; Maguire 1999.

62 Yvanez 2019.

63 Yvanez 2019.

64 Emery and Kirwan 1938, pl. 110E.

65 E.g., Shinnie and Bradley 1981, 168.

MEDIEVAL DRESS PRACTICES: BYZANTINE INFLUENCE AND NUBIAN TRENDS

During the sixth century CE, the Nubian political landscape assumed yet a new shape with the appearance of three kingdoms—Nobadia, Makuria, and Alwa—whose genesis is associated with the Christianization process. Written external sources bear witness to the arrival of two concurrent Byzantine missions and the successful conversion of Nubian rulers to the new faith. The Monophysite mission was sent by empress Theodora and led by bishop Julian, who arrived in Nobadia probably in the second half of the sixth century CE. A few years later, his successor bishop, Longinus, traveled southward to the kingdom of Alwa.⁶⁶ During the same period, the orthodox mission sent by Emperor Constantine reached the kingdom of Makuria.⁶⁷ In a second phase, between the end of the seventh century CE and the first half of the eighth century CE, the kingdoms of Nobadia and Makuria merged into one great entity.⁶⁸

The Christianization process, interpreted through the prism of exogenous written sources, has traditionally been interpreted as a passive process. However, in his recent monograph dedicated to the creation of the kingdom of Nobadia, Artur Obłuski convincingly demonstrated that the acceptance of the Christian faith was in fact a deliberate and calculated choice of the new Nubian rulers to firmly integrate the Mediterranean koine.⁶⁹ The lack of preserved textiles belonging to the Nubian royal elite of the time deprives us of an accurate observation of the way fashion contributed to the construction of a new Nubian identity. But the rich iconographic royal repertoire shows that the Makurite rulers adopted some important features of Byzantine dress practices and integrated them with other Nubian elements, apparently still significant in terms of the expression of power and social distinction in the visual and ideological landscape of Nubian society.

ROYAL DRESS PRACTICES: BYZANTINE INFLUENCE AND NUBIAN TRENDS

At the present state of knowledge, the earliest representation of a Nubian ruler is dated to the second half of the tenth century CE. It has been tentatively identified as a portrait of King Zacharias III.⁷⁰ It was painted in the apse of the Faras cathedral, whose initial decorative program was modified to integrate the king's figure into the former composition of the Virgin Mary surrounded by the apostles. The hands of the Virgin were repainted so that they lay on the king's shoulders in a protective gesture. The mural's upper part is not preserved, but the complete outfit of the ruler is clearly visible: he wears two long dresses, a narrower one with decorated borders on the edge and sleeves, and over it a second one, more ample, whose folds are marked on the long sleeves and at the waist, where the dress is tightened with a red belt. On the king's right shoulder, a large cloak decorated with *tablia* is attached. The cloak covers both shoulders and conceals the left arm (fig. 3.6).

66 John of Ephesus, after Payne-Smith 1860, 220–26, 281–94; Kirwan 1937; Welsby 2002, 31–34.

67 John of Biclar, after Mommsen 1892; Monneret de Villard 1938, 66; Kirwan 1980; Welsby 2002, 33.

68 Kirwan 1980; W. Y. Adams 1991; Shinnie 1996, 124–25; Welsby 2002, 83.

69 Obłuski 2014, 205.

70 Godlewski 2002, 88–90; 2008, 269, 277.

Two other portraits of a successor king, identified as Georgios III and dated to the late tenth century, are known from Faras⁷¹ and from Sonqi Tino.⁷² There, the monarch still wears an outfit strongly influenced by the Byzantine culture. The *tablia* disappear, but the cloak is ornamented instead with decorative geometrical patterns. In these two portraits, the representation of the crown is preserved. It is identified as the *kamelaukion* type (fig. 3.7).

When compared to Byzantine representations, the portrait of King Zacharias III appears as more archaic, with features more characteristic of Byzantine art from the sixth to seventh centuries CE. The portraits of Georgios III seem, on the other hand, contemporaneous with the Byzantine production of the tenth century CE, especially in the combination of garments and the rich ornamentation of textiles.

Besides their Byzantine influence, the three compositions also reveal the presence of elements from the Nubian repertoire, which probably still retained, in this time of identity (re)construction, a strong visual and performative value in the expression of royal power. These elements are the wide red collar and a possible postiche beard (both attributes of royal iconography in the Nile Valley since the pharaonic era), as well as the diamond-shaped lattice bands visible on the edges of the dress.⁷³

From the eleventh century CE, Nubian royal iconography shows the beginning of a process called “Nubianization”:⁷⁴ the cloak is still attached on the right side but uncovers both shoulders, a veil appears under the crown, and the cross is replaced by a bow (fig. 3.8).



Figure 3.6. Portrait of King Zacharias III. Faras cathedral, detail of the *apsis*. Warsaw National Museum, Inv. 234001 MN. Drawing on photo © Magdalena M. Wozniak. Photo © Warsaw National Museum.

71 Godlewski 2002, 90–91; Mierzejewska 2004, 118.

72 Donadoni 1970.

73 Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 273; Wozniak 2013, 171–72.

74 Godlewski 2008.



Figure 3.7. Portraits of King Georgios. Left: At Faras cathedral, Warsaw National Museum, Inv. 234032 MN. Right: At Sonqi Tino, Sudan National Museum, Inv. KH 24366. Drawing on photos © Magdalena M. Wozniak. Photo at Faras © Warsaw National Museum. Photo at Sonqi Tino © Magdalena M. Wozniak.

These attributes and the new way of wearing the cloak are no longer connected to the Byzantine world. The very few portraits known from this period are not completely preserved and frequently lack the upper part of the composition, so it is impossible to identify the kind of crown worn by the king. But it is almost certain that the crown was not of the *kamelaukion* type. Interestingly, the wide collar and diamond-shaped lattice bands, and probably the postiche beard, are still in use in this new type of royal costume. Scholars have suggested that this Nubianization process was related to a dynastic change and a return to a matrilineal succession to the throne.⁷⁵ The presence of the veil, a feminine attribute in Nubian iconography, may well indicate this change in the mode of accession to the throne. Regarding the textiles, the medallion pattern seems particularly in vogue: round or octagonal, inhabited or decorated with geometrical motifs, it decorates the royal cloak and robe.

⁷⁵ Godlewski 2008, 273.



Figure 3.8. Portrait of King Stephanos. Faras cathedral. Warsaw National Museum, Inv. 234012 MN. Drawing © Magdalena M. Wozniak.

Over the course of the twelfth century CE, murals developed new iconographic themes, integrating, in particular, elements related to warfare and cattle. A colorful painting from Faras offers a representation of a complete archery kit, with a bow-and-quiver set.⁷⁶ In the same period, a new type of scepter topped with a figure of Christ giving a blessing appears in two apse portraits in Banganarti (fig. 3.9). As for the crowns, various models are depicted: diadems decorated with bucrania, helmets with horns, and cross-topped crowns with horns. It seems that these various elements could have been combined to create composite crowns.⁷⁷ Regarding dress, the cloak covers an even larger portion of the long robe, especially in its lower part: it evolved into a specific garment, an outfit of its own, now ill described by the term “cloak,” which does not reflect its new shape or new function. Perhaps “large apron” or “wrapping” would be more appropriate. Another novelty of the time is the arrival of *tiraz* bands on the robe’s sleeves. This type of textile originally came from the Persian world but at that time had spread throughout the Mediterranean area and beyond.



Figure 3.9. Portrait of an unidentified king (detail). Banganarti, chapel 3, in situ. Drawing © Wojciech Chmiel.

⁷⁶ Michałowski 1974, no. 61.

⁷⁷ Michałowski 1974, 44; Jakobielski 2013.

FUNERARY TRADITIONS AND TEXTILES IN MEDIEVAL NUBIA

The Nubians' conversion to the Christian faith led to very important changes in funerary practices, one of the most important being the disappearance of grave goods. Except for some jewelry, such as cross-shaped pendants expressing the deceased's adherence to the "new" religion, graves are usually devoid of any objects besides a shroud and clothing items. Another noticeable difference from graves of the Meroitic and Post-Meroitic periods is the fact that the body is now dressed in clothes and then wrapped in a shroud (fig. 3.10). Sometimes the shrouded body was deposited on a mat. Of course, the number and nature of garments included vary, depending on the person's wealth and status. In the most modest burials, only traces of a loincloth, if preserved, are recorded.⁷⁸ Often the shroud itself was made from smaller pieces of reused textiles. When pieces of garments or entire shrouds are preserved, a close examination of the fabrics shows traces of wear, proving they were items the person wore or used during his or her lifetime. It appears clearly, then, that in medieval times, as in the former period, textile was still a valuable commodity that only a privileged part of Nubian society could afford.

Unlike Meroitic graves, few medieval elite burials have been excavated. The majority were graves of ecclesiastical dignitaries. One of the best-preserved burials was that of Timotheos, bishop of Faras, whose inhumation was discovered in a crypt in the cathedral of Qasr Ibrim in 1964.⁷⁹ The circumstances of his death are unclear: it seems that he died



Figure 3.10. Medieval burial no. 1039, Cemetery II. Drawing © S. L. Howe.
Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

⁷⁸ W. Y. Adams 1999, *passim*.

⁷⁹ Crowfoot 1977; see also Vorderstrasse, chapter 16 in this volume.

shortly after his arrival in Ibrim as the result of an accident, perhaps a snakebite. His foot was amputated in an attempt to save his life, but he died anyway. He was buried in his “traveling” clothes, with his consecration decree as the bishop of Faras signed by the Patriarch of Alexandria (and dated to 1372 CE) and his pastoral cross. His wardrobe was composed of a pair of undyed cotton trousers, an ample linen tunic, and a large, bell-shaped cloak with an attached hood. The cloak was woven in wool, dyed deep blue, and lined with madder-dyed cotton; a turquoise silk facing was found inside the hood and all around the hem of the cloak; and a piece of silk tapestry decorated the back of the cloak at the shoulders. Except for the benedictional cross, the unique piece of costume related to his priestly status may be an intricately decorated *mappa*⁸⁰ in linen and silk. This napkin’s high quality of execution may indicate its belonging to an elaborate liturgical set. The dressed body of Bishop Timotheos was wrapped in a rectangular piece of undyed cotton cloth, of rather good quality, attached with cords.

In 2009 and 2012, another group of ecclesiastical graves was explored, this time in Old Dongola, the capital city of the kingdom of Makuria. The burials are located in the northwest annex of the monastery on Kom H, interpreted as a commemorative chapel for Dongolan bishops: one crypt under the chapel of Archbishop Georgios, and two others under a second chapel added later, north of the first chapel.⁸¹

Crypt 1, built under the chapel of Archbishop Georgios, contained no fewer than seven bodies, buried successively. Surprisingly, none of the deceased wore any distinctive clothes revealing their high status. All were identified as males, aged between forty and sixty years. Examination of the textiles showed that each body was dressed similarly in linen garments and wrapped in linen shrouds. Despite their poor state of preservation, it was possible to identify several elements of dress: trousers, short tunics, long tunics (gallabiyah type), and a monk’s hood. Except for this last piece, which was decorated with cross patterns in woolen brocade, all the garments were cut in simple linen tabby, devoid of ornamentation. The shroud of individual II was “impregnated on one side, the impregnation serving as ground for a text written in ink,”⁸² but the fabric’s bad state of preservation prevented the text’s decipherment.

In contrast, Crypt 2 also contained seven inhumations but only two preserved textiles: a large silk shroud wrapping individual I, and three fragments of a silk tapestry found scattered around the crypt. Individual I, wrapped in the silk shroud, was the last to be deposited in Crypt 2. The silk shroud, measuring at least 2 m long, was decorated with large red and dark-blue stripes alternating with thin stripes of various colors (dark blue, green, blue, cream, purple, and brown). The second textile, an ornamental tapestry band, was composed of a central row of gold medallions on a dark-blue ground bordered by two bands of red guilloche on a golden ground and by a third decorative band with scrolling grapevine bordered in red on a dark-blue ground. The guilloche pattern was identified as a typical element of the decorative repertoire of Egyptian workshops of the twelfth century CE.⁸³ This textile was almost certainly used for a garment. The crypt excavators noted that

80 A kind of kerchief held by the priest in his hand during the liturgy.

81 Godlewski, Mahler, and Czaja-Szewczak 2012; Mahler et al. 2015.

82 Godlewski, Mahler, and Czaja-Szewczak 2012, 355.

83 Godlewski, Mahler, and Czaja-Szewczak 2012, 356.

the fragments of the golden robe must have been associated with another inhumation, since individual I's body was still wrapped in its shroud at the time of the burial's opening. However, the assemblages from Gebel Adda invite a new hypothesis—namely, that individual I may have been additionally covered with a quilt (cf. below).

In Crypt 3, containing five burials, the textiles had disintegrated much more than those in Crypts 1 and 2, but at least one silk shroud was attested on the skeletonized body of individual II. In the burial of individual II, archaeologists also found a fragment of thick wool tapestry and a scrap of a silk twill, which attest to at least two different wrapping layers.

The presence of these sumptuary textiles, related to at least four different burials, may be interpreted in two ways: either these individuals were not ecclesiastical dignitaries (at least, not monks) or funerary practices evolved over the course of the twelfth century CE to allow richer attire. The burials of civil dignitaries discovered in Church IV at Gebel Adda offer an interesting counterpart to the Dongolan crypts.

MEDIEVAL GEBEL ADDA: LAST CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF MAKURIA

With the conversion of Nubian rulers to the Christian faith, the Post-Meroitic town of Gebel Adda was transformed through the construction of a new type of architectural building: churches. During the medieval period, the town included no fewer than seven churches, located both in the citadel and in the adjacent cemeteries (Cemetery II, south of the citadel, occupied mainly by burials from the Early Christian period and some from the Late Christian period, and the northern Cemetery VII, dated to the Late Christian period). A second major addition was the construction of a palatial complex, when Gebel Adda replaced Dongola as the new capital of the kingdom of Makuria during the fourteenth century CE.

Interestingly, among the written material discovered at the site, the mission documented Greek and Coptic inscriptions as well as Arabic tombstones dated to the beginning of the eleventh century. It appears that at this time both Christian and Muslim communities lived side by side in Gebel Adda. Muslim graves were documented in the older Cemetery III. Traces of plaster with Kufic decor were also found near the south wall of the citadel, which could indicate the existence of a mosque in the Middle Christian period, probably destroyed during the Late Christian rebuilding phase.⁸⁴

Regarding the medieval occupation of Adda, Millet's expedition explored the palatial complex, four churches (Churches IV, V, VI, and VII), two houses (loci 100 and 101) and about forty burials in Christian Cemetery II.

Church V, dated to the Middle Christian period, was built at the northern end of the great northern bastion of the Meroitic acropolis. Traces of murals were documented there. Churches IV, VI, and VII were all dated to the Late Christian period. Church IV occupied the edge of the central plaza and was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman period. Church VI was a small chapel in Cemetery VII. Church VII, the last to have been built, was part of a larger group of buildings identified as the "palace complex," and murals were better preserved on its walls than in Church V. It seems that Churches IV, VI, and VII functioned simultaneously.

84 Millet 1967, 59.

The most remarkable ensemble of the medieval period at Gebel Adda is a group of buildings identified as the place of residence for its rulers. This palatial complex was built on a U-shaped plan, “with the open-end north, facing the central square, the long axis lying along the street which led down to the walls on the south.”⁸⁵ The first buildings were probably erected in the thirteenth century CE, and the palace was enlarged during the fourteenth century, remaining the most important residence in the town during the fifteenth century. Church VII, added in the fourteenth century, formed the eastern side of the U with another large building, while the western side was the palace itself, consisting of several joined buildings with a large, monumental entrance on the east, facing the entrance of the church. This entrance was provided with steps of stone and red brick, carefully covered with plaster and painted red. The palatial buildings were described as a typical construction of the Late Christian period—that is, a “ground floor of blind storage rooms, accessible from above, and a second and possibly a third story of larger rooms for general living purposes, and a stair of some kind was necessary to enter most of them.”⁸⁶

The excavation of the palace area is one of the major archaeological contributions to our knowledge of the history of Makurian rulers in the late medieval period. On the basis of scarce written sources, our first impression can be that of a fragmented and weakened realm, disappearing in the course of the fourteenth century CE. However, the vivid building activity, including successive enlargements of palace buildings and the construction of a new church as late as the fourteenth century, entirely decorated with large frescoes and visibly executed by a professional workshop, sheds new light on the existence of the Christian kingdom of Makuria. Both court and church dignitaries are mentioned in written documents dated to the reign of King Joel, in the second half of the fifteenth century, which also proves the permanence of both political and religious institutions in the Late Middle Ages. Another valuable dataset can now be added to this dossier on Makurian court life: the burials of Nubian dignitaries discovered in the crypts of Church IV.

THE CRYPT BURIALS IN CHURCH IV: A MIDDLE EASTERN FASHION IN NUBIA

Church IV, built in mudbrick, was located in the center of the upper citadel, at the edge of the central plaza. It was constructed on the foundations of an older house whose storage chambers were integrated into the church plan as small crypts. The excavators documented a total of six inhumations from the late thirteenth century CE.⁸⁷ Apparently, each of the bodies had two shrouds: a first one closer to the body, made of simple linen or cotton fabric, and a second shroud wrapping the first one, this time made of precious, imported textiles.⁸⁸ Among these six burials, three were particularly well preserved, exhibiting almost complete textile assemblages (Crypts A, B, and D). The exceptional state of conservation of the textiles preserved a funerary inscription in ink on two of the inner shrouds, which gave the names of the deceased: a man named Gapoiapa (Crypt B) and a woman named Komar

⁸⁵ Millet 1968, 61.

⁸⁶ Millet 1967, 62.

⁸⁷ The decoration of the silk textiles actually points to the Mamluk textile production of the fourteenth century CE; cf. Mackie 1984.

⁸⁸ Millet 1967, 60.

(Crypt A). Unfortunately, the text does not give them any title or function. However, the kind of garments they wore to the grave argues for their being civil dignitaries rather than clergy members.

The body of Gapoiapa, a rather young man at the time of his death, was deposited in Crypt B, beneath the south sacristy. It was possibly the earliest burial of the series. By the number and variety of textiles, this inhumation was the most lavishly furnished of the six tombs.⁸⁹ A detailed description of the different fabrics and their precise disposition is given in the excavation diary of the fourth season, from January 2 to 5, 1966 (fig. 3.11). We provide here a concise quotation, as well as the register number of the item and its present location, when known (table 3.1):

January 2, 1966—Weeks has found another vault containing a well-made wooden coffin bound with rope.

January 5, 1966—The coffin in vault B of Ch. 4 was photographed, the ropes removed, and the piece of lid lifted.

Quantities of rat dung are being removed from above the body, which is wrapped in a print quilt, largely red in color, with Arabic writing among the designs. Underneath this and roughly stitched to it with light string is a long piece of brightly colored Islamic silk with gold thread in places and bands of Kufic and animal decoration. A pair of brown leather slippers lay in the foot end of the coffin. When the quilt and its liner were folded back, another length of the same silk was found lain over the body and tucked down around. When this was removed, a red and yellow tapestry jacket was found laid over the body; under this was the shroud and bindings. . . . A panel of Old Nubian writing in the shape of a cross covers the head end of the shroud. . . . Coffin and contents successfully removed at 11:30 and taken to the tent. Under the shroud was a clean skeleton clad in a pair of linen Dr. Dentons.⁹⁰

Additionally, the objects register mentions a linen kerchief found on the body.

The body of an unidentified individual was deposited in Crypt D, next to Gapoiapa's burial. It was not placed in a wooden coffin but on an *angareb* bed covered with a reed mat. As in the previous grave, a quilt covered the corpse, which was wrapped in a shroud,

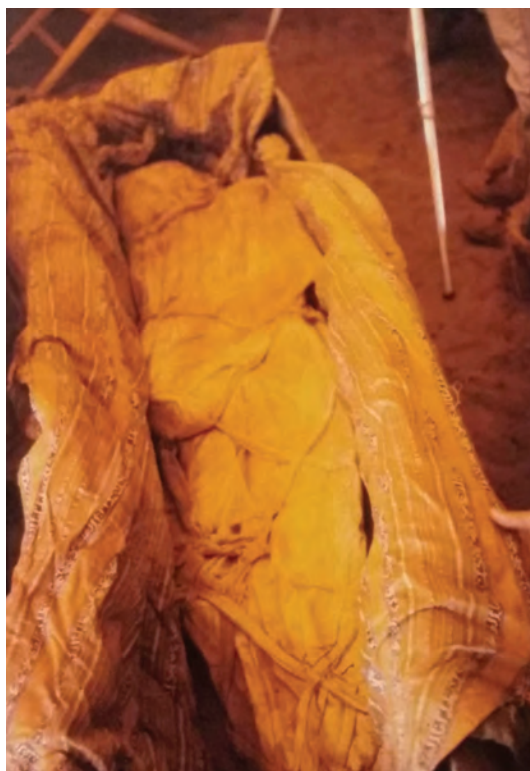


Figure 3.11. View of the body of Gapoiapa in the excavation tent (Żurawski 2014, 133, fig. 16). © Wojciech Kołtąj.

⁸⁹ For a detailed study of the complete textile assemblage in the funerary context, see Wozniak 2025.

⁹⁰ Dr. Dentons was a well-known American brand of pajamas in the 1960s.

Table 3.1. Finds inventory from Gapoiapa's inhumation.

Description	Object register number	Location
Rope	None	Unknown
Wooden coffin	None	Unknown
Printed quilt	66:1:10	Unknown; small samples of lining, resist-dyed textile, padding, and thread in Toronto, ROM 973.24.3549
Islamic silk with golden thread	66:1:11	Aswan, Nubian Museum, and sample in Toronto, ROM 973.24.3551
Leather slippers	66:1:9	Toronto, ROM 973.24.2704
Tapestry jacket	66:1:12	Aswan, Nubian Museum, Inv. 23903
Bindings	None	Unknown
Shroud (inscribed)	66:1:8	Possibly in Cairo, Coptic Museum
Linen "Dr. Dentons"	66:1:13	Toronto, ROM 973.24.3481
Linen kerchief	66:1:14	Toronto, ROM 973.24.2898

apparently uninscribed. The diary's notes also mention a paper amulet inscribed in Old Nubian. In addition, two other textiles are attributed to this burial—namely, a rectangle of cotton with a stamp, of similar dimensions as Gapoiapa's *mappa* (museum label), and a fragment of a coat (object register) (table 3.2).

The body inhumed in Crypt A was identified as a female adult. Thanks to the inscribed shroud that enveloped the deceased, we know that the woman's name was Komar. She had been deposited in the burial on a plaited mat made of palm reeds. The excavators described her quilt as decorated "with a heavy brocade . . . having gold thread visible in places," while the objects register notes: "Quilt. Unbleached cotton with gold brocade inset (.20 × .70m) on front side." The quilt is listed in the inventory of objects left in Cairo; at the time of the finds' partition it was given to the Museum of Islamic Art, but its present location is unknown. Interestingly, the ROM still possesses a quilt attributed to this burial, one constructed with a central silk-and-cotton panel decorated with red and blue stripes, backed with a linen textile decorated with a blue checkered pattern, and stuffed with raw cotton. It is not impossible that only the gold brocade panel was in fact left in Cairo while the quilt itself was kept by Millet's mission, but this hypothesis can be confirmed only with the definitive location of the brocade inset. Another silk fragment decorated with a white-and-black plaid effect on red ground is also, according to the museum's textile inventory, attributed to Komar's burial (table 3.3).

The textiles found in the crypt burials are truly valuable: not only do they express the deceased's high social status, but they also provide a rare attestation of the Nubian textile market during the late medieval period and point especially toward the importation

Table 3.2. Finds inventory from the Crypt D inhumation.

Description	Object register number	Location
<i>Angareb</i> (funerary bed)	None	Unknown
Mat	None	Unknown
Resist-dyed red cotton and silk quilt	66:1:35	Toronto, ROM 973.24.2901
Shroud	None	Unknown
Paper amulet	None	Unknown
Rectangle of cotton fabric with stamp	None	Toronto, ROM 973.24.3482
Coat (fragment)	66:1:70	Aswan, Nubian Museum, Inv. 23904, and fragment in Toronto, ROM 973.24.2906

Table 3.3. Finds inventory from Komar's inhumation.

Description	Object register number	Location
Reed mat	None	Unknown
Quilt with gold brocade inset	66:1:36	Given to the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo; present location unknown; the ROM has a silk, cotton, and linen quilt (973.24.3480) attributed to this burial
Shroud (inscribed)	66:1:38	Possibly in Cairo, Coptic Museum
Red silk fragment	None	Toronto, ROM 973.24.3479

of luxurious fabrics. Among the fabrics were entire specimens, as well as tailored garments and furnishing textiles, spanning from resist-dyed Indian pieces and Islamic silks to simpler cotton and linen cloth, most probably of Egyptian origin. The description of the successive clothing layers (cf. fig. 3.14 below) is also an important piece of information regarding funerary practices in Nubia during this period. In our description of the items, we follow the successive steps of body preparation for the funeral, going from the inner to the outer layers.

Gapoiapa's trousers (textile G), described as linen, are in fact made of cotton. The textile is a Z-spun tabby (thread count 14/18 per cm). The threads are uneven, the weaving quite packed. The pants' structure presents some differences from the cotton trousers of

Bishop Timotheos,⁹¹ mainly the flared shape of the legs. The cut of Gapoiapa's garment appears more sophisticated and demanded more sewing pieces than the model worn by the bishop. In their present state of preservation, the pants have losses and tears, as well as dark staining left by the body's decomposition, but they seem to have been in rather good condition at the time of the burial. Trousers were identified, as we saw earlier, in the burials of Bishop Timotheos in Qasr Ibrim and of the Dongolan crypts. They were also attested at other sites, such as Qasr Ibrim and Kulubnarti, both in settlement areas and in cemeteries. This type of garment was found in limited numbers for the Early and Middle Christian periods, seemingly increasing from the Late Christian period onward.⁹² Their presence in Nubia appears quite ancient, even though trousers are almost completely absent in Nubian iconography. It is of course possible that pants were commonly worn by the elite but covered by the ample robes and mantles. We know of two paintings in which white baggy pants may have been represented: one is the portrait of a ruler located on the south wall of chapel 1 in Banganarti,⁹³ the other possibly an ex-voto from the northwest annex of the monastery on Kom H (room 23, western wall) in Old Dongola.⁹⁴ Interestingly, the long length of the legs of Gapoiapa's trousers—144 cm—may have been necessary to create this type of baggy effect. While the legs are narrower around the calves, where they may also have been tied, the rest of the garment, including the large gusset, fell in an ample way.

The next item, Gapoiapa's coat, is a remarkable piece: such a fitted coat with a front opening never appears in any of the iconographic representations known to date. In the official representations of the late medieval period, kings and court dignitaries are always dressed in Nubian type II costume: a long robe covered in its lower part by an ample mantle and completed with a large stole falling from the right shoulder and hanging on the left wrist. This outfit, which appeared a century before Gapoiapa's death, is still attested in the murals of Gebel Adda Church 7, built in the fourteenth century CE. Today, the coat is in the Nubian Museum at Aswan (fig. 3.12). From the excavation notes, we know that both the back and the front were tailored in one piece. Gussets are visible under the sleeves, as well as on the sides in the lower part. The garment has no shoulder seams. In the upper part of the coat, on the front right panel, there are twelve buttons formed by small bundles of silk thread, dark pink and yellow in color; the loops are on the left panel. The coat was cut in a double-cloth silk,⁹⁵ with yellow designs on pink ground. The decoration is composed of quadrilobed medallions alternating with broken octagons. The medallions contain a roundel with a pair of addorsed birds; the octagons are inhabited by hares and hounds. The coat is lined with a layer of undyed cotton, and a blue or dark-green fabric was used for the hem.

A second coat was retrieved from the Crypt D burial. Like the first one, it is kept in Egypt, but a fragment⁹⁶ is also preserved in the ROM's collections (textile H). From the excavation notes, we know the coat measures 95 cm long (from shoulder to hem) and 65 cm

91 Crowfoot 1977, 44–45, fig. 3.

92 N. K. Adams 1996, 172; 2010b, 167–68.

93 Żurawski 2014, 130, figs. 12, 14.

94 Martens-Czarnecka 2001, 263, fig. 8 and pl. XXXII.

95 Mackie 1984, 128.

96 Lower part of the front left panel.



Figure 3.12. Left: Gapoiapa's coat as exhibited in the Nubia Museum, Aswan, Inv. 23903. Photo © Agnieszka Ryś / Polish Academy of Sciences. Right: Drawing of a detail of the patterned silk. © S. L. Howe. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

wide (from shoulder to shoulder). Apparently, this coat is sleeveless. The five buttons are also placed in the upper part of the front right panel, with the loops on the left panel. The side gussets are smocked at the top. As with Gapoiapa's coat, the garment was tailored in patterned silk, with additional warp for binding. The wefts are made of linen and silk, while the main warps are made of silk and the additional warps of silk and metal threads (gold on leather strip S-wound around a silk core). The decoration is composed of a red floral motif on stripes of various colors (alternating blue, orange, and green, created with the supplementary warps). The stripes are divided by narrow golden lines framed with black. The coat has a cotton lining and a dark-green hem.

The next pieces examined are not "true" garments, but their presence in the burial traces important funerary practices and were part of the social display of Gapoiapa's, Komar's, and the anonymous deceased's privileged status within Gebel Adda's community. Gapoiapa's face was covered with a very fine linen kerchief, finely embroidered and decorated with fringes (textile I). This kind of item can be identified on iconographic grounds with a *mappa*, a piece of cloth normally used by the priest during celebrations to handle liturgical vessels. In Nubian paintings, the bishop usually holds a *mappa* in his left hand, carrying a book of the Gospels. In royal portraits, the king holds a *mappa* as well, also in his left hand, which supports a crown, or in one case a quiver. In two paintings from Faras, a king holds the *mappa* in his right hand: in one case he holds a benedictional cross, and in the second case he carries a bow. Independently from the item held by the king and the hand in which it appears, the *mappa* clearly underlines the importance of the supported regalia and doubtlessly confers a sacred nature to the royal exercise. The presence of such an item in Gapoiapa's burial strongly suggests his relation to the royal house of Makuria. In the Crypt D burial, no *mappa* has been identified, but the deceased's face was very

likely covered too. A rectangle of cotton tabby (textile J), with both edges preserved and still bearing traces of folds, argues in favor of such a function. One of its sides was glazed, perhaps to receive an inscription. The fabric also bears an Islamic round stamp, dark red in color. Last but not least, a loose rectangle of red silk is also attributed to Komar's burial, and it may be hypothesized that it has a similar use. If such an identification is correct, then the *mappa* in Gapoiapa's burial not only was used for sumptuary purposes but also probably played a part in funerary rituals.

None of the shrouds is presently available for study; from the preliminary report of the fourth season, however, we know that both shrouds were inscribed in ink with a text in the shape of a cross. Millet described its content as a prayer to the Virgin Mary and various saints, and some cryptic signs probably qualified as "magical."⁹⁷ In the recent publication of the inscribed vault of Crypt 1 in Old Dongola, Adam Łajtar and Jacques van der Vliet convincingly argued for the vault's functioning as a shroud.⁹⁸ In the same work, they demonstrate the similarity of the vault's inscriptions with the Ethiopian ritual office of the dead, including the Prayer of the Linen Garments, which is pronounced over the shroud before it is used for wrapping the deceased.⁹⁹ This prayer refers to the garments brought by Jesus from heaven and upon which the Virgin lies down in death and asks to be buried in. In this context, the shroud, in addition to its protective role, also marks the physical separation between the dead and the living. As Łajtar and van der Vliet note, contrary to the upper chapel dedicated to Archbishop Georgios's memory, the name of the deceased is nowhere mentioned in the crypt. Their observation that "on the textual level, the deceased merge with the Virgin Mary to the point of becoming invisible"¹⁰⁰ appears quite consistent with our former observation on the modesty and uniformity of the garments found in Crypt 1. It is also possible that the cloth placed on the deceased's face played a similar function in concealing his identity. If so, the crypt burials show the adoption of a different strategy: after the shrouded body benefited from the proper funerary rituals, its envelopment in sumptuous silks and covering quilts was intended to bring privileged status back to the deceased. In iconography, historical figures are rarely identified: the paintings are most often preserved in fragmentary form but may also be devoid of inscription. In either case, the audience—mainly illiterate—was able to identify the high rank of the dignitaries not through their names but through the attributes displayed: the garments, crowns, and the like. The outfit, composed of lavishly patterned robes, concealed simpler garments underneath (possibly coats and pants), upholding and displaying for all to see the social status and function of the individual represented. In the same manner, only the outer layers of textiles spread on wrapped bodies were intended to be seen by the community during the funeral: the sumptuous silks enveloped physical bodies, highlighting their social reality.

Interestingly, the royal portraits of the late medieval period show an impoverished decorative repertoire and are characterized by strong stylization in both dress and textile patterns. The burials from Gebel Adda Church IV reveal, on the contrary, the use of richly decorated silks and a great variety of patterns. The multicolored silk shroud with golden

⁹⁷ Millet 1968, 60; Łajtar and van der Vliet 2017, 278–80.

⁹⁸ Łajtar and van der Vliet 2017, 276–80.

⁹⁹ Łajtar and van der Vliet 2017, 265.

¹⁰⁰ Łajtar and van der Vliet 2017, 260.

threads (textile K) was preserved in two large pieces in Gapoiapa's burial and is now kept at the Nubian Museum, Aswan. The decoration, organized in green, red, and blue stripes, contains hares, gazelles, birds, and geometric motifs, as well as an Arabic text.¹⁰¹ A small sample of the narrow golden strip inscribed with a portion of text is kept in Toronto. This outer shroud, doubtless recalling the proximity of the deceased to royal power, was finally covered with a quilt (textile L). The piece consists of a floral-printed, resist-dyed textile in red, white, and blue. A central lozenge is framed by small rosettes and floral bands with various patterns, including a line of Arabic text. It is presumably kept in the collections of the former Textile Museum in Cairo (Inv. TM 346), but the ROM possesses four small samples of the textiles used for the quilt's manufacture. The resist-dyed fabric is a Z-spun cotton tabby. The lining is also a tabby but made of linen woven with S-spun threads. The textile was piece-dyed in blue. A small portion of raw flax and a thin s2Z linen thread show the kind of padding used to stuff the quilt. Finally, a fragment of the quilting thread—unravelling from a linen textile piece dyed in blue—was taken as a sample.

The quilt used for the burial in Crypt D (textile M) was also made from three different textiles. The central piece, in two parts, was a warp-faced tabby silk decorated in black, cream, red, and blue narrow stripes. It was framed with four side panels made of red-dyed cotton fabric (Z-spun tabby). The padding was identified as raw cotton or wool. The back side was constructed with five panels, among which three bear tie-and-dye decoration with rows of small circles, arranged in a kind of flower or star. The textiles used for the back of the quilt are also made of red-dyed cotton tabby, with Z-spun warps and wefts. The sewing thread used to mount the quilt was a thick cotton(?) thread, z2S, with traces of blue dye. An interesting detail given by the excavators at the time of discovery is that it was the red side of the quilt that was visible, indicating that the red, resist-dyed cotton was considered of greater visual value than the striped silk.

The quilts were certainly furnishing textiles, probably used by the deceased during their lifetime.¹⁰² The use of S-spun threads in the sewing process is interesting in the broader context of fiber provenience. While Egypt and Nubia share a long tradition of spinning fiber in an S direction—that is, counterclockwise—the medieval period saw a change in the spinning direction concomitant with the expansion of cotton cultivation in Egypt and the reduction of flax cultivation. In Nubia, however, the S-spinning direction appears as firmly established during the Middle Ages as it ever had been. It would then be tempting to identify Nubia as the possible location of the quilts' assembling. But such an assumption, based solely on the spinning direction of a thread, must remain speculative.¹⁰³ Egypt remains a serious candidate as well, especially considering the use of linen. Independently of their origin, the selection of such furnishing textiles, decorated with silk panels, showed the wealth of the deceased and their entourage. The use of imported silks, mainly of Islamic manufacture, in Christian burials shows that such textiles were fully integrated into the visual landscape and culture of the Nubian elite. The fact that at least two high dignitaries—at least one of whom bore a Nubian name—wore trousers and tailored coats as their personal garments in their last resting place—a church—clearly demonstrates that

101 Mackie 1984, 133.

102 Millet 1968, 60.

103 Bouchaud, Yvanez, and Wild 2019.

a Middle Eastern fashion was in vogue during the late medieval period in Gebel Adda, as it was in the elite costume of the broader Mediterranean area.

CONCLUSION

The textiles from Gebel Adda offer a rare opportunity to follow the evolution of the dress practices of Nubian elite over twelve centuries. The high-ranking dignitaries of the Meroitic kingdom embodied their status in a tripartite costume (loincloth, pendant apron, and cape), woven in cotton and ornamented with patterns in vivid blue threads inspired by Egyptian, Kushite, and Hellenistic decorative repertoires. The uniformity of this set, attested in iconography and at other archaeological sites,¹⁰⁴ points to the possible involvement of royal authorities in the production and/or distribution of such specific garments. With the disappearance of a central authority and the arrival of imported fabrics, the Nubian weavers refocused their work on wool and consequently embraced a larger vocabulary of colors and dyes. Largely inspired by the Mediterranean world, members of the Nubian elite chose to dress in a new type of clothing: the tunic, often decorated with *clavi*. This shift from wrapped/knotted to sewn garments is visible in other corpora of material—Qasr Ibrim,¹⁰⁵ Qustul-Ballana,¹⁰⁶ and other Lower Nubian sites along the Scandinavian Joint Expedition concession¹⁰⁷—and clearly had a tremendous impact on body conception and looks (fig. 3.13).

The tunics represented in Nubian paintings from the tenth century CE onward show the permanence of this garment in the elite costume, with some modifications (a greater length, and renewed sets of decorative patterns). The adoption of another tailored garment—trousers, otherwise



Figure 3.13. Proposed reconstruction of Late Meroitic and Early Post-Meroitic costume at Gebel Adda: Kushite and Mediterranean influences. Drawings by Farzana Khorsawi.

© Farzana Khorsawi/Centre for Textile Research.

¹⁰⁴ N. K. Adams 1989.

¹⁰⁵ Wild and Wild 2014; Adams and Adams 2013, 106–15.

¹⁰⁶ Mayer-Thurman and Williams 1979, *passim*.

¹⁰⁷ Bergman 1975, *passim*.

absent from official iconography—dates back to the Early Christian period, as attested by the Qasr Ibrim material.¹⁰⁸ Another innovation of the medieval period is indicated by the growing evidence for imported textiles, mainly silks but also possibly printed cottons.¹⁰⁹ The Nubian paintings offer a colorful overview of the variety of patterned silks that decorated both the long robe and the large cloak. The royal Nubian outfit combined tailored and wrapped garments. Archaeological counterparts show a slightly different situation, the elite burials providing regular evidence of tailored garments and the use of whole pieces of silk as shrouds since at least the twelfth century CE. Finally, the Gebel Adda burials reveal the adoption of Middle Eastern dress practices during the late medieval period (fig. 3.14). The trousers are now completed with a coat, opened at the front—a garment so far unattested in official iconography. The multiple Islamic silks found in the crypt burials demonstrate their full integration into the aesthetic values of the Nubian elite in the late thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries CE.

The burials of the three dignitaries also reveal the multicultural identity of the Nubian elite of the time, whose members adopted Arab names alongside Nubian ones, attesting the spread and use of the Arabic language if not necessarily the spread of Islam. The ancient existence of a mosque in Gebel Adda, dated by its excavators to the Early and Middle Christian periods, is a powerful testimony of the long cohabitation of Christians and Muslims in medieval Nubia. Gapoiapa and Komar were members of the Makurian court and dressed in conformity with their wealth and status. They could afford costly garments in fashion at this time, clothing that proclaimed their belonging to the Gebel Adda upper class and their status in the Nubian community as a whole.

While iconography carries conventional images of power, the wardrobe of affluent men and women reveals the continuous actualization of the elite's dress, constantly changing its definition as political and cultural shifts transformed Nubian society.



Figure 3.14. Reconstruction of Gapoiapa's costume. Drawing © S. L. Howe. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

108 N. K. Adams 1996, 172.

109 N. K. Adams 2010, 295.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to express our utmost gratitude to the Royal Ontario Museum team for granting us access to the ROM collection and the excavation archives during three study stays and for providing us with the best help and scholarly camaraderie one could wish for. Special thanks go to Krzysztof Grzymiski, senior curator in the Egypt and Nubia department; Bill Pratt and Cheryl Copson, successive collection technicians in charge of the well-being and inventory of the textiles; and Nicola Woods, rights and reproduction coordinator. Thanks should also be given to Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood, who shared her unpublished report with us; to Reinhard Huber, who devoted time and interest in our research and dug treasures from his photographic archives; and to Rayan Osman Ahmed Alhag, who undertook the big task of laying out the catalog.

Preliminary data collection was conducted during two postdoctoral fellowships (Magdalena Wozniak's "Nubian Textiles"—NCN/Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie Cofund, Polonez grant 2015/19/P/HS3/02100; and Elsa Yvanez's "TexMeroe"—Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie IF 743420). Originally begun as a dialogue between the two of us and presented during the 2018 conference of the International Society for Nubian Studies, this research was further developed within the collaborative project supported by the European Research Council and titled "Fashioning Sudan. Archaeology of dress along the Middle Nile" (ERC StG 101039416). Views and opinions expressed here are, however, ours only and do not necessarily reflect those of the European Union or the European Research Council. Neither the European Union nor the granting authority can be held responsible for them.

CHAPTER 3
APPENDIX

CATALOG OF TEXTILES FROM GEBEL ADDA
USED AS CASE STUDIES

Note: All typological references to technical features (e.g., edge type B1, selvedge type C2) in this appendix follow the referencing system in Bergman 1975, fig. 20.

Textile A: Fringed Cloth

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3530.

Context: Unknown (Z-9?).

Date: Late Meroitic period (c. 300–400 CE).

Dimensions: 28 × 24 cm (max.).

Fiber: Plant fiber, cotton. S-spun. Thread diameter: 0.78 mm (average).

Weave: Tabby, basket weave. Thread count: 6 warp pairs × 6 weft pairs per cm.

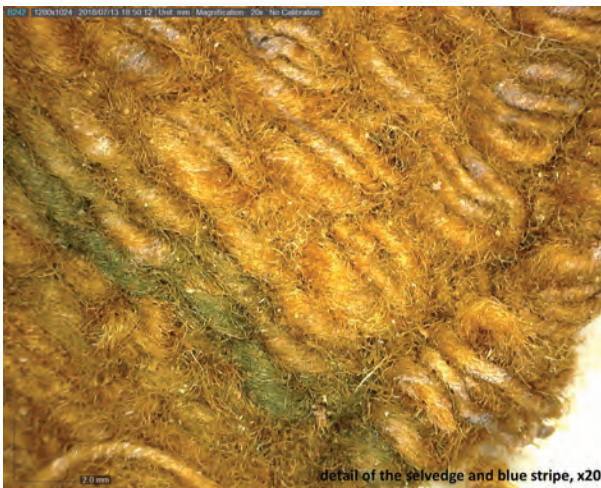
Decoration: Tapestry: thin, blue horizontal band. Fringes: fringed lower border.

Description: Multiple fragments from the same fabric. Selvedge reinforced with 2 warp cords (type C2). The finishing border is well preserved; it is not reinforced, with the warp threads simply left hanging without being stopped or maintained in any way (type B1). The warps are assembled in small groups and lightly twisted in a Z direction to form thick fringes preserved up to c. 12 cm long. Two thin horizontal bands go through the fabric, 8 cm over the finishing border. They are separated by 14 mm of ground weave and are each formed by the insertion of 11 weft picks of blue cotton thread. Most of them are much discolored.

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 159.



detail of the lower border with fringes



detail of the selvedge and blue stripe, x20

Textile A. Photos by Elsa Yvanez. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile B: Tripartite Costume

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2669.1–13.

Context: Cemetery III, tomb 622, inhumation (A)-1.

Date: Late Meroitic period (c. 300–400 CE).

Dimensions: Apron: 89 × 50.5 cm (complete). Loincloth: 47 × 30 × 33 cm (max. size, many smaller fragments). Cape: 46 × 45 cm (max. size, many smaller fragments).

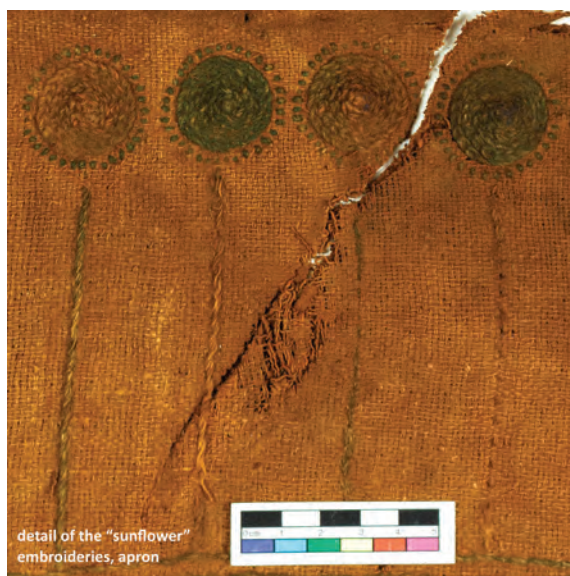
Fiber: Plant fiber, cotton. S-spun. Thread diameter: 0.63 mm (average in apron), 0.56 mm (average in loincloth), 0.72 mm (average in cape).

Weave: Apron: face in basket weave (9 warp pairs × 7 weft pairs of threads per cm); reverse in tabby (13 × 10 threads per cm). Loincloth: half-basket weave (11 singles × 8 pairs of threads per cm). Cape: balanced tabby weave (11 × 11 threads per cm).

Decoration: Embroidery: stem stitches (linear patterns) and chain stitches (circular “flowers”) on the apron and loincloth. Hems maintained with stitched blue cord (loincloth and cape). Blue “bobble” tassel (cape).

Description: The garment is formed of 3 items: a large loincloth, a decorative apron to be tied around the waist, and a cape to cover the shoulders. The apron is composed of 2 panels, of which each has 2 layers of textile with an upper (roughly hemispheric) part and a lower (roughly triangular) part. The panels were originally sewn together down the middle, with a “mock fell” seam maintained with a s2Z plied thread. The same sewing thread was used to form the shape of the apron with a rolled hem sewn with overcast stitches. Embroidery decorates the entirety of the front panels. They are made with plied s2Z blue threads, dyed after spinning. The main pattern consists of a succession of “sunburst” flowers, formed by a long stem in stem stitches finished by thick circles in chain stitches surrounded by radiant dashes. The embroidery alternates light- and dark-blue patterns in a regular rhythm. Other linear and geometric patterns fill the remaining space: rosettes, lines, chevrons, and *ankh*-crosses. The loincloth is formed of several fragments belonging to an originally triangle-shaped item with scalloped edges. The fabric edges were cut and rolled into shape with a rolled hem maintained by running stitches on the front. The piece is decorated with dark- and light-blue embroideries with red accents, mainly in stem stitches, showing along the middle a couple of uraei with sun disks, an *ankh*-cross on a crescent, and “sunburst” flowers in each corner. The flowers would have decorated the sides of the loincloth, being visible around the waist and on the hips, while the other patterns would have been visible along the lower back and bottom of the wearer. The cape is formed of multiple fragments of various sizes, identified as such by the excavators and textile experts on the basis of iconography. Very agglomerated around and under the body of the deceased, its reconstitution is hypothetical. The tabby fabric was shaped by piped hems, highlighted by a double line of thick blue embroidery. Several corners of the finished garment are preserved, showing groups of 3 decorative self-bands made of countered weft twining and a small “bobble” tassel probably used as a fastener.

References: Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993a, 33–34, 49, pl. 17; Yvanez 2018b, 110–13, fig. 6. Excavation no. 64:1:117. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile nos. 62, 142, 164.



Textile B. Photos by Elsa Yvanez. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile C: Fragments of a Tunic(?)

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3424.1–2.

Context: Cemetery III, tomb 6(-A). Inhumation of 2 adult females, with many different textiles found among the disturbed offerings and human remains in the access ramp.

Date: End of the Late Meroitic period / Post-Meroitic period (c. 350–500 CE).

Dimensions: Fragment 1: max. 12 × 27 cm. Fragment 2: 8.5 × 5 cm. Fragment 3: 5.5 × 5.5 cm (max.).

Fiber: Animal fiber, sheep(?) wool. S-spun.

Weave: Tabby and tapestry. Thread count: 10 warp threads × 29 weft threads per cm (ground weave). In the tapestry bands: 9–10 warps × 37 wefts per cm.

Decoration: Dark-blue bands.

Description: Multiple fragments of a finely woven textile. The ground weave is of natural color, with many fragments showing the presence of a large dark-blue band in tapestry crossed by 4 picks of natural-colored threads. Selvedge: reinforced with 3 warp cords (type C2), densely woven.

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 39.



Textile C. Photos by Elsa Yvanez. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile D: Fragments of a Mantle(?)

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2891.1-2-3-4.

Context: Cemetery III, tomb 278.

Date: End of the Late Meroitic period / Post-Meroitic period (c. 350–500 CE).

Dimensions: Fragment 1: 51 × 31 cm. Fragment 2: 34.3 × 21 cm (folded). Fragment 3: not measured. Fragment 4: max. 42 × 43 cm.

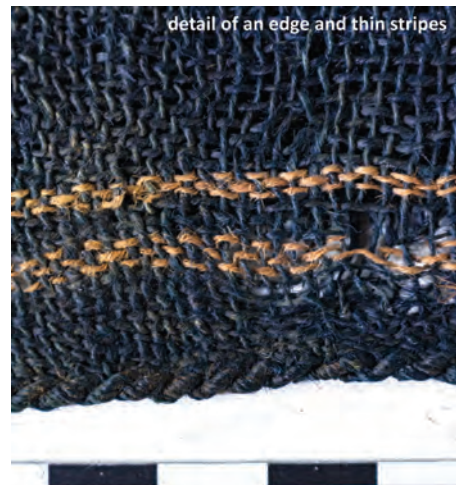
Fiber: Animal fiber, sheep(?) wool. S-spun. Thread diameter: 0.58 mm (average, ground weave).

Weave: Tabby. Thread count: 9–11 warp threads × 6–8 weft threads per cm. In *segmenta*: 7 warps × 9 wefts per cm.

Decoration: *Gammadae*: gamma (Γ) figures with “tail.”

Description: Four groups of large fragments coming from an item of clothing such as a mantle (less probably a tunic). The fabric is relatively loose, denser and better preserved in several locations. It is woven with blue threads, identical in both warp and weft. Small knots are visible to repair broken wefts. The gamma figures decorating each corner of the large rectangle are of a large size and made in orange-red threads. The technique used is not tapestry but plain tabby weave, the blue warps being still visible. The red threads are slightly thicker than the rest (average 0.89 mm in diameter). When complete, the gamma figure measured c. 30 cm along its sides, with the corner decorated with a small “tail” (2.5 cm deep, 2 cm wide). The area between 2 different-colored wefts is strengthened by the use of simple tapestry techniques, such as interlocking. Selvages: reinforced with 3 warp cords, each counting 2 warp threads (type C2). The weft threads turn several times around the selvedge cords before returning in the weave, creating a selvedge that is entirely covered and strong. The ground weave was also denser along the edges, exhibiting a thread count of typically 11 warp threads per cm. Border: reinforced with a large cord, firmly interlaced with the warp threads to either start or finish the weave (type A7 or B2, impossible to determine whether the piece shows a starting or a finishing border). About 8 mm from the border, a thin, double red band: 3 red picks / 3 blue picks / 3 red picks. A larger red band may have been somewhere else on the fabric as well.

Reference: Unpublished. Excavation no. 63:4:329. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 53.



Textile D. Photos by Elsa Yvanez. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile E: Polychrome Woolen Garment

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3440.1–2.

Context: Cemetery III, tomb 369.

Date: Beginning of the Post-Meroitic period (c. 400 CE)?

Dimensions: Fragment 1: 39 × 23 cm (laces 25 cm long). Fragment 2: 19.5 × 18 cm. Caution: the two fragments were not joined, so the complete size of the piece is not known.

Fiber: Animal fiber, wool (dromedary?). S-spun. Thread diameter: 0.78 mm (average, ground weave).

Weave: Tabby. Thread count: 13 warp threads × 8 weft threads per cm (ground weave).

Decoration: Starting and finishing braids, supplementary wefts, fringed tassels, and polychromy.

Description: Two fragments from the same garment, whose complete width (23 cm) is preserved. The top corners still show the original knots, partially connected to the fabric (fragmented). The ground weave is made of dark-brown wool, in a regular tabby. Upper border: the warp threads are passed over a thick blue cord, itself interlaced in a starting braid (variation of type A8?). The braid is made of s2Z red and yellow threads and is wider than the woven portion. Additional portions of a similar braid were sewn along a few centimeters of the edges. Lower border: the weave is finished by a thick braid of interlaced supplementary weft threads in blue, white, and red. The warps anchor a series of fringed tassels with added color threads, alternating 2 red, 2 yellow, and 2 blue tassels for every 2 brown ones. The fringes (knotted) are preserved for c. 15 mm. This braid could have been tablet woven or hand twined(?). Decoration: two large, horizontal bands (4 and 5–6 cm high), each located along the upper and lower borders after c. 5–6 cm of ground weave, made in a weft-faced extended tabby technique. These supplementary wefts, very well packed (more than 18 threads per cm), create 3 rows of vertical hatches alternating white and red, red and yellow, and white and red, separated by 3 picks of blue threads. Each of them goes over c. 3–4 warps, so as to create a ribbed effect. The presence of four laces on each side of this textile, as well as comparable fabrics from other neighboring sites (with similar dimensions), suggests its use as a garment of undefined function.

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 59.



detail of the lower border



detail of the band in well-faced-extended tabby, x40

Textile F: Tapestry, Imported(?)

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2892.1–2.

Context: Cemetery III, tomb 278.

Date: End of the Late Meroitic period / Post-Meroitic period (c. 350–500 CE).

Dimensions: Fragment 1: 49 × 19 cm. Fragment 2: 38.5 × 19 cm. Fragment 3: 14 × 8.5 cm.

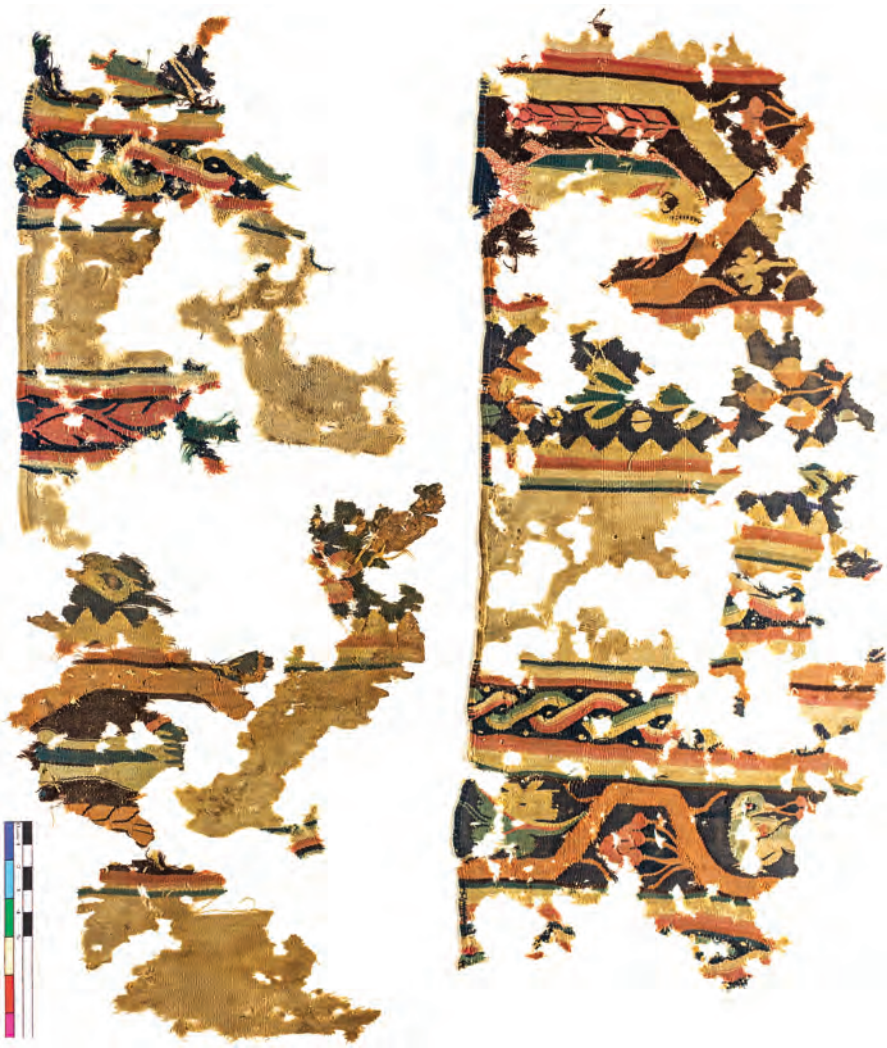
Fiber: Animal fiber, sheep(?) wool. S-spun.

Weave: Tabby (1/1), tapestry. Thread count: 13–15 warp threads × 17–31 weft threads per cm.

Decoration: Horizontal registers with motifs from the natural world: bird (duck?), fish, guilloche, floral designs, vine leaves, bands.

Description: Polychrome tapestry of fine manufacture, with a series of horizontal registers exhibiting a rich decorative repertoire and beautiful color composition. Color variety is particularly remarkable: purple, various shades of pink, orange, light and dark blue, turquoise, red (and natural beige color). Tapestry technique: slit tapestry, with occasional dovetailing and curved wefts (notably behind the duck's head, to form its round shape). Selvage (preserved on three fragments) reinforced with 2 warp cords (type C2). The colored threads used for the patterns run into the selvages. Decoration: Several registers show floral and animal designs on a dark-blue or purple background, flanked by bands of pink, beige, and light and dark blue or by a guilloche (chain) motif in the same colors. These types of floral designs (palmettes, leafy rinceaux, trilobe leaves) and animal figures belong to the iconographic theme of abundance. It recalls the Hellenistic pattern of the “inhabited” scrolled rinceaux. The first fragment exhibits several repairs: 2 layers of fabric can be distinguished, superposed and kept together with rudimentary sewing. The sewing is done with thick, s2Z plied threads, with running stitches along the fish, a floral frieze, and a portion of selvage. This seam follows the decorative composition and was perhaps the result of a first phase of repair. The second phase was much cruder, however: it goes through the main frieze and seems to circumvent specific motifs. Behind agglomerated layers of the same fabric, the sewing is done in curvy lines of running stitches; at the front, however, the sewing is almost vertical and very crude. It uses blue woolen yarns (S or s2Z).

Reference: Unpublished. Excavation no. 64:4:330. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 52.



Textile F. Photos by Elsa Yvanez. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile G: Trousers*

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3481.

Context: Church IV, vault B.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: Length of legs: 144 cm. Waistband: 72 cm. Waistband to crotch: c. 48 cm. Diameter across bottom of leg: 18 cm. Width of waistband: 4 cm.*

Fiber: Plant fiber, cotton, Z-spun.*

Weave: Tabby. Thread count: 14 warps × 18 wefts per cm.*

Decoration: No decoration.

Description: Trousers with flare-shaped legs. Waistband. Gusset. The legs are narrower at the level of the calves, where they may have been tied. The long length of the legs was probably necessary to create a baggy effect.

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 106. Object register no. 66:1:13.

*Item not available for consultation during study visit; data copied from the museum documentation.



Textile H: Fragments of a Coat

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2906.

Context: Church IV, vault D.*

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: 48 × 32 cm (max.).

Fiber: Fragment 1: Animal fiber, silk, unspun (warp and weft); plant fiber, flax, S-spun (weft); metal thread (gilded membrane S-wound around a silk core). Fragment 2: Plant fiber, cotton. Z-spun. Fragment 3: Animal fiber, silk, unspun.

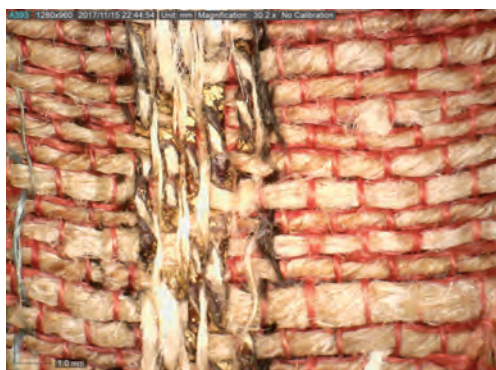
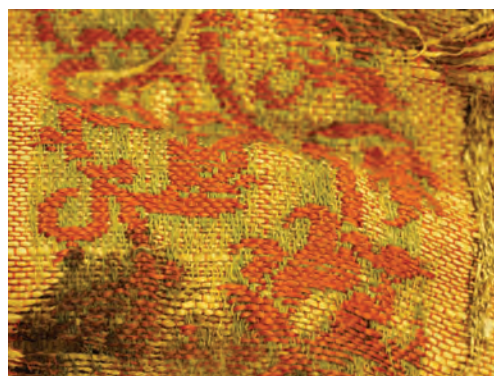
Weave: Fragment 1: Patterned silk, with additional warp (paired threads); ground weave: tabby; thread count: 15 × 15 per cm (average); additional warp: satin; thread count: c. 40 paired warps per cm. Fragment 2: Tabby; thread count: 20 × 20 per cm (average). Fragment 3: Tabby; thread count: 68–70 × 48–50 per cm.

Decoration: Fragment 1: Red floral garland (ground weave) on colored stripes (additional warp). Fragment 2: No decoration. Fragment 3: Green.

Description: The fragment comes from the lower part of the left front panel. The outer layer is tailored in patterned silk: stripes decorated with a red floral garland. The supplementary warp creates an additional colored ground under the garland, alternating blue, orange, and green. The stripes are separated by narrow gold stripes (6–10 metal threads), which are framed on both sides by black thread (c. 5 paired warps). The lining is made with undyed cotton fabric. The binding is made with a green silk. The fragment kept in the ROM preserves a silk loop made of red silk threads and natural linen threads used for the weft.

Reference: Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 104. Object register no. 66:1:70. Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993b, 89, fig. 17.

*As attributed in the objects register (ROM textiles inventory gives vault A).



Textile H. Photos by Magdalena M. Wozniak. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile I: *Mappa*

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2898.

Context: Church IV, vault B.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: 65 × 33 cm (complete measurements).

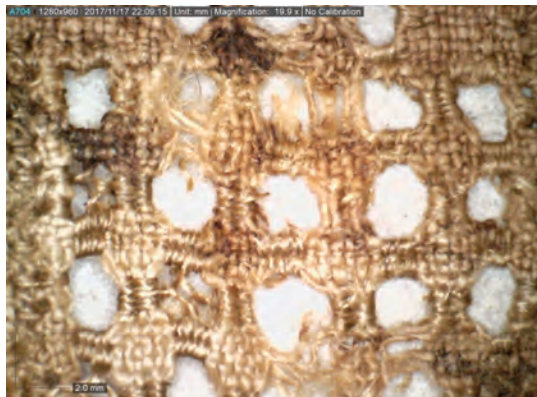
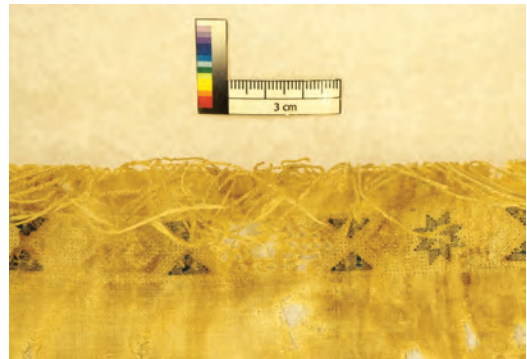
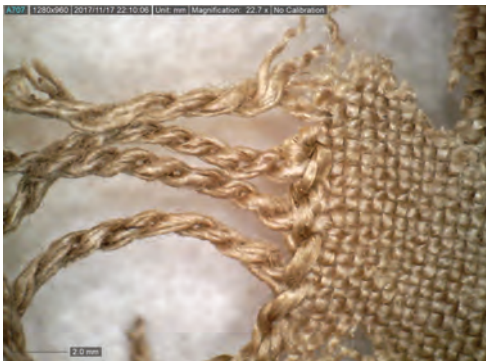
Fiber: Plant fiber, flax, Z-spun. Animal fiber, silk, unspun or very slightly S-spun.

Weave: Tabby. Thread count: 22 × 22 per cm.

Decoration: Embroidery. Fringes: warp ends plied to form fringes (c. 5 cm long) at both ends.

Description: The piece, albeit fragmentary, preserves both selvages (simple, not reinforced) and borders. After the fabric was woven, it was embellished with different embroidery techniques. The following description is from the ROM textiles inventory: “Two decorative bands of c. 2 cm wide, at 1,5 cm from fringed borders decorated with eight-pointed stars and triangular designs embroidered in a fine blue thread (silk), openwork squares executed in drawnwork embroidery and forming elongated hexagon patterns. The outer edges of the decorative band and the interspaces between the designs are decorated by a very fine eyelet embroidery, in rows.”

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 105. Object register no. 66:1:14.



Textile I. Photos by Magdalena M. Wozniak. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile J: Rectangle of Cotton with Stamp

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3482.

Context: Church IV, vault D.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: 45 × 52 cm (edges folded).

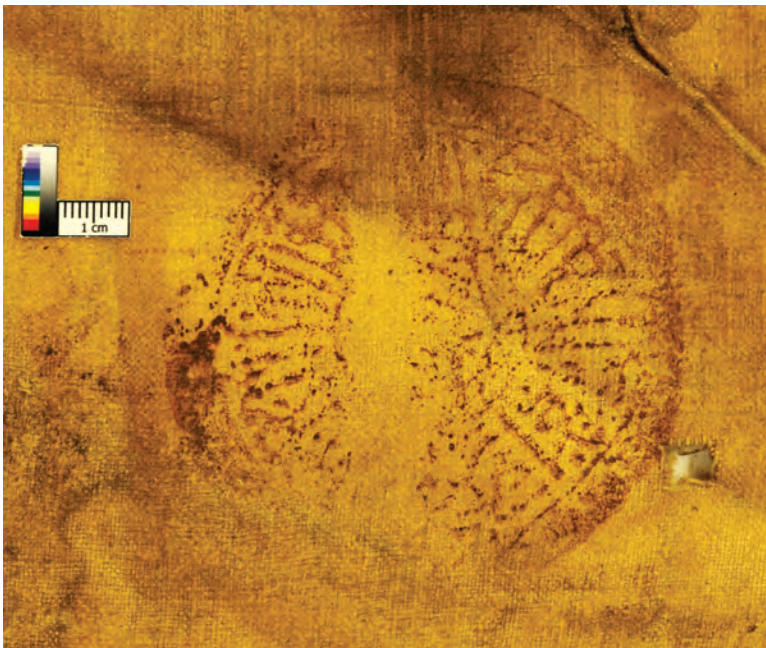
Fiber: Plant fiber, cotton, Z-spun.

Weave: Tabby. Thread count: 18 × 18 per cm.

Decoration: A round stamp with Arabic(?).

Description: The complete width of the fabric is preserved. Simple (not reinforced) selvages. The textile was probably waxed. The stamp, 7 cm in diameter, is placed approximately in the center between the selvages. The fabric is still folded at the selvages.

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 108.



Textile J. Photos by Magdalena M. Wozniak. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile K: Sample of Two Mamluk Silks

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3551.1–2.

Context: Church IV, vault B.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: Silk 1: 7.5 × 8.5 cm. Silk 2: 4.5 × 7.5 cm.

Fiber: Both silks: animal fiber, silk, unspun or slight Z. Metal thread: gilded leather S-wound around a silk core.

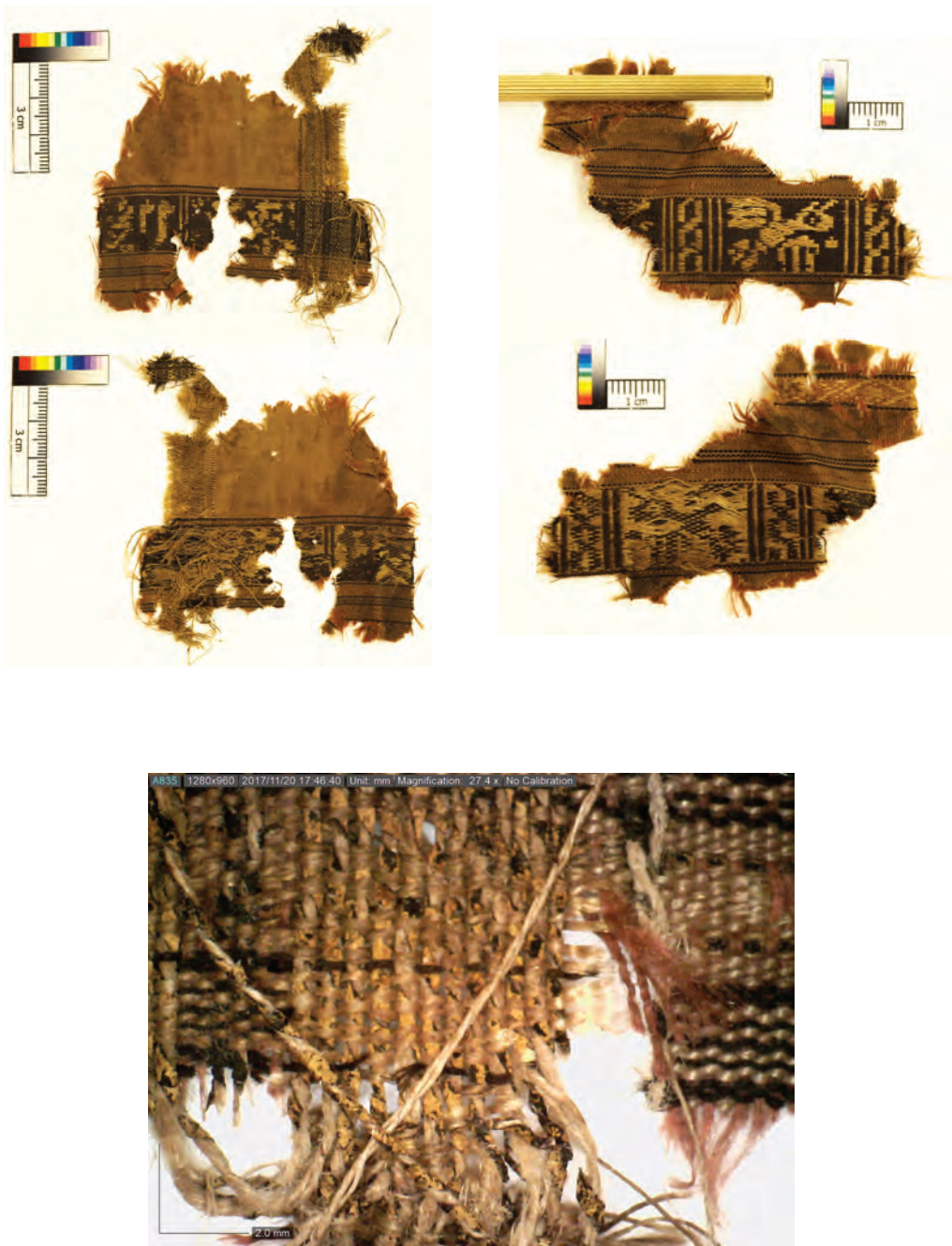
Weave: Silk 1: Ground weave: weft-faced tabby; thread count: 28 wefts × 54 paired wefts per cm; additional floating wefts for the pattern: 56 paired wefts per cm. Silk 2: Ground weave: weft-faced tabby; thread count: 26 × 68 paired wefts per cm; additional floating wefts for pattern: 60 paired wefts per cm.

Decoration: Silk 1: Gold and black checkered pattern and a band ornamented with an inscription. Silk 2: Fragment of a band decorated with tracery and a bee.

Description: Two small samples from two silk pieces (main pieces kept today in Nubian Museum, Aswan). Original size: c. 350 × 150 cm. Silk 1: Ground warp is red silk woven with ecru silk (paired wefts). Warp stripes with metal thread (20 per cm) arranged in the following sequence: 2 metal threads, 3 silk threads, 10 metal threads, 2 silk threads, 2 metal threads, 2 silk threads, 10 metal threads, 3 silk threads, 2 metal threads. Weft bands with metal threads are arranged in the following sequence (decorative band fragment): 3 black silk threads, 2 ecru silk threads, 1 metal thread, 2 ecru silk threads, 3 black silk threads, 4 ecru silk threads, black silk threads on a width of 1.5 cm, 4 ecru, 3 black, 5 ecru, 1 metal thread, 8 ecru, 1 metal thread, 5 ecru, 3 black, 2 ecru, 2 black, 2 ecru, 2 black, 2 ecru, 2 black, 2 ecru, 3 black, 7 ecru, 1 metal thread, 9 ecru, 1 metal thread, 3 black, then ecru silk. An additional floating weft is used to create the inscription.

Silk 2: Ground warp is red silk woven with ecru silk (paired wefts). Weft bands with metal threads are arranged in the following sequence: 4 black silk threads, c. 18 ecru silk threads, 3 black, 40 ecru, 3 black, 11 ecru, 1 metal thread, 10 ecru, 3 black, 3 ecru, 1 black, 1 ecru, 2 black, 2 ecru, 4 black, 11 ecru, 1 metal thread, 11 ecru, 1 black, 4 ecru, black threads on a width of 1.35 cm, 3 ecru, 2 black, 1 ecru, 1 metal thread, 3 black, 3 ecru, then ecru silk. Additional floating wefts are used to create the small boxes containing bees or ornamented with delicate tracery.

Reference: Object register no. 66:1:11. Mackie 1984, pls. 2, 3, and 7.



Textile K. Photos by Magdalena M. Wozniak. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile L: Fragments of a Quilt

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.3549.1–4.

Context: Church IV, vault B.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: Fragment 1: 5 × 1.8 cm. Fragment 2: 4 × 3 cm. Fragment 3: 2.5 × 6 cm (unfolded). Fragment 4: length 5.5 cm.

Fiber: Fragment 1: Plant fiber, cotton, Z-spun. Fragment 2: Plant fiber, possibly raw flax. Fragment 3: Plant fiber, flax, S-spun. Fragment 4: Plant fiber, flax, plied S.

Weave: Fragment 1: Tabby; thread count: 12 × 12 per cm. Fragment 3: Tabby; thread count: 10 × 10 per cm.

Decoration: Resist-dyed, cream pattern on red ground. Band with small roundels.

Description: Samples of a quilt (outer layer, padding, lining, and quilting thread) from Gapoiapa's burial. The outer layer was made of a large piece of resist-dyed cotton in red, white, and blue colors. The sample preserves a detail from the red part. Raw material, possibly flax, was used as padding. The lining textile is a linen tabby, which was dyed in blue after weaving. The sewing thread is also flax, dyed blue (piece dyeing).

Reference: Unpublished. Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 103. Object register no. 66:1:10.



Textile L. Photos by Magdalena M. Wozniak. Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Textile M: Quilt

Conservation: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 973.24.2901.7 and 9.

Context: Church IV, vault D.

Date: Late thirteenth–early fourteenth century CE.

Dimensions: Fragment 1: 111 × 56 cm (complete width, simple selvages). Fragment 2: 16 × 10 cm (max.).

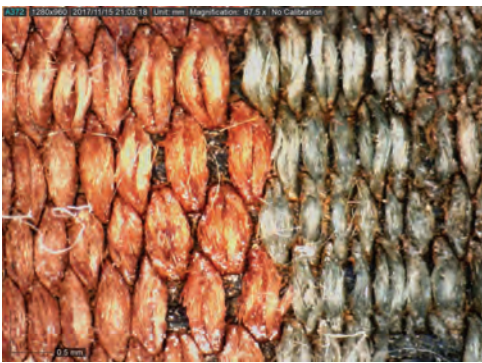
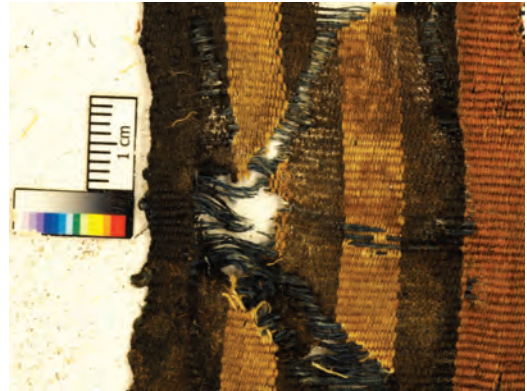
Fiber: Fragment 1: Plant fiber, cotton, Z-spun. Fragment 2: Plant and/or animal fiber, cotton or wool, Z-spun, and silk, slight S-spun.

Weave: Fragment 1: Tabby; thread count: 18 × 18 per cm. Fragment 2: Warp-faced tabby; thread count: 40–44 paired warps (red and black silk threads) × 12 paired wefts per cm and 56 paired warps (blue and ecru silk threads) × 12 paired wefts per cm.

Decoration: Fragment 1: Tie-and-dye decoration of small circles arranged into stars. Fragment 2: Colored stripes (black, cream, red, blue).

Description: The quilt was constructed of two textiles arranged in panels. The front was composed of a central panel made of two silks folded in half (each piece 100 × 84 cm with complete width) and sewn together. The central panel was framed by four outer panels of red-dyed cotton. The back was made of similar red-dyed cotton, arranged in two central panels and two outer panels. Three of the back panels had an additional decoration of circles arranged in stars executed in the tie-and-dye technique. The quilting pattern was in thick blue thread. The stuffing is indicated as being raw cotton or wool.

Reference: Reference in ROM textiles inventory: textile no. 107. Object register no. 66:1:35. Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993b, 88–89, figs. 13 and 16.



ABBREVIATION

ROM Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Nettie K.

- 1989 “Meroitic High Fashions: Examples from Art and Archaeology.” In *Studia Meroitica 1984: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Rome 1984*, edited by Sergio Donadoni and Steffen Wenig, 747–55. Meroitica 10. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1996 “Textile Materials and Weaves” and “Dress and Ornamentation.” In *Qasr Ibrim: The Late Medieval Period*, by William Y. Adams, 160–70 and 171–85. Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir 59. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- 2006 “Ideologies in Conflict: The Textiles from the Isis Temple at Qasr Ibrim.” In *Textiles in Situ: Their Find Spots in Egypt and Neighbouring Countries in the First Millennium CE*, edited by Sabine Schrenk, 197–210. Riggisberger Berichte 13. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.
- 2010a “Political Affinities and Economic Fluctuations: The Evidence from the Textiles at Qasr Ibrim.” In *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Łajtar, 2:291–97. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.
- 2010b “Textile Materials and Fabrics” and “Dress and Ornamentation.” In *Qasr Ibrim: The Earlier Medieval Period*, by William Y. Adams, 156–64 and 165–91. Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir 89. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Adams, William Y.

- 1991 “The United Kingdom of Makuria and Nobadia: A Medieval Nubian Anomaly.” In *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, edited by W. V. Davies, 257–63. London: British Museum Press / Egypt Exploration Society.
- 1999 *Kulubnarti III: The Cemeteries*. Sudan Archaeological Research Society 4. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Adams, William Y., and Nettie K. Adams

- 2013 *Qasr Ibrim: The Ballaña Phase*. Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoir 104. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Andersson Strand, Eva, Karin M. Frei, Margarita Gleba, Ula Mannering, Marie-Louise Nosch, and Irene Skals

- 2010 “Old Textiles—New Possibilities.” *European Journal of Archaeology* 13, no. 2: 149–73.

Baratte, François

- 2004 “Le vêtement dans l’Antiquité tardive: Rupture ou continuité?” In *Tissus et vêtements dans l’Antiquité tardive: Actes du colloque de l’Association pour l’Antiquité tardive, Lyon, 2003*, edited by Jean-Pierre Caillet and Jean-Michel Carrié, 121–35. Antiquité Tardive 12. Turnhout: Brepols.

Barthes, Roland

- 1957 “Histoire et sociologie du vêtement.” *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations* 12, no. 3: 430–41.

Baud, Michel, ed.

- 2010 *Méroé, un empire sur le Nil*. Paris: Musée du Louvre and Milan: Officina Libraria.

Bender Jørgensen, Lise

- 2011 "Clavi and Non-Clavi: Definitions of Various Bands on Roman Textiles." In *Textiles y tintes en la ciudad antigua*, edited by Carmen Alfaro, 75–81. Purpureae Vestes 3. Valencia, Spain: University of Valencia.

Bergman, Ingrid

- 1975 *Late Nubian Textiles*. Scandinavian Joint Expedition 8. Stockholm: Scandinavian University Books.

Bonhême, Marie-Ange, and Annie Forgeau

- 1988 *Pharaon: Les secrets du pouvoir*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Bouchaud, Charlène, Elsa Yvanez, and John-Peter Wild

- 2019 "Tightening the Thread from Seed to Cloth: New Enquiries in the Archaeology of Old World Cotton." In *Cotton in the Old World: Domestication, Cultivation, Use and Trade*, edited by Charlène Bouchaud and Elsa Yvanez. *Revue d'ethnoécologie* 15. Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle. DOI 10.4000/ethnoecologie.4501.

Bruneau, Pascal

- 1983 "Le vêtement." *Revue d'archéologie moderne et d'archéologie générale* 2: 139–73.

Cortopassi, Roberta

- 2006 "Les tuniques de Thaïas au Louvre." In *Études coptes IX: Onzième journée d'études, Strasbourg, 12–14 juin 2003*, edited by Anne Boud'hors, Jean Gascoü, and Denyse Vaillancourt, 67–80. *Cahiers de la Bibliothèque copte* 14. Paris: de Boccard.

Crowfoot, Elisabeth

- 1977 "The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop." In *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, edited by Veronika Gervers, 43–51. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

Crowfoot, Grace

- 1961 "The Textiles and Basketry." In *Les grottes de Murabba'at*, edited by Pierre Benoit, Józef Milik, Roland de Vaux, and Grace Crowfoot, 52–63. *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 2. Oxford: Clarendon.

Dann, Rachael J.

- 2009 *The Archaeology of Late Antique Sudan: Aesthetics and Identity in the Royal X-Group Tombs at Qustul and Ballana*. New York: Cambria.

Donadoni, Sergio

- 1970 "Les fouilles à l'église de Sonqi Tino." In *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*, edited by Erich Dinkler, 209–15. Recklinghausen: Bongers.

Drici, Faïza

- 2015 "L'armement méroïtique: La panoplie de l'archer." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 78: 67–70.

Edwards, David N.

- 2004 *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of Sudan*. London: Routledge.
- 2018 "Late Antique Nubia Revisited." In *Across the Mediterranean—Along the Nile: Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity Dedicated to László Török on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Tamás Bács, Ádam Bollók, and Tivadar Vida, 539–56. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Science.

El-Amir, Mostafa

- 1963 *Fouilles de l'Université d'Alexandrie à Gebel Adda (1959)*. *Fouilles en Nubie (1959–1961)*. Cairo: Organisme général des imprimeries gouvernementales.

Emery, Walter B., and Laurence P. Kirwan

- 1938 *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul: Mission archéologique de Nubie 1929–1934*. Vol. 1, *Text*. Vol. 2, *Plates*. Cairo: Publications du Service des Antiquités.

Fuller, Dorian Q.

- 2015 “The Economic Basis of the Qustul Splinter State: Cash Crops, Subsistence Shifts, and Labour Demands in the Post-Meroitic Transition.” In *The Kushite World: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Vienna, 1–4 September 2008*, edited by Michael Zach, 33–60. Beiträge zur Sudanforschung 9. Vienna: Verein der Förderer der Sudanforschung.

Godlewski, Włodzimierz

- 2002 “Introduction to the Golden Age of Makuria (9th–11th Centuries).” *Africana Bulletin* 50: 75–98.
 2008 “Bishops and Kings: The Official Program of the Pachoras (Faras) Cathedrals.” In *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Łajtar, 1:263–82. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Godlewski, Włodzimierz, Robert Mahler, and Barbara Czaja-Szewczak

- 2012 “Crypts 1 and 2 in the Northwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola: Report on the Exploration in 2009.” *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 21: 338–60.

Grzymski, Krzysztof

- 2010 “Gebel Adda Revisited.” In *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Łajtar, 2:25–30. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Harlow, Mary, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2014 “Weaving the Threads: Methodologies in Textile and Dress Research for the Greek and Roman World—the State of the Art and the Case for Cross-Disciplinarity.” In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 1–33. Ancient Textiles Series 19. Oxford: Oxbow.

Huber, Reinhard, and David N. Edwards

- 2009 “Gebel Adda 1963 and Meroitic Stela GA19.” *Sudan and Nubia* 13: 100–102.
 2010 “Gebel Adda Cemetery One, 1963: Post-Medieval Reuse of X-Group Tumuli.” *Sudan and Nubia* 14: 83–90.
 2012 “Gebel Adda Cemeteries 3 and 4 (1963–1964).” *Sudan and Nubia* 16: 80–87.
 2016 “Gebel Adda and Its Environs.” *Sudan and Nubia* 20: 133–45.

Jakobielski, Stefan

- 2013 “Horned Crown—an Epigraphic Evidence.” *Études et travaux* 26, no. 1: 325–37.

James, Edward

- 2008 “The Rise and Function of the Concept ‘Late Antiquity.’” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1, no. 1: 20–30.

Jones, Sian

- 1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. London: Routledge.

Kirwan, Laurence P.

- 1937 “A Contemporary Account of the Conversion of the Sudan to Christianity.” *Sudan Notes and Records* 20: 289–95.
 1980 “The Emergence of the United Kingdom of Nubia.” *Sudan Notes and Records* 61: 134–39.

Lajtar, Adam, and Jacques van der Vliet

- 2017 *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia: The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 32. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Lorquin, Alexandra

- 2003 "Le costume dans l'antiquité tardive d'après les vestiges textiles coptes." In *Costume et société dans l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Age*, edited by François Chausson and Hervé Inglebert, 121–28. Paris: Picard.

Mackie, Louise W.

- 1984 "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations." *Muqarnas* 2: 127–46.

Maguire, Henry

- 1999 "The Good Life." In *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, edited by Glen W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar, 238–57. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mahler, Robert, Włodzimierz Godlewski, Katarzyna Danys-Lasek, and Barbara Czaja

- 2015 "Crypt 3 in the Northwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola: Report on the Exploration in 2012." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 24, no. 1: 352–67.

Mannering, Ula

- 2000 "Roman Garments from Mons Claudianus." In *Archéologie des textiles des origines au V^e siècle: Actes du colloque de Lattes, Octobre 1999*, edited by Dominique Cardon and Michel Feugère, 283–90. Monographies instrumentum 14. Montagnac: Mergoil.

Martens-Czarnecka, Małgorzata

- 2001 "Wall Paintings Discovered in Old Dongola." In *Dongola Studien*, edited by Stefan Jakobielski and Piotr O. Scholz, 253–84. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Mayer-Thurman, Christa C., and Bruce B. Williams

- 1979 *Ancient Textiles from Nubia: Meroitic, X-Group and Christian Fabrics from Ballana and Qustul*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago.

Michałowski, Kazimierz

- 1974 *Faras: Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Artystyczne Graficzne.

Mierzejewska, Bożena

- 2004 "Parresia i moc wstawiennictwa świętych: Przedstawienia wiernych ze świętymi patronami w malarstwie nubijskim." *Series Byzantina* 2: 109–22.

Millet, Nicholas B.

- 1963 "Gebel Adda Preliminary Report for 1963." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 2: 147–65.
- 1964 "Gebel Adda Expedition Preliminary Report for 1963." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3: 7–14.
- 1967 "Gebel Adda Preliminary Report, 1965–66." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 6: 53–63.
- 1968 "Meroitic Nubia." PhD diss., University of Michigan.

Mommsen, Theodor

- 1892 "Iohannis abbatis Biclarensis chronica." In *Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII*, 207–20. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctorum Antiquissimorum 11. Berlin: Weidmann.

Monneret de Villard, Ugo

- 1938 *Storia della Nubia cristiana*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum.

Obluski, Artur

- 2010 "The Formation of the Nobadian State: Social Changes in Lower Nubia in Late Antiquity." In *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, edited by Włodzimierz Godlewski and Adam Łajtar, 2:607–18. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean Supplement Series. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.
- 2014 *The Rise of Nobadia*. Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 20. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Payne Smith, R.

- 1860 *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pompei, Amarillis

- 2015 "Meroitic Priest Long Garments Decorated by Falcon or Vulture." In *The Kushite World: Proceedings of the 11th International Conference for Meroitic Studies, Vienna, 1–4 September 2008*, edited by Michael Zach, 565–72. Beiträge zur Sudanforschung 9. Vienna: Verein der Förderer der Sudanforschung.

Pritchard, Frances

- 2006 *Clothing Culture: Dress in Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Clothing from Egypt in the Collection of the Whitworth Art Gallery, The University of Manchester*. Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery.

Seignobos, Robin

- 2015 "Les évêchés nubiens—nouveaux témoignages: La source de la liste de Vansleb et deux autres textes méconnus." In *Nubian Voices: New Texts and Studies in Christian Nubian Culture II*, edited by Adam Łajtar, Grzegorz Ochoła, Jacques van der Vliet, and Giovanni Ruffini, 151–229. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

Shinnie, Peter L.

- 1996 *Ancient Nubia*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Shinnie, Peter L., and Rebecca Bradley

- 1981 "The Murals from the Augustus Temple, Meroe." In *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, 167–72. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Stig Sørensen, Marie Louise

- 1997 "Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe." *Journal of European Archaeology* 5: 93–114.

Szymaszek, Maciej

- 2017 "Radiocarbon Dating of Late Nubian Textiles at the Museum Gustavianum in Uppsala and the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago." In *Excavating, Analysing, Reconstructing: Textiles of the First Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by Antoine De Moor, Cecilia Fluck, and Petra Linscheid, 296–303. Tiel: Lanoo.

Thomas, Thelma K.

- 2000 "Costume, Fashion and Taste in Late Antique Egypt: 'Decorative Devices' from the Textile Collection in the Kelsey Museum." *Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 12: 89–101.

Török, László

- 1978 "Two Meroitic Studies: The Meroitic Chamber in Philae and the Administration of Nubia in the 1st to 3rd Centuries A.D." *Oikumene* 2: 217–37.

- 1990 "The Costume of the Ruler in Meroe: Remark on Its Origins and Significance." *Archéologie du Nil moyen* 4:151–202.
- 2002 "Kinship and Decorum: (Re-)constructing the Meroitic Elite." *Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 13: 60–84.
- Veldmeijer, Andre J.
 2016 *Excavations at Gebel Adda (Lower Nubia): Ancient Nubian Leatherwork. Part 1, Sandals and Shoes*. Leiden: Sandstone.
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian
 1993a *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden: Brill.
 1993b "Unearthing History: Archaeological Textiles in Egypt." *Hali* 67: 85–107.
- Weigall, Arthur
 1907 *A Report of the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Welsby, Derek A.
 2002 *The Medieval Kingdoms of Nubia: Pagans, Christians and Muslims along the Middle Nile*. London: British Museum Press.
- Wild, Felicity C.
 2011 "Fringes and Aprons—Meroitic Clothing: An Update from Qasr Ibrim." In *Dress Accessories of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by Antoine De Moor and Cecilia Fluck, 110–19. Tiel: Lanoo.
- Wild, John-Peter, and Felicity C. Wild
 2006 "Qasr Ibrim: Study Season 2005." *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 43: 16–19.
 2014 "Qasr Ibrim: New Perspectives on the Changing Textile Cultures of Lower Nubia." In *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork*, edited by Elisabeth R. O'Connell, 71–80. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 2. Leuven: Peeters.
- Williams, Bruce Beyer
 1983 *Nubadian X-Group Remains from Royal Complexes in Cemeteries Q and 219 and from Private Cemeteries Q, R, V, W, B, J, and M at Qustul and Ballana*. Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 9. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Wozniak, Magdalena Maria
 2013 "Iconographie des souverains et des dignitaires de la Nubie chrétienne: Les vêtements d'apparat." PhD diss., Paris-Sorbonne University.
 2025 "Wrapping Practices in Medieval Sudan: Case Studies from Gebel Adda." In *Funerary Textiles in Situ: Towards a Better Method for the Study of Textile-Related Burial Practices*, edited by Elsa Yvanez and Magdalena M. Wozniak, 167–204. Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology. Cham: Springer.
- Yadin, Yigael
 1963 *The Finds from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Yvanez, Elsa
 2015 "De fil en aiguille: Aspects de l'artisanat textile méroïtique." *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 78: 63–66.
 2018a "Clothing the Elite? Patterns of Textile Production and Consumption in Ancient Sudan and Nubia." In *Dynamics and Organisation of Textile Production in Past Societies in Europe and the Mediterranean*, edited by Agata Ulanowska, Małgorzata Siennicka, and Magdalena Grupa, 81–92. Fasciculi Archaeologiae Historicae 31. Lodz: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii.

- 2018b "Se vêtir à Gebel Adda: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche sur l'identité culturelle en Nubie méroïtique." *Routes de l'Orient, hors série* 3: 103–23.
- 2019 "Precious Textiles and Diplomatic Gift-Giving in Late Antique Nubia (c. A.D. 350–550)." In *Gaben, Waren und Tribute: Stoffkreisläufe und antike Textilökonomie*, edited by Beate Wagner-Hasel and Marie-Louise B. Nosch, 457–75. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- 2023 "Textiles in the Funerary *chaîne opératoire*: Perspectives from Meroitic and Postmeroitic Sudan and Nubia." *Journal of African Archaeology* 21, no. 2: 154–79.

Yvanez, Elsa, and Magdalena M. Wozniak

- 2019 "Cotton in Ancient Sudan and Nubia: Archaeological Sources and Historical Implications." In *Cotton in the Old World: Domestication, Cultivation, Use and Trade*, edited by Charlene Bouchaud and Elsa Yvanez. *Revue d'ethnoécologie* 15. Paris: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Paris.

Żurawski, Bogdan

- 2014 *Kings and Pilgrims: St Raphael Church II at Banganarti, Mid-Eleventh to Mid-Eighteenth Century*. Nubia 5. Warsaw: Instytut Kultur Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych PAN.

4

Regional Dress in the Imperial Rhetoric of Achaemenid Persia: Subjective (Identity) and Objective (Ascription) Processes

Margaret C. Miller
University of Sydney

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS KNOW well the important roles of dress in signaling, deliberately or unconsciously, social affiliation in living societies. Often-subtle distinctions in details of dress can be read only by the encoded viewer. Archaeologists seeking to understand and explain values in past societies are hampered by a lack of surviving textiles, limited or no textual documentation, and dependence on traditions of art whose selectivity in representation is assured. In the case of West Asia during the period of the Persian Empire (mid-sixth through later fourth centuries BCE), the context of empire appears to have generated two opposite but complementary social functions of dress relating to identity: the subjective (or ethnic identity) and the objective (or ethnic ascription).¹

The sculptures of Persepolis in Iran seem a good touchstone of truth for dress and ethnicity in the Achaemenid Persian Empire. The relief panels of the king in audience once at the heart of the Apadana program at Persepolis present the king and others in the long court robe (fig. 4.1).² Traces of color and incisions indicate complex textile patterning; the colorful glazed brick from Susa presents a vivid suggestion of the garment's possible elaboration.³ Yet even at the most spectacular expression of the formal environment of majesty in audience, some figures wear what has been called "rider dress": the man bowing, hand to lips, before the king, and, behind, the man holding the king's weapons.⁴ The fact that some men even in formal audience imagery wear rider dress

1 This study has benefited from the insights of many. I owe especial thanks to Remy Boucharlat and Deniz Kaptan for help with images, Nick Cahill for advice on Sardis stratigraphy, and Kate McAllan for general assistance. It was William Slater from whom I first learned about the "Lydianizing" fashion of Archaic Greece.

2 Rather than a photograph of the extant relief, here is used Ann Britt Tilia's reconstruction drawing of the "Treasury relief" made in the context of her ascription of its original location to the Apadana platform; see Tilia 1972, fig. 3 facing p. 168.

3 Susa glazed brick illustrated in color: Paris Louvre Sb3302 and Sb3309 (Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, cat. nos. 155–56); London ANE 132525 (Curtis and Tallis 2005, cat. no. 51). On color, see also Nagel 2010, 2013; cf. the lightly incised ornamental details along borders in Schmidt 1953, pl. 142.

4 The fact that Persians in their own art wear both a system of dress incorporating trousers and a system of dress based on a robe has long caused confusion and uncertainty whether the different sartorial systems held ethnic significance. References in Greek literature to a "Median dress" and a "Persian dress"

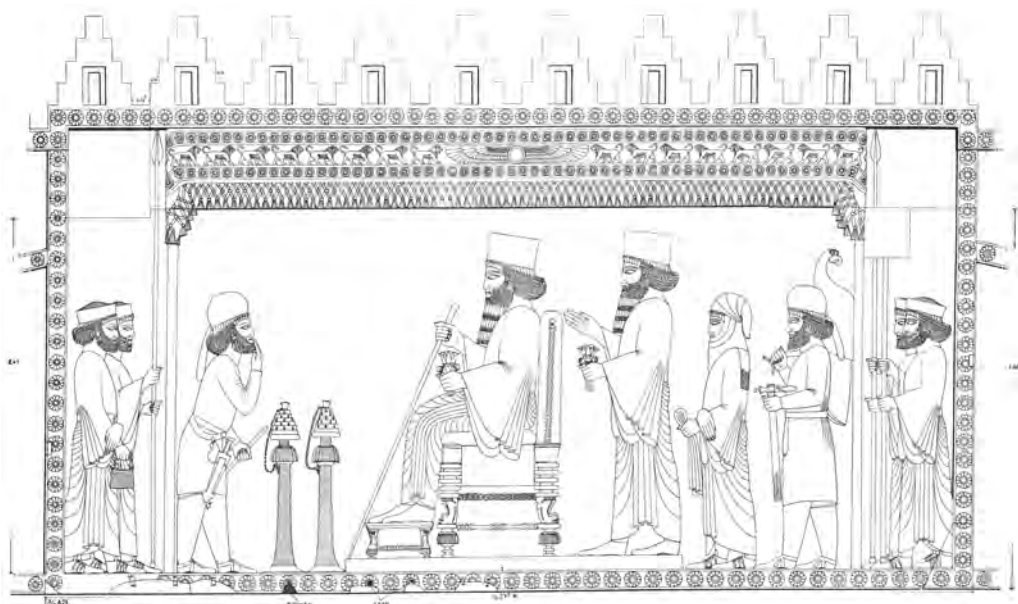


Figure 4.1. The Great King in audience, detail of the “Treasury relief” from the Apadana of Persepolis. Restored drawing by Ann B. Tilia. After Tilia 1972, fig. 3 (facing p. 168).

establishes that these two dress systems could coexist at the heart of the Persian court: their current distinction was functional rather than ethnic, even though their origins may have differed substantially. (The court robe derived from Elamite dress, whereas the official rider dress has a generally Iranian character and its precise origin is more difficult to delineate.) More important, in the world of Darius both systems were quintessentially Persian modes of dress.

That same rider dress, as witnessed by the carefully delineated distinctions among those delegations on the Apadana that wear it, itself exhibits a range of variation reflective of specific ethnic differentiation. Delegations from the farthest reaches with their exotic beasts on the Apadana reliefs showcase the extent of empire, as do the inscribed peoples supporting the king’s throne on the Naqš-i Rostam reliefs. The summation of the peoples in these reliefs graphically reflects those in written lists. The historical reality is that there were many more peoples in the empire than there are delegations (or throne bearers) depicted. The choice of which delegations to show and how to articulate their distinctive features involved careful selectivity. In this essay, the question of objective assignation of ethnic identity by the elision of several peoples into one schema is examined through consideration of the case of western Anatolia.

seemed to support an ethnic interpretation. Modern viewers have struggled to decide which of the two was the genuine Persian dress and tended to ascribe the other to the Medes. In the 1970s, Roaf (1974), Shahbazi (1979), and Root (1979) independently cut the Gordian knot, arguing from the pattern of use in the sculpture at Naqš-i Rostam and Persepolis that the difference of dress was to be viewed as functional (court/military) rather than ethnic, whatever the ultimate ethnic origins prove to be. For recent elucidation, see Stronach 2011.

SARTORIAL BICULTURALISM

Study of the arts, mostly funereal, of the regions of western Anatolia in the Persian period reveals the surprising fact that Anatolians were sartorially bicultural: they could wear their regional dress for some activities and Persian dress for others.⁵ A relief sculpture from the area of ancient Sardis, most likely a funerary stela, provides the clearest example.⁶ It presents what can only be two views of the same man: below, he wears Iranian rider dress while hunting, and above, he wears what is probably “Lydian” military gear. In the lower image, all the basic elements of rider dress are visible (tiara, belted and sleeved knee-length garment, trousers), but a heavy cloak is substituted for a kandys. In the upper image, the rider’s weaponry generally fits the western Anatolian mode, with crested helmet and composite corselet (although he seems to have long sleeves). Despite his Lydian weaponry, his horse is caparisoned in the Persian manner: tied and cropped tail, roached mane, topknot, and rectilinear riding cloth.⁷

Similar cultural mixtures can be found in western Anatolia in what must be elite tombs, notably the traditional Phrygian log tomb at Tatarlı, dated to the first half of the fifth century BCE, that had a painted battle in which victorious Persians battle eastern nomads,⁸ and the traditional Milyan stone tomb at Karaburun, decorated about 475 BCE with painted plaster presenting what must be a local dynast within a Persian cultural milieu.⁹ In view of general conservatism regarding the proper treatment of the dead, it is reasonable to suppose that the ethnic identity of the occupants was local, as it is highly unlikely that they were what Pierre Briant termed the “dominant ethno-class,” the Persians.¹⁰ Although the Persians seem to have had a practice of co-opting the elite of their conquered lands, the satrap of a region was a close associate, often a family member, of the king (i.e., a Persian), enjoined to create microcosmic facsimiles of the processes of court at the satrapal level. The local satrap thus set a foreign standard of excellence throughout the empire.

Such examples of interculturalism sometimes involve systems of dress; at other times, social action rather than dress is adopted. For example, on the sarcophagus discovered at Mylasa in 2010, the man commemorated combines local dress with Persian drinking mode

5 For sartorial biculturalism, see Miller 2013. Note, however, that Jacobs 2015, utilizing some of the same evidence, sees it rather as an indication of the adaptation of the Persian elite to local custom. While his opinion on the matter is worthy of note, the general principle of conservatism of burial practice, noted below, remains to me the definitive consideration.

6 Manisa Archaeological Museum 3389; no provenience. First published in Greenewalt and Heywood 1992, figs. 25–26, in a discussion of a probable Lydian helmet excavated at Sardis; see also Dedeoğlu 2003, 62; Roosevelt 2009, fig. 6.27, cat. no. 23.4 on p. 256, where it is dated to the late fifth century. The feet of the lower figure are broken off, so that it is not clear whether he wore trousers. Roosevelt notes a parallel figure, with trousers, on a stela from Musacalı (Manisa Mus. 7759; Roosevelt 2009, 160, fig. 6.26, cat. no. 2.8A).

7 Compare the image of London BM 89816 (1869,0122.10; cylinder seal, quartz chalcedony, pale blue) in Curtis and Tallis 2005, 230, no. 420: a Persian makes a Parthian shot at a lion-pawed animal.

8 Wooden beams formerly in Munich, now repatriated to Turkey. See generally, with references to prior bibliography, Summerer 2007 (a detailed discussion of the battle), 2010. First publication: Calmeyer 1992. On their dating to the first half of the fifth century, see Kuniholm, Newton, and Griggs 2010, 82.

9 Mellink 1972, pl. 60.23; Miller 2010, 325, fig. 5, provides an excellent color photograph.

10 Briant 2002, 82, and frequently in his discussions.

and implements; the sarcophagus has been ascribed to the Carian dynast Hecatomnus.¹¹ This range of evidence is proof positive of two things: (1) “ethnic” dress systems do not have a one-to-one correspondence with social identity, as (2) the same person can “be” Anatolian for some activities and Iranian for others, slipping from clothing role to clothing role in a diacritical or associative sense, depending on need or desire.¹²

For present purposes, this phenomenon is termed the “subjective” ethnic association of dress: it reflects the individual’s conscious or unconscious choice in mode of expression. Much of the scholarship on the use of dress focuses on such projection of one’s sense of identity with a social group.

It emerges that the expressions of ethnicity embedded in any representation of dress (which must reflect, at least to some degree, a reality of dress actually worn at some time) were far less fixed and far more fluid than one might suppose. To describe the people (or some of the people) of western Anatolia as sartorially bicultural is to accept an ethnic locative quality that differs from what Alison Lurie brilliantly termed a “foreign accent” in the language of dress.¹³

DRESS AS ETHNIC MARKER IN PERSIAN IMPERIAL RHETORIC

A parallel phenomenon of exactly opposite tendencies can be found in the arts of the Iranian heartland. In Persian imperial visual rhetoric, the system of dress is closely linked with ethnic definition, as both the major and the minor arts of the Persian Empire show. Two aspects are worth highlighting: the broad distinctions in dress system that appear in private arts, notably glyptic, of the Achaemenid world; and the imperial strategy of precise delineation of the peoples of empire as a testimony to its extent. Both aspects, especially the latter one, are part of an “objective” ethnic identity that functioned to impose order on others.

GENERAL SYSTEMS OF DRESS IN PERSIAN POPULAR THOUGHT

Within the whole corpus of Achaemenid-period glyptic—stamp seals as well as cylinder seals—the role of dress as a signifier of ethnicity best appears in the limited corpus of conquest imagery. Some extant seals and sealings clearly had an origin in and circulated among the highest echelons of the empire, where they functioned as expressions of royal ideology.¹⁴ The great majority were made for personal transactions in ordinary life; their

11 Police interrupted illicit excavations in August 2010. No formal publication yet; at the time, full coverage with images appeared in the news media, still available on the web. For the question in general, see Miller 2011. For the important stela of “Persian-style” drinking with a Phrygian inscription discovered in 1997 in the region of Daskyleion, see Gusmani and Polat 1999, with Miller 2011.

12 Such fluidity is noted as a significant aspect by, e.g., Stoddart and Neil 2014, 288–89; what is observed here regarding Anatolia fits within the sphere of what Emberling dubbed “situational ethnicity” (Emberling 1997, 306–7). The terminology used here is drawn from Dietler 1990, 377.

13 Lurie 1981, in chapter 4, “Fashion and Place,” distinguishes between “Foreign Clothes and Foreign Accents.”

14 See Garrison 2014; Kaptan 2002 on DS 4. Explicit conquest imagery has, to date, not been found among the extant royal name seals.

value for the present inquiry lies in their potential to reflect common public attitudes, the general conception of the main subsets of empire, rather than, for example, the royal programmatic statements adorning the walls of the imperial palace centers. Seals with conquest imagery are comparatively few, but they give a vision of world empire by the definition of its peripheries. In featuring Persian subjugation of barbarians at the fringes of the empire, the imagery presents a fairly consistent vision of the world order based on the principle of civilized center and barbarian periphery that must reflect royal ideology.¹⁵ Though such imagery can take the form of a Persian leading a row of captives, it more frequently appears as scenes of combat.

The Persian vision in the minor arts offers a clear distinction between the barbarians to the northeast and those to the west. Those to the northeast, commonly dubbed “nomads” in the scholarship, wear the rider dress with trousers and jacket and are equipped with a bow and axe or (far to the east) a pick; as in the painted battle imagery on the wooden plank from Tatarlı mentioned above, eastern barbarians could wear pointed hats (fig. 4.2).¹⁶ The Persians termed these peoples of Central Asia, who extended from the Black Sea to Mongolia, the “Saka.”¹⁷ One cylinder seal of uncertain provenience shows, below the winged sun disk, the “king” conducting three figures with pointed hats and trousers: these figures are barbarians from the northeast and are paralleled by scenes of active combat in glyptic, both cylinder and stamp seals.¹⁸ The enemy sometimes seems akin to Skunkha on the Bisutun relief, with his tall pointed hat.

A second group of enemies in Persian arts is identified by their helmets (often crested) and round shields as enemies in the west.¹⁹ Western barbarians were armed with a spear (figs. 4.3–4.5). They usually wear a short garment and have bare legs; sometimes a corselet is delineated, and sometimes they are naked, as on the Seyitömer Höyük impression (fig. 4.5).²⁰ These enemies are depicted in combat or as defeated or captive. One

15 The principle of civilized center and barbarian periphery tacitly appears in imperial lists of peoples who are ordered in a series of radii from the center to the periphery, as pointed out by Root 1979, 63–65; Briant 2002, 172–83, chapter 5, section 2; see Kuhrt 2002, 20–21, with a handy schema. For the principle of graphic symbolic presentation of the social order (concentricity), see Miller and Hölscher 2013, 383–85. This, too, is something that Herodotus picked up on (Hdt. 1.134).

16 London BM 132505: blue chalcedony, cylinder. Merrillees 2005, 60–70, cat. no. 65, pl. 24; see also Curtis and Tallis, 2005, no. 415.

17 This corresponds especially to modern Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and south-central Russia. The etymology of the Persian name “Saka” is uncertain (R. Schmitt, personal communication; cf. Szemerényi 1980, 44–46; Lecoq 1997, 147–48). On southern Siberia as the home of the battle pick, see Potts 2012.

18 Ward 1910, 327, no. 1048. Other battles with “nomads”: Paris CabMed 403 (Delaporte 1910, 224–25, no. 403, pl. 28); Persepolis Treasury Seal no. 29 (PT 4830, Schmidt 1957, pl. 9); Daskyleion DS 91 (Kaptan 2002, figs. 272–73); London BM 124015 (Merrillees 2005, 70, no. 66, pl. 25). The seventeen seals have now been collected and discussed by Wu (2010, 2014). For wise commentary on the validity of the seals as evidence, see Tuplin 2010, 112–14. In other media, we have the unprovenienced gold cloisonné pendant in the Miho Museum; Bernard and Imagaki 2000, 1401, lists examples in glyptic.

19 The importance of this schematic distinction between eastern and western barbarians is brought out by Kuhrt (2002, 20–21). Tuplin (2010, 117) counted fourteen nomadic and thirty-two “Greek” opponents. Wu’s insightful 2014 overview nevertheless retains the global categorization as “Greeks” (usefully collected in pl. 6).

20 Round-shield bearer: London BM 89333, gray chalcedony (Merrillees 2005, no. 64, pl. 24; Curtis and Tallis 2005, cat. no. 423). Nippur, Murasu Archive: Penn Museum 5230 (Legrain 1925, no. 995, pl. 60).



Figure 4.2. The Great King subdues a pick-wielding and pointed-hat-wearing nomad. Cylinder seal, modern impression. London, British Museum 132505.
© Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.



Figure 4.3. A “Mede” combats a “Greek” below the winged disk. Cylinder seal, modern impression. London, British Museum 89333. © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

cylinder seal attested by sealings at Persepolis presents a Persian in court robe leading three helmet-wearing, bound enemies and spearing a fourth.²¹ The Persians battle their round-shield-bearing, helmeted infantry foe from horseback as well as on foot. Though

Seyitömer Höyük 3, cylinder seal impression, Kütahya Museum KT 9401 (Kaptan 2008, figs. 1–2; 2010, figs. 33.4–33.6). See also Paris, Bib. Nat. 1343.5 (Boardman 2000, 160, fig. 5.7); Munich 20000/404 (Knauss and Franke 2001); Rome, Villa Giulia, and once Arndt A1410 (Boardman 2001, pls. 849, 881).

²¹ Persepolis Treasury Seal no. 28, on PT 4948, PT 4865, and PT 4330, illustrated by Schmidt (1957, 29 and pl. 9). Another impression excavated by Tajvidi: Tehran 6580 (Curtis and Tallis 2005, no. 424).



Figure 4.4. The Great King atop a dead enemy spears a “Greek.” Impression of a cone seal on an Akkadian tablet from the Murasu Archive of Nippur (archive date 424–404 BCE). Philadelphia, Penn Museum CBS 05230. Drawing after Legrain 1925, nr. 995.



Figure 4.5. A Persian in court robe spears a naked “Greek.” Cylinder impression on a clay tag from Seyitömer Höyük (SHS 3). Courtesy of Deniz Kaptan.

this western enemy is usually identified as “Greeks” in the scholarship, they may equally be Carian, Lydian, Lycian, or even West Phrygian.²² We will return to this matter in a moment.

Thus, in the Persian mental map of the world as presented by the glyptic record, peoples of the trouser who fought with the bow and axe, on horseback or on foot, both inside and outside the empire, inhabited the northern and eastern realms. To the northwest were the “naked” peoples, who wore crested metal helmets and carried round shields; their weapon was the spear. They, too, lived both inside and outside the empire. Very occasionally other enemies are visible, as on the Zvenigorodsky Cylinder from Kerch, now in the Hermitage;²³ the defeated enemies wear a fringed dress, which has been linked with Assyrian or Elamite garb, but owing to the headdress of the leader they have tended to be viewed as Egyptians.²⁴

IMPERIAL STRATEGY OF ETHNIC DELINEATION THROUGH DRESS

Scholars have long been struck by the “Susa Foundation Charter,” with its careful lists of peoples of many parts of the empire and their separate contributions of goods and labor to

22 Kaptan (2002, 80–81) noted the parallel with Lycian warriors; round shields appear also in the Karaburun Tomb II North Wall battle scene (Mellink 1972, 267, pls. 59.21, 60.23–24) and among the sickle-sword-wielding dancers at Tatarlı (Summerer 2008, 267–70, figs. 3–4). N.B.: Carians are attested as wearing crested helmets: Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 10.

23 The Zvenigorodsky Cylinder, St. Petersburg ГИ501, chalcedony, 2.8 × 1.2, uninscribed; see Furtwängler 1900, fig. 79; Ward 1910, no. 1049; Zazoff 1983, 169, fig. 48a; Wu 2010, 549 with n. 11.

24 For fringed dress, see Álvarez-Mon 2010; Wu 2014, 249–50, accepts the identification as Egyptians.

the construction of Darius's first major palace, at Susa (DSf sections 8–13; trilingual).²⁵ It is clearly a rhetorical statement of imperial domain, akin to one I recall being told about as a child visiting the provincial legislative building in Edmonton, the capital of the province of Alberta in Canada. It was built in 1905 at the time of the foundation of the western provinces (out of the former Northwest Territories); the guide explained that the materials of construction included stone from every realm in the British Empire. That knowledge made me happy, and proud to be part of such a worldwide collective.

Although several versions of the Susa Foundation Charter have survived to modern times precisely because they were hidden from sight at the construction of the Susa Apadana, its contents must have been knowable by those living contemporarily with its construction. They did not just witness the ebony being brought from Egypt and the cedar from Lebanon—each presumably borne by people wearing their native garb—in a process that must have lasted months, if not years. It is unreasonable to imagine a multilingual sign outside the palace entrance proclaiming something akin to what my provincial legislative building guide told me. Yet some concretization of the sentiments on the buried tablet must have been visible throughout the Achaemenid period and legible to the technically illiterate.

Just such a concretization of the elements of empire survives in the “tribute bearers’ relief” adorning the northern and eastern stairs giving access to the Apadana on the terrace at Persepolis (fig. 4.6), whose recovery and publication played such an important part of the research enterprise of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (former Oriental Institute) of the University of Chicago.²⁶ The relief sculptures show how, in Persian imperial rhetoric, the system of dress is closely linked with ethnic definition, which is itself a point of insistence. Here twenty-three delegations, each led by a court guide or usher—some in rider dress, some in court dress—adorn the two grand-staircase complexes. Each delegation is presented with very precise details of dress and equipment that declare what “people” they are, as often their gifts also do, animate and inanimate.²⁷ There appears to be the highest level of concern to provide a pictorial text that enumerates the regions of the empire.

In the absence of any associated text naming the people represented, to identify the delegations Erich Schmidt and subsequent scholars have turned to a parallel body of evidence also initiated by Darius: the inscribed royal tomb facade.²⁸ For his rock-cut tomb at Naqš-e Rostam, Darius developed a schema that similarly aimed to show both the cooperative nature and the extent of the empire.²⁹ Above the entrance, a relief sculpture shows an altar and the king communicating with the figure symbolized by the winged sun disk,

25 Trilingual text: Kuhrt 2007, no. 13, with references, known in many fragments with variations; Kent 1953, *Old Persian*, DSf; Lecoq 1997; Briant 2002, 172–83, chapter 5, section 2, offers a convenient overview.

26 Schmidt 1953, 70–106.

27 The order and, to some degree, the gifts are themselves a rhetoric of inclusion. Calmeyer (1993, 160) discusses the metal vessels represented as gifts of the delegations and points out that there is considerable overlap in vessel taxonomy; while the animals conveyed may reasonably be taken as part of the ethnic/regional profile, that is not always true of the material goods. This, Calmeyer reasonably advanced, is a deliberate strategy of universalism, what Abka'i-Khavari (1988) called “Achaemenid international style.”

28 Schmidt 1953; reworked in Schmidt 1970, 143–55. See also, e.g., Walser 1966.

29 Schmidt 1970, 80–90, 106–10.

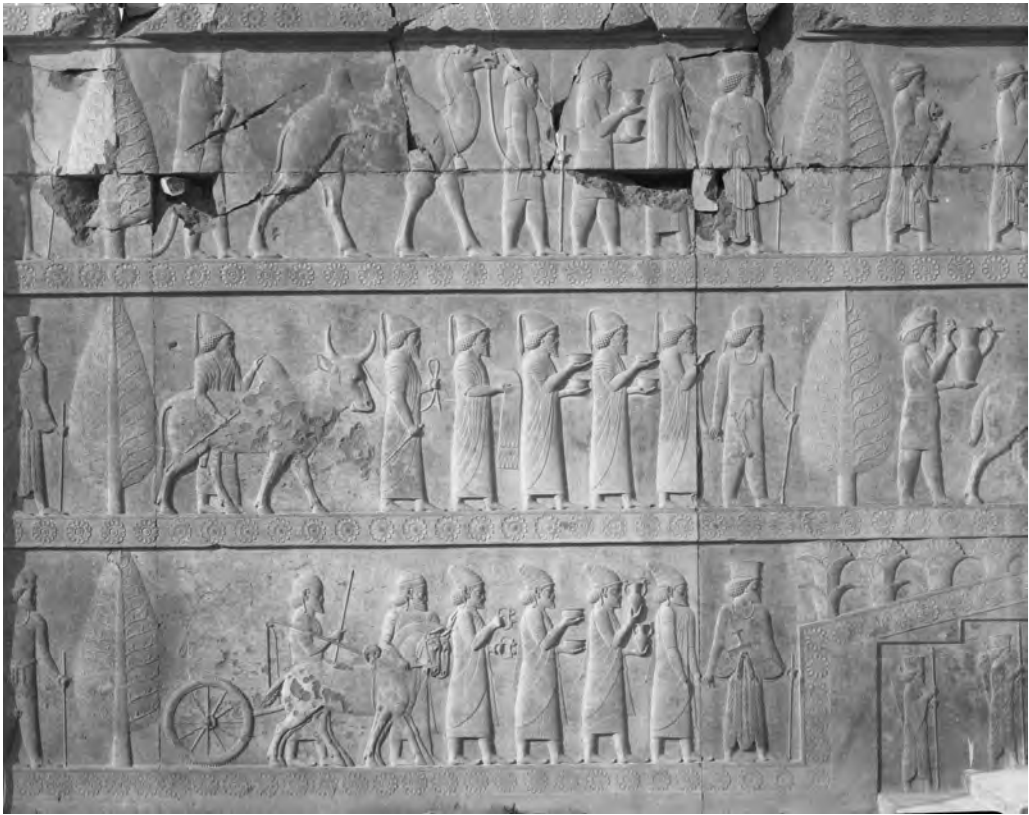


Figure 4.6. Delegations IV (Aria), V (Babylonia), and VI (Lydia) on the eastern stairs of the Persepolis Apadana. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago (PS 51).

all resting on a dais. The dais is supported by the peoples of the empire, twenty-eight in all, supplemented by two further peoples on the outer sides. The tomb of Darius set the pattern for the five subsequent royal tombs (three more at Naqš-i Rostam, two at Persepolis). We are especially interested in it owing to the fact that the peoples, carefully if somewhat schematically individualized by dress, were all labeled with inscriptions.³⁰ Despite the differences in sculptural mode and scale, there are often clear connections between the throne bearers and the tribute bearers. The lack of complete match in dress between tomb and Apadana may be partly ascribed to a distinction between the formal or court garb of the Apadana delegations and the military dress of the throne bearers.³¹

Even now the precise identity of some delegations continues to be the subject of discussion. Nonetheless, for our purpose the important principle is that each group was presented with great care to codify the elements of dress, hair and beard style, jewelry, and other attributes to convey a precise indication of which people in the empire each group

30 The reading is informed by the better-preserved texts on the facade of the south tomb at Persepolis (the tomb of Artaxerxes II or III), which copies the Darian model.

31 Noted by Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2001, 326), who points out that “most of the throne carriers are provided with weapons.”

represented. If the various Iranian delegations are compared, the individual peoples exhibit an impressive variety of cut of sleeved garment, bulk of trousers, relationship of footwear to trousers, and form of headgear. As the relief sculptures were probably originally painted, color perhaps added further nuance to the ethnic delineation of the delegations of the Apadana.³² For present purposes, this delineation of peoples by their garb may be viewed as the objective ethnic association of dress: it is an act of identity ascription, a categorization exercise.

An oft-quoted major inscription on his tomb at Naqš-i Rostam declares Darius's royal vision, including the words (DNa section 4):³³

If now you should think "How many are the peoples (*dahyāva*)³⁴ which King Darius held?"—look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shall you know, then shall it become known to you: the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to you: the Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.

Such delineation of the peoples (*dahyāva*), pictorially attested on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis and verbally in the Susa Foundation Charter and elsewhere, is of interest here. It shows that, in Persian imperial rhetoric, the peoples of the empire are sartorially individualized as an objective statement of extent of empire.

ETHNIC EDITING

To what extent did the Persian objective characterization of the peoples of empire coincide with or impose on those peoples' sense of self?³⁵ In the Apadana imagery, fitting all the peoples of the empire so carefully delineated into a precise number of registers, mostly but not completely analogous to the "throne bearers" conspicuous in royal funerary imagery, must have involved some editing of ethnicity. Given the great extent of empire, it is hard to believe that "only" twenty-three or thirty groups who self-identified as a "people" lay within. Certainly, the disjunction between the numbers of "delegations" (twenty-three) and throne bearers (thirty), whose composition is itself variable, cannot really be explained by appeal to actual historical content as the empire grew and contracted, though some have tried to use the figures as historical documentation.³⁶ Instances of ethnic editing can be considered through the lens of the folk of the northwest empire.

32 Tilia 1978, esp. 53–57, with fig. 6; Nagel 2010, 2013.

33 Translation: Kuhrt 2007, 502–3. See also Schmitt 2000, translation 30 and comment 32; Kent 1953, 137–38.

34 Line 17. Kuhrt, following Kent, translates *dahyāva* as "countries." Kent (1953, 190) translates the singular noun (*dahyu*) as "land, province, district." The precise meaning of the term *dahyāva* here translated as "peoples" has been much discussed. The inconsistency of its constituent membership in written and visual sources has challenged its reliability as an index of imperial scope. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 331–32, outlines the range of semantic meaning for the word; Lecoq 1990, 138–39, suggests it is a social rather than a geographic term; Jacobs 2017 provides an overview of the problems and the evidence.

35 Emberling (1997, 297) has discussed instances of modern disjunctions between imperial ethnic ascription and the peoples' own view of themselves.

36 In a careful appendix, Schmidt (1970, 108–18) collates all the evidence for the numbers of peoples in the various royal lists and relief sculptures known to him. Even the longest of them (Xerxes's Daiva

In a compelling presentation of evidence from the Persepolis Fortification archive, Wouter Henkelman and Matthew Stolper showed that the enigmatic Skudra, often taken to be Thracians, included the peoples of a considerable landmass in north-central and north-western Anatolia; the group does indeed include the Thracians but is not limited to them.³⁷ Henkelman and Stolper express it thus: “we hypothesize that the name [Skudra], as we find it used in Persian sources, is an outside denominator referring to what actually was an ethnically and culturally diverse complex including Thracian and Phrygian elements.”³⁸

This insight helps explain the otherwise puzzling absence of the Phrygians, who are not easily conflated with Cappadocians or Lydians. “Skudra,” then, includes peoples known to the Greeks as Bithynians, Phrygians, and Mysians, and perhaps even Paphlagonians. The Skudra appear as the twenty-fifth throne bearer and possibly as Delegation XIX.

Among his groupings of the different dress systems within the empire as evidenced by the throne bearers and Apadana delegations, Schmidt collected a “Hellenic” group, linked by the fact that they wore a short, chiton-like garment, with a cloak that he referred to as a *chlamys* (overtop), exposing bare legs and “half boots.”³⁹ Although a term such as “western Anatolians” would have been more accurate, the logic of the grouping in terms of dress is clear. The group of four includes “Spardiya” (no. 22, “the man from Sardis” or Lydian, with braid at ear and curly beard); “Yauna” (no. 23, “the Ionian” with beard, clearest on Tomb II); “Yauna Takabara” (no. 26, translated in the Babylonian texts as “the Ionians bearing shields on their heads” and often translated as “the petasos-wearing Ionians,” the petasos being the wide-brimmed traveler’s hat); and “Karka” (no. 30, “the Carian”) beyond the dais support. There are some distinctions: the Lydian has some sort of leg covering, which Schmidt described as “spiral puttees fastened by garters.”⁴⁰ All four are bareheaded except the “petasos-wearing Ionian.” As Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg put it: “To judge by their clothing, in Persian eyes they must have appeared as a relatively homogeneous group.”⁴¹ They certainly differ from the eastern Anatolian contingents (Cappadocians and Armenians, nos. 21 and 20, respectively), who wear rider dress.

On the Apadana reliefs, two delegations among the western peoples, Delegation VI (fig. 4.7) and Delegation XII (fig. 4.8), are quite similar in appearance: they share the *ko-thurnoi* (mid-calf loose boots), knee-length robe, and cloak overtop. Some—but not all—members of Delegation VI wear a coiled hat. Two discoveries in the early 1970s, a statue of Darius at Susa (figs. 4.9–4.10) and a terracotta statuette at Sardis (fig. 4.11), clinched

inscription, XPh) has only thirty-two peoples. Walser 1966, folding pl. I, provides a clear drawing of the throne bearers. The principle that the variation in list membership can be used to construct Persian history (as in Calmeyer 1983), questioned by Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2001, 324, 328–30, with references), has been challenged most recently by Jacobs (2017, 6, with updated lists of peoples from the various sources).

37 Henkelman and Stolper 2009, 293–99, who discover that in the Persepolis Fortification archive the Skudrians are especially prominent.

38 Henkelman and Stolper 2009, 298 (italics mine).

39 Schmidt 1970, 110, table IV; see details, figs. 47 and 48, with associated tables. His choice of “chlamys” for the “Hellenic” cloak doubtless arose from its short appearance (it is a short cloak for active wear) and the fact that it is worn in conjunction with a sword; the cloak is not draped as the chlamys usually is in Greek arts, but instead is rather more like a himation.

40 Schmidt 1970, in the description for the instance on Tomb II (the clearest) in his chart for fig. 47.

41 Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 325.



Figure 4.7. Delegation VI (Lydia), Persepolis Apadana, Eastern Stairway. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago (PS 82).

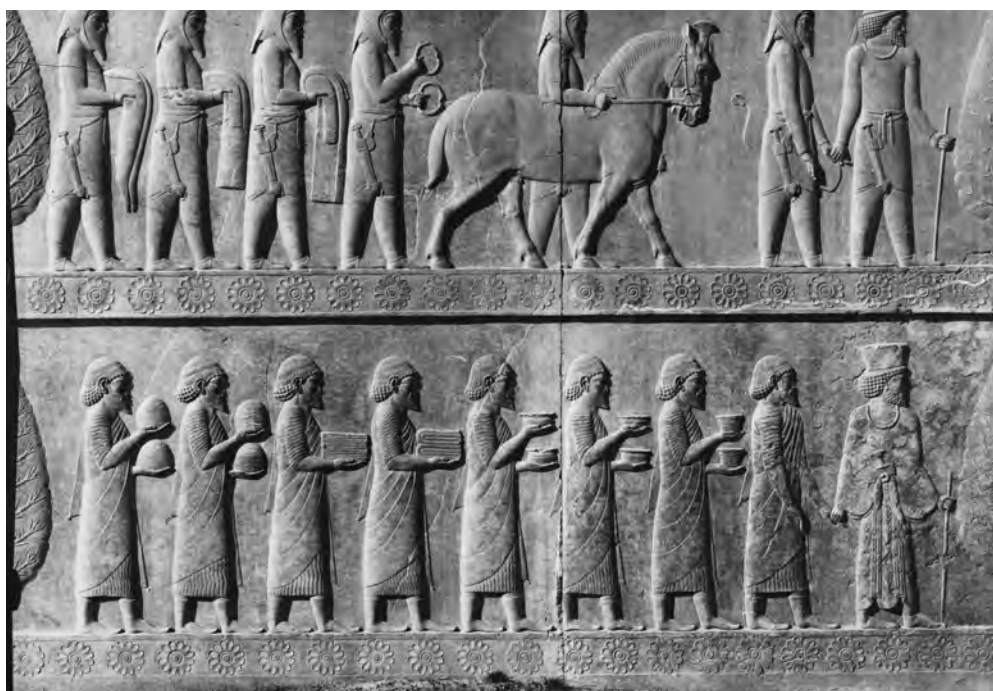


Figure 4.8. Delegation XII (Yauna), Persepolis Apadana, Eastern Stairway. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago (PS 80).



Figure 4.9. Egyptian statue of Darius recovered at Susa. Tehran Museum. © Mission de Suse. Délégation archéologique française en Iran, sous la direction de Jean Perrot [1968]–[1979].



Figure 4.10. “Spardiya” on base of Egyptian statue of Darius recovered at Susa. Tehran Museum. Detail from Livius. Photo by Jona Lendering.

the identity of Delegation VI as Lydians (or Spardiya in the inscriptions), making Delegation XII very likely the Yauna, or Ionians.⁴²

On the base of the statue of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972, a series of twenty-four lightly incised peoples set above the cartouches of their ethnics provided a new opportunity to reassess Schmidt’s identifications.⁴³ Despite the schematic character of the figures, they often appear with an item of dress that parallels and agrees with the ethnic affiliation deduced for the Apadana from the evidence of the tombs’ throne bearers. Of especial interest are the absence of any figure marked “Yauna” and the presence of a figure identified as “Spardiya,” naked but for a cloak (fig. 4.10). More important, as it is more diagnostic, he wears a hat coiled around his head like a turban, just like the hat of Delegation VI

⁴² Prior to this time, some scholars (e.g., Schmidt 1953) judged Delegation VI to be Syrians, which meant that Delegation XII should be Lydians or Ionians. See the useful chart summarizing the different opinions in Walser 1966, 102.

⁴³ Yoyotte 1974; more generally, Perrot et al. 1974.



Figure 4.11. Terracotta figure vessel with Lydian hairstyle and wearing jacket and trousers, “exhibitionist” excavated at Sardis, House of Bronzes sector (Sardis P63.307:5424, P63.308:5425, T61.021:3295). Manisa Archaeological Museum 3389. Photo by Crawford H. Greenwald Jr. © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.

(fig. 4.7).⁴⁴ To the Egyptian designer of the statue, unclad limbs and coiled hat were diacritical for Lydia (perhaps even elided with “Yauna” on the statue).⁴⁵ Incidentally, the only other possible Anatolian on Darius’s statue base is “Skudra.”

The previous year, Crawford Greenewalt, director of the Sardis excavations after George Hanfmann, pointed out that a distinctive trait of the hairstyle of Delegation VI at Persepolis—the braid falling behind the ear—also appears at Sardis on a painted terracotta figure vase of the sixth century BCE (fig. 4.11).⁴⁶ Greenewalt dubbed this evidently ithyphallic piece an “exhibitionist” and wondered what the meaning of the joke is. Indeed, the joke needs to be clarified by its context, which places it clearly before the Persian conquest.⁴⁷ Yet the figure evidently combined the distinctive, presumably Lydian, hairstyle with a sleeved garment and trousers. The deposition date precludes reading the sleeves and trousers as Persian rider dress, so the garb must point to the northeast, to judge from the evidence of Scythian sculpture.⁴⁸ For our purposes, the importance is that for a Lydian, it seems, the braid was diacritical.

As noted above, in other respects Delegations VI and XII share a basic system of

44 Brandenburg (1966) termed this item a “mitra,” derived from Herodotus 7.90. Kurtz and Boardman 1986, fig. 30, shows similar examples from “all over” the Near East: men of Carchemish at Nimrud, Phoenicians at Nimrud, and North Syrian Neo-Hittites and Phrygians at Khorsabad. See discussion in Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 50, which notes Tölle-Kastenbein’s 1977 refutation of the term.

45 Yoyotte 1974.

46 Manisa Museum 4360; Greenewalt 1971. For new photographs, see Dedeoğlu 2003, 41; Lintz 2008, 260. In fact, Schmidt (1953, 85 n. 124) had pointed out the telltale braid on the throne bearer of Xerxes’s tomb, and the argument that Delegation VI is Lydian was already convincingly made by Barnett (1957, 68–69).

47 Personal communication courtesy of Nicholas J. Cahill, current director of excavations at Sardis. Greenewalt discussed the ceramic evidence that pointed clearly to pre-Persian deposition but felt that the figure’s dress necessarily pointed to the Persians and dated the figure accordingly.

48 Important evidence presented by Olchovsky and Evdokimov (1994) includes clear use of a hooded, sleeved garment, perhaps the garment worn by the Sardian figure (see Olchovsky and Evdokimov 1994, 178–79, for an English summary). I am indebted to Gleba 2008 for knowledge of this material.

dress, comprising chiton, himation, and kothurnoi. The fates have not been kind to the Lydians in the preservation of native testimony to their dress. In the case of the Ionians, enough depictions on ceramic and in sculpture survive to show a gap between the Persian projection of the Yauna and East Greek self-representation: emphatically, the Greeks saw their main garment—the chiton—as ankle, not knee, length. The short chiton of the Yauna in Delegation XII presumably had a diacritical function: it made clear the bare legs in contrast both to the trouser-wearing peoples and to the long garb of Delegation V (fig. 4.6, middle row), who are universally accepted as Babylonians owing to the distinctive tassel-like attachment to the hat, seen also on the sixteenth throne bearer. The statues of the “Branchidae” from Didyma wear a long chiton with ample himation overtop (fig. 4.12).⁴⁹ Despite their seated stance, their garb—chiton and himation—is clear. The under-life-sized sculpture of Dionysos in the Louvre, whose inscription and style suggest an origin in Miletos or Samos, is broken about mid-calf, but his chiton seems to have been ankle length (fig. 4.13); he also wears a himation overtop, like Delegation XII (fig. 4.8).⁵⁰ The question of footwear—the distinctive kothurnoi—is challenged by Dionysos’s missing feet and Chares’s bare toes but is amply attested in texts.⁵¹



Figure 4.12. Marble statue of seated Ionian, inscribed as Chares of Teichioussa, 570–460 BCE. London, British Museum 1859.1226.5 (B278). © Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

The situation gets more convoluted in view of the evidence for emulation of Lydian dress on the part of elite Greeks, both East Greeks and mainlanders; the Greeks even had a verb “to Lydianize” (Λυδιζειν). For example, one Athenian black-figured kyathos (a sort of dipper) of about 520 BCE depicts a man wearing what might be taken as either Lydian or East Greek dress (fig. 4.14). In addition to the (inexplicably) short chiton and boots, he wears a “turban.” An unfortunately fragmentary Athenian red-figured calyx krater of about thirty years later (fig. 4.15) shows a group of men garbed in chiton and himation—one of whom certainly wears this turban-like hat, and one of whom wears shoes—in the company of someone bearing a lyre inscribed “of Anakreon,” which presumably alludes

49 London BM 1859.1226.5 (B278), inscribed “Chares of Teichioussa” (a site located east of Miletos), 570–460 BCE. Root (2007, 182 n. 18) also uses “Chares.”

50 Paris, Louvre MA 3600, inscribed “Dionysos son of Antenor,” about 535–520 BCE, height 0.69 m. Devambez and Robert 1966 offers ample illustration.

51 In this context, the anecdote that in the sixth century BCE the Ionian Alkmeon put on his widest kothurnoi when invited by the Lydian Kroisos to help himself to as much gold as he could carry is of especial interest (Hdt. 6.125).



Figure 4.13. Marble statue inscribed as of Dionysos, son of Antenor, about 535–520 BCE (from Miletos or Samos). Paris, Louvre Ma3600. Photo © Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Daniel Lebée/Carine Déambrosio.

to the Ionian lyric poet Anacreon of Teos. Other Athenian imagery pokes at the possibility of regional sartorial distinction between an Athenian and an Ionian, such as a vignette of a symposion on an Athenian red-figure kalpis of about 500 BCE in Kassel, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter.⁵²

In other words, external evidence of Greeks presenting themselves as Lydians or possibly Lydianizing Greeks corroborates in a general sense the presentation of Apadana Delegations VI and XII. The similarities between the two easily explain the limitation to Spardiya among western Anatolian peoples on the Susa statue base. If Delegation VI is securely Lydians, it is reasonable to read Delegation XII as Yauna and tempting to understand Yauna as East Greek. The Persian use of the ethnic collective “Yauna” evidently followed previous Near Eastern practice for the terminology “Ionian/Greek/Hellene.”⁵³ The Athenians were well aware that Yauna was the Old Persian word for “Greek,” to judge most notably from a passage by the comic poet Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 104).

However, reconsideration of the Yauna listed among the throne bearers and inscriptions shows greater complexity than a one-to-one correlation with Ionians. On the tomb of Darius (and Artaxerxes II), as noted above, where the twenty-second

throne bearer is “Spardiya,” the twenty-third and twenty-sixth bearers were both Yauna but one was given the epithet “takabara,” usually interpreted as “petasos-wearing.”⁵⁴ Sancisi-Weerdenburg comments that, ironically, these “petasos-wearing Ionians” are more probably the kausia-wearing Macedonians, who lived even farther away from the Persian

52 Athenian and Ionian symposiasts: Nikoxenos Ptr., about 500 BCE, Athenian kalpis, Kassel ALg57, BAPD 9426. See Kurtz and Boardman 1986, fig. 12; Miller 2013, fig. 7. William Slater first drew this example to my attention.

53 Brinkman 1989; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 323 (citing Helm 1980, 161–66); Rollinger 2006b.

54 Kuhrt 2002, 20–21; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 324–33; Rollinger 2006a, 202–13, and 2006b offer a clear overview; Rollinger 2006a, table 11.1 usefully charts the different formulations (i.e. varied epithets/descriptors) for Yauna in Persian epigraphy.



Figure 4.14. Lyre player wearing Lydian hat, chitoniskos, and boots. Athenian black-figured, white-ground kyathos attributed to Psiax, about 520 BCE. 9.6 cm. Malibu Getty 77.AE.102. © J. Paul Getty Trust.

heartland.⁵⁵ The two kinds of Yauna among the throne bearers have no obvious correlation with the three types of Yauna attested in the royal (trilingual) inscriptions listing the peoples of the empire. Here the distinction seems to be geographic as opposed to sartorial. The three kinds of “Yauna” include “those of the mainland(?)” (DPe 13), “those dwelling by the sea” (of the islands?) (DPe 14, DSe 28), and “those dwelling beyond the sea” (DSe 29, XPh 24–25). In the context of such a plurality of Yauna, just as in the case of the Skudra, it is a reasonable presumption that some, at least, include peoples that Greeks themselves would normally exclude from the Hellenes. In fact, Rollinger has observed that in Babylonian texts before the Persian period, different population groups in western Anatolia could be subsumed under one term such as “Yauna.”⁵⁶

If we now turn the tables and look at how the East Greeks conceived of themselves, we find an essentially centrifugal or more stridently individualist social environment. The Greeks broadly subdivided themselves by linguistic groups and, more narrowly, by city-states. For the attitudes of the Greek-speaking populations along the seaboard of western Anatolia in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, the best source is Herodotus, a Greek speaker who came from the coast of the region of Caria, whose interior had its own regional language. It is Herodotus who articulated a distinction between Aeolians to the north, Ionians along the center, and Dorians to the south (Hdt. 1.142, 1.144, 1.149). His twelve Ionian states (those along the center) are defined as the people who worshipped at the Panionion. Even more significantly, he observes that those twelve Ionian states could be further linguistically subdivided into speakers of three or even four “tongues” (γλώσσαι). Moreover,

55 Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, 329, following, e.g., Walser 1966, 47.

56 Rollinger 2006b, 369.



Figure 4.15. Man wearing Lydian hat, himation, and chiton, with parasol. Athenian red-figured calyx krater fragments attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, about 490 BCE. Copenhagen 13365. © CC-by-SA, National Museum of Denmark.

he observes that there were more Ionians beyond those who worshipped at the Panionion, and there were still other Ionians who “even to this day” refused to be called Ionians (1.143.3). Such rejection of belonging within any larger corporate body is noteworthy. Perhaps these self-dubbed non-Ionians include those Herodotus later mentions, the “Ionian and Dorian colonists” serving in Xerxes’s fleet from the cities of the Hellespont and Bosphorus (7.95.2). It is clear that even Herodotus’s term “Ionians” encompassed an “ethnically and culturally diverse complex,” to use Henkelman and Stolper’s apt phrase.

The rough terrain of western Anatolia encouraged independent development, even as its rivers from the highland to sea encouraged lines of communication between regions. In addition to the many types of Greek among the Anatolians, the Greeks knew of other people: Phrygians, Bithynians, Mysians, Carians,

Pisidians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphilians.⁵⁷ On the Apadana, all this rich Anatolian diversity, in addition to the Skudra, has been distilled down to Spardiya (VI) and Yauna (XII). Perhaps, too, Delegation VIII is Cilician (fig. 4.16), although it has also more recently been read as Syrian and is perhaps an amalgam of the region of southeastern Anatolia.⁵⁸ There are some puzzling patterns of inclusion in the imperial imagery, such as the appearance of the Karka (Carian) on tombs but not the palace, unless we accept Heidemarie Koch’s identification of Delegation XXI as Carian.⁵⁹ The neighboring Lycians appear neither as throne bearers nor as tribute bearers. Yet in contrast to the minimal presence of the Carians in the Persepolis Fortification tablets, the Lycians appear frequently, being second only to Skudrians according to the research of Henkelman and Stolper.⁶⁰ The missing southwestern Anatolians must have been subsumed within Spardiya or Yauna. The lack of a hat on the delegation of the Yauna may reflect an ambition to encompass within it a greater range of peoples.

⁵⁷ See the convenient (if not exhaustive) map in Dusinberre 2013, fig. 21.

⁵⁸ Delegation VIII as Cilicians: Schmidt 1953, 229, and Walser 1966, 81–83; as Syrians: Koch 1992, 105 and fig. 61.

⁵⁹ Koch 1992, 114 and figs. 77, 80.

⁶⁰ Henkelman and Stolper 2009.



Figure 4.16. Delegation VIII (“Cilicians”), Persepolis Apadana, Eastern Stairway. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago (PS 75).

It is interesting to contrast the Persian rhetorical use of dress with that of the Romans, for whom dress also efficiently conveyed wide conquest. The strategy is employed in imperial arts in a range of media. A noteworthy example occurs on the “Great Cameo of France,” where we may point to the group of defeated barbarians at the lowest level. Here, three discrete dress systems are rendered, an amalgamated *barbarentum*. The broad, impressionistic vision of empire divides into northwest (Gallic), central (Hellenic), and eastern (Iranian).⁶¹

The schematic rendering of the extent of the Persian Empire through dress perhaps focused on the peoples of the perimeter—such as Skudra, Yauna Takabara, and Libya in the west—and on highlights of the center.

DRESS AND IDENTITY

Above, a distinction was posited between subjective and objective identity. The first is the more frequently considered; most social and anthropological research on ethnicity stresses its fluid boundaries and the variable range of criteria employed to define an ethnic group (including system of dress) in a sort of “us” and “not us” distinction. In contrast, what I have termed “objective ethnicity” relates to the imposition of an ethnic definition on others; it lacks fluidity and probably subtlety. In an interesting study of the forms of identity recoverable in the archaeology of early Mexico, Elizabeth Brumfiel distinguished between

⁶¹ Gergel 1994; see the succinct overview of the imagery of the cameo (Paris, Bib. Nat., Babelon 264) in Schneider 2012, 109–10.

“ethnic affiliation”—the individual’s own sense of group membership—which could be expressed by retrievable artifacts, and “ethnic attribution,” which in the material record is especially conveyed by often stereotypical representational art in which traits are ascribed to the alien ethnicity.⁶² In this vein, Jennifer Gates-Foster notes the existence of an “Achaemenid Persian policy . . . to project *essentialized ethnic identities* [italics mine] onto the landscape of empire as a way of organizing and controlling their subject peoples.”⁶³

The catalyst for this examination arose from the contradiction that is western Anatolia in the Persian period. On the one hand, the heartland Persian projection of Lydians and, let us say, the Ionians presents fairly accurate versions of traditional regional elegant attire. On the other hand, the evidence we have for life in the west attests to both a local maintenance of the regional old order of things and to selective emulation of the new Persian order. When it comes to dress, a cynic may well describe western adoptions of Persian dress, however selective, as a form of “power dressing.” By donning Persian dress, in life or in art, one associated oneself with the masters of empire.

The imperial insistence on foreign dress systems presents a diacritical distinction between the rulers of empire and the “others”—presented as the content, cooperative, and loyal subjects of empire. The radical “othering” effectively represents a denial of equality. As noted above, Briant brilliantly captured the situation with his formulation that the Persians comprised a dominant “ethno-class” within the broad realm. Subject peoples might dress as Persians, but the Persians would always assert their right to present the heterogeneous peoples in their empire in an imposed order, even though it suppressed the peoples’ real heterogeneity. While the plurality of “others” emphasized wide domain, it articulated, too, the single clarity of the central authority.

For the peoples of the Persian Empire, we may ask to what extent, in an imperial context, the imposition of ethnic boundaries, as visualized through systems of dress and a deliberate conflation of ethnicities, effects a kind of denial or erasure of local ethnic identity. How coercive was the imperial vision in tidily grouping the peoples of the empire into such collectivities as Yauna? While the ostensible message is “How great is the domain of the king,” does it undermine precise local identity to reduce the potential focal points of rebellion?

On the one hand, Ionian self-representation tends to coincide with the Persian definition (dress including chiton, himation, and boots). On the other hand, in an interesting thought experiment on the possible reactions of an Athenian visiting Persepolis, “Reading Persepolis in Greek: Gifts of the Yauna,” Margaret Root once touched on such questions of ethnic clustering in imperial rhetoric: “Our Athenian . . . might bridle at being portrayed as ‘just another Yauna’ or the collective vision might reinforce his fluctuating sense of solidarity with all Yauna. . . .”⁶⁴ The latter point deserves emphasis and consideration of the possibility that rigid Persian systematization of the world at the local level might modify or modulate local historical trajectories and ambitions. A Yauna visiting Persepolis would recognize himself on the frieze, viewed in contrast to all the exotic other modes of dress manifested there.

There is a consensus in modern scholarship that the sense of “Hellenicity” emerged in the context of the Persian Wars and in opposition to the emerging concept of the

62 Brumfiel 1994, 96.

63 Gates-Foster 2014, 179 (she goes on to focus on the other strand—the crafting of a “Persian” ethnicity).

64 Root 2007, 178–79.

non-Greek “barbarian.”⁶⁵ At some point, all Greek-speakers—such as Milesians, Chians, and Thebans—ultimately became “Hellenes” (or Greeks to us). In view of the power structures of Anatolia in the sixth through fourth centuries, it would be worthwhile to consider whether, in fact, not the Greek sense of their being different from “barbaroi” so much as the Persian imperial sense of their similarity to one another created the conditions that allowed the emergence of collective identity. Perhaps not the defeat of Xerxes’s invasion but the fact of incorporation as an ethnic in the Persian Empire launched the strength of the Yauna/Hellene formulation.

In the final analysis, every test offered to the ethnographic accuracy of the Persian renderings of the peoples of their empire through their dress confirms the importance of sartorial precision within Persian visual rhetoric. As Root suggested, peoples from the empire visiting the Apadana might well recognize themselves on the friezes. The othering of the peoples of empire served at once to articulate their distinction from the dominant ethno-class and to prod disparate peoples into geopolitical entities broader than their own sense of ethnicity even while it advertised the great extent of empire.

ABBREVIATIONS

DPe	Inscription of Darius, Persepolis (Kent 1953, 136)
DSe	Inscription of Darius, Susa (Kent 1953, 141–42)
DSf	Inscription of Darius, Susa (Kent 1953, 142–44)
Hdt.	Herodotus
XPh	Inscription of Xerxes, Persepolis (Kent 1953, 150–52)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abka’i-Khavari, Manijeh

- 1988 “Die achämenidischen Metallschellen.” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 21: 91–137.

Álvarez-Mon, Javier

- 2010 “Elite Garments and Head-Dresses of the Late Neo-Elamite Period.” *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 42: 207–35.

Barnett, Richard David

- 1957 “Persepolis.” *Iraq* 19: 55–77.

Bernard, Paul, and Hajime Imagaki

- 2000 “Un torque achéménide avec une inscription grecque au Musée Miho (Japon).” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*: 1371–437.

Boardman, John

- 2000 *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- 2001 *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*. London: Thames & Hudson.

65 E.g., Hall 2002.

Brandenburg, Hugo

- 1966 *Studien sur Mitra: Beiträge zur Waffen- und Trachtgeschichte der Antike*. Münster: Aschendorff.

Briant, Pierre

- 2002 *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns. Originally published as *Histoire de l'Empire perse: De Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).

Brinkman, John A.

- 1989 "The Akkadian Word for 'Ionia' and 'Ionian.'" In *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder*, edited by Robert F. Sutton Jr., 53–71. Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M.

- 1994 "Ethnic Groups and Political Development in Ancient Mexico." In *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, edited by Elizabeth M. Brumfiel and John W. Fox, 89–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Calmeyer, Peter

- 1983 "Zur Rechtfertigung einiger grossköniglicher Inschriften und Darstellungen: Die Yauna." In *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, edited by Heidemarie Koch and D. N. MacKenzie, 153–69. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Suppl.* 10. Berlin: Reimer.
- 1992 "Zwei mit historischen Szenen bemalte Balken der Achaemenidenzeit." *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 43: 7–18.
- 1993 "Die Gefässe auf den Gabenbringer-Reliefs in Persepolis." *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 26: 147–60.

Curtis, John, and Nigel Tallis

- 2005 *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*. London: British Museum Press.

Dedeoğlu, Hasan

- 2003 *The Lydians and Sardis*. Istanbul: A Turizm Yayınları.

Delaporte, Louis

- 1910 *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris: Leroux.

Devambez, Pierre, and Louis Robert

- 1966 "Une nouvelle statue archaïque au Louvre." *Revue archéologique* no. 2: 195–222.

Dietler, Michael

- 1990 "Driven by Drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9: 352–406.

Dusinberre, Elspeth R. M.

- 2013 *Empire, Autonomy and Authority in Achaemenid Anatolia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Emberling, Geoff

- 1997 "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5, no. 4: 295–344.

Furtwängler, Adolf

- 1900 *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*. Vol. 1, *Tafeln in Heliogravure*. Leipzig/Berlin: Gesecke/Devrient.

Garrison, Mark B.

- 2014 "The Royal-Name Seals of Darius I." In *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, edited by Michael Kozuh, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, and Christopher

- Woods, 67–104. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 68. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Gates-Foster, Jennifer
- 2014 “Achaemenids, Royal Power, and Persian Ethnicity.” In *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Jeremy McInerney, 175–93. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Gergel, Richard A.
- 1994 “Costume as Geographic Indicator: Barbarians and Prisoners on Cuirassed Statue Breast-plates.” In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith L. Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 191–209. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gleba, Margarita
- 2008 “You Are What You Wear: Scythian Costume as Identity.” In *Dressing the Past*, edited by Margarita Gleba, 13–28. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Greenewalt, Crawford H., Jr.
- 1971 “An Exhibitionist from Sardis.” In *Studies Presented to George M. A. Hanfmann*, edited by David G. Mitten, John G. Pedley, and Jane A. Scott, 29–46. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Greenewalt, Crawford H., Jr., and Ann M. Heywood
- 1992 “A Helmet of the Sixth Century B.C. from Sardis.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 285: 1–31.
- Gusmani, Roberto, and Gürcan Polat
- 1999 “Manes in Daskyleion.” *Kadmos* 38: 137–62.
- Hall, Jonathan M.
- 2002 *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Harper, Prudence O., Joan Aruz, and François Tallon
- 1992 *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*. New York: Abrams.
- Helm, Peyton
- 1980 “‘Greeks’ in the Neo-Assyrian Levant and ‘Assyria’ in Early Greek Writers.” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Henkelman, Wouter F. M., and Matthew W. Stolper
- 2009 “Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Labelling at Persepolis: The Case of the Skudrians.” In *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l’empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau, 271–329. Persika 14. Paris: de Boccard.
- Jacobs, Bruno
- 2015 “Zur bildlichen Repräsentation iranischer Eliten im achämenidenzeitlichen Kleinasien.” In *Faszination Iran: Beiträge zur Religion, Geschichte und Kunst des Alten Iran—Gedenkschrift für Klaus Schippmann*, edited by Shervin Farridnejad, Rika Gyselen, and Anke Joisten-Pruschke, 101–28. Göttinger Orientforschungen Iranica, Neue Folge 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2017 “Kontinuität oder kontinuierlicher Wandel in der achämenidischen Reichsverwaltung? Eine Synopse von PFT, *dahyāva*-Listen und den Satrapienlisten der Alexanderhistoriographen.” In *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich: Imperiale Muster und Strukturen . . . Akten des 6. Internationalen Kolloquiums Basel 2013*, edited by Bruno Jacobs, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper, 3–44. Classica et Orientalia 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kaptan, Deniz
- 2002 *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*. Achaemenid History 12. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- 2008 “Sketches on the Archaeology of the Achaemenid Empire in Western Turkey.” In *Euergetes: Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by İnci Delemen, Sedef

- Çokay-Kepçe, Aşkın Özdzibay, and Özgür Turak, 653–60. Antalya: Suna and İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- 2010 “Seal Impressions on Clay Tags from Seyitömer Höyük in Phrygia.” In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art, and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, edited by John Curtis and St John Simpson, 361–68. London: Tauris.
- Kent, Roland G.
1953 *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Knauss, Florian S., and Peter Robert Franke
2001 “‘Barbar und Hoplit’: Das Siegel eines lykischen Herrschers?” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 52: 7–16.
- Koch, Heidemarie
1992 *Es kündigt Dareios der König: Vom Leben im persischen Grossreich*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Kuhrt, Amélie
2002 “Greeks” and “Greece” in *Mesopotamian and Persian Perspectives*. J. L. Myres Memorial Lecture 21. Oxford: Leopard’s Head.
2007 *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. London: Routledge.
- Kuniholm, Peter I., Maryanne W. Newton, and Carol B. Griggs
2010 “Dendrochronological Analysis of the Tatarlı Wooden Chamber.” In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü—The Return of Colours*, edited by Lâtife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin, 80–87. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Kurtz, Donna C., and John Boardman
1986 “Booners.” *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3: 35–70.
- Lecoq, Pierre
1990 “Observations sur le sens du mot *dahyu* dans les inscriptions achéménides.” *Transeuphratène* 3: 131–39.
1997 *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Legrain, Leon
1925 *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collection of the Museum*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Lintz, Yannick
2008 “Greek, Anatolian, and Persian Iconography in Asia Minor: Material Sources, Method, and Perspectives.” In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters*, edited by Seyed Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Antigoni Zournatzi, 257–63. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Lurie, Alison
1981 *The Language of Clothes*. New York: Random House.
- Mellink, Machteld J.
1972 “Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1971.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 76: 257–69.
- Merrillees, Parvine H.
2005 *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals*. Vol. 6, *Pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Periods*. London: British Museum Press.
- Miller, Margaret C.
2011 “‘Manners Makyth Man’: Diacritical Drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia.” In *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Erich S. Gruen, 97–134. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust.

- 2013 "Clothes and Identity: The Case of Greeks in Ionia c. 400 bc." In "Culture, Identity and Politics in the Ancient Mediterranean World," edited by Paul J. Burton (special issue), *Antichthon* 47: 18–38.
- Miller, Margaret C., in part with Tonio Hölscher
- 2013 "Wealth and Its Expression in the Persian Empire," in "Wealth and Social Identity, East and West: Between Cultural Anthropology and Political Ideology." In *Aneignung und Abgrenzung: Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von 'Ost' und 'West' in der griechischen Antike*, edited by Nicolas Zenzen, Tonio Hölscher, and Kai Trampedach, 368–88. Oikoumene: Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 10. Heidelberg: Antike Verlag.
- Miller, Stella G.
- 2010 "Two Painted Chamber Tombs of Northern Lycia at Kızılbél and Karaburun." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü—The Return of Colours*, edited by Lâtife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin, 318–29. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Nagel, Alexander
- 2010 "Colors, Gilding and Painted Motifs at Persepolis: Approaching the Polychromy of Achaemenid Persian Architectural Sculpture, c. 530–330." PhD diss., University of Michigan.
- 2013 "Color and Gilding in Achaemenid Architecture and Sculpture." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, edited by Daniel T. Potts, 596–621. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Olchovsky, V. S., and G. L. Evdokimov
- 1994 *Scythian Statues VII–III c. BC (Скифские Изваяния VII–III в.в. до н.э.)*. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Perrot, Jean, Monique Kevran, Daniel Ladiray, Jean Trichet, David Stronach, Michael Roaf, François Vallat, and Jean Yoyotte
- 1974 *Recherches dans le secteur est du tépé de l'Apadana*. Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran 4. Paris: Association Paléorient.
- Potts, Daniel T.
- 2012 "A 'Scythian' Pick from Vaske (Gilan) and the Identity of the XVIIth Delegation at Persepolis." In *Stories of Long Ago: Festschrift für Michael D. Roaf*, edited by Heather D. Baker, Kai Kaniuth, and Adelheid Otto, 459–70. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 397. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Roaf, Michael
- 1974 "The Subject Peoples on the Base of the Statue of Darius." In *Recherches dans le secteur est du tépé de l'Apadana*, by Jean Perrot et al., 73–160. Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran 4. Paris: Association Paléorient.
- Rollinger, Robert
- 2006a "The Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond: The Relations between the Worlds of the 'Greek' and 'Non-Greek' Civilizations." In *A Companion to the Classical Greek World*, edited by Konrad Kinzl, 197–226. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 2006b "Yaunā Takabarā und Maginnāta tragende 'Ionier': Zum Problem der 'griechischen' Thronträger-Figuren in Naqsch-e Rostam und Persepolis." In *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Robert Rollinger and Brigitte Truschnegg, 365–400. Oriens et Occidens 12. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Roosevelt, Christopher H.
- 2009 *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Root, Margaret Cool
- 1979 *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*. Leiden: Brill.

- 2007 "Reading Persepolis in Greek: Gifts of the Yauna." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Persian Empire*, edited by Christopher Tuplin, 177–224. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Heleen
- 2001 "Yauna by the Sea and Yauna across the Sea." In *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, edited by Irad Malkin, 323–46. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schmidt, Erich F.
- 1953 *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Oriental Institute Publications 68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1957 *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Oriental Institute Publications 69. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1970 *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. Oriental Institute Publications 70. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger
- 2000 *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. Part I, *Inscriptions of Ancient Iran*. Vol. 1, *The Old Persian Inscriptions*. Texts 2, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Schneider, Rolf M.
- 2012 "The Making of Oriental Rome: Shaping the Trojan Legend." In *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in European History*, edited by Peter F. Bang and Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, 76–129. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shahbazi, Alireza S.
- 1979 "Costume and Nationality: Remarks on the Usage of the 'Median' and 'Persian' Costumes of the Achaemenid Period." In *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, edited by Wolfram Kleiss, 195. Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Suppl. 6. Berlin: Reimer.
- Stoddart, Simon, and Skylar Neil
- 2014 "Endnote: Situating Ethnicity." In *Landscape, Ethnicity, and Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*, edited by Gabriele Cifani and Simon Stoddart, 287–93. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Stronach, David
- 2011 "Court Dress and Riding Dress at Persepolis: New Approaches to Old Questions." In *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark Garrison, 475–88. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Summerer, Lâtife
- 2007 "Picturing Persian Victory: The Painted Scene on the Munich Wood." In *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus and Iran: New Discoveries*, edited by Askold Ivantchik and Vakhtang Licheli, 3–30. Leiden: Brill.
- 2008 "Imaging a Tomb Chamber: The Iconographic Program of the Tatarlı Wall Paintings." In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters*, edited by Seyed Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Antigoni Zournatzi, 265–99. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- 2010 "Wall Paintings." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü—The Return of Colours*, edited by Latife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin, 120–85. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Szemerényi, Oswald J. L.
- 1980 *Four Old Iranian Ethnic Names: Scythian—Skudra—Sogdian—Saka*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Tilia, Ann Britt

- 1972 "The Bas-Reliefs of Darius in the Treasury of Persepolis and Their Original Position." In *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, by Ann Britt Tilia, 1:173–241. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- 1978 "Colour in Persepolis." In *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*, by Ann Britt Tilia, 2:31–69. Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Tölle-Kastenbein, Renate

- 1977 "Zur Mitra in klassischer Zeit." *Revue archéologique* no. 1: 23–36.

Tuplin, Christopher

- 2010 "All the King's Horses: In Search of Achaemenid Persian Cavalry." In *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, edited by Matthew Trundle and Garrett G. Fagan, 101–82. Leiden: Brill.

Walser, Gerold

- 1966 *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis*. *Tehraner Forschungen* 2. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

Ward, William Hayes

- 1910 *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institute.

Wu, Xin

- 2010 "Enemies of Empire: A Historical Reconstruction of Political Conflicts between Central Asia and the Persian Empire." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, edited by John Curtis and St John Simpson, 545–63. London: Tauris.
- 2014 "O Young Man . . . Make Known of What Kind You Are': Warfare, History, and Elite Ideology of the Achaemenid Persian Empire." *Iranica Antiqua* 49: 209–99.

Yoyotte, Jean

- 1974 "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la statue de Darius à Suse." In *Recherches dans le secteur est du tépé de l'Apadana*, by Jean Perrot et al., 181–83, 213–14. *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 4. Paris: Association Paléorient.

Zazoff, Peter

- 1983 *Die antiken Gemmen*. Munich: Beck.

PART II

DISTINCTIVE, ASSOCIATIVE, AND
TRANSFORMATIVE FUNCTIONS OF DRESS

5

Dress and Undress in the Akkadian Period*

Benjamin R. Foster
Yale University

THE AKKADIAN PERIOD (2300–2100 BCE) stands out in Mesopotamian history as one of dramatic change and achievement—so dramatic that it was remembered, imitated, and elaborated on in later phases of Babylonian and Assyrian civilization for more than 1,500 years. If today Akkadian-period art—especially sculpture in the round, glyptic, and casting—is judged to be the apex of Mesopotamian artistic tradition, many other aspects of this extraordinary time are gradually coming into focus. The horizons of the city-states of Sumer and Akkad were broadened for the first time to include extensive engagements with northern Syria, Anatolia, and the Iranian plateau. These, for their part, stimulated strong cultural responses within Mesopotamia itself to the diverse and unfamiliar material cultures that Akkadian conquerors, administrators, commercial agents, and artists encountered. They observed, appropriated, and depicted what they saw.¹

A new military and administrative elite was formed, dependent on the royal household for preferment, patronage, and material well-being. The source of wealth closest to hand for this elite was the income from tracts of arable land, far larger than needed for mere subsistence, assigned to them by royal and local keepers of cadastral records and cultivated by tenants. As this class grew, so did the need for land, so the royal household and its agents became active purchasers of agricultural land or of use rights on lands not readily alienable, such as temple estates; domain land was further expanded by reclamation and rural development.²

Among the social and economic consequences of this development was the creation of a new “Akkadian” identity, overlaying allegiance to family or community with allegiance to the king and his subordinates.³ A psychological consequence was the assertion of individual identity and self-interest over lineage or community solidarity, a strong sense of competition, and a deep-felt need for display. So it was that elite males in particular used dress and personal adornment, including jewelry and elaborate hairstyles, to draw attention to their status and wealth. Thanks to closely datable monuments and documents that

*My particular thanks go to Karen Polinger Foster for her drawings and photographs used here and to Eva Braun-Holzinger for additional photographs.

1 For surveys of the period, see B. R. Foster 2016; Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015; Schrakamp 2017; Westenholz 1999.

2 B. R. Foster 1982; 2016, 1–2; for the purchase of arable land, see Pomponio 2013; Schrakamp 2017, 94–95.

3 B. R. Foster 2000.

show or refer to items of apparel, for no other period of Mesopotamian history is such a rapid change in clothing styles detectable as in the Akkadian century.⁴ It stands to reason that these styles were, to a large extent, influenced by the Akkadian experience of foreign lands.

I have elsewhere argued that the body-hugging tasseled garment (fig. 5.1) known from the Manishtusu statues was an innovation of the second royal generation, inspired by textiles the Akkadians encountered in southwestern Iran.⁵ I have further suggested that this garment could be identified with a word that appears for the first time on the obelisk of Manishtusu and in a slightly different form on the Sippar stone. Thereafter the word drops out of use, as does the garment itself. It was clearly elite apparel of the age. One may go a step further and suggest that it was court dress, normally worn for ceremonies or appearances at which members of the royal family were present, either in the capital or on periodic progresses through the realm. Modern study suggests that it was not a practical garment in the sense that one could move about freely while wearing it, and the name for it might even be cognate with a word that appears in the Middle Assyrian Laws and could mean something like “straitjacket” because it was worn as punishment. Thus the sovereign’s personal safety may have been enhanced if at large functions those closest to him were so clad—the more so if, as some statues suggest, their feet were bare.⁶



Figure 5.1. Statue of Manishtusu wearing tasseled garment. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo by Karen Polinger Foster.

4 Strommenger 1971; 1980/83; B. R. Foster 2010; in general, see Völling 2008, with focus on the technology of textile production. Different approaches to ancient clothing are exemplified in Brøns and Nosch 2017; Cifarelli and Gawlinski 2017; Cifarelli 2019.

5 B. R. Foster 2010, 127–28, 133–34; 2014. For recent studies of the Manishtusu statues, see Eppihimer 2010; Thomas 2015.

6 According to this suggestion, ^{tug}šu-sè-ga of the Manishtusu obelisk (Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting 1991, no. 40) and ^{tug}za-ga of the Sippar stone (Gelb, Steinkeller, and Whiting 1991, no. 41) are possibly cognate with the *sāgu* of the Middle Assyrian harem edicts (Roth 1997, 206). I am grateful to John Wee for the suggestion that an additional security advantage of this garment would have been the impossibility of concealing a weapon while wearing it. The occurrence of the very restricted and rare word that may refer to this garment on the Sippar stone, which, like the obelisk of Manishtusu, records for posterity a major transaction with land, suggests, first, that the Sippar stone dates to the reign of Manishtusu, and second, that it might have been the basis for the first-millennium forgery known as the “cruciform monument of Manishtusu” (see Sollberger 1967/68; Finkel and Fletcher 2016). It is not known which ruler commissioned the Sippar stone because the top is broken away, but if this monument was better preserved in the Neo-Babylonian period and if it dates to Manishtusu’s reign, it could explain why he was chosen to be the granting king in the forgery.

Within a generation, the tasseled garment gave way to a new elite fashion, the toga garment (fig. 5.2), which we can safely associate with the reign of Naram-Sin and which lingered long thereafter as the apparel of choice for royal images in the late third and early second millennia BCE. This garment was wrapped around the body and secured with a metal pin. More practical than the tasseled garment, it was nonetheless most likely an item of formal apparel rather than everyday wear. Although there is no conclusive evidence, I have suggested that the toga garment was originally at home in northern Syria or Anatolia and became fashionable at some point after Naram-Sin's subjugation of the Hurrian principalities of the upper Euphrates and Tigris and the great walled cities of northern Syria and southern Anatolia.⁷

In addition to styling, fabric was surely a factor. The traditional material for clothing in Mesopotamia was wool, which was readily available in large quantities, in various grades and natural colors, and was spun and woven in specialized industrial workshops as well as in the home. The traditional Mesopotamian fluted garment was undoubtedly made of wool.⁸ Akkadian artists, however, developed extraordinary skill in suggesting very fine cloth so thin that, unlike earlier work, the contours of the body were detectable under the cloth. The obvious identification for this material would be linen, a more valuable textile in more limited use, which can be very finely woven.⁹

Male headgear is poorly known. The emphasis on male hair in both art and literature suggests that variegated hats were not such important markers of status or rank as treatments of the hair and jewelry worn on the head (though see fig. 5.3).¹⁰

Men's footgear, rather to our surprise, is scrupulously represented in art, even glyptic, the most notable innovation being shoes with upturned toes (fig. 5.3), for which various imaginative explanations have been offered.¹¹

The Akkadian period saw an increase in male adornment using jewelry. To judge from statuary, men in this period wore necklaces for the first time (fig. 5.4).¹² Notables invested in office or otherwise honored by the royal house were given both a suit of clothes and a heavy, circular medallion or badge of rank or office hung from a cord or chain around the neck, like the chain worn by French *sommeliers* or the *keten* of Dutch mayors. These items

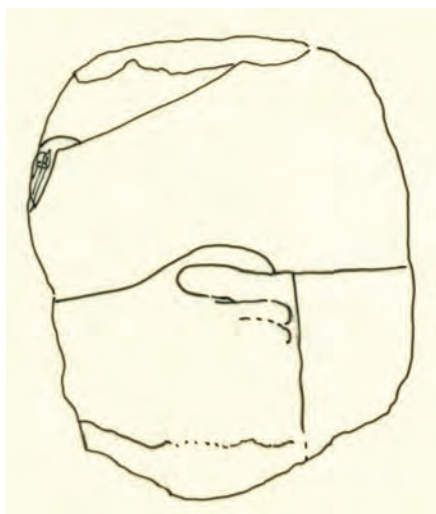


Figure 5.2. Statue of major domo of Naram-Sin wearing toga garment. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Drawing © Karen Polinger Foster.

7 B. R. Foster 2010, 134; 2018.

8 B. R. Foster 2010, 136; 2014; Waetzoldt and Völling 2016/18.

9 Waetzoldt 1980/83.

10 Waetzoldt and Boehmer 1980/83.

11 B. R. Foster 2016, 126, 202.

12 B. R. Foster 2016, 122–23, 128.



Figure 5.3. Seal impression of Kalaki, scribe to the "king's brother."
BM 89137. © Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 5.4. Statue of Akkadian notable from Assur, with tasseled cloak and heavy necklace. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Moortgat 1969, figs. 139 and 140).

are not mentioned among the gifts distributed on the obelisk of Manishtusu, so one may conclude that they denoted exceptionally high rank. Leading beneficiaries of Manishtusu's purchase, however, were issued silver headbands weighing about 166 g each, perhaps to hold in place the elaborate male hairstyle of the time.¹³ Naram-Sin wears a bracelet as well as a necklace (fig. 5.5; see also fig. 5.12 below), and Akkadian-period burials for men and women contain finger and toe rings in silver and gold.¹⁴ Garment pins presented a small field for decoration at the top. To judge from the Manishtusu statues, no jewelry was worn with the tasseled garment, again suggesting this apparel had a strict ceremonial use that precluded body adornment. There is no evidence for tattooing or coloration of the male body with cosmetics.

The Akkadian period also saw the development of elaborate hairstyles for elite men. They wore their hair long and pulled back into a bun behind the head, using hairdressing techniques requiring considerable skill and investment of time to achieve—the work of professionals who belonged to the court service hierarchy (fig. 5.6).¹⁵ They were held in place with a metal band of silver or gold. The distribution of beards is puzzling: men of the royal family wore beards, real or artificial or both, and, in the case of the Nineveh head, wore a distinctive moustache achieved by never having shaved the upper lip.¹⁶ One suspects a regional preference in this case, as only some of the soldiers depicted on the Naram-Sin stela wear beards, as do those on the Lagash victory stela (fig. 5.7) and the Nasiriyyah stela fragments (fig. 5.8).¹⁷ The “king’s brother” on the seal of Kalaki the scribe wears a beard and a hat, as well as a traditional fluted garment presumably of wool, whereas Kalaki and the chair-bearer are clean-shaven and bareheaded and Kalaki wears a more modern fringed garment.



Figure 5.5. Stela of Naram-Sin, from Anatolia. Eski Şark Museum, Istanbul (Zervos 1935, 164).



Figure 5.6. Copper head of Akkadian king, from Nineveh. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (Moortgat 1969, fig. 154).

¹³ B. R. Foster 2010, 136–39.

¹⁴ B. R. Foster 2016, 122.

¹⁵ Mallowan 1936; Börker-Klähn 1972/75; Braun-Holzinger 2007, 83–86.

¹⁶ Mallowan 1936, 107.

¹⁷ Mallowan 1936 discusses possibilities for false additions to real beards.



Figure 5.7. Early Akkadian victory stela, perhaps of Rimush. Musée du Louvre, Paris (Strommenger 1962, fig. 117).



Figure 5.8. Fragment of victory stela showing Akkadian soldier in parade uniform, carrying booty, from Nasiriyyah. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Photo courtesy of Eva Braun-Holzinger.

There was clearly a diversity of styles of dress and adornment dependent on status, occasion, and perhaps region.

As for the apparel and adornment of women, interpretation hangs on the dating of various statues of women and on their identity, such as priestesses, queens, or notables. Statuary of women suggests that their clothing was far less susceptible to changes in fashion than men's, but if the majority of the statues of women depict priestesses, for example, their apparel could well have been dictated by their professional status.¹⁸ The best-attested item of apparel is the fluted dress, as worn, for example, by Naram-Sin's daughter, Tut-tanabshum, in which the subordinate before her wears a fringed or tasseled garment and is evidently barefoot, in keeping with the practice noted above (fig. 5.9). The fluted dress had a long history in Mesopotamia. For women, it was a garment fit for a goddess or a high priestess, so it is usually understood to be sacerdotal wear (fig. 5.10).¹⁹ This interpretation fits well with the depiction of both Sargon and Naram-Sin as wearing fluted garments in the context of a ritual performed after a military triumph (figs. 5.11 and 5.12).²⁰

¹⁸ Suter 2007, 2008.

¹⁹ B. R. Foster 2010, 123–24.

²⁰ Braun-Holzinger (2007, 82–86) classes these garments as military in nature, but they might better be classed with her category "Herrscher vor der Gottheit," as they may have been put on in connection with a ceremony after the battle. On the Susa stela, for example, Sargon is carrying a battle net (B. R. Foster 2016, 195, contra Braun-Holzinger 2007, 89) and is therefore celebrating a victory, as nets were not then used in actual battle.



Figure 5.9. Seal of Aman-Ishtar the musician (Ball 1899, fig. 153).

Elite women wore elaborate, crescent-shaped earrings, sometimes of gold, as well as jeweled brooches, bracelets, and multistranded necklaces (fig. 5.13).²¹ In a vivid description of “power dressing,” Sargon’s daughter, the poet Enheduanna, tells us how the impetuous war-goddess Inanna, eager for permission to punish a mountain land that would not submit to her, dons her finest and climbs, as the evening star, high up to her father’s abode in heaven:

Inanna, daughter of the Moon, put on her
regal garment, hung a ravishing sash
around her neck,
With fearsome, terrifying radiance she
bedizened her brow,
She drew a carnelian necklace with rosettes
around her divine throat,
She made a hero’s gesture with the seven-
lobed mace in her right hand.
She set her foot on the deep blue step.
As night fell, she ascended nobly,
She took her place in the path of the Wondrous Gate.²²



Figure 5.10. Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon, and retinue. Penn Museum, Philadelphia. Image no. 150424, courtesy of the Penn Museum.

If we assume the “regal dress” is the fluted garment, and can imagine a necklace easily enough, we are less certain about the “sash” around the neck, as nothing in the remaining imagery of women readily presents itself as a candidate for this item of apparel. Perhaps

²¹ B. R. Foster 2016, 122; in general, Musche 1992.

²² B. R. Foster 2016, 343.



Figure 5.11. Detail of victory stela of Sargon, from Susa. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo by Karen Polinger Foster.

it was the sash worn by soldiers on parade, as discussed below (see fig. 5.8), though admittedly the most impressive example is the sash of the “priest-king” on the Uruk vase. Inanna is evidently bareheaded. In keeping with the praise of female deities generally, the emphasis in her dress and adornment is on the face and neck rather than the torso, arms, ankles, feet, or hands that can, in other cultures, be focal points of male admiration.²³

It is significant that when notables gave gifts of clothing to members of the royal family, the offerings were for men only—royal women were not so honored. This custom suggests a certain reserve and sense of propriety with respect to elite women, who were furthermore not depicted with the form-revealing garments worn by royal men. Women, so far as we can see from the records, did not normally accompany the king and crown prince on royal progresses through the land.²⁴

The only nude or scantily clad woman in the sculpture of this time is the ivory statuette found in the Akkadian palace at Tell el-Wilayah (fig. 5.14). Whether or not this piece was carved in the Akkadian period, it was certainly found in an Akkadian context. The woman evidently wears a heart-shaped ornament on her breast but nothing else. The excavator, Tariq Madhloom, was puzzled, however, as to how such an ornament could be worn without a string around the neck:

What we see protruding from the body between the breasts might be a heart-shaped pendant or amulet, except that the two lines extending under the breasts lead us to



Figure 5.12. Victory stela of Naram-Sin, from Sippar. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo by Karen Polinger Foster.

²³ B. R. Foster 2011.

²⁴ B. R. Foster 1980, 29–42; 2010, 139.

conclude that they do not represent a cord or string to suspend this pendant, because one would expect that the cord would hang down from the neck, where there is no trace of it on the figurine, so perhaps the intent of the two lines under the breasts was to enhance the profile of the chest and breasts and to make them stand out.²⁵

He also believed, on the basis of traces of a support, that the figurine's hands originally held something.²⁶

The consummate skill of Akkadian casting has left us the most spectacular nude male figure in Mesopotamian art (fig. 5.15). Its awkward pose was surely modeled from life. Comparable naked guardian figures are known from glyptic.²⁷ No textual evidence allows us to understand what the nakedness betokens: one may guess that it



Figure 5.13. Jewelry of the Akkadian period.
Drawing © Karen Polinger Foster.

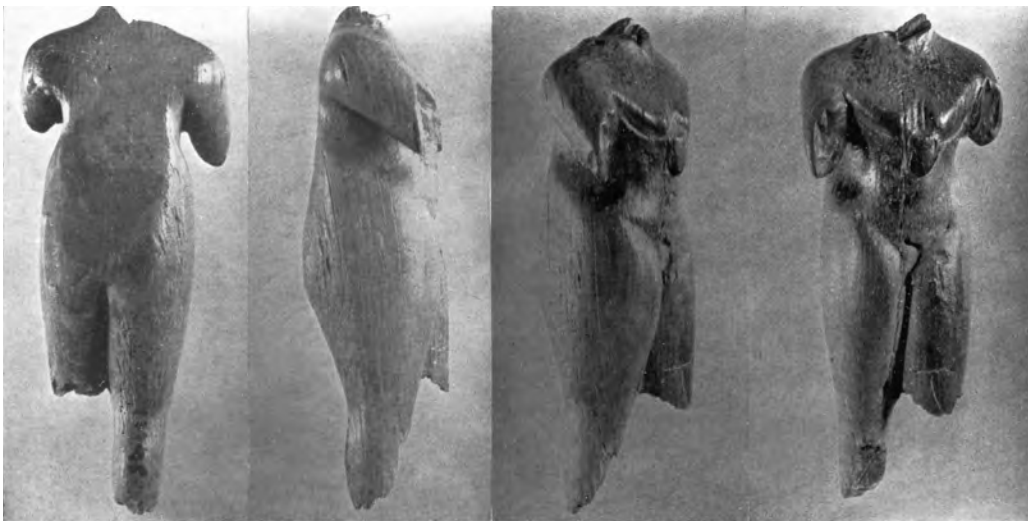


Figure 5.14. Ivory figurine, from Tell el-Wilayah (Madhloom 1960, pl. 7).
Reproduced with permission of Dr. Qais Hassan Rashid, Deputy
Minister of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq.

²⁵ IM 61194; Madhloom 1960, 86.

²⁶ IM 61194; Madhloom 1960, 86.

²⁷ Bahrani 2017, 118.

signifies pristine strength (although this figure is more a slender youth than a massively muscled hero) or an association with water. An ancient tradition of nakedness in the presence of divinity did not survive in the Akkadian period, when human beings making or bearing offerings were depicted fully clothed, as on the plaque of Enheduanna (fig. 5.10).

Although the bare-chested Naram-Sin depicted on the Rosen mold (fig. 5.16) fits well with the new emphasis on the male body found in the sculpture of the Akkadian period, the authenticity of this piece has been challenged by a leading authority on the basis of its content, purpose, style, and manufacture.²⁸

Generally, however, male nudity normally betokened shame, defeat, and death (fig. 5.17), as the following examples suggest. The slain figures on the stela of Naram-Sin are naked in the immediate aftermath of battle, as de Morgan acutely observed, even before rigor mortis had set in.²⁹ Perhaps they were stripped in the field where they fell, or the artist wished to convey their defeat by nudity, as is done with the prisoners being executed on the victory stela from Telloh (fig. 5.7), but unlike the dead on the Stela of the Vultures. Stripping the defeated, parading them naked, and then executing them are sung of by the god of destruction in the much later Erra Epic:

I cut the clothes from the bodies of men, the young man I parade
through the city street,
The young man without clothes I send down to hell.³⁰



Figure 5.15. Copper figure of protective deity, from Mardaman-Bassetki. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (Al-Fouadi 1976, pl. 1). Reproduced with permission of Dr. Qais Hassan Rashid, Deputy Minister of Antiquities and Heritage, Republic of Iraq.

28 Genuine: Hansen 2002; 2003, 206–7; Steinkeller 2017, 158–64. Modern forgery: Braun-Holzinger 2017. Karen Polinger Foster points out to me that the image of Ishtar on the mold has eight rather than the conventional six items emerging from her shoulders and that their forms are aberrant, casting further doubt on its authenticity. For remarks on the emphasis of classical Akkadian art on naturalistic (if idealized) rendering of the male body, see Braun-Holzinger (2007, 96–97), who believes that there was a standard way of representing it, regardless of the man's status; for a different argument—that the royal male body was depicted with special sensuality—see Winter 1996.

29 de Morgan 1900.

30 B. R. Foster 2005, 897. A seminar participant whom I cannot now identify kindly drew my attention to the cutting of the clothes in this passage as a deliberate act of mutilation, rather than just stripping the bodies, and I thank Allison Thomason for a reference in an inscription of the Assyrian king Sennacherib to cutting off items of apparel as war trophies, as often practiced in modern warfare: “I took the gold and polished silver sling straps of their forearms, I cut off their belts with sharp swords, I snatched away the gold and silver belt daggers of their waists” (Grayson and Novotny 2012, 200); see figure 5.8, where the



Figure 5.16. Rosen mold, detail. Photo courtesy of Sidney Babcock, curator and department head, Morgan Library and Museum, New York.



Figure 5.17. Fragment of victory stela showing parade of naked captives, from Nasiriyah. Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Photo courtesy of Eva Braun-Holzinger.

The Akkadian period was further characterized by the development of a professional standing army.³¹ Military uniforms are an arcane subject in every culture, so one is not surprised at the diversity of soldiers' apparel in art of the time. One expects a fundamental distinction between combat and parade uniforms. Naram-Sin's costume on his victory stela, for example, is scarcely suitable for combat, aside from the fact that he is carrying too many weapons, one for each corps of his army.³² The soldiers do not wear the long neck sashes seen on the Nasiriyah stela (fig. 5.8), so one may speculate that they were parade wear. We may also have to reckon with an evolution in military uniform styles no less rapid than that in civilian wear. It seems that soldiers often wore one earring, whereas women wore a pair.³³

My conclusion is a question: Where and when else in the ancient Near East can we detect such a generational change in clothing styles? This change aptly reflects the ferment of the time, during which the ruling class proclaimed an ideology of accomplishing what had never been achieved before—and actually did what they said they had done. On the level of clothing style alone, variations of Naram-Sin's toga garment became normative for centuries afterward in depictions of royalty.³⁴ Clothing and adornment, therefore, give us but two of many indicators as to why this brief period stood out so vividly in Mesopotamian memory.

fancy daggers being paraded may have been taken from defeated commanders. For other Mesopotamian literary references to nakedness and death, see Annus 2016, 86.

31 Schrakamp 2010, 166–68.

32 B. R. Foster 2016, 200; for the distinctive knot in his outer garment, suggesting the whorl of a lion, see K. P. Foster 2019, 615–16; 2021, 117–19.

33 B. R. Foster 2016, 122.

34 Strommenger 1980/83, 32: "Erstmals unter Naram-Su'en von Akkade belegtes Obergewand. . . Die Einführung des 'Togagewandes' steht im Rahmen des bemerkenswertesten Modewandels im Alten Orient"; Eppihimer 2019, 113–40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Fouadi, Abdul-Hadi

- 1976 "Bassetki Statue with an Old Akkadian Royal Inscription of Narām-Sin of Agade (b.c. 2291–2255)." *Sumer* 32: 63–75.

Annus, Amar

- 2016 *The Overturned Boat: Intertextuality of the Adapa Myth and Exorcist Literature*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 24. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Bahrani, Zainab

- 2017 *Mesopotamia: Ancient Art and Architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Ball, C. J.

- 1899 *Light from the East*. London: Ayre & Spottiswoode.

Börker-Klähn, Jutte

- 1972/75 "Haartrachten. Archäologisch." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 4:1–12. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Braun-Holzinger, Eva

- 2007 *Das Herrscherbild in Mesopotamien und Elam: Spätes 4. bis frühes 2. Jt. v. Chr.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 342. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- 2017 "Naramsin und Ištar sitzen sich gegenüber: Darstellung auf einer Steinform unklarer Nutzung." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 107: 125–39.

Brøns, Cecilie, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.

- 2017 *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Cifarelli, Megan, ed.

- 2019 *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Cifarelli, Megan, and Laura Gawlinski, eds.

- 2017 *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

de Morgan, Jacques

- 1900 "Stèle triomphale de Naram-Sin." In *Mémoires de la délégation en Perse*, edited by Jean-Vincent Scheil, 2:144–58. Paris: Leroux.

Eppihimer, Melissa

- 2010 "Assembling King and State: The Statues of Manishtushu and the Consolidation of Akkadian Kingship." *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 365–80.
- 2019 *Exemplars of Kingship: Art, Tradition, and the Legacy of the Akkadians*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Finkel, Irving, and Alexandra Fletcher

- 2016 "Thinking Outside the Box: The Case of the Sun-God Tablet and the Cruciform Monument." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 375: 215–48.

Foster, Benjamin R.

- 1980 "Notes on Sargonic Royal Progress." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 12: 29–42.
- 1982 *Administration and Use of Institutional Land in Sargonic Sumer*. Mesopotamia 9. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

- 2000 "The Forty-Nine Sons of Agade." In *Studi del Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, edited by S. Graziani, 309–18. Series Minor 61. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici.
- 2005 *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. 3rd ed. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- 2010 "Clothing in Sargonic Mesopotamia: Visual and Written Evidence." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch, 110–45. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2011 "The Person in Mesopotamian Thought." In *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson, 117–39. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2014 "Wool in the Economy of Sargonic Mesopotamia." In *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean: From the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textile Industry*, edited by C. Breniquet and C. Michel, 115–23. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2016 *The Age of Agade: Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia*. London: Routledge.
- 2018 "The Akkadian Adventure in Syria." In *Ebla and Beyond: Proceedings of the Congress Held in Rome, 15th–17th December 2014*, edited by Paolo Matthiae, Frances Pinnock, and Marta D'Andrea, 209–20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Foster, Karen Polinger
- 2019 "Two New Aegean Memories and Metaphors: Athena as a Swallow, Heracles as a Lion." In *Mneme: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 17th International Aegean Conference, University of Udine, Department of Humanities and Cultural Heritage, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Department of Humanities, 17–21 April 2018*, edited by Elisabeth Borgna, Ilaria Caloi, Filippa-Maria Carinaci, and Robert Laffineur, 609–19. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2021 "Lions and Science and Whorls, Oh My!" In *The Ancient Egyptians and the Natural World: Flora, Fauna, and Science*, edited by Salima Ikram, Jessica Kaiser, and Stéphanie Porcier, 113–22. Leiden: Sidestone.
- Gelb, Ignace J., Piotr Steinkeller, and Robert M. Whiting Jr.
- 1991 *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East: Ancient Kudurrus*. Oriental Institute Publications 104. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Grayson, A. Kirk, and Jamie Novotny
- 2012 *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1*. Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hansen, Donald
- 2002 "Through the Love of Ishtar." In *Of Pots and Plans: Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Lamia Al-Gailani Werr, John Curtis, Harriet Martin, Augusta McMahon, Joan Oates, and Julian Reade, 91–112. London: NABU Publications.
- 2003 "Art of the Akkadian Dynasty." In *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus*, edited by J. Aruz and R. Wallenfels, 189–98. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Madhloom, Tariq
- 1960 "Hafriyyātu Tall al-Wilāyah fi liwā'i al-Kūt." *Sumer* 16 (Arabic portion): 62–92.
- Mallowan, Max
- 1936 "The Bronze Head of the Akkadian Period from Nineveh." *Iraq* 3: 104–10.
- Moortgat, Anton
- 1969 *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Translated by Judith Filson. London: Phaidon.

200 BENJAMIN R. FOSTER

Musche, Brigitte

- 1992 *Vorderasiatischer Schmuck von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Achämeniden*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/2B/7. Leiden: Brill.

Pomponio, Franco

- 2013 "Some Scraps of Evidence and Discussion about the Economy of Third Millennium Babylonia." In *L'economia dell'antica Mesopotamia (III-I millennio a.C.): Per un dialogo interdisciplinare*, edited by Franco D'Agostino, 23–39. Rome: Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali, Università di Roma.

Roth, Martha

- 1997 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 2nd ed. SBL Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Sallaberger, Walther, and Ingo Schrakamp

- 2015 "Sargonic Rule in Mesopotamia." In *Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean*, vol. 3, *History and Philology*, edited by Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp, 105–12. Turnhout: Brepols.

Schrakamp, Ingo

- 2010 "Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien: Organisation und Bewaffnung des Militärs in frühdynastischen und sargonischer Zeit." PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg.
- 2017 "Ressourcen und Herrschaft: Ressourcekulturen im Reich von Akkade (2300–2181 v. Chr.)." In *Resource Cultures: Sociocultural Dynamics and the Use of Resources—Theories, Methods, Perspectives*, edited by Anke K. Scholz, Martin Bartelheim, Roland Hardenberg, and Jörn Staecker, 81–131. Ressourcekulturen 5. Tübingen: Tübingen University Press.

Sollberger, Edmond

- 1967/68 "The Cruciform Monument." *Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch Egyptisch Genootschap* 20: 50–70.

Steinkeller, Piotr

- 2017 *History, Texts and Art in Early Babylonia*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 15. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Strommenger, Eva

- 1962 *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*. Munich: Hirmer.
- 1971 "Mesopotamische Gewandtypen von der frühsumerischen bis zur Larsa-Zeit." *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 2: 37–55.
- 1980/83 "Kleidung: B. Archaeologisch." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6:31–38. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Suter, Claudia

- 2007 "Between Human and Divine: High Priestesses in Images from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa Period." In *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*, edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman, 315–60. Leiden: Brill.
- 2008 "Who Are the Women in Mesopotamian Art from ca. 2334–1763 BCE?" *Kaskal* 5: 1–55.

Thomas, Ariane

- 2015 "The Akkadian Royal Image: On a Seated Statue of Manishtushu." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 105: 86–117.

Völling, Elisabeth

- 2008 *Textiltechnik im alten Orient: Rohstoffe und Herstellung*. Würzburg: Ergon.

Waetzoldt, Hartmut

- 1980/83 "Leinen." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6:583–94. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Waetzoldt, Hartmut, and Rainer Michael Boehmer

- 1980/83 "Kopfbedeckung." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 6:197–210. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Waetzoldt, Hartmut, and Elisabeth Völling

2016/18 "Wolle." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 15:127–31. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Westenholz, Aage

1999 "The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture." In *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, edited by Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler, 17–117. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 160/3. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Winter, Irene

1996 "Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by Natalie Boymel Kampen, 11–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zervos, Christian

1935 *L'art de la Mésopotamie*. Paris: Cahiers d'Art.

6

The So-Called Persian Costume in Late Period Egypt Revisited*

Aleksandra Hallmann
Polish Academy of Sciences

DRESS PLAYS A KEY ROLE in projecting various identities by serving as a means of nonverbal communication.¹ It builds a socially meaningful appearance that is understood within a given group or society.² In addition, dress has an important role in human social interactions by serving as a code of belonging to a certain group and a means of distinguishing the self from the other. The attitude that an individual or a culture displays toward a foreign fashion reflects the type of contact with the foreigner(s) and the political situation in which the interaction takes place. Thus the conscious choice of dress can show not only conformity but also resistance to a foreign culture. An individual might also take the middle ground and negotiate his or her identity by pairing local with foreign clothing or be sartorially bicultural and wear two kinds of dress on different occasions.³ Finally, these choices can be made unconsciously after the wearer has been exposed to a foreign fashion for an extended period.

From a methodological point of view, dress as an analytical criterion can easily be misleading if studied with the wrong assumptions and without a detailed analysis of the clothing item itself. The challenges lie in the cultural background of the interpreter, the distance in time from the analyzed material, and the fragmentary state of preservation of ancient sources (whether artifact, art, or text). Such presumptions are prevalent in the study of dress represented in Late Period Egyptian art, where change and innovation are often explained as “foreign influence” and attributed to contacts with the first-millennium BCE Mediterranean world.

The so-called Persian costume is an example of this type of challenge: the purely modern name associates this style of dress with the influence of the Achaemenid dynasty on Egyptian society and culture when the Persians ruled Egypt from 525 to 404 BCE. The Persian costume recognized in Egyptian visual sources consists of two components: a high-waisted kilt secured by means of tying, represented as a protruding roll and an

*I warmly thank Tytus Mikołajczak for inspiring discussions about the ideas in this essay, for providing insightful feedback, and for preparing drawings included here.

1 Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992, 1; Lee 2015, 23.

2 Stig Sørensen 1997, 94–95.

3 See Miller, chapter 4 in this volume.



Figure 6.1. Statue of Ptahhotep. Brooklyn Museum 37.353. Photos courtesy of Brooklyn Museum.

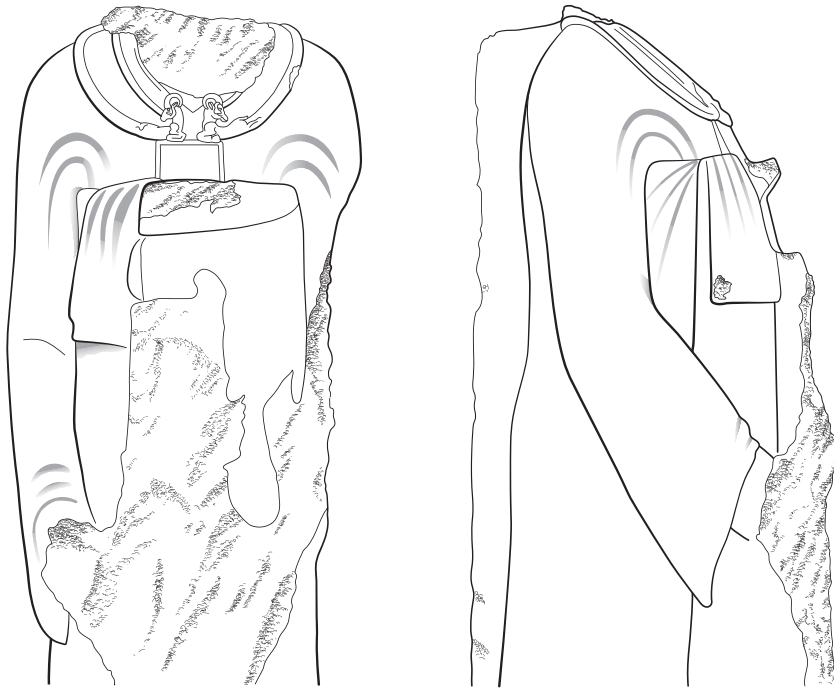


Figure 6.2. Statue of Ptahhotep. Brooklyn Museum 37.353.
Drawing by Tytus Mikolajczak.

overhang, and a long-sleeved tunic that has also been called a “Persian jacket.” This identification was originally based on the statue of Ptahhotep (Brooklyn Museum 37.353), who was active during the reign of Darius I (522–486 BCE) (figs. 6.1 and 6.2).⁴ The interpretation of Ptahhotep’s dress as an invention of the Persian period resulted in its becoming a marker to date other objects almost automatically to the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty (525–404 BCE). Since a costume of this type is depicted on several Egyptian monuments, this assumption raises numerous significant questions but may also lead to far-reaching conclusions. Much weight can be ascribed to the dress’s nonverbal meaning in human social interactions in this new political climate. For example, it can lead to the assumption that wearers of this specific outfit show conformity toward the new political situation, which in the case of Ptahhotep led John Cooney to call him a “collaborator”:

The Pro-Persian sympathies of Ptah-hotep, so evident in his clothing and ornaments, are reminders that even in antiquity conquerors who failed to win over their subject population could count on the support of a few opportunists, men who would serve their country’s enemies for their own interests. For there can be little doubt that Ptah-hotep was a collaborator, with all the implications which our century has annexed to this staid old word.⁵

⁴ Cooney 1953. For more photos see <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3431> (accessed November 12, 2022).

⁵ Cooney 1953, 14.

One can argue against the obvious anachronism of imposing modern-day views on the history of ancient Egypt, in this case colored by the recent (from Cooney's point of view) events of World War II. Worse yet, defaming the character of a historical figure based only on his attire seems far-fetched. The present study offers a different point of view by arguing for a native Egyptian origin of the so-called Persian costume. I reached this conclusion after conducting a detailed and nuanced study of the development of ancient Egyptian attire based on figurative art in conjunction with textile remains⁶—a conclusion that opens a new trajectory for interpreting representations of Egyptians in art during the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty and their expressed identity.

THE “PERSIAN COSTUME”: COINING THE TERM

As previously stated, the genesis of the term “Persian costume” dates back to the 1950s. John Cooney was the first to interpret the Late Period tunic as a “Persian jacket.”⁷ As noted above, he based his observation on the statue of Ptahhotep (Brooklyn Museum 37.353; fig. 6.1), who was active during the reign of Darius I and who held, among other titles, that of overseer of the treasury (*imj-rꜥ pr-ḥd*).⁸ It seems the date of the object, as well as the Persian jewelry (i.e., torque) that Ptahhotep wears, led Cooney to that way of thinking. It is noteworthy that Cooney recognized Persian influence only in the tunic, as he considered the high-waisted kilt to be an indigenous Egyptian garment. He also noted other examples of this type of garment, the most prominent being the famous statue of Udjahorresnet (*Wdꜥ-ḥr-rsnt*) (Vatican 196; see below).

Cooney paid significant attention to sleeves; he considered sleeves that flare directly from the shoulder to be Egyptian, whereas sleeves that flare below the elbow to be of Persian origin.⁹ Here, however, another interpretation is offered—namely, that the tunic's sleeves are “false” sleeves formed from the fabric of the tunic's shoulder extending down the arm, their volume depending on the looseness (bagginess) of the tunic itself. Thus the baggier the tunic, the longer the sleeves. The sleeves appear differently when depicted with a regular-waisted kilt versus a high-waisted one (compare, e.g., fig. 6.5 below with fig. 6.1). Because of the differences in the fabric's arrangement, the false sleeves of the tunic when tied at the breast look much longer and narrower than the sleeves of a tunic when tied at the waist.

Cooney must have been convinced about the Persian origin of the Late Period tunic, because he also suggested Persian influence for the statues of figures dressed in a tunic only. His observations were based on two monuments currently in the Walters Art

6 I undertook this comprehensive study of Late Period Egyptian dress, which traces the history of the development of each item of clothing, in my doctoral dissertation, now published (Hallmann 2023a, 2024b).

7 Cooney 1953, 7–9.

8 See n. 4 above (Ptahhotep).

9 It should be stressed that Cooney himself was not completely convinced about his Persian identification of long, fitted sleeves. He mentioned in the same article that “the Egyptian version does not exactly follow its Persian model. . . . The principal, perhaps the sole, difference, is in the sleeves, which instead of being cape-like are fitted to the elbow from where they flare down to rounded hems” (Cooney 1953, 10).

Museum in Baltimore: a statue (22.208) and a relief (22.84).¹⁰ Curiously, he described their costume as “the one-piece coat, almost identical with the present-day gallabiya.”¹¹

Cooney’s line of thinking about Persian influence on Ptahhotep’s dress was accepted in the scholarly literature. Bernard Bothmer, the great promoter of Persian influence on Egyptian art, used Cooney’s term “Persian jacket.”¹² Bothmer considered the high-waisted kilt with protruding roll and overhang, for which he used the broad term “wraparound garment,” separately. He wrote about two other statues represented with a high-waisted kilt and dated to the late Twenty-Sixth Dynasty on the basis of cartouches—one in the Louvre (A 93), the other in the Penn Museum (42-9-1)¹³—but still insisted on a Persian-period date for this garment.¹⁴ Since most Egyptologists would agree that Bothmer’s scholarship was incredibly influential for all studies on Late Period art and archaeology, it was plausibly his work that provided the impetus for the idea of the “Persian jacket” (or “costume”) in the scholarly literature, and hence the popularity of this term. Indeed, most authors who refer to the term in question cite Bothmer.¹⁵

Since those influential publications, most scholars have had to address the issue of the Persian jacket or costume. For example, another statue of this type (Cairo TR 27/11/58/8), dated to the thirty-ninth year of Amasis, was identified by Edda Bresciani, who published it in 1967.¹⁶ It shows a kneeling man named Sematawytaefnakht (*Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht*) with a naos containing a figure of Neith. He wears a high-waisted kilt and a tunic with sleeves, which in this case end above the elbow. Although Bresciani acknowledged that this attire has been called the “Persian costume” (“*abito persiano*”) in the secondary literature,¹⁷ it is not entirely clear whether she was referring only to Cooney’s “Persian jacket” or to both the tunic and the high-waisted kilt together. Since the statue of Sematawytaefnakht was created before the Persian occupation, she observed that the term “Persian costume” needs to be reconsidered and suggested that the clothing perhaps represents Assyrian influence instead of Persian. This suggestion introduces an entirely new topic, and this essay is not the place for such considerations. It is enough to note that Assyrian art depicts a variety of

10 For photos, see, respectively, Steindorff 1947, pl. LVI and pls. XXV, CXIII. Alternatively, they can be viewed on the Walters Art Museum website: <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/12778/standing-man-4/>, <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/25330/relief-fragment-of-three-men-facing-right/>.

11 Cooney 1953, 10 n. 4. Cooney also claimed that the arrangement of the man’s hands on the Baltimore relief is of Persian origin, and this idea was followed also by Bothmer. For a summary discussion of the “Persian gesture” and its Egyptian origin, see Rantz 1989.

12 Bothmer 1960, 76–77.

13 For photos of both statues, see, respectively, Bassir 2014, 78–84, pls. 31–34 (or <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010010176>) and Silverman 1997, 46, fig. 45 (or <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/55845>).

14 Bothmer (1960, 76) explained this phenomenon by saying that “it was still permissible to mention the names of Saite kings in statue inscriptions.”

15 It is noteworthy that Bothmer’s observations are often taken for granted. While he was purposefully cautious in his opinions, he was aware of the great variety and complexity of Egyptian statuary during the Late Period and, in turn, open to various interpretations. This seems to be the case here as well.

16 Bresciani 1967, pls. I–V.

17 Bresciani 1967, 273, 279.

courtly attire, some of which indeed includes tunics.¹⁸ However, tunics were common in all cultures of the ancient Near East long before the Persians and Assyrians dominated Egypt (see below), so there is no need to search for a foreign influence for this type of garment.

Yet another example was published by Jacques Vandier—namely, the statue of Hekataefankh (*Hk3-t3.f-ꜥnh*) (Louvre E. 25499).¹⁹ The attire it depicts is nearly identical to that of Sematawytaefnakht. Vandier also seems to rely heavily on Bothmer; although Vandier stops short of calling Hekataefankh's attire "Persian," he states that "ce n'est certainement pas un costume égyptien." Therefore, Vandier dates the statue to the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty too.

Subsequent scholars started to question Cooney's and Bothmer's ideas. In her dissertation on tomb reliefs from Lower Egypt, Lisa Montagno-Leahy refers to the Persian costume in her discussion of a high-waisted kilt. Although she seems to indicate that Bothmer also considered this garment to be a version of the Persian costume,²⁰ Bothmer never stated that the high-waisted kilt, which he called a "wraparound garment," was of Persian origin; specifically, he said that "its origin is as yet unexplained."²¹ Yet Montagno-Leahy's discussion is indicative of how scholars were influenced by and expanded on Bothmer's ideas. Nevertheless, she rightly believes that the high-waisted kilt was an indigenous Egyptian garment. More recently, Günter Vittmann questioned the Persian origins of Ptahhotep's garments; although he once called them a "persische Mantel," possibly a reference to Cooney's "Persian jacket,"²² he later noted that the so-called Persian costume is not a reliable marker for dating a sculpture to the Persian domination of Egypt.²³

A significant portion of the scholarly discussion devoted to the Persian costume revolves around the statue of an important dignitary from the reign of Darius I—namely, Udjahorresnet (Vatican 196).²⁴ According to Elspeth Dusinberre, "Udjahorresnet wears a Persian robe,"²⁵ and she considered this statue an example of a "sartorial koine" phenomenon that she observed in Sardis during the Achaemenid period. It is not entirely clear what her basis was for calling Udjahorresnet's attire a "Persian robe."²⁶ However, in her chapter on jewelry appliqués found in Sardis burials, Dusinberre writes: "that a sartorial

18 On Assyrian clothing, see Thomason, chapter 11 in this volume, and, most recently, a widely quoted paper by Gansell 2018.

19 Vandier 1964.

20 Montagno-Leahy 1988, 231.

21 Bothmer 1960, 76.

22 Vittmann 2003, 131.

23 Vittmann 2009, 96–98.

24 Udjahorresnet (*Wd3-ḥr-rsnt*) was already a high-ranking official during the reigns of the last two kings of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, Amasis and Psamtek III, and he maintained his position during the reign of two Persians kings, Cambyses and Darius I. His position is also reflected by the large size of his shaft tomb in Abusir, excavated by the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University. Udjahorresnet and his famous statue in the Vatican have been widely discussed in the literature—see, e.g., Botti, Romanelli, and Pietrangeli 1951, no. 40, pl. XXVII; Baines 1996; Vittmann 2003, 122–25, pl. 15; Wasmuth 2020. For the recent state of knowledge about Udjahorresnet, see Wasmuth and Pearce 2020.

25 Dusinberre 2003, 86.

26 In Dusinberre's references to the statue of Udjahorresnet, only one of the publications she cites, Bresciani 1985, mentions an *abito persiano*. Bresciani (1985, 4), however, uses this term only in quotation marks (suggesting only a conventional name, not a literal meaning) and sends the reader to her earlier

koine existed amongst the Achaemenid elite is suggested by the statue of the Egyptian Udjahorresnet [. . .], who wears Persian-style jewelry; the clothing appliqué from Sardis underscore this similarity of dressing style.”²⁷ Dusinberre does not, however, seem to provide any other evidence for the existence of the “sartorial koine” than the Sardis appliqué and the statue of Udjahorresnet. Therefore, if it existed, it was not a common occurrence during the Achaemenid period.

Margaret Miller presents a much more convincing example of a similar phenomenon, which she calls “sartorial biculturalism.” According to Miller, Anatolians “could wear their regional dress for some activities and Persian dress for others.”²⁸ Her evidence is based on Anatolian stelae and tomb paintings. There is a difference, however, between Miller’s “biculturalism,” which implies a mingling and coexisting of two distinct cultures, and Dusinberre’s “koine,” which implies common clothing patterns for the entire Achaemenid Empire. Also, Miller’s examples lack a regional dress influenced or inspired by Persian dress (as is usually implied for the statue of Udjahorresnet; see also below)—in her examples, Anatolians wear either Persian or local attire. The only reason one could perhaps apply Miller’s term “biculturalism” to Ptahhotep or Udjahorresnet is their clearly Persian jewelry (torque and bracelets, respectively). However, if they acquired these items as gifts from the king or another Persian high official (see below) and therefore felt compelled to wear or display the jewelry, the biculturalism can hardly be voluntary, like that, seemingly, in the case of the Anatolians. Nothing here, however, suggests any “sartorial koine” common for the Achaemenid Empire or its parts.

Also in the context of Achaemenid studies, John Curtis described the statue of Ptahhotep as “the Egyptian statue in Persian costume.”²⁹ Similarly to Dusinberre, Curtis does not explain what his source was for describing Ptahhotep’s costume as such.³⁰ Likewise, the Brooklyn Museum labeled the statue “Statue of Ptahhotep in a ‘Persian’ costume,” despite the statement in the accompanying description that a high-waisted kilt was already known at least by the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.³¹ Possibly following this description and Cooney’s paper, the Brooklyn Museum’s website also presents the statue as depicting the Persian costume, a dress interpreted as a token of Ptahhotep’s loyalty toward the Persian king.³²

Recently, Henry Colburn devoted a lengthy discussion to the combination of a tunic and a high-waisted kilt, which he calls a “Persian garment” (and for which he suggests a new term, “Persianising garment”).³³ He acknowledges that this attire was attested before the Persian period; nevertheless, he writes that “this combination of clothing became

article (Bresciani 1967) and to Bothmer for details. As already mentioned, Bresciani 1967 contests the term (see above).

27 Dusinberre 2003, 148–49.

28 Miller 2013, 18, 33–34; and chapter 4 in this volume.

29 Curtis 2005, 134; also as “Persian dress” on p. 132. Curtis uses the term “Persian costume/dress” without any qualifiers and, confusingly, uses the same term for the actual Persian court robe.

30 In his note he refers only to a photograph of the statue of Ptahhotep.

31 Fazzini, Romano, and Cody 1999, 128, no. 77.

32 See <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3431> (accessed November 12, 2022).

33 Colburn 2020a, 140–43.

especially prevalent during the period of Achaemenid rule, most likely on account of the resemblance it bore to the Persian court robe.”³⁴ Repeating some of the same arguments in a paper on the statue of Udjahorresnet, he proposes that the costume “evokes the court robe” and, together with jewelry, is a means of constructing Udjahorresnet’s “Persian identity.”³⁵

Melanie Wasmuth seems to share a similar opinion.³⁶ She describes the “voluminous gathers” of the statue of Udjahorresnet as “a homage to Persian-style garments” (or Near Eastern influence) while stating that “the garment type itself is certainly not ‘Persian’ in either structure or appearance” (though she specifically disagrees with the similar view of Colburn described above).³⁷

It is obvious, then, that there is no common agreement in the scholarly literature about the “Persian costume” either regarding terminology (“Persian costume,” “Persian jacket,” “Persian garment,” etc.) or its meaning (Cooney’s and Bothmer’s initial writings being only about a tunic, with many scholars later referring to the entire ensemble depicted on the statues of Ptahhotep and Udjahorresnet). Nevertheless, we see that scholars are now gradually moving away from the idea that Egyptians are using an actual “Persian” garment or a garment “inspired” by the Persian court robe. Instead, they suggest either purposeful similarity or homage to the Persian attire. As shown by Miller and other scholars (including Ursula Rothe in this volume), in antiquity we usually see the outright use of foreign/nonnative garments, as well as a mixing of local/regional garments with foreign attire and/or jewelry, but very rarely, if at all, do we see local garments “inspired” by or “paying homage” to nonnative ones. Therefore, it seems that scholars have tended to see influence (or homage) where there is none, and the entire concept of the “Persian costume,” regardless of the theory explaining it, is forced and unnecessary.

THE ANATOMY OF THE “PERSIAN COSTUME”

Let us look briefly at the two components of the so-called Persian costume, the tunic and the high-waisted kilt, from the perspective of ancient Egyptian visual and archaeological evidence.³⁸

TUNIC

The Egyptian wardrobe consisted of two basic kinds of garments: cut-to-shape or tailored garments and wraparound or untailored garments. The tunic belongs to the first group.³⁹ It was made from a piece of fabric that was folded over and sewn up the sides, with an armhole left at the top of each side. An opening was cut out for the head to pass through,

³⁴ Colburn 2020a, 143.

³⁵ Colburn 2020b, 65, 69.

³⁶ Wasmuth 2017a, 246; 2020, 200, 218 n. 23.

³⁷ Wasmuth 2020, 200.

³⁸ For a comprehensive study on the Late Period high-waisted kilt and tunic, together with their historical development, see Hallmann 2023a, 180–225, 304–36. Some of the observations in this essay are taken from that book and repeated here for convenience.

³⁹ Egyptian clothing was studied in depth by Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993). For a more recent overview of Egyptian fashion, see Hallmann 2018.

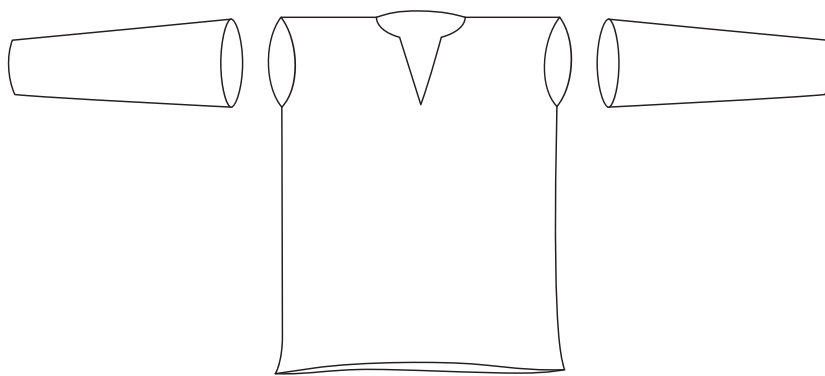


Figure 6.3. Construction of a tunic with separate sleeves. Drawing by Tytus Mikołajczak.

and a slit was cut down the front of the tunic; two small strings often attached at the top of the slit allowed the neck opening to be tied.⁴⁰ The tunic is one of the few Egyptian garments that can be studied not only from visual sources but also from archaeological evidence.⁴¹ Comparative study reveals that the tunic was a sleeveless garment to which separate sleeves were attached when required (fig. 6.3).⁴²

That the sleeveless character of the pharaonic tunic is not widely recognized has led to some misinterpretations of tunics as represented in iconographic sources.⁴³ The important issue is the visual distinction between separately made sleeves and the “false” sleeves represented in Egyptian art. Separately made sleeves are stitched to the tunic, whereas false sleeves are parts of the tunic itself that fall loosely on the shoulders and cover at least the upper arms. The latter give only the visual impression of sleeves, when in fact they are merely draped from the upper part of the tunic, and these are the sleeves most commonly represented in Egyptian art.

The tunic is first attested by iconographic and physical evidence in the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁴ Thereafter, the tunic never went out of fashion, and its popularity increased from

40 The construction of the Egyptian tunic is discussed, e.g., by Hall (2001, 33) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (1993, 130–54).

41 Tunics were part of funerary assemblages but also found among mummy wrappings. One of the most famous examples of tunics deposited among funerary goods is a group of seventeen tunics discovered in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the architect Kha in Deir el-Medina (TT 8) (see Schiaparelli 2007, 93). Eight tunics were found among the mummy wrappings of the chantress of Amun Djedmutesankh; they were discovered in the Second Cache at Deir el-Bahari (see Aston 2009, 166). There are a few Late Period tunics with a warp fringe that seems to be a characteristic trait of the examples from that time. Very well preserved examples were found with the Late Period mummy of Dimutshepenankh and are in the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen (Inv. 1038) (Rand Nielsen 1998; Hallmann 2023b, 1190–91, figs. 4-7-94a–c, d–f).

42 Separate sleeves are archaeologically attested, having been found, e.g., in Gurob, currently in the Petrie Museum (UC 8980A and B). For a photo, see Hall 2001, 33, fig. 22. A tunic with only one sleeve attached was found among ex-votos for Hathor in Deir el-Bahari and is currently stored in the British Museum (EA 43071); for a photo, see Pinch 1993, pl. 20. For a discussion about sleeves versus sleeveless tunics, see Hallmann 2023a, 307–11.

43 For a recent discussion about the distinction between tunics with and without sleeves, see Hallmann 2018, 10–11.

44 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 144. One of the earliest known tunics was found in the tomb of Meketre at Thebes (ex MMA 20.3.188, now AMNH 95/2436); see Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, 150–51; Hall 1981, 30.

the New Kingdom onward.⁴⁵ During this time, the bagginess of the tunic started to be more emphasized, as seen, for instance, in two-dimensional representations of male harpists dressed in a tunic.⁴⁶

During the Late Period (Twenty-Fifth to Thirty-First Dynasties), men were depicted in tunics that in representations differ not only by the mode of wearing but also by the length of the sleeves and the shape of the neckline. The tunic is attested as a garment worn alone, as seen, for example, on the relief with three men from Mit Rahina (Walters Art Museum 22.84; fig. 6.4).⁴⁷ More frequently, however, the tunic is worn together with different kinds of kilts. Depending on the length of the kilt, the tunic can be fastened at the waist or just under the armpit. An example of the tunic worn with the kilt fastened at the waist is seen in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Theban tomb of Ibi and is a continuation of the style of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period (fig. 6.5).⁴⁸ The fastening under the armpit became popular around the reign of Amasis (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty) and continued

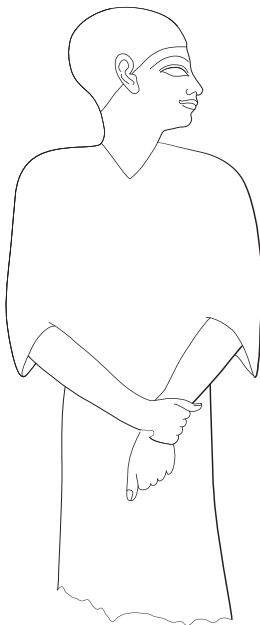


Figure 6.4. Example of tunic worn alone, as seen on relief with three anonymous men. Baltimore 22.84, tab. 3.8:1 no. 1. Courtesy of Walters Art Gallery. Drawing by Aleksandra Hallmann.

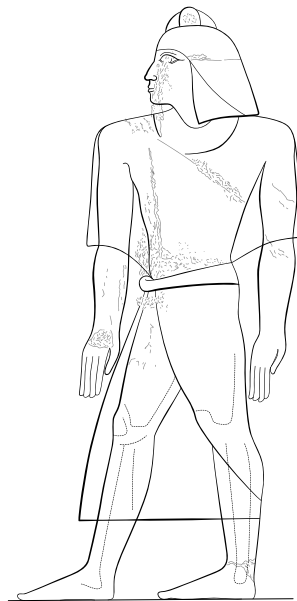


Figure 6.5. Tunic worn with kilt fastened at waist, as seen on representation of Ibi, TT 36. Drawing by Tytus Mikołajczak.

45 For various ways of wearing a tunic during the New Kingdom, see Bonnet 1917, 51–58; Vandier 1958, 496–99; Hofmann 2004, 167–68.

46 The most famous representation of a “baggy tunic” comes from the tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11), where it is worn by a harpist. His image is so distinctive that an early explorer of the tomb, James Bruce, called it “the harpist’s tomb.” For a color illustration of the harpist, see Manniche 1991, 104, fig. 62.

47 For a photo, see Steindorff 1947, pl. LVI, no. 276; also <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/25330/relief-fragment-of-three-men-facing-right/> (accessed November 12, 2022).

48 The representation comes from the court of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ibi (TT 36), where he is represented together with his mother standing before an offering table; see Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983, pls. 67, 130.

during the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty. There are numerous examples of this kind of tie, among them the already-mentioned statue of Ptahhotep in the Brooklyn Museum (37.353), which depicts him as dressed in the so-called Persian costume (see figs. 6.1 and 6.2).⁴⁹ The fastening of the tunic at the waist allows the sleeves to be more flared and looser. When the tunic is fastened high under the armpit, the sleeves are more fitted to the body.

HIGH-WAISTED KILT

The second component of the so-called Persian costume is a high-waisted kilt. Like other kilts, it belongs to the category of wraparound garments. It consists of a long, voluminous piece of fabric extending from the armpit to the ankles and fastened at the breast. The fastening of the high-waisted kilt varies and is the main feature that distinguishes it from the kilts of other periods. Generally, the tie of a high-waisted kilt can be represented as fabric tucked at the top of the breast or as a shorter or longer sash. The latter type is seen, for example, on the outfit worn by priests carrying the sacred bark in various epochs.⁵⁰ During the Late Period, the high-waisted kilt was also worn with a neck-sash.⁵¹

The high-waisted kilt is an indigenous Egyptian garment. It is present in visual sources starting in the early Middle Kingdom, when it appears as a long kilt extending from the armpit with its corners tucked in at the top.⁵² The high-waisted kilt never disappeared from the repertoire of male garments, but it was present in Egyptian art with varying frequency.

It is relevant to this discussion to point out that the high-waisted kilt worn by men during the Late Period is a further development of the kilt worn in previous epochs. However, its representation is not homogeneous, and its most distinctive feature is the method of its fastening. It can be represented as tied by a modest projecting roll (Type A; fig. 6.6),⁵³ a long sash (Type B; fig. 6.7)⁵⁴ or, finally, an elaborate form of tie characteristically arranged on the upper edge of the kilt (Type C; figs. 6.1, 6.3, 6.8).⁵⁵ To the modern Western eye, this

49 Cooney 1953.

50 The costume of priests carrying the bark is briefly discussed in Karlshausen 2009, 240–42.

51 Hallmann 2014; 2023a, 278–89.

52 See, e.g., a crossed-legged statue (CG 431) and a striding statue (CG 428), both in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in Borchardt 1925, 33, 36–37. During the Middle Kingdom, the high-waisted kilt was frequently depicted with characteristic horizontal stripes, most probably representing folds. This characteristic manner of rendering the kilt is attested only in the Middle Kingdom, as on the striding statue of Ptahemsaf in the British Museum (EA 24385), dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty (see Russmann 2001, no. 41). This particular type of high-waisted kilt was comprehensively discussed by Bochi (1996, 241–43).

53 This mode of tying a high-waisted kilt was especially popular during the New Kingdom but could still be seen during the Late Period, as in the figure representing a relative of Montuemhat on a relief that most probably comes from his tomb (TT 34) and is currently in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1949.493). For a photo, see <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1949.493> (accessed November 12, 2022). On the relief and its provenience, see Berman and Boháč 1999, 406–7, no. 305; Russmann 1994, 9–11, fig. 9.

54 The high-waisted kilt tied by a sash was usually worn by priests carrying a bark, and, as such, it is also seen during the Late Period. Priests carrying a bark are represented on the vignette of an oracle papyrus dated to the fourteenth year of the reign of Psamtek I (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty) and stored in the Brooklyn Museum (47.218.3). For a photo, see Parker 1962, pl. 1.

55 That there are many Late Period examples of the high-waisted kilt tied in a variety of ways allows for a distinction of subtypes and frequently points to a precise date for an object's commission. Two examples include the high-waisted kilt worn by Ptahhotep (Brooklyn Museum 37.353) (figs. 6.1 and 6.2; see also n. 4



Figure 6.6. High-waisted kilt tied by modest projecting roll (Type A). Cleveland Museum of Art 1949.493. Drawing by Aleksandra Hallmann.

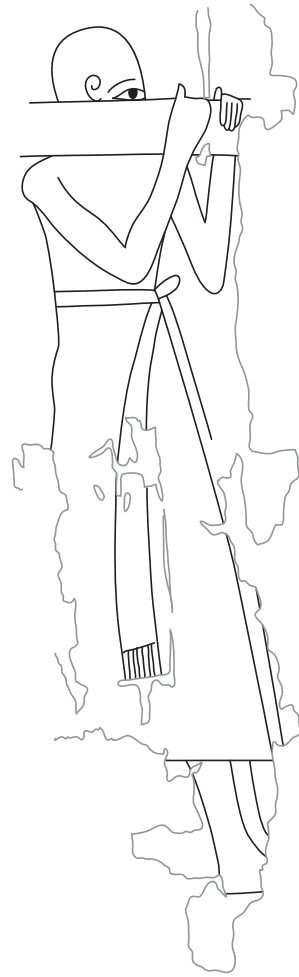


Figure 6.7. High-waisted kilt tied by long sash (Type B). Brooklyn Museum 47.218.3. Drawing by Aleksandra Hallmann.

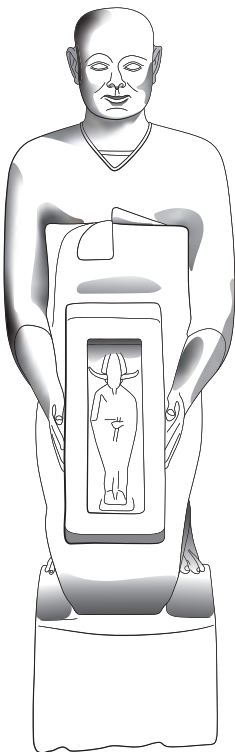


Figure 6.8. High-waisted kilt tied by tucking ends of fabric on chest (Type C), Osiriphorous kneeling statue of Psamteksaneith. Egyptian Museum Cairo CG 726 / JE 31335. Drawing by Tytus Mikolajczak.

irregularly arranged tying may resemble a knotted bath towel, while to other cultures it may recall wraparound clothes such as a kanga or a sarong. The mode of fastening makes this type of kilt unique for the Late Period, since this shape has not been found in earlier periods. Moreover, variations in the shape of the elaborate tie allow a few subtypes of the high-waisted kilt to be differentiated.

The high-waisted kilt is present in Egyptian art as a garment worn alone,⁵⁶ as well as in combination with other garments such as a tunic, shawl, or single-strap undergarment. It is precisely this type of high-waisted kilt (with a tie consisting of two components—a “roll” or “tuck” lying on the upper edge of the kilt and the “overhang” draping down), worn together with a tunic, that was considered to be a part of the so-called Persian costume (see above).

ORIGINAL PERSIAN COURT DRESS

It is worth examining the actual appearance of the original Persian court dress that was supposedly an inspiration for this new Egyptian fashion. Scholars have grouped the Persian dress of the Achaemenid period into two categories, distinguishing two coexisting sets of attire worn by Persians. The first one, which generally consists of trousers and a jacket,⁵⁷ is called either the “Median dress” or, more properly, the “Iranian riding dress.” The second dress, a voluminous garment with long, flared sleeves and secured at the waist by a belt, is known in the literature as the “Achaemenid robe” or “Persian dress” or, more suitably, as a “court dress.”⁵⁸ There are various opinions as to whether the “court dress” was made from one or two items of clothing.⁵⁹ It is, however, considered a ceremonial garment that was worn by both kings and members of their entourage. Both Persian costumes are displayed in monumental Persian art—for example, on the reliefs in the Achaemenid palaces at Persepolis—clearly revealing the coexistence of both modes of attire at the Persian court (fig. 6.9).⁶⁰

above), which has an elaborate tie, and the Osiriphorous kneeling statue of Psamteksaneith (Cairo CG 726/JE 31335) (fig. 6.8; see also Bothmer 1960, no. 65, pls. 61–62. The tie of Psamteksaneith’s high-waisted kilt belongs to a different category than the one on the Ptahhotep statue; nevertheless, they both represent the same kind of dress.

56 See, e.g., the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty statue of Amenhotep (British Museum EA 41517). For a photo, see Russmann 2001, fig. 132.

57 Some writers add a third element to this costume—the mantle; see Thompson 1965, 121–23.

58 The names “Median dress” and “Persian dress” have an ethnic connotation, but in fact the former was an attire usually worn by Iranian aristocracy in the field, whereas the latter was a robe worn at court; see Calmeyer 1987, 11–12. For a recent discussion about these two kinds of Persian attire, where they are called, respectively (without any ethnic connotation), simply “a court and a riding dress,” see Stronach 2001; cf. Miller, chapter 4 in this volume. Of marginal interest for the present essay, but nevertheless emphasizing the “otherness” of Median and Iranian clothing in the Greek setting, is Tuplin 2013, 229–35; one wonders whether it seemed equally alien to Egyptians.

59 The prevailing position right now seems to be that the court robe was made of one piece—so Ernst Herzfeld (1941, 259), Pirhiya Beck (1972), and Nicholas Sekunda (2010, 260–64), contrary to Ann Roes (1951) and Georgina Thompson (1965, 123–25), who preferred to see two pieces.

60 Schmidt 1953, pls. 193–94; Colburn 2020a, 141–43; also Miller, chapter 4 in this volume, fig. 4.1.



Figure 6.9. Persepolis, Apadana. Photo courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, University of Chicago.

The Persian and Egyptian cultures interacted on different levels during the new political situation in Egypt when it was ruled by Persians. Thus Egyptians would have seen both attires worn by Persians coming to Egypt, and Persians in Egypt would have been familiar with Egyptian fashion. There is no doubt which of these two outfits could potentially be considered the prototype of the new Egyptian dress. It could not have been the “riding dress,” since Egyptians never wore trousers; thus only the “court dress” can be taken into consideration.⁶¹ And indeed, the scholarly literature discussed earlier has suggested as much.⁶² However, it seems problematic to see a similarity between the Persian court dress and the Egyptian high-waisted kilt worn with a tunic (as represented on the statues of Ptahhotep, Udjahorresnet, etc.), and the supposed link between the two is misleading.⁶³

It should not be forgotten that the Persians were foreign rulers who had conquered Egypt and that the acceptance of foreign fashion, the conscious choice of a new mode of attire, could have had meaningful political implications and be treated as a politically influenced fashion statement (as already implied by Cooney; see above). Therefore, it is worth inquiring whether the Egyptians represented any Persian fashion on their monuments,

61 Additionally, the riding dress was specifically dedicated to horse riding and protected the wearer against the cold temperatures of the Asian steppes—a function unnecessary in Egypt.

62 See above, especially the discussion in Colburn 2020a, 140–43.

63 This opinion seems to be increasingly accepted in the scholarly literature (see above); the only “inspiration” now being discussed is the supposed similarity between the sleeves of both attires.

and whether the Persians represented any Egyptian dress; such an inquiry may give insight into the Egyptians' attitudes toward foreign fashion.

PERSIAN DRESS IN EGYPTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

That few visual sources from Egypt depict actual Persian attire can always be explained as an accident of preservation. The Persians who inhabited Egypt, like other foreign groups, left tokens of their presence visible in the material culture, including seals, some small statues, and stelae.⁶⁴ Whether those items had any impact on ancient Egyptian material culture or were simply tokens of the Persian presence in Egypt is a separate issue that goes beyond the scope of the present study. The following discussion will focus briefly on the most representative examples relevant for the topic.

As far as the available sources indicate, the "Persian costume" is absent from traditional Egyptian royal art and rarely seen in private representations. All known portrayals of Persian kings in imperial Egyptian art depict them according to a purely Egyptian tradition. The most famous examples come from the Hibis temple in the Kharga Oasis, which portray Darius in purely Egyptian dress.⁶⁵

However, there are a few representations of the Persian king in Persian dress, such as the famous statue of Darius I and canal stelae of the same king. The statue was found in Susa in 1972, but according to its inscription it was created in Egypt and was to be displayed there.⁶⁶ The statue draws on Iranian, Mesopotamian, and also Egyptian artistic traditions to ensure the Achaemenid ideology was simultaneously understandable in Egyptian and Iranian contexts.⁶⁷ It differs, then, significantly from the depictions of Darius

64 For an overview of the Persian presence in Egypt, see, e.g., Vittmann 2003, 120–54, and most recently Colburn 2020a, 50–74, 153–74, et passim. Some objects discussed by both scholars have a disputed provenience and/or authenticity, so for brevity they are omitted here.

65 For photos, see Myśliwiec 1988, 73–75, pls. LXVI–LXIX. The temple's inscriptions were published by Cruz-Uribe (1988, passim). For the decoration of the temple, see Davies 1953, passim. For a discussion of the presence of Darius at various temples, see Fried 2004, 76–80. It is noteworthy that some of the scenes, such as Darius I represented as Horus/Seth slaying the Apophis serpent, depicted on the gateway between hypostyle N and chamber M of the Hibis temple in Kharga, were interpreted as "Egypto-Persian representation of rulership"; see Wasmuth 2015, 205, 212–16. Despite this convincing effort to make the scene appropriate for both the Egyptian and Persian nations, Darius's attire remained Egyptian. Note that Darius I is also represented in the Egyptian fashion on smaller objects, such as a bronze plaque found in the Karnak cachette, presently in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 38050), or the wooden naos in the British Museum (EA 37496). For photos and a comprehensive bibliography of the former, see <https://www.ifao.org/net/bases/cachette/ck629> (accessed May 1, 2023); for the latter, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37496 (accessed May 1, 2023). The only examples of a Persian king whose apparel consists of both Persian and Egyptian elements are found on coins with a portrayal of Artaxerxes III (359–338 BCE, ruler of Egypt from 343 BCE). On them he appears dressed in a Persian court robe and the Egyptian double crown. Note that it was the crown and not an element of the dress that was chosen to stress the king's double role. The coins were discovered in Susa and come from the very end of the so-called second Persian domination in Egypt. According to Wasmuth (2015, 224–25), the iconography was chosen to stress the current political situation, the necessity of reconquering Egypt.

66 For more on the circumstances of its discovery, see Perrot et al. 1974, passim. See also Colburn 2014, 784–85, and for a recent discussion of the statue's hieroglyphic inscriptions, see Blöbaum 2019.

67 Recently the statue was discussed by Wasmuth (2015, 209–12) as an example of "Egypto-Persian representation of rulership."

in Kharga, and the difference should be explained by the audience to which the statue was addressed. These representations are, therefore, perfect examples for highlighting the nonverbal meaning of dress and how dress communicates in a way that is meant to be understood by a given group. Darius's presence at the Hibis temple in Kharga is embedded in old Egyptian tradition, and regarding his sartorial choices, he appears as a traditionally dressed pharaoh of Egypt. On the other hand, the statue from Susa, having inscriptions not only in Egyptian hieroglyphs but also in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, was equally addressed to Egyptians and other peoples of Darius's empire. Nevertheless, the Persian attire (court dress) worn by the king as depicted on this statue is the clear marker of his ethnic identity (further emphasized by the inscription on the statue stating the Persian ownership of Egypt). The same holds true for the Suez stelae,⁶⁸ which depict the king in the Persian court robe and bear inscriptions in Egyptian, Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian and therefore were directed to a multilingual audience, not to Egyptians only. In all these examples the performative function of dress is strong and serves to establish various identities before any verbal contact.

Private Egyptian art does not offer many examples of the Persian robe either. The notable exception is the stela of Djedherbes, son of Artam, which was excavated in Sakkarā in 1994 by the National Museum of Scotland Saqqara Project and is currently at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 98807; fig. 6.10).⁶⁹ The stela's lower register depicts a figure represented as a Persian high dignitary seated on a chair-like throne before an offering table. The man's identity can only be guessed, but his appearance in the Persian court dress undoubtedly reveals his origin and is a clear marker of his identity. It is noteworthy that the other figures are shown in pointedly different clothing and that their outfits resemble neither of the two Persian modes of attire—the court or the riding dress.

The two figures standing before the offering table are each clad in a tunic with elbow-length "sleeves" and tied at the waist by a long sash.⁷⁰ The bottom of the garment of the left-hand person is finished in a fringe; although the garment of the right-hand person lacks clearly carved fringes, they may have been added in paint or forgotten. Such tunics were among the most popular garments in ancient Egypt, and the tunic with a fringed bottom was the stereotypical Egyptian dress depicted in Persian art. It is noteworthy that as a garment worn alone, it is rarely seen in Egyptian art (see the discussion below). Thus one may suggest that this depiction of two figures in the fringed tunic was inspired by the stereotypical depiction of Egyptians in Persian art, a depiction that would fit well with the Achaemenid noble clad in the Persian robe in the same register of the stela.

The style of the stela as a whole differs from the classical style of Egyptian stelae and may have been the product of a workshop that supplied monuments specifically for

68 See Colburn 2020a, 158–62; Lloyd 2007.

69 The stela was found in the Sakkarā necropolis, south of the north wall of the Gisir el-Mudir enclosure, in a secondary context. For the detailed publication of the stela, see Mathieson et al. 1995, *passim*. A comprehensive study of the stela was done by Wasmuth (2017b). For a high-quality color photo with updated bibliography, see Achaemenet: <http://www.achamenet.com/en/item/?/achaemenid-museum/object-categories/monuments/2503400>.

70 The scholars who published the stela consider that a different costume is worn by the first figure standing in front of the offering table—a wraparound skirt worn over an elbow-length tunic; see Mathieson et al. 1995, 31. The costume of the first figure was also discussed by Wasmuth (2017b, 103, fig. 14).



Figure 6.10. Stela of Djedherbes. Cairo JE 98807. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Photo by Aleksandra Hallmann.

foreigners in the area.⁷¹ It is a good example of a monument that blends motifs of the Egyptian and Persian cultures,⁷² and possibly even others,⁷³ in a clear manifestation of the negotiated identity of the founder of the monument.⁷⁴

Unfortunately, the figures in the lower register lack written identifications.⁷⁵ The offering formula invokes Djedherbes (*Dd-ḥr-bs*), son of Artam (*ʔrtm*), and the lady of the house Tanefereṯer (*Tʔ-nfr(t)-ḥr*). Mathieson suggested that Artam, Djedherbes's father, was Persian, whereas his mother was Egyptian⁷⁶—an identification accepted by Vittmann and, recently, Wasmuth.⁷⁷ Mathieson proposed that the mummified person lying on the bier is Djedherbes and the sitting figure attired in Persian dress is his father, Artam, to whom offerings are made by Djedherbes and one other person. The Egyptian style of the mummified figure and the Persian style of the seated person discouraged Mathieson from identifying both individuals as the same person (i.e., the owner of the stela, Djedherbes).⁷⁸ Since this identification is just an educated guess, on account of the lack of inscriptions identifying each person, it is also possible to identify both the mummiform figure and the Persian dignitary as Djedherbes.⁷⁹ If one agrees with Mathieson's suggestion that Djedherbes was the offspring of a mixed marriage,⁸⁰ then such a mortuary stela would have been a good me-

71 Compare the Carian stela from Sakkara stored at the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge (E.1.1971); for a high-quality color photo, see Vassilika 1995, 115. For other Carian stelae, see the report from Emery's excavation at Sakkara; one of them also represents the deceased lying on a bier (Emery 1970, 6, pl. X). The Carian stelae from Sakkara were published in Masson 1978, *passim*. See also the study of the sociocultural meaning of Carian stelae from Sakkara in Labudek 2010, 55–77. For a discussion about workshops that supplied foreigners, see also Wasmuth 2017b, esp. 114–15.

72 For a detailed discussion, see Mathieson et al. 1995.

73 The recent publication of the stela suggests that it reflects not only Persian and Egyptian traditions but also Egyptian-Aramaic, North Aramaic/Syro-Hittite, Egyptian-Carian, East Greek, and Phoenician-Levantine, a feature explained by the workshop in which the stela was made—that is, one where artists of various cultural backgrounds worked. Finally, it is suggested that the stela was made by an artist rooted in the Aramaic tradition who supposedly incorporated as many various cultural motives as possible. For a discussion, see Wasmuth 2017b, 85, esp. 106–11, 114–15.

74 For identity negotiation theory, see Ting-Toomey 2015.

75 Usually on Egyptian stelae, a label identifies the person depicted. Although there are stelae on which such a label is missing, it is usually because of the unfinished state of the prepared monument. For some unfinished stelae from the first millennium BCE, see Munro 1973, pl. 11 fig. 44, pl. 28 fig. 101, pl. 33 fig. 121.

76 Mathieson et al. 1995, 37–38. Mixed marriages are also attested on Carian stelae from Sakkara; see Labudek 2010, 69.

77 Vittmann 2003, 152–53; Wasmuth 2017b, 106.

78 One of his arguments about the inconsistency in representations of one person in two traditions was based on the so-called Persian stela from Memphis, also referred to as the “von Bissing Memphis stela,” in the Staatlichen Museen in Berlin (Inv. 23721); it represented a person dressed as a Persian dignitary lying on a bier. This stela, first published by von Bissing (1930), lacks an inscription and comes from the antiquities market. Recently, Muscarella (2003) published the stela together with a photograph and showed convincingly that it is a fake. Compare the recent discussion concluding that the current arguments are insufficient to treat the stela as either fake or genuine (Wasmuth 2017b, 116–18, fig. 19). It is noteworthy that the representation of the Persian dignitary on the Sakkara stela stylistically resembles depictions of court dress found on seals rather than in monumental art (see, e.g., the depictions of dress on so-called royal-name seals; cf. Garrison 2014).

79 Wasmuth 2017b, 108.

80 This point of view is shared by Vittmann (2003, 152–53) and Wasmuth (2017b, 85–88).

dium for negotiating and projecting Djedherbes's dual identity, as well as for revealing his biculturalism. He may have wished to be buried as an Egyptian, thus choosing to represent his own mummification in the upper register of the stela, but at the same time desiring to stress his Persian origin and represent himself in the bottom register in a Persian garment, sitting on a chair-like throne and drinking in the Persian manner with a bowl on his fingertips.⁸¹ The identification of the two figures in front of him remains an open question, but they may well be his sons or other relatives, a well-known motif in Egyptian art.⁸²

EGYPTIAN DRESS IN PERSIAN ICONOGRAPHY

Like other inhabitants of the Achaemenid Empire, Egyptians were represented in Persian art according to Persian imperial rhetoric, with the Persians, as the dominant ethnoclass, often distinguished visually from other regional peoples.⁸³ Their portrayal was part of the visual communication of the Persian Empire, and their depiction had to be easily recognizable to the viewer.⁸⁴ Thus the Egyptian delegation, like the other foreign delegations represented on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis, have precisely selected dress and accessories that were intended to delineate the ethnic origin of the represented persons (fig. 6.11).⁸⁵ The Egyptian delegation in the Apadana has only partially survived and has been identified by comparison with the inscribed facade of the tomb of Darius I at Naqš-i Rostam.⁸⁶ Among the thirty individuals there representing the peoples of the empire, one (no. 18) was identified by the trilingual inscription as an Egyptian. The Darius model was later copied on five other royal tombs (three at Naqš-i Rostam and two at Persepolis), where the Egyptian throne bearer occupies the same position.

Another example of an Egyptian represented in Persian imperial art is found on the base of the aforementioned statue of Darius I discovered in Susa. This statue, as mentioned above, was fashioned for display in Egypt.⁸⁷ The Egyptian throne bearer is clearly dressed in the long tunic, sometimes with visible fringes, on all the royal tomb reliefs. It is

81 The description of the fingertip cup-holding was reported by Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 1.3.8). The Persian drinking mode is widely discussed in Miller 2011, 100–109. See also the discussion in Wasmuth 2017b, 92–111, which analyses each iconographic motif of the stela.

82 The analogy of the person sitting at the offering table while being venerated by family members is well attested in New Kingdom Egypt, but, as Wasmuth (2017b, 88–89, 107–8) noted, is not seen on stelae from the Late Period. Note, however, the representations of Late Period tomb owners seated on a chair and being venerated by family members and a group of offering bearers. Examples come from both Upper and Lower Egypt.

83 See the discussion in Miller, 2013, 25, with further literature. It must be noted that the identification of “Persians” on Persepolitan reliefs, for instance, is based solely on their dress, so here we are very close to a circular argument.

84 See the discussion in Miller's chapter 4 in this volume, where she points out that a system of dress was linked with “ethnic definition” in Persian imperial art and that the same does not hold true for the western Anatolian provinces, where the funerary art reveals elite selectiveness in regard to displaying Persian dress.

85 For a photo of the Egyptian delegation, see Schmidt 1953, 88, no. 10, pl. 36.

86 Schmidt 1953, 80–90, 106–10. Compare also the discussion in Miller, chapter 4 in this volume.

87 See n. 66 above; cf. Miller, chapter 4 in this volume, for a discussion accompanied by photographs of the statue.



Figure 6.11. Egyptian delegation, Persepolis, Apadana. Photo courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, University of Chicago.

possible to identify the same costume as worn by members of the Egyptian delegation of tribute bearers in the Apadana, even though the relief has survived only partially. Finally, the Egyptian from the base of the statue of Darius is also clad in a tunic, but without a visible fringe.

All these surviving examples demonstrate the Persian strategy of stressing the ethnicity of a depicted group by means of its dress, which is used as a nonverbal signifier of the projected identity. For the Egyptians, a simple, long tunic well suited this purpose, although it should be stressed that in any period of pharaonic Egyptian art a male figure was rarely represented in only a tunic; usually, the tunic was worn with a kilt and/or a cloak or shawl.⁸⁸ The fringed bottom of the tunic worn by Egyptians in Persian imperial art is noteworthy. A tunic, frequently terminating in fringe, was one of the most popular items of the Egyptian wardrobe and is widely attested among archaeological finds.⁸⁹ Since the tunic, especially the male version, was not worn alone, its lower section is frequently covered by another garment, and the fringed bottom of the tunic is therefore rarely seen in Egyptian art.⁹⁰ This lower fringe of the Egyptian tunic must have been an eye-catching detail, for Herodotus (2.81.1) noted that the Egyptians wore a fringed *kalásiris*, a garment that should probably be identified as a tunic. The attire discussed above—that is, the combination of a high-waisted kilt and a tunic (as seen on the statue of Ptahhotep and others), or a version thereof—is not represented in official Persian art. However, the tunic under the high-waisted kilt, as worn by Ptahhotep and Udjahorresnet on their statues, could have been fringed but remains covered by the kilt.

⁸⁸ For a recent overview of the Egyptian tunic, see Hallmann 2018, 10–11.

⁸⁹ E.g., seventeen tunics were discovered in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the architect Kha (TT 8), three of them fringed; see n. 41.

⁹⁰ See the discussion of the Late Period tunic in Hallmann 2023a, 304–35.



THE EGYPTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN FASHION

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the Egyptians were aware of what a Persian court robe looked like and knew that it did not resemble Late Period Egyptian dress. Any possible influence of Persian fashion on Egyptian attire is doubtful. Since the Persian robe was a kind of tunic that was tied at the waist (see above), it is unlikely that it inspired the Egyptian high-waisted kilt. Moreover, the fact that the Persian king was rarely shown on traditional Egyptian monuments and, if present, was usually represented in a purely Egyptian way raises the question why his Egyptian subjects would have wanted to represent themselves in a foreign costume when their king was represented in the Egyptian manner. And when the king was not depicted in an Egyptian manner, the depiction referred to his identity as a Persian king and not an Egyptian pharaoh.

All examples of the Persian robe in Egypt come from Persian contexts, since such robes were worn by Persians only. The person shown in a Persian court robe on the stela of Djedherbes discussed above is usually interpreted as either the stela owner's Persian father or the stela owner himself, a half-Egyptian who honored both ethnic legacies on his stela. The Egyptians neither adapted the Persian robe nor presented themselves as sartorially bicultural.⁹¹

It should be stressed, however, that the Egyptians did adopt some foreign elements in their portrayals—namely, items of Achaemenid jewelry such as torques or bracelets, but never items of clothing. Ptahhotep himself wears a torque or necklace with two ibex heads,

⁹¹ See above and Miller, chapter 4 in this volume. My observations here are mirrored by Tuplin (2011, 156–57), who believes there is little proof for Egyptians' wearing Persian dress, while he provides ample evidence for Greeks doing so.

an object identified as Persian.⁹² Udjahorresnet on his Vatican statue wears Persian bracelets with lion heads.⁹³ Such jewelry was most probably a gift from the Great King himself, as frequently mentioned by Greek authors, and played an important political role.⁹⁴ Also, on his statue Udjahorresnet himself mentions “gold ornaments” given by his masters, possibly alluding to the bracelets.⁹⁵ Such gifts were supposedly signs of royal favor, emphasizing the personal connection between the king and his officials, a symbol of the unity of the Persian Empire.⁹⁶ Pierre Briant, though, calls them a “precarious favor.”⁹⁷ Royal gifts and favors were subject to the whims and fancies of the king and could have been easily revoked depending on the situation. Therefore, such gifts, while being signs of favor, were also symbolic shackles reminding the wearer that his or her life belonged to the king. At the same time, we cannot be sure whether Ptahhotep and Udjahorresnet chose to display those gifts on their statues because they wanted to emphasize their connection to the king and empire or felt obligated to do so (i.e., wearing the gifted jewelry might not be entirely voluntary). Therefore, the question whether an item of Persian jewelry is a marker of shared imperial identity or a symbol of enslavement forced on a person or a people—in a sense, a marker of Persian colonialism—is open for discussion.

It is noteworthy that Ptahhotep also wears an Egyptian pectoral with the traditionally dressed figure of an unnamed king (in a short kilt and the Blue Crown), possibly Darius I, who presents Maat’s image to Ptah and Sekhmet. If the identification of the king is valid, the Egyptian royal costume he wears aligns with other representations of the Persian king in Egyptian art. One could easily believe that the traditional Egyptian pectoral attenuates the symbolism of the Persian torque worn above it.

In all epochs, foreigners in ancient Egyptian art were easily identified by ethnically specific dress differentiating them from Egyptians. They were represented as either subjugated people or distinctive groups such as foreign delegations bringing gifts, soldiers, or traders/merchants.⁹⁸ On the other hand, it was also by means of their attire that Egyptianized foreigners were equated with native Egyptians. The desire on the part of foreigners in Egypt to depict themselves in Egyptian dress started to change during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, when Egypt was ruled by Kushite pharaohs, whose portrayals consciously stressed their ethnic origin.⁹⁹ It seems that the Kushite period was the first time private individuals of

92 The ibex is a frequent motif on Achaemenid torques and bracelets. A nearly identical gold torque with ibex heads from the Guennol Collection was published by Cooney (1953, 11–14, figs. 6 and 7); at the time of Cooney’s publication, the artifact was on loan to the Brooklyn Museum (L48.7.11). The example is unexcavated, however. While many figures of Persians on Persepolitan reliefs wear torques, they are not decorated with animal heads. For more about the ibex in Iranian art, see Root 2002, 184–92.

93 Such bracelets find close parallels on Persepolitan reliefs and in excavated material; see Colburn 2020b, 66–69.

94 Greek authors mention gifts of bracelets and necklaces (e.g., Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.2.7–8). See this example and others collected by Kuhrt (2007, 637–40). See also Briant 2002, 302ff., for an extensive discussion and further literature.

95 Posener 1936, 25, no. 1 F.

96 Colburn 2020a, 178; 2020b, 60.

97 Briant 2002, 319ff.

98 For a recent summary on the presence of non-Egyptians in Egyptian art, see, e.g., Roth 2015.

99 For a recent discussion of the issue, see Hallmann 2023b (with bibliography).

foreign origin made an effort to show themselves in their native dress when represented in traditional Egyptian art.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, foreign sartorial habits were not adopted by native Egyptians. This phenomenon is also seen on the so-called Carian stelae from Saqqara, where Carians are depicted in distinctively non-Egyptian dress that clearly marks their identity.¹⁰¹

The foregoing discussion has shown that most scholars who argue for Persian influence or a similar interpretation of Egyptian sculptures in the Late Period have focused on the depiction of sleeves. A typical Persian court dress (a supposed model Egyptians used for their statues; see above), as depicted on the Persepolitan reliefs or on the statue of Darius from Susa (see above), has sleeves that extend to the wrists and flare below the elbow. The statue of Ptahhotep has somewhat similarly flared sleeves below the elbow, and these sleeves reach the figure's wrists. However, if we compare Ptahhotep's sleeves to those represented in Persian art, the similarity clearly ends there. The sleeves of the Persian court dress have clear pleats, visible on the Persepolitan reliefs, and are especially emphasized in full sculptures, as seen, for example, on the right hand of the statue of Darius. Ptahhotep's sleeves have no pleats (in fact, none of the known Egyptian examples of the so-called Persian costume cited by scholars has pleated sleeves). As a result, the shape of Ptahhotep's sleeves is very different from the shape of the sleeves of the Persian court dress, a detail that invalidates any possible Persian influence here.

In addition, Egyptian art of the Late Period shows a plethora of sleeve types. An unnamed Walters Art Gallery statue (22.208) shows long, unflared sleeves reaching the wrists (the depicted man wears only a tunic—no kilt). A relief from the same museum (22.84) depicts men wearing only tunics, whose sleeves end at the elbow and are slightly flared. The statue of Hekataefankh (Louvre E. 25499) has sleeves ending slightly below the elbow that are not flared (similarly the statue of Sematawytaefnakht, Cairo TR 27/11/58/8). And finally, the statue of Udjahorresnet (Vatican 196) has sleeves that are a little longer than those shown on the statue of Hekataefankh, ending slightly below the elbow, but they are flared, although in such a way that the opening of the sleeve appears as tightly clinging to the statue's arm. All these examples are dated to the Twenty-Sixth or Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, and they have sleeves unlike those of Ptahhotep—none of them are pleated, and any similarities to Persian court dress are even further distant. Egyptian art of the Late Period shows no uniformity in the shape of tunic sleeves, whereas Persian art depicts sleeves of the court dress consistently throughout reliefs, sculpture, and glyptic. Therefore, the argument that these Egyptian sculptures reflect Persian influence or homage to Persian sartorial habits cannot be sustained. A detailed analysis of the evidence does not support such a view, and any similarities between Egyptian tunics of the Late Period and the Persian court robe are remote and purely coincidental, if they exist at all.

CONCLUSIONS

Ever since Cooney and Bothmer introduced the term “Persian jacket” for the tunic worn by Ptahhotep on his statue, it and others derived from it, such as “Persian costume,” “Persian

100 Hallmann 2007, *passim*; 2023; Budka 2012, 48.

101 For the Carian stelae, see Masson 1978, *passim*. For the presence of Carians in Egypt, see Kammerzell 1993; Vittmann 2003, 155–79. See also n. 71.

robe,” and “Persian garment,” were often invoked in the scholarly literature in discussions of the attire consisting of a tunic and a high-waisted kilt as found in Late Period art, predominantly sculpture of the Persian period in Egypt. As shown above, both garments, used either separately or together, have an earlier history in Egyptian art and are definitely of Egyptian origin. The only similarity this ensemble bears to the Persian court robe relates to sleeves and is quite remote, certainly purely coincidental.

Bearing all these factors in mind, neither the tunic nor the high-waisted kilt with projecting roll and overhang worn by Ptahhotep and other Egyptian officials should be classified as a “Persian costume.” Nevertheless, many scholars still consider such a costume as characteristic of the Persian period and believe the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty to be its terminus post quem, especially when sculpture is involved. For years the notion has prevailed that the dress of Ptahhotep and Udjahorresnet is of Persian origin, a view promoted in both Egyptological and Near Eastern secondary literature. The presence of this attire in Egypt was even cited as evidence for the existence of a “sartorial koine” during the Persian period in the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁰² The present study has shown that this interpretation is unwarranted, and we can only theorize about a more limited phenomenon—“sartorial biculturalism” (as defined by Margaret Miller in chapter 4 of this volume)—in the case of one object, the stela of Djedherbes, and only when we accept that the owner of the stela is presented as both the seated figure in the Persian court robe in the stela’s lower register and the embalmed figure in the upper register. This example also shows that the actual Persian court dress was worn in Egypt, but only by those who identified themselves as Persian, not by Egyptians.

The difficulties in analyzing the attire represented in Late Period art led other scholars to explain changes and novelties seen in fashion during the Thirtieth Dynasty by attributing them to contacts with the Mediterranean world, and especially with the Persians. In 2009, for example, Michael Stammers described another garment, the Lower Egyptian shawl with deeply serrated edge, as the “Persian dress.”¹⁰³ This kind of shawl in fact has an indigenous development, and its prototype is already observed in New Kingdom visual sources. Subsequently, it became very fashionable during the Thirtieth Dynasty,¹⁰⁴ being attested, for instance, on the lintel of Tjainefer.¹⁰⁵

When an inscription or genealogy does not permit objects to be placed within a historical sequence, their style and changes in iconography may provide a dating criterion. However, using dress as an analytical tool can be challenging, so a detailed and nuanced study of the development of Egyptian dress based on figurative art, in conjunction with the analysis of textile remains, when possible, is necessary to reach positive results.

The evidence presented here demonstrates that the Late Period high-waisted kilt and tunic cannot be called a “Persian costume,” nor were they inspired by Persian dress. The significant difference between this ensemble and actual Persian court dress makes the argument for supposed foreign influence untenable. Moreover, the first appearance of

102 Dusinberre 2003, 86.

103 Stammers 2009, 54, 62.

104 The attire, along with other shawls, is studied in detail in Hallmann 2023a, 407–16.

105 Cairo JE 29211; Pirenne 1961, 3:432, pl. 49.

the high-waisted kilt worn with a tunic during the reign of Amasis situates the outfit well within its historical sequence. The existence of the tunic and of the high-waisted kilt from the Middle Kingdom onward clearly shows their development and places this kilt among indigenous Egyptian garments. Moreover, the demonstrably native development of this new Egyptian ensemble, present in visual sources from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty onward, excludes the possibility of attributing any political connotations to the fact of wearing the garment.

ABBREVIATION

TT Theban tomb

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aston, David A.

- 2009 *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology, Typology, Developments*. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 56. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Baines, John

- 1996 “On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne.” In *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, edited by Peter Der Manuelian, 1:83–92. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

Bassir, Hussein

- 2014 *Image and Voice in Saite Egypt: Self-Presentations of Neshor Named Psamtikmenkhib and Payeftjauemawyneith*. Wilkinson Egyptology Series 2. Tucson: University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition.

Beck, Pirhiya

- 1972 “A Note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe.” *Iranica Antiqua* 9: 116–22.

Berman, Lawrence M., and Kenneth J. Bohac

- 1999 *Catalogue of Egyptian Art: The Cleveland Museum of Art*. New York: Hudson Hills.

Blöbaum, Anke Ilona

- 2019 “Playing with Details: The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Susa-Statue of Darius I.” In *Egyptian Royal Ideology and Kingship under Periods of Foreign Rulers: Case Studies from the First Millennium BC, Munich, May 31–June 2, 2018*, edited by Julia Budka, 159–74. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4.6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bochi, Patricia

- 1996 “Of Lines, Linen, and Language: A Study of a Patterned Textile and Its Interweaving with Egyptian Beliefs.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 71: 221–53.

Bonnet, Hans

- 1917 *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Borchardt, Ludwig

- 1925 *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1–1294. Part 2, Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 381–653*. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Bothmer, Bernard

- 1960 *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.

Botti, Giuseppe, Pietro Romanelli, and Carlo Pietrangeli

- 1951 *Le sculture del Museo gregoriano egizio*. Monumenti vaticani di archeologia e d'arte 9. Vatican City: Poliglotta Vaticana.

Bresciani, Edda

- 1967 "Una statua della XXVI dinastia con il cosiddetto 'abito persiano.'" *Studi classici e orientali* 16: 273–80.
1985 "Ugiahorresnet a Menfi." *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 8: 1–6.

Briant, Pierre

- 2002 *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Budka, Julia

- 2012 "Individuen, indigene Gruppe oder integrierter Teil der ägyptischen Gesellschaft? Zur soziologischen Aussagekraft materieller Hinterlassenschaften von Kuschiten im spätzeitlichen Ägypten." In *Sozialisierungen: Individuum—Gruppe—Gesellschaft*, edited by Gregor Neunert, Kathrin Gabler, and Alexandra Verbovsek, 45–60. Münchner Arbeitskreis Junge Ägyptologie 1. Göttinger Orientforschungen Ägypten 51. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Calmeyer, Peter

- 1987 "Greek Historiography and Achaemenid Reliefs." In *The Greek Sources: Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop*, edited by Amélie Kuhrt and Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 11–26. Achaemenid History 2. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Colburn, Henry P.

- 2014 "Art of the Achaemenid Empire, and Art in the Achaemenid Empire." In *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman, 773–800. Boston: de Gruyter.
2020a *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt*. Edinburgh Studies in Ancient Persia. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
2020b "Udjahorresnet the Persian: Being an Essay on the Archaeology of Identity." In *Udjahorresnet and His World* (= *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 26), edited by Melanie Wasmuth and Pearce Paul Pearce, 59–74. Tucson: Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections.

Cooney, John D.

- 1953 "The Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator." *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15, no. 2: 1–16.

Cruz-Urbe, Eugene

- 1988 *Hibis Temple Project*. Vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions, and Sign List*. San Antonio: Van Siclen Books.

Curtis, John

- 2005 "Jewelry and Personal Ornaments." In *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*, edited by John Curtis and Nigel Tallis, 132–49. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1953 *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*. Part 3, *The Decoration*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 17. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Dusinberre, Elspeth

- 2003 *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Emery, W. B.

- 1970 "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at North Saqqara 1968–9." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56: 5–11, with pls. X–XV.

Fazzini, Richard, James F. Romano, and Madelaine E. Cody

- 1999 *Art for Eternity. Masterworks from Ancient Egypt*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.

Fried, Lisbeth S.

- 2004 "The Priest and the Great King: Temple–Palace Relations in the Persian Empire." Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Gansell, Amy Rebecca

- 2018 "Dressing the Neo-Assyrian Queen in Identity and Ideology: Elements and Ensembles from the Royal Tombs at Nimrud." *American Journal of Archaeology* 122, no. 1: 65–100.

Garrison, Mark B.

- 2014 "The Royal-Name Seals of Darius I." In *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, edited by Michael Kozuh, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, and Christopher Woods, 67–104. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 68. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Hall, Rosalind

- 1981 "The Pharaonic *mss* Tunic as a Smock?" *Göttinger Miszellen* 43: 29–37.
2001 *Egyptian Textiles*. Shire Egyptology 4. Princes Risborough: Shire.

Hallmann, Aleksandra

- 2007 "The 'Kushite Cloak' of Pekartror and Iriketakana: Novelty or Tradition?" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 43: 15–27.
2014 "Some Observations about the Representation of the Neck-Sash in Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Thebes." In *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin, 357–77. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.
2018 "Unwrapping Ancient Egyptian Fashion." *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 239: 6–15.
2023a *Ancient Egyptian Clothing: Studies in Late Period Private Representations*. 2 vols. Harvard Egyptological Studies 20. Leiden: Brill.
2023b "Negotiated Identity of Kushite Kings Visualized in Osirian Chapels in Karnak: Taharqo in the Chapel of Osiris Neb-anekh/Pa-wesheb-ia and the Meaning of the Double Uraeus." In *Kush XX: Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Nubian Studies, Paris 2018*, edited by Marie Millet, Vincent Rondot, Frédéric Payraudeau, and Pierre Tallet, 329–48. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Herzfeld, Ernst

- 1941 *Iran in the Ancient East: Archaeological Studies Presented in the Lowell Lectures at Boston*. London: Oxford University Press.

Hofmann, Eva

- 2004 *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*. Theben 17. Mainz: von Zabern.

Kammerzell, Frank

- 1993 *Studien zu Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten*. Göttinger Orientforschungen Ägypten 27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Karlshausen, Christina

- 2009 *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine en Égypte au nouvel empire*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 182. Leuven: Peeters.

Kuhlmann, Klaus P., and Wolfgang Schenkel

- 1983 *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36).* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 15. Mainz: von Zabern.

Kuhrt, Amélie

- 2007 *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period.* London: Routledge.

Labudek, Joanna

- 2010 "Late Period Stelae from Saqqara: A Socio-Cultural and Religious Investigation." Master's thesis, University of Birmingham.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2015 *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lloyd, Alan B.

- 2007 "Darius I in Egypt: Suez and Hibis." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, edited by Christopher Tuplin, 99–115. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Manniche, Lise

- 1991 *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt.* London: British Museum Press.

Masson, Olivier

- 1978 *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen.* Excavations at North Saqqâra Documentary Series. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Mathieson, Ian, Elizabeth Bettles, Sue Davies, and H. S. Smith

- 1995 "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81: 23–41.

Miller, Margaret C.

- 2011 "Manners Makyth Man': Diacritical Drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia." In *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Erich S. Gruen, 97–134. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- 2013 "Clothes and Identity: The Case of Greeks in Ionia c. 400 BC." In *Culture, Identity and Politics in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Papers from a Conference in Honour of Erich Gruen (= Antichthon 47)*, edited by Paul J. Burton, 18–38. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Montagno-Leahy, Lisa

- 1988 "Private Tomb Reliefs of the Late Period from Lower Egypt." 3 vols. PhD diss., University of Oxford.

Munro, Peter

- 1973 *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen.* Ägyptologische Forschungen 25. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Muscarella, Oscar White

- 2003 "Von Bissing's Memphis Stela: A Product of Cultural Transfer?" In *Culture through Objects: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of P. R. S. Moorey*, edited by Timothy Potts, Michael Roaf, and Diana Stein, 109–21. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Myśliwiec, Karol

- 1988 *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX.* Mainz: von Zabern.

Parker, Richard Anthony

- 1962 *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3).* Brown Egyptological Studies 4. Providence: Brown University Press.

- Perrot, Jean, Monique Kervran, Daniel Ladiray, Jean Trichet, David Stronach, Michael Roaf, François Vallat, and Jean Yoyotte
 1974 "Recherches dans le secteur est du tépé de l'Apadana." *Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran* 4. Paris: Institut français de recherches en Iran.
- Pinch, Geraldine
 1993 *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute/Ashmolean Museum.
- Pirenne, Jacques
 1961 *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*. 3 vols. Paris: Michel.
- Posener, Georges
 1936 *La première domination perse en Égypte*. Bibliothèque d'étude 11. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Rand Nielsen, Elin
 1998 "Di-Mut-Shep-en-Ank, 2. kapitel: Om mumien og dens bandager [Di-Mut-Shep-en-Ank, Part 2: The Mummy and Its Wrappings]." *Papyrus: Ægyptologisk tidsskrift* 17, no. 2: 41–45.
- Rantz, Berthe
 1989 "À propos de l'Égyptien au geste 'perse.'" *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 67, no. 1: 103–21.
- Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, and Joanne Bubolz Eicher
 1992 "Dress and Identity." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, no. 4: 1–8.
- Roes, Ann
 1951 "The Achaemenid Robe." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 8, no. 4: 137–41, with pl. III.
- Root, Margaret Cool
 2002 "Animals in the Art of Ancient Iran." In *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Billie Jean Collins, 169–209. Handbook of Oriental Studies: Near and Middle East 64. Leiden: Brill.
- Roth, Ann Macy
 2015 "Representing the Other: Non-Egyptians in Pharaonic Iconography." In *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, edited by Melinda K. Hartwig, 155–74. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Russmann, Edna R.
 1994 "Relief Decoration in the Tomb of Mentuemhat (TT34)." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31: 1–19.
 2001 *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schiaparelli, Ernesto
 2007 *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Kha nella necropoli di Tebi*. Nouva edizione. Turin: AdArte.
- Schmidt, Erich F.
 1953 *Persepolis*. Vol. 1, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Oriental Institute Publications 68. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sekunda, Nicholas V.
 2010 "Changes in Achaemenid Royal Dress." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum, 29th September–1st October 2005*, edited by John Curtis and St. John Simpson, 255–72. London: Tauris.

Silverman, David P., ed.

- 1997 *Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Stammers, Michael

- 2009 *The Elite Late Period Egyptian Tombs of Memphis*. BAR International Series 1903. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Steindorff, George

- 1947 *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*. Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery.

Stig Sørensen, Marie Louise

- 1997 "Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe." *Journal of European Archaeology* 5, no. 1: 93–114.

Stronach, David

- 2001 "Court Dress and Riding Dress at Persepolis: New Approaches to Old Questions." In *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark Garrison, 475–88. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Thompson, Georgina

- 1965 "Iranian Dress in the Achaemenian Period: Problems Concerning the *Kandys* and Other Garments." *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 3: 121–26.

Ting-Toomey, Stella

- 2015 "Identity Negotiation Theory." In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Intercultural Competence*, edited by Janet M. Bennett, 418–22. Los Angeles: Sage.

Tuplin, Christopher

- 2011 "The Limits of Persianization: Some Reflections on Cultural Links in the Persian Empire." In *Cultural Identity and the Peoples of the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Erich S. Gruen, 150–82. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- 2013 "Intolerable Clothes and a Terrifying Name: The Characteristics of an Achaemenid Invasion Force." In *Marathon—2,500 Years: Proceedings of the Marathon Conference 2010*, edited by Christopher Carey and Michael Edwards, 223–39. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 124. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London.

Vandier, Jacques

- 1958 *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. Vol. 3, *Les grandes époques: La statuaire*. Paris: Picard.
- 1964 "La statue de Hekatefnakht." *Revue du Louvre* 14, no. 2: 57–66.

Vassilika, Eleni

- 1995 *Egyptian Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vittmann, Günter

- 2003 *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- 2009 "Rupture and Continuity: On Priests and Officials in Egypt during the Persian Period." In *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau, 89–121. Persika 14. Paris: de Boccard.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

- 1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden: Brill.

von Bissing, Freiherr F. W.

- 1930 "Totenstele eines persischen Großen aus Memphis." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 9, no. 84: 226–38.

Wasmuth, Melanie

- 2015 “Political Memory in the Achaemenid Empire: The Integration of Egyptian Kingship into Persian Royal Display.” In *Political Memory in and after the Persian Empire*, edited by Jason M. Silverman and Caroline Waerzeggers, 203–37. Ancient Near East Monographs 13. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- 2017a *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit*. Oriens et Occidens 27. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- 2017b “Die Stele des Djedherbes als kulturelles Zeugnis ihrer Zeit.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1: 85–123.
- 2020 “The Statues of Udjahorresnet as Archaeological Artifacts.” In *Udjahorresnet and His World* (= *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 26), edited by Melanie Wasmuth and Pearce Paul Creasman, 195–219. Tucson: Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections.

Wasmuth, Melanie, and Paul Creasman Pearce, eds.

- 2020 *Udjahorresnet and His World* (= *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 26). Tucson: Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections.

7

Clothing as a Marker of Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Libyans*

Robert K. Ritner,† *University of Chicago*

with minor contributions by Foy Scalf, *University of Chicago*

OF THE MANY foreigners depicted in Egyptian art, it is the people of the west of Egypt who are most readily identifiable not merely by skin tone but also by distinctive clothing, accoutrements, and hairstyle. Collectively named “Libyans,” from the regional tribal name “Ribu/Libu,” the westerners are known to belong to numerous historical tribal groups (Tehenu, Tjemehu, Meshwesh, Libu, Mahasun, Qeheq, Shamin, Pyt, etc.), but Egyptian representations characterize them in two stereotypical styles from the Predynastic to the Late Period.¹ Shown either largely naked in a phallus sheath—for both males and females—and a bandolier crossing the chest or clothed in a long, open cloak, Libyans are further distinguished by feathers in the hair, specific tattoos, and either a frontal, jutting hairlock or a single long sidelock descending well below the ear. The alternative representations may well reflect different tribal practices, as is the case with differing feather arrangements distinguishing the later Meshwesh from the Libu. From these distinctive features it is possible to reassign misidentified foreigners as Libyans and to expose Egyptian “mummers” pretending to be Libyans for ritual performances during times when the pastoralist Libyans could not be found. During the Libyan political ascension in the Third Intermediate Period, these diagnostic traits betray the ethnic origins of supposedly “Egyptianized” pharaohs. Rock art from western Libya now confirms the genuine basis of the Egyptian representations.

The earliest discussions of possible identifying features of the native inhabitants of the western (Libyan) desert concentrated on physiognomy, with Petrie designating a subset of racial types found in Egyptian predynastic art as “the aquiline type,” whose characteristics were a “high domed head and pointed beard, with a long nose.”² Petrie specifically included two historical images of Libyans within this group,³ declaring that “the physiognomy gives

*Robert K. Ritner finished this article prior to his death on July 25, 2021. All ideas and content herein remain his. Foy Scalf was responsible for final editorial revisions and copyediting, as well as image specifications and permissions.

1 The reader should consult the basic publications on ancient Libyans: Bates 1914 (1970); W. Hölscher 1936. After the completion of the present note, a new article appeared with a detailed overview of Libyan representational features; see Panaite 2018.


2 Petrie 1901; the “aquiline type” is discussed on pp. 250–52, with the historical Libyans on pl. XVIII, figs. 7 and 8.

3 Petrie 1901, figs. 7 and 8.

a decisive proof of connection between prehistoric Egypt and ancient Libya.”⁴ The weakness of Petrie’s early typology becomes apparent when it is contrasted with the so-called “pointed-nose type” that includes, as illustration, a figure from a predynastic ivory plaque that is now typically understood to be Libyan—on the basis not of his nose, but of his clothing and hair-style. As recognized even by Petrie, this “well-marked type” includes “the hair tied up in a thick pigtail from the crown of the head,” and the example in question wears a “peculiar,” “long spotted robe from the neck to the calf of the leg” (fig. 7.1).⁵ Unnoted by Petrie, his two “aquiline” Libyans also have the long “pigtail” sidelock, and the original, uncropped figures wear cloaks as well. The distinctive robe represents one of two standardized options for Libyans in Egyptian art and will be discussed further below, but it is the sidelock or pigtail on adult male figures that is the most consistent identifying feature.



Figure 7.1. Petrie’s “pointed-nose type” (Petrie 1901, pl. XIX, no. 13).

Labeled representations of Libyans occur as early as the reign of Narmer, with a scene of smiting “Libya” (*Tḥnw*) on an ivory cylinder from the main deposit of Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The seated, bound prisoners each have a short, pointed beard, but there are no internal details in the silhouettes to indicate a hairlock.⁶ The account of a Libyan campaign in the Annals of Senefru (Fourth Dynasty) is no more helpful, as it uses simplified determinatives for the Libyan captives.⁷ The male holds a throwstick and has a pointed beard, indistinguishable from the determinative used for Asiatics (Gardiner sign list A49): .

It is in the reign of Sahure in the Fifth Dynasty at the king’s pyramid complex at Abusir that the first fully detailed Libyans are labeled as such, and by virtue of the subsequent standardization of Sahure’s “Libyan family” scene and associated reliefs, these depictions become “pattern-book” images of a “Libyan victory” scene reused from the Old to the Middle Kingdom and revived for propagandistic reasons in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty by Taharqa at Kawa.⁸

⁴ Petrie 1901, 252.

⁵ Petrie 1901, 253; fig. 13 appears on pl. XIX.

⁶ Quibell 1900, pl. XV, no. 7; reconstruction in Dochniak 1991, with fig. 1.

⁷ Cairo JE 44860; see *Urk.* I, 237.

⁸ For the series, see Stockfisch 1996. For discussion of the Old Kingdom representations, see also Hope 2007, esp. 400–403. New evidence for the Middle Kingdom will be published by the author in a forthcoming

I repeat my synopsis from an earlier volume in this series:⁹

In multiple reliefs, King Sahure's victory over the Libyans is celebrated, with the king as a sphinx trampling the fallen Libyan ruler. Throughout the scenes, Libyans display one of the two basic representational styles for these western peoples, with (for both adult sexes) phallus sheaths below the waist and long, pendant necklaces below crossed bandoliers on the chest. Tufts of hair at the brow approximate the uraeus serpent worn on the brow of Egyptian kings, and—again recalling royal Egyptian iconography—males wear bull tails suspended from the back of their belts. To the right of the primary scene, Libyan notables implore peace, captured herds and flocks are numbered in the hundreds of thousands, and at the bottom, the remainder of the Libyan “royal family” observes their defeat, followed by the deities of the West and Libya. Names accompany the family, labeling the queen as Khuities and her two sons as Wesa and Weni. This “royal family” scene (c. 2506–2492 BC) reappears with only minor variation in the later pyramid complex of King Niuserre of the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2474–2444 BC), the pyramid temples of Pepi I (c. 2354–2310 BC) and Pepi II (c. 2300–2206 BC) of the Sixth Dynasty, and yet again, some 1,600 years after their first attestation, in the Kawa temple built by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Nubian Pharaoh Taharqa (690–664 BC).

Scene fragments from the temple of Unas (c. 2404–2374 BCE) do not preserve the Libyan family but contain a version of the central image with the defeated chief grasped by his hair by the king, who holds a long staff in the same hand, a pattern followed by the reliefs of Pepi I and II.¹⁰

In the Sahure family scene (fig. 7.2), the central image of the Libyan chief is damaged; the elbow of his raised arm is visible at the left, below his fragmentary title “Chief of Libya” (*h3.ty-ꜥ Tḥnw*). The Niuserre parallel (fig. 7.3) completes the scene. In enlarged scale, the ruler kneels and turns away from the Egyptian king with his arm raised in surrender. His hair is long, with a sidelock reaching his crossed bandoliers and beaded pendant necklace. At his waist he wears a girdle with a phallus sheath in front and a stylized bull's tail behind. A modern Egyptian postcard renders part of the victory scene in modern style (fig. 7.4), mingling the cloak and phallus-sheath styles and adding hair feathers and tattoos that are first securely attested in the Middle and New Kingdoms, respectively.

On the basis of the securely labeled central scene from the Sahure, Niuserre, and Taharqa reliefs, it is possible to extend both the scene and the style of Libyan depiction back to the reign of King Scorpion of the Protodynastic period. As noted by W. S. Smith, the reconstructed mace-head of Scorpion from Hierakonpolis has a pigtailed kneeling chief facing away from the king (to the right) with his arm upraised in surrender. The posture and long hairlock anticipate the later scenes, a slight trace of a bandolier is evident on the chief's chest, and a Libyan identification for the chief seems certain.¹¹

It is Smith who also suggested the Libyan link with Petrie's pointed-nose type from an ivory plaque now in Boston, distinguished by both the cloak and an extended hairlock.

article. For the Kawa scene and its significance, see Ritner 2008, with bibliography.

9 Ritner 2009a, 44–45.

10 For the Unas examples, see Labrousse, Lauer, and Leclant 1977, 89–92, pl. 32 (documents 39–41, esp. fig. 65; document 39 for the smiting king with staff).

11 Smith 1967, 76, fig. 8.

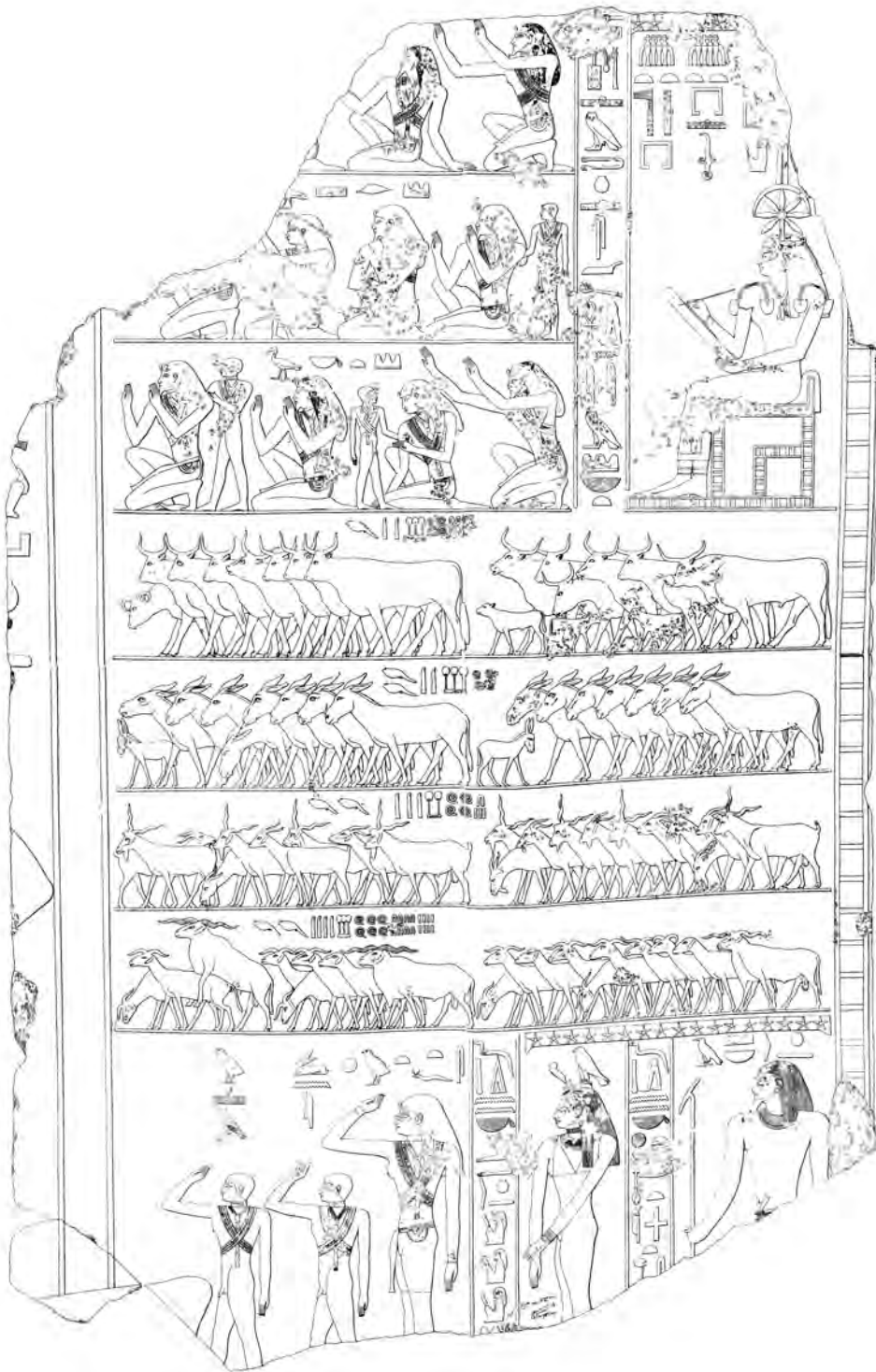


Figure 7.2. Sahure Libyan family scene (Borchardt 1913, pl. 1).

The same cloak is found on the Battlefield Palette, where a broken figure leads a bound representative of Lower Egypt toward the (Upper Egyptian) king, symbolized as a lion.¹² Smith reasonably restored the upper portion of this “Libyan” on the basis of the ivory plaque so that he has a pigtail. If correctly identified, the cloak and hair typology, like the alternative Libyan family scene typology, would extend from archaic representations into late historical periods. C. A. Hope’s expressed skepticism of the relevance of the Battlefield Palette representation is perhaps misplaced.¹³ The paucity of Libyan images between the Old and Middle Kingdoms is, as I have



Figure 7.3. Niuserre Libyan chief
(Borchardt 1907, 48, fig. 31).



Figure 7.4. Modern, uncredited postcard from the series
“Ancient Egypt” (after a painting by Pierre Probst).

¹² Smith 1967, 75–77, figs. 7 and 9.

¹³ Hope 2007, 410 n. 1, though his general distrust of A. Nibbi’s mingled data in the note is justified.

explained elsewhere, due to the infrequency of contact between Egypt and nomadic Libyan tribes, necessitating reused pattern-book images with unchanged clothing and names, as further evidenced by the lack of content in the Libyan section of the Execration Texts and the substitution of disguised Egyptians for unavailable Libyans in rituals.¹⁴ When the long cloak reappears in the Middle and New Kingdoms, it is regularly associated with Libyans.

After a long hiatus during the First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom provides representations of both styles, adding the hair feathers that are a predominant characteristic of most later Libyan representations.¹⁵ Two reliefs from Gebelein early in the reign of Montuhotep II depict nearly naked Libyans with simple kilts or phallus covers (fig. 7.5).¹⁶ The defeated Libyan chief Hedj-wash has plucked the feather from his head in surrender, evoking the description of a fleeing Libyan ruler on the Nineteenth Dynasty Merneptah Victory Stela of year 5 (the so-called Israel Stela): “the vile chief, the Libyan foe, fled in the depths of the night alone, no plume on his head, his feet bare.”¹⁷ Montuhotep grasps the chief’s hair and leans on a long staff behind the chief’s body, a rough approximation of the later Old Kingdom posture in the reliefs of Unas, Pepi I, and Pepi II.

Following Montuhotep’s reunification of Egypt, his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari included previously unrecognized scenes from the standard Libyan victory pattern. E. Naville’s 1913 publication of the fragmentary reliefs included several depictions of foreigners with distinctive, crossed-chest bandoliers and two with the addition of the uniquely Libyan beaded neck pendant (fig. 7.6). One of these carefully carved fragments includes a section of the royal staff passing before the Libyan’s body, more faithfully following the pattern found under Unas, Pepi I, and Pepi II. Although Naville thought that they were “Asiatics,” the standardized Old Kingdom Libyan style is unmistakable. There can be no doubt that Montuhotep, having gained access to Memphite sites and pattern books, added his own version of the Libyan victory scene to his Deir el-Bahari monument.¹⁸

In the reign of Amenemhat I, the long cloak reappears on a Libyan in the tomb of Khnumhotep I (tomb 14) at Beni Hasan.¹⁹ The male sports multiple head feathers and has a red skin color, while the accompanying woman has a yellow skin tone, thus adding to the list of features common to Libyans and Egyptians. Libyans then disappear from the historical record until the late Eighteenth Dynasty, when dockets of year 34 for the jubilee festival of Amenhotep III record deliveries of bull fat from a newly attested Meshwesh tribe.²⁰ In the contemporary Theban tomb of Ramose (TT 55), foreign delegates to the Egyptian court include Libyans in the style now typical for the New Kingdom: long, patterned cloaks, open and tied below the neck, and one or two feathers in the hair, which features a long

14 Ritner 2009a (and back cover).

15 See the brief discussion in Hope 2007, 410.

16 Habachi 1963, esp. figs. 16 and 17. The label “Asiatics” applies to the figures before that text. Both feather-wearing figures in von Bissing 1914, pl. 33a, are *Thny.w* “Libyans.” The waistband of the figure at the far left is uniquely tied behind his back.

17 See Kitchen 1982, 14/10 (Cairo Stela line 6); 2003, 12.

18 Naville’s printed suggestion was corrected by Hall; see the discussion in Ritner 2009a, 45 with nn. 16 and 17.

19 Newberry 1893, pls. 45 and 47.

20 Hayes 1951, figs. 2 and 10, no. 130.



Figure 7.5. Gebelein reliefs of Montuhotep II (von Bissing 1914, pl. 33a–b, not to scale).

sidelock descending in front of the ear and terminating below the neck.²¹ In the reign of Akhenaton, the same style of Libyan depiction appears in the tomb of Meryre II at Amarna (TA 2) in the great “durbar” scene of Akhenaton’s reception of foreigners’ tribute in year 12.²² Kneeling Libyans offer ostrich eggs and feathers to the king (fig. 7.7).

Military scenes on papyrus from the reign of Akhenaton depict attacks on Egyptians by Libyan archers wearing the expected long, open cloak and with sidelocks, bare genitals, and now leg tattoos.²³ Cloaks, sidelocks, and feathers also characterize Libyan delegations in the Saqqara tomb of the general and future ruler Horemheb.²⁴

21 Davies 1941, pl. XXXVII (group at far right).

22 Davies 1905, 41 and pl. 37.

23 Parkinson and Schofield 1993.

24 Martin 1989, pls. 78 and 80.

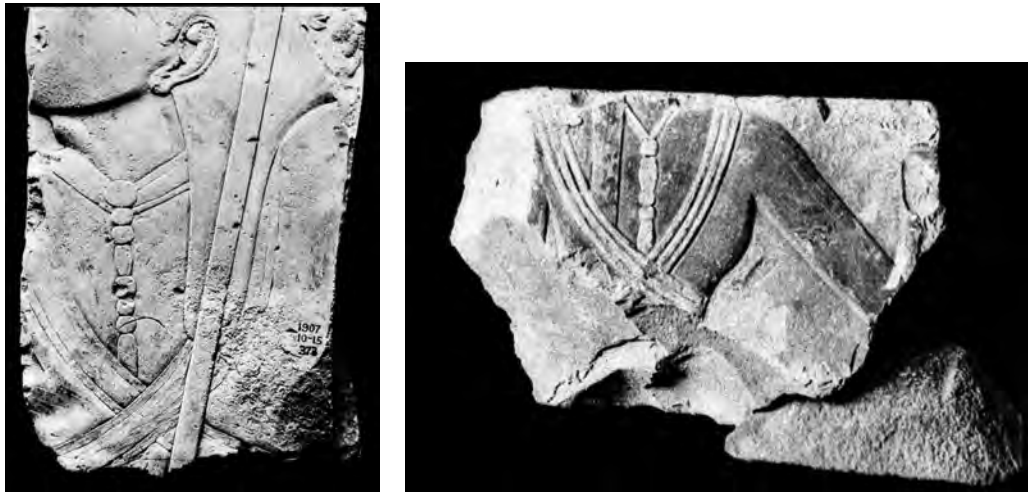


Figure 7.6. Figures with Libyan beaded neck pendants from Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1913, pl. 13.2–3, not to scale).

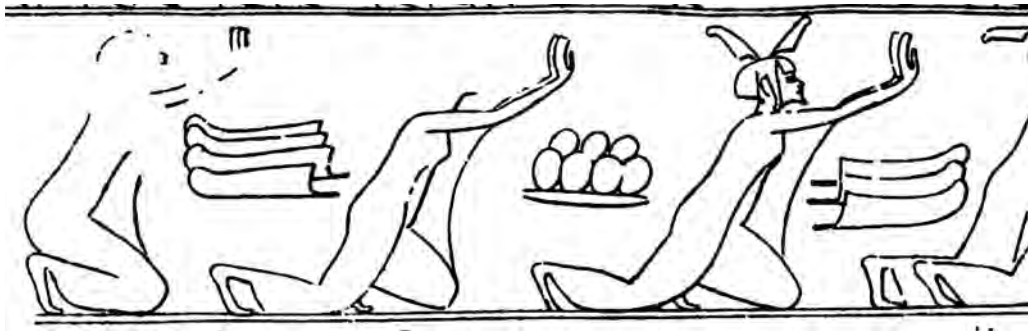


Figure 7.7. Libyans offering ostrich feathers and eggs at Amarna, tomb of Meryre II (Davies 1905, pl. 37).

The pattern thus established is canonized in Egyptian religious iconography. The fifth hour of the Book of Gates includes a scene of the four races of mankind as envisioned by the Egyptians. Four stereotypical representatives of Egyptians, Asiatics, Nubians, and Libyans are shown in a file before the god Horus.²⁵ The Libyans display feathers; open, patterned cloaks; phallus sheaths; and tattoos, some of which strongly resemble the standard for Neith of Sais. This scene in the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings (KV 17) is particularly valuable for the depictions of traditional ethnic costumes in Egyptian art, and although it is now damaged, early modern copyists carefully recorded the critical details. I. Rosellini's color images include the entire cohort (fig. 7.8), while J. H. C. Minutoli, who had just returned from travel in the Libyan desert, was clearly struck by the Libyans in particular. He reproduced only a single example for the Egyptians, Asiatics, and Nubians, but all four Libyan figures (fig. 7.9). The exceptionally colorful quality of the Libyan images has made them subject to art theft (fig. 7.10) and modern popularization (fig. 7.11). Comparable

25 For the scene and text, see Hornung 1984, 233–35.

images from the Book of Gates appear in the tomb of Ramses III, but they lack feathers and have not drawn the same attention as the Seti version (fig. 7.12).

The standardized New Kingdom depictions, introduced after the abrupt arrival of the Meshwesh with concomitant trade and raiding, are in sharp contrast to a scene of supposed Libyans carved during the earlier reign of Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el-Bahari. Depicted on the northern wall of the queen's Hathor shrine, Libyan dancers and musicians participate in a great procession of the goddess. As long recognized, these "Libyans"



Figure 7.8. Copy by Rosellini of the so-called four races (Rosellini 1832–44, pl. CLVI).



Figure 7.9. Copy by Minutoli of the so-called four races (Minutoli 1827, pl. III).



Figure 7.10. Damaged condition of the KV 17 (Seti I) Libyan group.
Photo by Charles Nims in the collection of the author.



Figure 7.11. Modern candlestick based on the depiction of Libyans in the tomb of Seti I. Photo by the author in the collection of the author.



Figure 7.12. Libyans among the “four races” in the tomb of Ramses III. Photo by the author, 1981.

performing “dancing by the Temehu” wear Egyptian kilts and hairstyles and make music with Egyptian clappers. The Libyan attributes include the addition of cloaks over some of the kilts and feathers to their hair. The dancer at the left has either a phallus sheath or a tail hanging below his Egyptian kilt. These figures are simply costumed Egyptian “mummers” standing in for absentee Libyans required for a ritual performance (figs. 7.13 and 7.14).²⁶

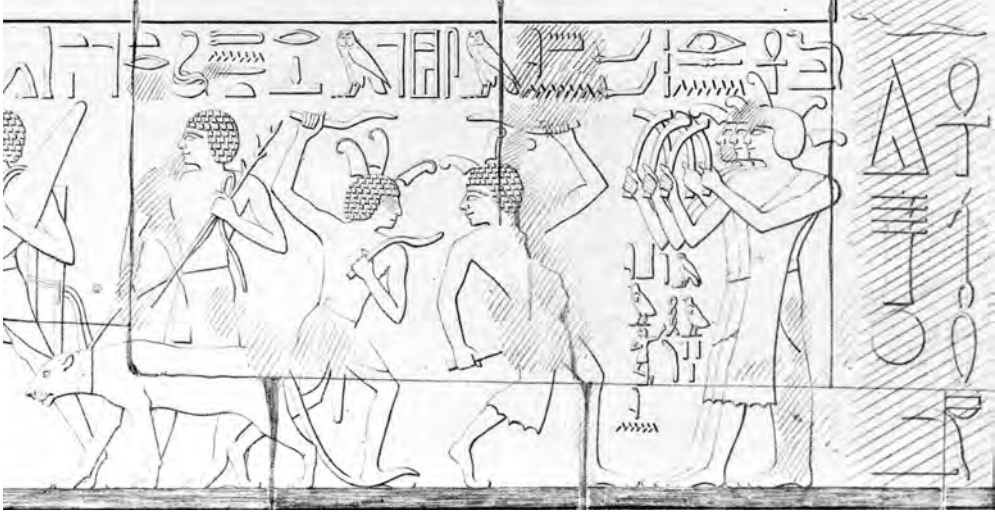


Figure 7.13. Wall of Deir el-Bahari Hathor shrine N showing Egyptians as Libyans (Naville 1901, pl. XC).



Figure 7.14. Wall of Deir el-Bahari Hathor shrine N showing Egyptians as Libyans. Photo by the author, 2005.

²⁶ Ritner 2009a, 47.

Real, but defeated, Libyans appear with increasing frequency in Ramesside military depictions, with the customary cloak, sidelock, and (often) feathers in scenes of conflict from the reigns of Seti I, Ramses II, Merneptah, and Ramses III, among others. Ramses II slays a traditional Libyan with bandoliers and phallus sheath at Beit el-Wali (fig. 7.15). The defeat of the chief Meshesher by Ramses III as depicted at Medinet Habu offers representative examples with sporadic feathers but showing phallus sheaths beneath some Libyan cloaks (fig. 7.16).²⁷ A further physical characteristic of Libyans is referenced in the relief scenes, where the typical tallying of the enemy dead by piles of severed hands is paralleled by counting the severed phalli of the uncircumcised Libyans.

If the Hatshepsut reliefs depict counterfeit Libyans, a drafting error in an elaborate military scene of Ramses II misplaces Libyans in Syria. On the southeast corner of the external outer wall of the Amenhotep III forecourt at Luxor Temple, Egyptians sack the Levantine town of Satuna, shown on a hill with an adjacent cedar forest inhabited by a bear, which chases a defender up a tree. By error, the town's defenders are all Libyans—with sidelocks, feathers, and phallus sheaths (figs. 7.17 and 7.18).

While O. Bates in 1914 assumed this scene represented an (unlikely) alliance between Libyans and Syrians, more recent commentators have noted it as a copying error, later partially corrected. W. Wreszinski indicated adjustments to the “Libyans” in his *Atlas* of 1935, leading W. S. Smith to conclude, “Here the sculptor seems to have had his mistake pointed out to him since he attempted to alter their heads by recutting in a coat of plaster.”²⁸

Tiles depicting ethnic prisoners adorned Ramesside palaces, and Libyans are included in such decoration as well. Again, however, there is artistic variety among Libyans and conflation between them and other groups. British Museum tiles from the palace of Ramses III at Tell el-Yahudiya show both the seminude Libyan with pointed beard, crossed chest bands, hairlock, tattoos, and phallus sheath (EA 12337) as well as a figure with a similar hairstyle but wearing a cloak (EA 12334). The online curator's comment that the former image is “a



Figure 7.15. Ramses II slays a Libyan at Beit el-Wali. Photo by the author, 1988.

²⁷ Epigraphic Survey 1932, pls. 72 (top row), 74 (top and bottom rows). The counting of phalli and hands appears on pl. 75.

²⁸ Bates 1914 (1970), 151, 259; Wreszinski 1935 (1988), pls. 67–68; Smith 1965, 175–76; Wilson 1935, 75 n. 3: “ancient sculptor's error, which was later corrected.”



Figure 7.16. The surrender of the chief Meshesher at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 72).



Figure 7.17. Libyans at Satuna (Wreszinski 1935 [1988], pl. 67).

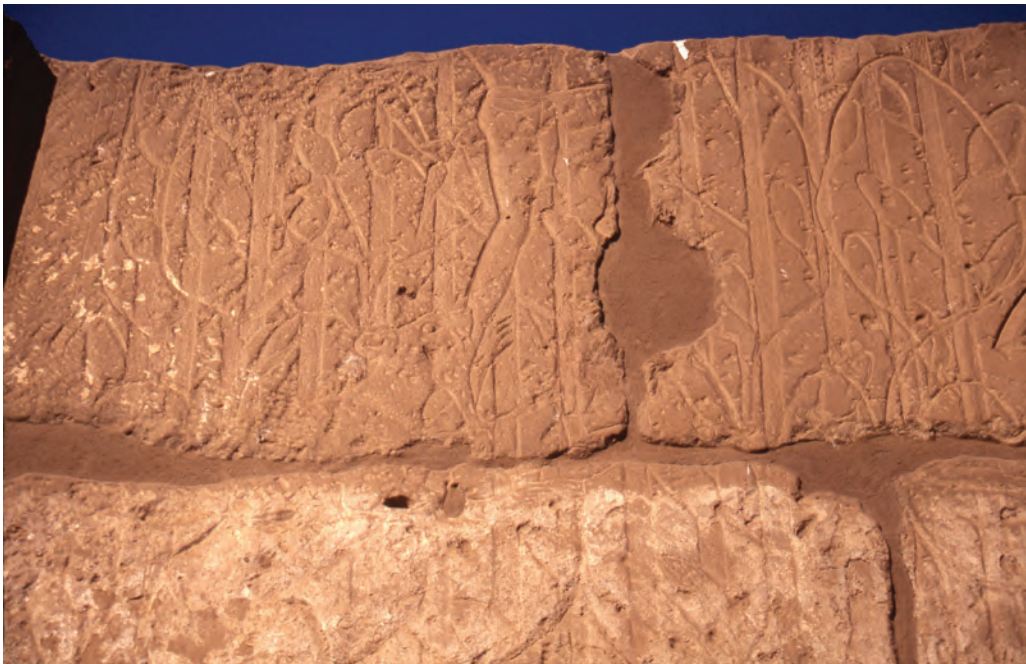


Figure 7.18. Libyan with phallus sheath caught by a bear at Satuna. Photo by the author, 2001.

depiction contrasting sharply with the garb of most of the contemporary Meshwesh/Libu tribes and chiefs²⁹ is overstated, as the king's battle reliefs show both styles, and the cloak frequently covers a simple phallus sheath (fig. 7.19).³⁰

Tiles from Medinet Habu also include a cloaked Libyan with the usual hair features and tattoos but with an unexpected kilt beneath the cloak (Cairo JE 36457d; fig. 7.20). His spotted-cloak pattern is so similar to the kilt design on Nubian figures that some fragments

29 For British Museum EA 12337, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA12337; for British Museum EA 12334, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA12334 (both sites last accessed August 26, 2019).

30 Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 75. Note also the short tail hanging from the rear of Meshesher's belt.

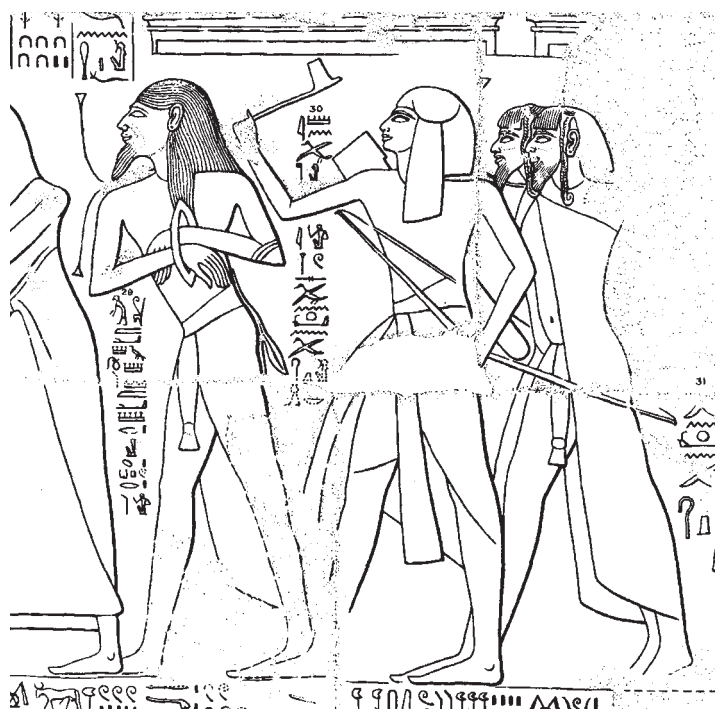


Figure 7.19. The captured chief Meshesher and leaders at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1932, pl. 75).

with the pattern from Medinet Habu cannot be securely assigned.³¹ Libyan fragments include ISACM E15492 and E15502 (fig. 7.21),³² but ISACM E15499 and E15504 are either Libyan or Nubian (fig. 7.22).³³ A Nubian chest fragment (ISACM E15494)³⁴ has crossed bandoliers rather than the sash expected from the Seti I “four races” scene, though a parallel is found on an intact Nubian tile from Medinet Habu in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (03.1570).³⁵ Most striking is the “Hittite in Libyan costume” (Cairo JE 36457f), which combines Hittite face and hair, a Syrian cap, and the Libyan combination of a short skirt and a long, open mantle with a skirt pattern known only from Libyans and Nubians (fig. 7.23). The editor R. Anthes concluded, “So we may assume an error on the part of the artist.”³⁶

Before turning to the improvement of Libyan fortunes, their “assimilation” and “Egyptianization” in costume, and their ascendancy in the Third Intermediate Period, it is necessary to state that the traditional images of Libyans are not pure fantasies by Egyptian artists but are based on representations left by the Libyans themselves in rock art found throughout the Tadrart Acacus cliffs in the southwest of the Fezzan province of modern

31 Gathered in U. Hölscher 1951, pl. 34; Anthes 1951, 42–44 and pls. 30–34.

32 U. Hölscher 1951, pl. 34p and k.

33 U. Hölscher 1951, pl. 34n and o.

34 U. Hölscher 1951, pl. 34l.

35 <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/130483> (accessed August 26, 2019).

36 Anthes 1951, 42.



Figure 7.20. Libyan tile from Medinet Habu (Hölscher 1951, pl. 30a).



Figure 7.21. Libyan fragments ISACM E15492 (D. 29627) and E15502 (D. 29636).



Figure 7.22. Libyan or Nubian skirt fragments ISACM E15499 (D. 29633) and E15504 (D. 29639).

Libya.³⁷ Corresponding directly to Egyptian textual descriptions and images, the rock art substantiates a pastoralist cattle culture (fig. 7.24) whose members show pronounced frontal hairlocks (the pseudo-uraeus of the Sahure reliefs; fig. 7.25), use bows and throwsticks as weapons (fig. 7.26), may be seminude with a bull's tail at the rear of their belts, or may instead have open cloaks while wearing either horizontal or vertical feathers (figs. 7.27 and 7.28).³⁸ The rock art surely illustrates different groups and periods, but it also reveals the authentic basis of the Egyptian renderings.

³⁷ See the discussion and illustrations (some repeated here in color) in Ritner 2009a, 48–52.

³⁸ See Mori 1965, 177, fig. 86 (Uan Amil = fig. 7.24) cattle; 162, fig. 64 (grotto Wadi Kassan) frontal hairlocks, erect feathers, and cattle; 173, fig. 81 (Hararig) bows, bulls' tails, and cattle; 174, fig. 83 (Teshuinat) frontal hairlock, throwsticks, and open kilts; 200–201, figs. 122 and 123 (Ti-n-Lalan) open cloaks, horizontal feathers, throwsticks, and cattle; 196, fig. 115 (In Eidi) cloaks, vertical feather; 79, fig. 89 (Uan Amil) cloaks; 207, fig. 133 (Uan Muhuggiag = fig. 7.28) open cloaks, leg tattoos, and vertical feathers.



Figure 7.23. "Hittite in Libyan costume" (Hölscher 1951, pl. 31a).



Figure 7.24. Libyan cattle, Uan Amil.
Photo by the author, 2006.



Figure 7.25. Dressing frontal hairlock, Uan Amil.
Photo by the author, 2006.

Conflicts between such "invading" pastoralist Libyan tribes and settled Egyptians accelerated from the late Eighteenth into the Twentieth Dynasty, with particularly intense "Libyan wars" documented during the reigns of Merneptah and Ramses III. In the latter reign, defeated tribesmen, who had traveled with families and herds, were settled within Egypt in isolated "reservations" under their clan leaders, ensuring their underlying Libyan character.³⁹ These camps would provide mercenaries for the state during the political decline of the following eight Ramesside kings. Individual Libyan families rose in rank during this period and adopted aspects of Egyptian culture to varying degrees. Most prominent among them were the founders of the bifurcated Twenty-First Dynasty, whose ascendancy in Tanis and Thebes marks the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period in

³⁹ See Ritner 2009a, 47–48.



Figure 7.26. Seminude figure with erect feather, throwstick, and cattle, Uan Amil. Photo by the author, 2006.



Figure 7.27. Figure (on right) with open cloak, Uan Amil. Photo by the author, 2006.

Egypt, an era of fragmenting political units and multiple Libyan dynasties (the Twenty-First through Twenty-Fourth).⁴⁰

Though once considered thoroughly Egyptianized, these Libyan rulers are now recognized for their numerous ethnic retentions: Libyan names, lineage titles, kinship structures, burial practices, and most visibly, dress—in the form of hair feathers. The most powerful of these leaders, Sheshonq I, the founder of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, was recorded by Theban priests as a Meshwesh chieftain until his fifth regnal year.⁴¹ Even eight kings later, the Memphite high priest Pediese, despite his exalted Egyptian title and name, preferred his Libyan chief title and hair feather to Egyptian rank and sacerdotal dress.⁴² In documents of the period, one may also determine specific tribal affiliation by the orientation of the feather: Meshwesh feathers are worn horizontally,

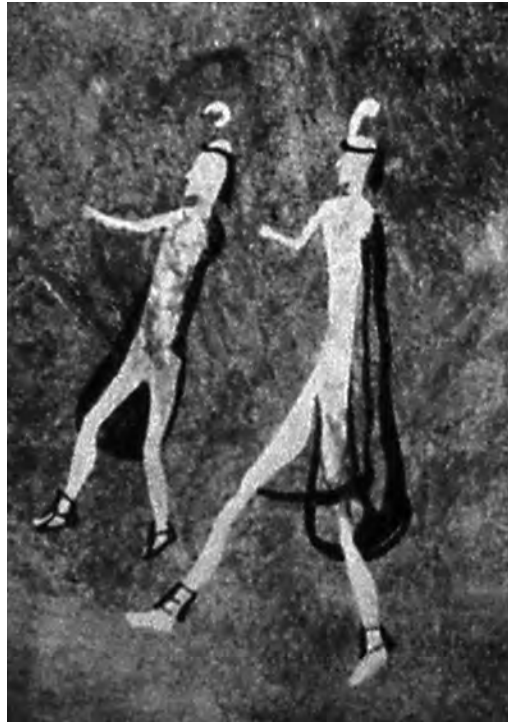


Figure 7.28. Open cloaks, leg tattoos, and vertical feathers, Uan Muhuggiag (after Mori 1965, 207, fig. 133).

⁴⁰ For the period, see Ritner 2009b; Kitchen 1986.

⁴¹ See the introduction to Ritner 2009c, 1–8 and 51 (text 4); Kitchen 1986, 288 §242.

⁴² Ritner 2009c, 394–98.



Figure 7.29. Kneeling Meshwesh chieftains with horizontal feathers on the Piye Stela (Cairo JE 48862; see Ritner 2009c, 468). Photo by the author, 2009.

while those of the Libu tribe are erect (figs. 7.29 and 7.30).⁴³ Toward the end of the period, a conscious “renaissance” based on Old Kingdom models stigmatized Libyan customs and dress as non-Egyptian and served the propagandistic needs of the Kushites, new rivals for control of Egypt.⁴⁴ The Saite (Twenty-Sixth) Dynasty reunited Egypt by suppressing the authority and imagery of both Kushites and Libyans, carefully ignoring the dynasty’s own Libyan origins and only now attaining genuine “Egyptianization.”⁴⁵

Well after Libyan “suppression” in Egypt during the Saite renaissance, tribal groups continued to be dominant figures in the western oases. At the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty, an Egyptian temple at Umm ‘Ubaydah in the Siwa Oasis preserves a final representation of one such tribal leader. Although the ruined temple retains the cartouches of Nectanebo II and the texts are composed in the contemporary, sophisticated “Ptolemaic” hieroglyphic writing system, the surviving donor and beneficiary of Amun’s blessing is not the king but the “true lord, great chief of foreign lands, Wenamun son of Nakht-tit, the justified, born of Renpet-nefret.”⁴⁶ Wenamun’s name, like those of his family, is purely Egyptian, but his title is not. Most significantly, he wears an erect feather atop his head (fig. 7.31).⁴⁷

43 For feather orientation, see Ritner 2009c, 77, 388, 395–96, 405, 410, 437, 464, and 466–68.

44 Ritner 2008; 2009c, 466–68.

45 Ritner 1990.

46 See Fakhry 1944, 111 and pl. 23; 1973, 167–71.

47 Wenamun wears an Egyptian broad collar and a belt around his waist. No trace of a kilt is evident, though it may have been completed in now-missing paint.



Figure 7.30. Donation stela of the Libu chief Niumateped with vertical feather (Spiegelberg 1920, pl. 20).



Figure 7.31. The “great chief of foreign lands” Wenamun, wearing a vertical feather, kneeling before Amun. Thirtieth Dynasty (Nectanebo II), temple of Umm ‘Ubaydah. Photo by the author, 2004.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ISACM Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Museum
 TA Amarna tomb
 TT Theban tomb
 KV Kings' Valley (Valley of the Kings)
Urk. I Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anthes, Rudolf

- 1951 "Catalogue of Tiles and Other Inlays." In *The Excavation of Medinet Habu—Volume IV: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Part II*, by Uvo Hölscher, 42–47. Translated by Elisabeth B. Hauser. Oriental Institute Publications 55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bates, Oric

- 1914 (1970) *The Eastern Libyans: An Essay*. London: Macmillan. Reprint, London: Cass.

Borchardt, Ludwig

- 1907 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-Re*^c. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 7. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
 1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-Re*^c. Vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 26. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1905 *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*. Part 2, *The Tombs of Panehesy and Meryre*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
 1941 *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*. Mond Excavations at Thebes 1. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Dochniak, Craig Charles

- 1991 "The Libyan Palette Interpreted as Depicting a Combination Pictorial Year-Name." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 7: 108–14.

Epigraphic Survey

- 1932 *Medinet Habu—Volume II: Later Historical Records of Ramses III*. Oriental Institute Publications 9. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fakhry, Ahmed

- 1944 *Siwa Oasis: Its History and Antiquities*. Cairo: Government Press.
 1973 *The Oases of Egypt*. Vol. 1, *Siwa Oasis*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Habachi, Labib

- 1963 "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods." *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 19: 16–52.

Hayes, William C.

- 1951 "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10: 156–83.

Hölscher, Uvo

- 1951 *The Excavation of Medinet Hbau—Volume IV: The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Part II*. Oriental Institute Publications 55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hölscher, Wilhelm

- 1936 *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 4. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Hope, Colin A.

- 2007 "Egypt and 'Libya' to the End of the Old Kingdom: A View from Dakhleh Oasis." In *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Janet Richards, 399–415. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte 36. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

Hornung, Erik

- 1984 *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher*. Zurich: Artemis.

Kitchen, Kenneth A.

- 1982 *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical—Volume IV*. Oxford: Blackwell.
 1986 *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*. 2nd ed. with supplement. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
 2003 *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations—Volume IV*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labrousse, Audran, Jean-Philippe Lauer, and Jean Leclant

- 1977 *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*. Mission archéologique de Saqqarah 2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike

- 1989 *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*. Excavation Memoir 55. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Minutoli, Johann Heinrich Carl von

- 1827 *Nachträge zu meinem Werke, betitelt: Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Aegypten in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*. Berlin: Maurer.

Mori, Fabrizio

- 1965 *Tadrart Acacus: Arte rupestre e culture del Sahara preistorico*. Turin: Einaudi.

Naville, Edouard

- 1901 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari—Part IV*. Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 19. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Naville, Edouard, with chapters by H. R. Hall and E. R. Ayrton

- 1913 *The XIth Dynasty Temple of Deir el-Bahari—Part I*. Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 28. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Newberry, Percy E.

- 1893 *Beni Hasan. Part 1, Archaeological Survey of Egypt*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Panaite, Elena

- 2018 "The Evolution of Libyans' Identity Markers in Egyptian Iconography: The Tjehenu Example." In *Tradition and Transformation in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress for Young Egyptologists, 15–19 September 2015, Vienna*, edited by Andrea Kahlbacher and Elisa Pringling, 261–74. Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 6. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 84. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Parkinson, Richard, and Louise Schofield

- 1993 "Akhenaten's Army?" *Egyptian Archaeology* 3: 34–35.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders

- 1901 "The Races of Early Egypt." *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 31: 248–55.

Quibell, James Edward

- 1900 *Hierakonpolis—Part I*. Egyptian Research Account 4. London: Quaritch.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 1990 "The End of the Libyan 'Anarchy' in Egypt: P. Rylands IX, cols. 11–12." *Enchoria* 17: 101–8.
- 2008 "Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian." In *Egypt and Beyond: Studies Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, edited by Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian, 305–14. Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University.
- 2009a "Egypt and the Vanishing Libyan: Institutional Responses to a Nomadic People." In *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, edited by Jeffrey Szuchman, 43–56. Oriental Institute Seminars 5. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2009b "Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period." In *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties—Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited by Gerard P. F. Broekman, Robert J. Demarée, and Olaf E. Kaper, 327–40. Egyptologische Uitgaven 23. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009c *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Rosellini, Ippolito

- 1832–44 *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia, disegnati dalla spedizione scientifico-letteraria Toscana in Egitto*. Pisa: Capurro.

Smith, William Stevenson

- 1965 *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1967 "Two Archaic Egyptian Sculptures." *Boston Museum Bulletin* 65: 70–84.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1920 "Neue Schenkungsstelen über Landstiftungen an Tempel." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 56: 55–60.

Stockfisch, Dagmar

- 1996 "Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie.'" In *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Mechthild Schade-Busch, 315–25. Ägypten und Altes Testament 35. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

von Bissing, Friedrich Wilhelm

- 1914 *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*. Munich: Bruckmann.

Wilson, John

- 1935 "Libyans and the End of the Egyptian Empire." *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 51: 73–82.

Wreszinski, Walter

- 1935 (1988) *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte, Part II*. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine.

8

Dress in Rome's Northern Provinces

Ursula Rothe
Open University

THE AREA THAT became Rome's northern provinces (Britannia, Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Belgica, Gallia Lugdunensis, Germania Inferior and Superior, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia Inferior and Superior) was gradually conquered by Rome over the course of the first centuries BCE and CE. The indigenous population across most of this area had, at the time of conquest, been Celtic speaking; was divided into tribal groupings of various sizes; and belonged culturally to the sphere of the late La Tène usually associated with the Celts. The advent of Roman rule brought a range of dramatic changes to the cultural and political makeup of this region, some of which were sudden and others of which were gradual. It is one of the tasks of Roman provincial archaeology to understand the extent, nature, and causes of these changes and to shed light on how the local populations of these regions reacted to Roman rule. Unfortunately, unlike, say, Roman Italy, the northern provinces do not constitute a region for which we have very many remaining literary sources that might give us explicit written evidence of reactions to Roman rule by local people or the way they saw themselves within the Roman imperial structure. So scholars must rely on the evidence that is available to explore these questions, such as monuments, settlement remains, and archaeological artifacts.

It is in this context that evidence for dress comes into its own; as is nearly universally accepted in studies of human culture, including the essays in this volume, dress has an almost unique ability to assert, reflect, and enforce personal and group identities because it is public facing, potentially multifaceted, and worn on the person. In Rome's northern provinces, the dress people wore or chose to be depicted in on monuments is the closest we can get to a personal statement of how people defined their identities in relation to the world around them, and by analyzing it carefully we are able to gain insight into local ethnic, status, and gender identities, as well as the ways in which they were or were not affected by increasing integration into the Roman Empire. The purpose of this study is to present an overview and discussion of a range of results of my research on the dress of the northern provinces that reveal details hitherto unknown about the nature and development of personal identities within the local population.¹

¹ See, e.g., Rothe 2009, 2012a, 2012b, 2013, 2014; Rothe, Hamelink, and Delferrière 2023. For other research on dress in the northwestern provinces, see Böhme 1985; Wild 1985; Roche-Bernard 1993; Böhme-Schönberger 2003; Rosten 2008; Carroll 2014; Hamelink 2020. For dress in other Roman provinces, see

The types of sources we have for dress in this region in the Roman period is specific to the circumstances of survival of different types of material. Textiles, for example, do not survive, except for the few scraps retrieved from waterlogged deposits such as at Vindolanda near Hadrian's Wall,² which give us information as to fiber types and weaving styles but do not tell us a great deal about the form of the garments to which they once belonged. Metal fastenings such as belt buckles or the brooches often used to fasten garments in place in northern Europe do survive in the ground in both settlement and grave contexts, but again they are not always very helpful in reconstructing the forms of the garments or outfits to which they were attached. Moreover, most of the incoming Roman garments and garment ensembles did not include metal fastenings of any kind. Iconographic evidence is both more plentiful and more informative. In this category we have some, though very few, honorific statues depicting local people, as well as images of people in religious scenes on votive monuments. Images on such votive monuments often also include personified depictions of local deities in local dress styles.

By far the most valuable type of evidence for dress in the Roman northwest, however, are stone grave monuments, which constitute a Roman habit that entered the region via the soldiers stationed there and the stonemasons who followed them. They survive in various states of preservation but are very rarely found where they were originally erected next to actual graves, as they were usually used later as building material or as decorations for later structures. They include an inscription (giving the name of the deceased and age at death, and sometimes details of the person's occupation, tribal affinities, family members, and so on), as well as—not always but very often—a portrait of the deceased (and sometimes the individual's family members). The monuments were usually set up as a result of wishes expressed by the deceased in a will but were also often commissioned by surviving family members after the person had died. The image on the monuments usually took the form of a relief in either half or full figure, but on the more elaborate monuments whole freestanding statues could be included. While the dress depicted may not reflect everyday reality, the choice of certain garments for this image of the person, which was intended to be a lasting statement of the individual's existence and the things that person found meaningful, does give us a clear handle on the identity that was intended to be communicated. Along with the information contained in the inscriptions, the characteristics of Roman grave monuments make them especially valuable sources not just for the types of dress worn but also for the disparities in dress behavior between different groups in society. The popularity of these new types of grave monuments among the local population is in itself a testimony to the status consciousness of the people of this region, as the monuments were the perfect way to sum up and display wealth, status, and identity in a lasting way.³

The Roman gravestone habit did not, however, catch on in all parts of the northern provinces, and the places in which we have large numbers of them are, by consequence, those about which we can say the most in terms of dress. Similarly, in some parts of the north they were set up throughout the first three centuries of Roman rule until the dawn of

Lee 2015; Klaver 2016; Long 2017; Krag 2018; Corcoran 2021; and several chapters in the edited volumes Sebesta and Bonfante 1994; Carroll and Wild 2012; Tellenbach, Schulz, and Wiczorek 2013.

2 See, e.g., Wild 2011.

3 For Roman gravestones in the northern provinces in general, see, e.g., von Hesberg and Zanker 1987.

Christianity, while in other areas they seem to have been popular only for a shorter period, such as the very beginning of Roman occupation. As a result, the following discussion will concentrate on a range of specific scenarios relating to “hotspots,” where it has been possible to derive meaningful information because of the quality and quantity of evidence. These six scenarios are intended to illustrate the spectrum of different cultural situations and reactions to Roman rule.

SCENARIO 1

On the tombstones of the northwestern provinces, as elsewhere in the empire, the most common portrait form was that of a married couple (although sometimes children or other family members are included as well). On many stones, one finds both the man and the woman dressed in local clothing. An example is the gravestone of Blussus and Menimane from Mogontiacum-Mainz in modern Germany (in the Roman province of Germania Superior) dating to the Claudian period (41–54 CE) (fig. 8.1).

Blussus, a local shipman, is depicted in a typical, local Gallic hooded cape and scarf, and next to him his wife, Menimane, wears the typical dress of the local tribal area of the Treveri, consisting of a long-sleeved bodice and underskirt; a tube-shaped overtunic held



Figure 8.1. Gravestone of Blussus and Menimane from Mainz, Germany, early first century CE. Landesmuseum Mainz.

with three brooches, two at the shoulders and one at the chest; and a cloak and bonnet, along with a great deal of heavy metal jewelry. (Uniquely in this depiction of the dress ensemble, one side of the overtunic has slipped off the shoulder; the meaning of this detail is unclear.) Between them stands a young man who is probably their son, Primus, but his clothes are ambiguous. The inscription tells us that the stone was commissioned by Menimane for both of them when Blussus died.

Much has been written about this stone, and it is often said that it represents a certain contradiction.⁴ On the one hand, these people present themselves as unambiguously indigenous—the dress, the names, the frontal seated position—but on the other hand, they decided to set up a thoroughly Roman-style tomb with a Latin inscription, and that at a very early date in the Roman history of this area. Was this stone really a manifestation of cultural orientation toward Rome? It seems more likely that such monuments were in fact not considered cultural features in and of themselves but, rather, a means to an end. Local people saw in them the ideal medium to present their identity—whether indigenous or otherwise—and to perpetuate their memory. Of course, part of the message of such monuments was that the people were wealthy enough to afford such a gravestone in the first place. But it is especially the clothing represented on the stone that communicates cultural orientation and identity, and in this case the identity is thoroughly indigenous. On the other hand, there can hardly be any talk of “resistance” here. Blussus has evidently achieved some prosperity transporting goods on the Rhine for the Roman military, and the couple have given their son the Roman name “Primus.”

SCENARIO 2

A more common phenomenon on the gravestones in my research area are grave portraits in which the man is depicted in Roman clothes and his wife in local dress. This type of representation is especially common in the Roman Danube provinces of Noricum and Pannonia.⁵ An example is a medallion portrait gravestone from Wels in Austria (Roman Noricum) dating to the second century CE (fig. 8.2). It is built into the wall of a later building and has not been preserved with its inscription. The man has a beard and wears the toga of the Antonine period, while his wife wears typical dress of this region of Noricum: an overtunic held at the shoulders with large brooches; a cloak around the shoulders; a bonnet of the Norican style over a local bobbed hairstyle; and copious jewelry around the neck, across the chest, and at the wrist. The dress of the woman is entirely indigenous, that of the man entirely Roman.

So what does this monument tell us? It may be that the man was actually an immigrant from Italy, while his wife was from the local area. But not all such representations can be explained in this way, and the fact that the combination described here is the most common scenario on the many hundreds of gravestones from the region means that not all the men in Roman dress are likely to have been outsiders. We have to assume that many of

4 See, e.g., Böhme 1985, 425ff.; Wild 1985; Nerzic 1989, 222–24; Raepsaet-Charlier 2001, 364, 385; Böhme-Schönberger 2003; Rothe 2009, 28–29, 34–37, 154 no. M12.

5 See Rothe 2012a.



Figure 8.2. Medallion portrait from a grave monument in Wels, Austria, second century CE. Photo by Ursula Rothe.

the men who are portrayed in this way also came from the area, thus begging the question why they are portrayed in Roman dress while their wives wear the local dress style.

The toga is a bit of a special case in the world of clothing because it can express both a cultural and a legal identity: only Roman citizens were allowed to wear it. In the provinces, where not everyone had Roman citizenship until the late Roman period, this garment may have expressed a cultural preference for Rome but could also have simply expressed the achievement of this privileged legal status, similar to a wearable identity card. The one possibility does not exclude the other, and Roman culture is particularly interesting in that Romanness was defined first and foremost as a legal identity.⁶

The woman's dress is particularly interesting. In the Middle Danube region we find very elaborate women's dress styles, which were worn virtually unchanged over the Roman period. The garments themselves have an amazing continuity and show clear regional differences, especially in the type of hat, which almost certainly reflect pre-Roman tribal identities. The bonnet worn in the example shown, for instance, is only ever found in the area that made up the pre-Roman kingdom of Noricum, even many centuries after the imposition of very different Roman provincial borders.⁷

What stands out in this region is that these tribal dress styles are worn only by women, not by men. When men in this area wear local clothing, they are very simple garments without regional variety. As so often in human history, it seems to be the case that women were

⁶ See, e.g., Gardner 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 41; Ando 2016; Rothe 2020, 81–82, 88–91, 123–32.

⁷ Rothe 2012a.

tasked with continuing ethnic traditions and affiliations, at least in their clothing. Sociologists and ethnologists have coined the term “guardians of ethnicity” for this phenomenon, and it has been noted in many parts of the world in different eras.⁸ All these examples have in common that the difference in clothing between men and women is based on the fact that the women’s main realm of activity was private and it was their responsibility to provide for this cultural continuity, while the men, who tended to operate in the public sphere and had more interaction with the imperial system or its representatives, were the ones to adopt the clothes of the dominant external culture. The evidence for clothing suggests that this may also have been the case in the Middle Danube region in the Roman period.

SCENARIO 3

The reverse of scenario 2, in which the woman wears Roman clothing and the man wears native clothing, was also not unknown in the northern provinces. Although it was extremely rare, it is particularly prevalent in the area around Trier (Germany) and Arlon (Belgium) in northern Gaul, where about a third of all burial portraits show this combination.⁹ On a mid- to late second-century gravestone from Trier, for example, a man wears a Gallic hooded cape—just like Blussus the boatman from Mainz in scenario 1—and underneath it a long-sleeved Gallic tunic (fig. 8.3). The woman, on the other hand, wears



Figure 8.3. Relief panel from a grave monument in Trier, mid- to late second century CE, Musée archéologique d'Arlon. Photo: Bridgeman.

⁸ See, e.g., Nadig 1986 for Mexico; James 1996 for South Africa; Tarlo 1996 for India.

⁹ Rothe 2013.

a short-sleeved Roman tunic girded in the Roman style under the bust and a rectangular Roman cloak called a *pallium* that, also in the Roman style, is pulled over the head.¹⁰

The question presents itself why such women bucked the overall trend in the Roman north and donned Roman dress, even while their husbands wore local garments. The combination of women in Roman dress and men in local dress extends across all sizes of gravestones in the Treveran area, so it was not limited to a specific socioeconomic group. Gaul was a region in which there was very little immigration from outside after the incoming army units during the initial conquest period. It seems to be the case that the men of this area did not need to show themselves as Roman citizens as often, or were disinclined to adopt Roman styles, while a significant number of women developed a preference for Roman clothing styles. Unlike the toga, Roman women's dress had no public or legal significance. As such, the Roman dress in the scenario described here would appear to have been a manifestation of fashion. Headgear for women was a mainstay of local dress styles, unlike Roman women's dress, so the absence of headgear on the Roman-clad women in and around Trier may also reflect a desire to be able to follow Roman women's hairstyles.

SCENARIO 4

We have now seen that men and women could wear clothing from the different spheres of cultural life in the Roman provinces—fully Roman dress and fully local dress—and doing so was one way a family could maintain a foothold in both cultures. But combining the two on one and the same person was also possible, and a way in which one could show oneself as both Roman and native was to wear Roman and local clothing elements together.¹¹ There are many variants of this phenomenon, and it was especially women who engaged in this practice, such as by wearing the Roman-style *pallium* cloak with an otherwise local ensemble or wearing the local bonnet with otherwise Roman dress. Figure 8.4 shows a portrait from Au am Leithaberge in Austria



Figure 8.4. Grave stela for Umma from Au am Leithaberge, Austria, late first or early second century CE, Keltenmuseum Hallein. Photo by Wolfgang Sauber. Wikimedia Commons.

¹⁰ Rothe 2009, 124 no. T26.1 and pl. I.

¹¹ Rothe 2009, 75–77.

(Roman province of Pannonia Superior) dating to the late first or early second century CE. The woman depicted, named Umma, wears the local overtunic with large brooches at the shoulders and the typical boat-shaped fur hat style of the region around Lake Neusiedler, but she has her cloak draped in a Roman manner and clutches at one side of it, as in typical Roman statues of women of this era—the so-called “Herculaneum woman” style.¹²

But it was not just women who wore such combinations. The main portrait on the so-called Igel Pillar, a large grave column still in situ in Igel near Trier in Germany, shows three men, the one on the left in military uniform and the two on the right in the toga (fig. 8.5). The latter two men wear long-sleeved Gallic tunics under their togas instead of the short-sleeved Roman tunic. While the inscription gives us only the names of the family members, it is clear from the many everyday-life scenes included as separate panels over the whole monument that the family owned a great deal of land (scenes of tenant farmers bringing rent) and was also involved in the local textile trade (scenes of woolen cloth being tested, bundled up, and transported). From the names and the late date of the stone (early second century CE), as well as the dress worn, it seems likely that the family was from the local area.¹³ The identity that these and the previous portraits show is one consisting of different parts, local and Roman—a kind of hybrid identity in which the imperial and local elements do not conflict with one other but seemingly are harmoniously juxtaposed.



Figure 8.5. Main portrait, Igel Pillar, in situ in Igel, Germany, early second century CE. Photo by Carole Reddato. Wikimedia Commons.

¹² See, e.g., Knoll, Vorster, and Woelk 2007.

¹³ For the Igel Pillar in general, see Zahn 1982; Mehl 1997; France, Kuhnen, and Richard 2001.

SCENARIO 5

Another way to live out such a hybrid identity was by wearing different types of clothing in different areas of life. This practice can be shown particularly well in the northern Gallic stones, because they often represent everyday scenes on their sides. The Igel Pillar is, again, a good example: we have already seen that the men on the front wear either military clothing or the Gallic tunic with the toga. But in the many everyday scenes on the monument, the men of the family wear only local Gallic dress: sleeved, ungirded tunics and hooded Gallic capes.¹⁴ And in fact, there are no everyday scenes in the northwest in which people wear Roman clothing; that it is always local dress (see fig. 8.6 for an example) suggests that Roman dress was reserved for special occasions or spheres of life and that local dress was the everyday norm,¹⁵ even in wealthy families that played a central role in local and interregional commercial life.



Figure 8.6. Cobbler working in a workshop on a gravestone from Gaul, second century CE, Musée Saint-Remi, France. Photo by G. Garitan. Wikimedia Commons.

SCENARIO 6

The final observable phenomenon relating to dress choice in the Roman northwest is arguably also the most interesting and instructive of how dress reflects developments in cultural identity over time. In the first century CE, the few stones we have from this early era show women wearing local, almost certainly tribe-based dress styles like that worn by Menimane in figure 8.1. At the end of the century, however, in Gaul and the Rhineland, a new dress style developed in women's clothing that did not represent a direct continuity with the original local clothing, but neither was it Roman. It consisted of a plain, long-sleeved, foot-length tunic worn without a belt (apparently based on the male Gallic tunic, which was identical but worn calf-length); a rectangular cloak; and a plain, beret-like bonnet (fig. 8.7). Unlike the pre-Roman Iron Age women's dress represented by Menimane's ensemble, the new dress style did not involve any brooches to fasten it—or indeed any metal accessories at all. At the same time that tribal dress such as Menimane's ensemble started

¹⁴ See Rothe 2009, pl. XII.

¹⁵ Rothe 2009, 24–27.



Figure 8.7. Grave stela for a couple from Oberhaslach, France, early third century CE, Musées de la ville de Strasbourg. Photo by Musées Strasbourg. Wikimedia Commons.

to disappear from the gravestone portraits, large, metal brooches in the combination worn by Menimane—and in fact brooches in general—also started to disappear from archaeological grave contexts as the new women's dress style slowly infiltrated all social groups.¹⁶ On the gravestones it was worn by women in almost all walks of life, including wives of wealthy merchants and blacksmiths, domestic slaves, and wet nurses.¹⁷

Importantly, the new dress style was now to be found across the entire Roman northwest and became the dress of the vast majority of women in gravestone portraits across the whole of the Three Gauls (Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Belgica, and Gallia Aquitania). It was also found in the German provinces and eventually crossed to Britain as well. In other words, it no longer expressed local tribal identities, as the Menimane ensemble and others like it did. Instead, it represented a new, wider Gallic identity that set itself apart not just from the earlier tribal affiliations but also from the imperial power in Rome.¹⁸

The female Gallic ensemble is generally local in character. Although both it and the male Gallic tunic could sometimes be decorated in a Roman style with two vertical stripes (*clavi*),¹⁹ unlike Roman tunics the Gallic tunic had long sleeves that reached to the wrist and were often very narrow. Long sleeves were considered barbarian

by the Romans and entered mainstream Roman fashion only in Late Antiquity. Perhaps most importantly, the tunic was worn ungirded, which would have been unthinkable for

16 Leifeld 2007; see also Rosten 2008 for this development in Britain.

17 See, e.g., Rothe 2009, pls. II T28, IV T30, XI T60, XII T62, XIX T128, XXXVII U32.

18 Rothe 2012b.

19 See Rothe, Hamelink, and Delferrière 2023.

the ladies in the imperial capital. Furthermore, a head covering such as this bonnet is wholly uncharacteristic of Roman women's dress and would have made it impossible to follow the elaborate hairstyles fashionable in Rome. The rectangular cloak, although similar in form to the Roman *pallium*, was draped in a variety of symmetrical, un-Roman ways.

The male tunic and hooded cape were a continuation of Iron Age male clothing. Men appear in this clothing in portraits from the earliest to the latest stelae and portrait sarcophagi. In contrast, the female Gallic ensemble appears only at the end of the first century CE. So even though the male tunic was the model for the new female tunic, its adoption by women and the abandonment of local tribal dress still require an explanation, especially as such tribal dress styles continued in use throughout the Roman period in some provinces of the Roman Empire, such as Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, and Noricum (see scenario 2 and figs. 8.2 and 8.3 above). What the female dress of Gaul seems to indicate is that in the pre- and early Roman periods, people possessed a tribal identity that was expressed in the dress of the women. Perhaps in a version of what Jan Slofstra²⁰ and others have labeled "detribalization," this identity gradually dissolved during the course of the late first century into a more general "Gallic" identity that, like the later breakaway Gallic Empire of the mid-third century, included the Rhineland and Britain. In other words, Roman rule appears to have engendered a new, broader, regional identity in the Roman northwest rather than a Roman identity per se.

The number and size of the portrait gravestones in Gaul and the German provinces increased in the early second century CE, at the same time that the female Gallic ensemble appeared. This development is no coincidence: both phenomena are products of profound social change in the Roman northwest at this time. The fact that it happened during the course of the later first century CE suggests that it was triggered by the circumstances of Roman rule. Several researchers have drawn attention to the rapid growth of an urban "middle class" in Gaul in the late first century and have developed theories about it.²¹

We can get closer to understanding the process by looking at the Treveri in more detail. Although the Treveri were conquered by Caesar, they rebelled repeatedly until they were finally defeated at the end of the Batavian Revolt, in which they were a key player, in 70 CE. From that time until the general imperial troubles of the mid-third century, no Roman troops were stationed in the *civitas Treverorum*; the area was now peaceful and began to prosper. To what extent this sea change was caused by an expulsion or impoverishment of powerful anti-Roman Treveran families in the wake of the Batavian Revolt is a matter of some debate. What is clear is that from the Flavian period (69–96 CE) onward, Gallic cities such as Trier developed large-scale public buildings, and the Gauls, especially the Treveri, became involved in large-scale trade, especially of wine and cloth. A study of Gallic epigraphy by Lothar Wierschowski²² has shown that in the period from the late first to the mid-third century, the Gauls, and the Treverans in particular,²³ displayed a high degree of short-term mobility in the form of business trips to other cities. Most importantly, this mobility was confined almost entirely to the northwestern provinces, and the Gallic provinces

20 Slofstra 1983.

21 See Heinen 1985; Kneissl 1988; Freigang 1997; Woolf 1998; Drinkwater 1977–78, 2001.

22 Wierschowski 1995.

23 See Krier 1981 for an entire volume dedicated to Treverans abroad.

in particular. For the inhabitants of Gaul, by far the greater part of their contact with other cultural groups was not with Italians but with other Gauls. As a result, Wierschowski has called the German and Gallic provinces a “regionaler Verbund.”²⁴ Against this background, it is no longer surprising that in the late first century CE, symbols of small-scale, local identities such as Menimane’s ensemble became obsolete. The geographic horizon had been widened.

The formation of new, larger ethnic identities from smaller units—such as tribes—is, in history, a frequent reaction by humans to an imperial power. Of course, the reasons for it differ from case to case. Particularly helpful in this context is the history of women’s clothing in British India. The sari, for example, although regarded as typically Indian, is in its present form a comparatively modern garb. It developed at the end of the eighteenth century in northern India from a shorter scarf, which was originally worn with a blouse and skirt by some Hindu women.²⁵ The Westernization of the educational system and economy in India, which began under British rule, produced the formation of an urban Indian middle class. Emma Tarlo’s study of clothing in northwestern India, and especially in Gujarat, shows how this development created the need for appropriate clothing for urban women, those who did not live in a particular rural area with local clothing. As pan-Indian clothing, the sari stands in stark contrast to the various local clothing ensembles described in anthropological studies, which in Tarlo’s study of Gujarat consisted of heavy, richly decorated skirts, intricate robes, and a great deal of jewelry. These characteristics also make the village attire very conspicuous, and the symbolism of the various components means that it is relatively static in shape and appearance. The sari, on the other hand, can be styled variously to suit the mood of fashion. It can be made from any type of fabric, so that its wearers can follow Western fashion in fabrics and patterns while maintaining an Indian style.

The most informative aspect of the sari, however, is what it says about the cultural orientation of its wearers. Many examples from Tarlo’s study show that wearing a sari was associated with modernity and progress. For women in rural areas and lower castes, it was also associated with social advancement. Tarlo met many young women in villages who expressed a desire to change their local dress for the sari because it symbolized a larger world outside the narrow village. There are, of course, a number of significant differences between Roman Gaul and modern India. But it is nevertheless significant that in both cases the clothing chosen to symbolize this new cultural orientation was not the clothing of the imperial power which was the actual source of these changes; rather, indigenous clothing was chosen.

Perhaps the Treverans and others in the Roman northwest sought at the end of the first century CE a common denominator like the sari, and Gallic dress was the result. The local clothing ensemble with its brooches and other bulky jewelry, still proudly worn by Menimane in the Claudian era, had perhaps also become increasingly inappropriate in a changing world in which communication and trade relations had widened the geographic horizon.

²⁴ Wierschowski 1995, 233.

²⁵ Tarlo 1996; Banerjee and Miller 2003.

In this light, if we look back at Pannonia we see the contrast: there, tribal dress styles and tribal names remained important in local society until well into the third century CE. So we need to look at the social and cultural circumstances that pertained to try to understand why. One interesting contrast is the amount of disruption each region experienced in the wake of Roman rule. In most of Gaul, after the initial conquest, there were no troops stationed in the region, and we do not have much evidence for immigration from elsewhere in the empire. In Pannonia, on the other hand, we have quite an extraordinary number of Roman army camps: four legions were stationed along just this short stretch of the Danube, and there were dozens and dozens of smaller auxiliary camps.

Pannonia also saw an unusually large influx of civilians from other parts of the empire, especially Syria and the eastern provinces. Mostly these people were merchants setting up in the various Pannonian cities, such as the wealthy Syrian man who built the amphitheater in the civilian town in Carnuntum. Entire books have been dedicated to this interesting community in Pannonia,²⁶ but we do not quite yet understand why so many people came to this area. What we can perhaps postulate is that it was precisely this kind of disruption and movement of large numbers of people in and out that might have contributed to what Ioana Oltean has called “identity stress,”²⁷ a tenacious insistence on local traditions in the face of a perceived cultural threat.

CONCLUSION

This broad survey of dress behavior patterns in Rome's northern provinces in the first three centuries CE has intended to show the wide variety of ways local people reacted in cultural terms to integration into the Roman Empire. Especially in the earliest phase of Roman rule, we often see the continuation of pre-Roman local dress styles on Roman gravestone portraits: the more generic indigenous dress of the men combined with the more specific and elaborate, tribe-based dress styles of the women (scenario 1). As time progressed, these tribe-based dress styles disappeared across the Roman northwest (scenario 6), while they continued—perhaps because of something amounting to “identity stress”—until the late Roman period in the Danube provinces (scenario 2). Of course, there was appropriation of new cultural property from Rome and interweaving with indigenous cultural elements, but those developments could take various forms—at the level of the individual in the mixing of different garments, for example (scenario 4), or in wearing different clothes for different occasions and areas of life (scenario 5). But we also have to assume that provincial Roman families probably often acted as closed systems, as in some cultures today, and that, for example, the different dress behavior of the men and women of a family was a way that family could express interconnectedness and their belonging to two cultural systems. Especially in the Danube provinces, this expression took the form of women continuing local dress styles, while their husbands often adopted Roman dress (scenario 2). In northern Gaul, however, the reverse was the case, and it was often the women who took on Roman dress elements, while their husbands continued to wear the Gallic dress they had always worn (scenario 3).

26 E.g., Kádár 1962; Balla 1963, 1976, 1980; Fitz 1972; Solin 1983.

27 Oltean 2009, 92–93.

The dress of the northern Roman provinces also serves to show that it is important to develop different interpretive approaches to different cultural elements in any given society. The adoption of the Roman tombstone by local provincial people had, for example, a very different meaning than the adoption of Roman dress styles. The tombstone can be seen as a medium that was adopted for its ability to embody and express the identities and aspirations of individual people and families, while dress was a more direct indicator of cultural affiliation. But even the adoption of Roman dress styles could mean different things. While the wearing of Roman clothing by women may have been a result of cultural influence amounting to fashion, wearing a toga could have completely different personal reasons, including the display of privileged legal status in the form of Roman citizenship.

The example of Gallic women's clothing (scenario 6) shows us that imperial powers not only carry tangible, new cultural assets into conquered territories but also cause social changes that may lead to new ideological or geographic perspectives and thus to the development of new values and even new cultural identities.²⁸

Finally, even the briefest glance at the funerary art of the northern provinces makes it clear that dress played a central role in expressing cultural identity. In a part of the empire such as this one for which we have very little in the way of written evidence, it is only through close observation of dress styles and changes in dress behavior over time that we gain any insight at all into the finer nuances of cultural change resulting from Roman rule in these kinds of local populations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ando, Clifford

- 2016 "Making Romans: Citizens, Subjects and Subjectivity in Republican Empire." In *Cosmopolitanism and Empire: Universal Rulers, Local Elites and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, edited by Miles Lavan, Richard E. Payne, and John Weisweiler, 169–85. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Balla, Lajos

- 1963 "Östliche ethnische Elemente in Savaria." *Acta archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15: 228–30.
- 1976 "Les syriens et le culte de Iuppiter Dolichenus dans la région du Danube." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 12: 61–68.
- 1980 "Syriens de Commagène en Pannonie Orientale (à propos d'une inscription d'Intercisa)." *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 16: 69–71.

Banerjee, Mukulika, and Daniel Miller

- 2003 *The Sari*. Oxford: Berg.

Böhme, Astrid

- 1985 "Tracht- und Bestattungssitten in den germanischen Provinzen und der Belgica." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, part 2, vol. 12/3, *Künste (Forts.)*, edited by Hildegard Temporini et al., 423–55. Berlin: de Gruyter.

²⁸ See Rothe 2014.

Böhme-Schönberger, Astrid

- 2003 "Menimane, Blussus und das Mädchen vom Frauenlobplatz: Sind sie einheimisch-keltisch, romanisiert oder . . .?" In *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum: Neue Funde und Forschungen*, edited by Peter Noelke, 285–90. Mainz: von Zabern.

Carroll, Maureen

- 2014 "'The Insignia of Women': Dress, Gender and Identity on the Roman Funerary Monument of Regina from Arbeia." *Archaeological Journal* 169: 281–311.

Carroll, Maureen, and John Peter Wild, eds.

- 2012 *Dressing the Dead in Classical Antiquity*. Stroud, UK: Amberley.

Corcoran, Lorelei

- 2021 "'They Leave behind Them Portraits of Their Wealth, Not Themselves': Aspects of Self-Presentation in the Dress of the Deceased in Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt." In *Dress in Mediterranean Antiquity: Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians*, edited by A. Batten and K. Olson, 137–58. London: Bloomsbury.

Drinkwater, John

- 1977–78 "Die Secundinier von Igel und die Woll- und Textilindustrie in Gallia Belgica: Fragen und Hypothesen." *Trierer Zeitschrift* 40–41: 107–25.
- 2001 "The Gallo-Roman Woollen Industry and the Great Debate: The Igel Column Revisited." In *Economies beyond Agriculture in the Classical World*, edited by David J. Mattingly and John Salmon, 297–308. London: Routledge.

Fitz, Jenö

- 1972 *Les syriens à Intercisa*. Collection Latomus 122. Brussels: Latomus.

France, Jérôme, Hans-Peter Kuhnen, and François Richard, eds.

- 2001 *La colonne de Igel: Société et religion au III^e siècle après J.-C. Actes des journées d'étude de Nancy et Trèves, 21–22 septembre 2000*. Annales de l'Est 2001/2. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy.

Freigang, Yasmin

- 1997 "Die Grabmäler der gallo-römischen Kultur im Moselland: Studien zur Selbstdarstellung einer Gesellschaft." *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 44, no. 1: 277–440.

Gardner, Jane

- 1993 *Being a Roman Citizen*. London: Routledge.

Hamelink, Anique

- 2020 "The Iconography of Adornment: Funerary Monuments from Roman Britain." In *Stadt—Land—Fluss: Grabdenkmäler der Treverer in lokaler und überregionaler Perspektive. Akten der internationalen Konferenz vom 25.–27. Oktober 2018 in Neumagen und Trier*, edited by Andrea Binsfeld, Anja Klöckner, Gabrielle Kremer, Marcus Reuter, and Markus Scholz, 241–44. Trierer Zeitschrift Beiheft 37. Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

Heinen, Heinz

- 1985 *Trier und das Trevererland in römischer Zeit*. Trier: Spee.

James, Deborah

- 1996 "'I dress in this fashion': Transformations in Sotho Dress and Women's Lives in a Sekhukhuleni Village, South Africa." In *Clothing and Difference: Embodied Identities in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*, edited by Hildi Hendrickson, 34–65. Durham: Duke University Press.

Kádár, Zoltán

- 1962 *Die kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 2.* Leiden: Brill.

Klaver, Sanne

- 2016 "Dress and Identity in the Syrian-Mesopotamian Region: The Case of the Women of Dura Europos." *ARAM* 28, no. 2: 375–91.

Kneissl, Peter

- 1988 "Zur Wirtschaftsstruktur des römischen Reiches: Das Beispiel Gallien." In *Alte Geschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Peter Kneissl and Volker Losemann, 234–55. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Knoll, Kordelia, Christiane Vorster, and Moritz Woelk

- 2007 *The Herculaneum Women: History, Context, Identities.* Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Krag, Signe

- 2018 *Funerary Representations of Palmyrene Women from the First Century BC to the Third Century AD.* Studies in Classical Archaeology. Turnhout: Brepols.

Krier, Jean

- 1981 *Die Treverer ausserhalb ihrer Civitas: Mobilität und Aufstieg.* Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

Lee, Mireille

- 2015 *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leifeld, Hubert

- 2007 *Endlatène- und älterkaiserzeitliche Fibeln aus Gräbern des Trierer Landes: Eine antiquarisch-chronologische Studie.* Bonn: Habelt.

Long, Tracey

- 2017 "The Use of Parthian Costume in Funerary Portraiture." In *Positions and Professions in Palmyra*, edited by Tracey Long and Annette Højen Sørensen. Copenhagen: Scientia Danica.

Mehl, Andreas

- 1997 "Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Totenglauben: Die 'Igeler Säule' bei Trier und ihre Grabherrn." *Laverna* 8: 59–92.

Nadig, Maya

- 1986 *Die verborgene Kultur der Frau: Ethnopschoanalytische Gespräche mit Bäuerinnen in Mexiko—Subjektivität und Gesellschaft im Alltag von Otomi-Frauen.* Frankfurt: Fischer.

Nerzic, Chantal

- 1989 *La sculpture en Gaule romaine.* Paris: Montligeon.

Oltean, Ioana

- 2009 "Dacian Ethnic Identity and the Roman Army." In *The Army and Frontiers of Rome*, edited by Bill Hanson, 90–101. Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology.

Raepsaet-Charlier, Marie-Thérèse

- 2001 "Caractéristiques et particularités de l'onomastique trévire." In *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut-Empire*, edited by Monique Dondin-Payre and Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier, 343–98. Brussels: Timperman.

Roche-Bernard, Geneviève

- 1993 *Costumes et textiles en Gaule romaine.* Paris: Errance.

Rosten, Judith

- 2008 "Appearance, Diversity and Identity in Roman Britain." In *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn, 194–222. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Rothe, Ursula

- 2009 *Dress and Cultural Identity in the Rhine-Moselle Region of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- 2012a "Dress in the Middle Danube Provinces: The Garments, Their Origins and Their Distribution." *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 81: 137–231.
- 2012b "The 'Third Way': Treveran Women's Dress and the 'Gallic Ensemble.'" *American Journal of Archaeology* 116, no. 2: 235–52.
- 2013 "Whose Fashion? Men, Women and Roman Culture as Reflected in Dress in the Cities of the Roman North-West." In *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, edited by Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf, 243–68. Mnemosyne Supplements, History and Archaeology of Classical Antiquity 360. Leiden: Brill.
- 2014 "Ethnicity in the Roman Northwest." In *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Jeremy McInerney, 497–513. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- 2020 *The Toga and Roman Identity*. London: Bloomsbury.

Rothe, Ursula, Anique Hamelink, and Nicolas Delferrière

- 2023 "Roman *Clavus* Decoration on Gallic Dress: A Reevaluation Based on New Discoveries." *American Journal of Archaeology* 127, no. 4: 545–62. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1086/725914>.

Sebesta, Judith, and Larissa Bonfante, eds.

- 1994 *The World of Roman Costume*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Slofstra, Jan

- 1983 "An Anthropological Approach to the Study of Romanization Processes." In *Roman and Native in the Low Countries: Spheres of Interaction*, edited by Roel Brandt and Jan Slofstra, 71–104. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Solin, Heikki

- 1983 "Juden und Syrer in der römischen Welt." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, part 2, vol. 29/2, *Sprache und Literatur (Sprachen und Schriften [Forts.]*), edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase, 587–789. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Tarlo, Emma

- 1996 *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*. Chicago: Hurst.

Tellenbach, Michael, Regine Schulz, and Alfred Wiczorek, eds.

- 2013 *Die Macht der Toga: DressCode im römischen Weltreich*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner.

von Hesberg, Henner, and Paul Zanker, eds.

- 1987 *Römische Gräberstrassen: Selbstdarstellung—Status—Standard. Kolloquium in München vom 28. bis 30. Oktober 1985*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse Abhandlungen 96. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew

- 2008 *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wierschowski, Lothar

- 1995 *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: Quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches*. Historia Einzelschriften 91. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Wild, John Peter

- 1985 "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior." *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, part 2, vol. 12/3, *Künste (Forts.)*, edited by Hildegard Temporini et al., 362–423. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2011 "Vindolanda and Its Textiles: Gavvo and His Tosseae." In *Textiles y tintes en la ciudad antigua*, edited by Carmen Alfaro, Philippe Borgard, Jean-Pierre Brun, and Rafaela Pierobon-Benoit, 69–73. *Purpureae vestes 3*. Valencia: University of Valencia Press.

Woolf, Greg

- 1998 *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zahn, Eberhard

- 1982 *Die Igeler Säule bei Trier*. 5th ed. *Rheinische Kunststätten 38*. Neuss: Neusser Druckerei und Verlag.

PART III

CONSTRUCTION OF CULTIC
AND RELIGIOUS DRESS

9

Divinely Royal: Garments of Kings and Priests in Ancient Greece, with Comparisons from the Ancient Near East and the Levant*

Marie-Louise Nosch
University of Copenhagen

Mit dem Kleidern wird das Amt gemacht.
 —Helmut Utzschneider¹

TEXTILES AND CLOTHING are made of light and flexible materials. They provide a physical basis for advanced textile techniques, decorations, and jewelry, which can carry multiple and complex meanings. In antiquity, color, dyes, and patterns were distinctive signs of social hierarchy and sent out a powerful visual message of belonging or exclusion. Hence, clothing types, sizes, decorations, and techniques communicate in a language of their own. In a partially illiterate society, textiles and clothes become efficient political tools for expressing and visualizing power and legitimate authority.

Despite the impressive body of research on ancient Greek monarchies, the topic of royal clothing has seemingly not yet been considered in detail, with a few recent exceptions. One is historian Beate Wagner-Hasel's studies of royal power and textiles in Homeric Greece and the *Archaeologia Homerica* volume *Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos: Erkennungs-, Rang- und Würdezeichen*.² Another is my survey of evidence for textiles, garments, and wardrobes of kings in Mycenaean, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece.³ We can also point to Rudolph Strootman's outstanding study of Hellenistic court life, which has extensive discussions of clothing at court, royal attire, and the multiple functions of dress in a political hierarchy.⁴ In his chapter on court society, he

*I wish to thank the organizer, Aleksandra Hallmann, and the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures for the kind invitation to participate in such an inspiring seminar. This study has greatly benefited from discussions and exchanges in the intervening years with my knowledgeable colleagues Arjen Bakker, Cecilie Brøns, Kenny Clewett, Peder Flemestad, Judith Fletcher, Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, Cherine Munkholt, Mikkel Nørtoft, Louise Quillien, Linda Rocci, Pauline Schmitt-Pantell, Beate Wagner-Hasel, and Elsa Yvanez. Any mistakes are mine, however. I am also grateful for the support from my home institution, the University of Copenhagen, and extend my gratitude to the Humboldt Foundation for the Anneliese Maier Research Award, which enabled me to share knowledge with so many colleagues and embark on new research themes.

1 Utzschneider 1988, 175.

2 Wagner-Hasel 2000, 2007, 2015; Buchholz 2012.

3 Nosch 2021, 2022.

4 Strootman 2007.

includes substantial discussions of clothing and dress codes.⁵ Strootman emphasizes how clothing was instrumental to Hellenistic court life and a political means of tying loyal *philoi* to the king.⁶

Some generations back, the robes of kings, queens, and other dignitaries were studied intensively in scholarly works on ancient costumes.⁷ However, most modern studies of Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic kingships deal with their political, legal, and military aspects, as well as their historical and dynastic narratives, but the bodies of the kings, how they were clothed, and how they used dress to express legitimacy and authority are strangely invisible.⁸

Clothing and textiles represent a key to understanding aspects of ancient monarchies. Clothing and textiles play an important role at the royal court, and they function as a sign of royal benevolence. Textiles materialize the royal investiture and the endorsement of heritage when the monarch is attired in the legitimate dynastic wardrobe.

Indeed, royalty and religious duties appear to be inexorably linked, and religious responsibilities are integral to most ancient kingships, including that of ancient Greece. Thus religious attributes in kingship need to be analyzed in both a ritual and a political context.⁹

In this study, I explore this specific aspect of regal attires—that is, how they relate to priestly garments. Are the combined royal and priestly functions merged in one and the same person through a single dress, or are the two functions expressed in two distinct “uniforms”? Is the unification of the royal function of power and legitimacy with the priestly, thaumaturgic, and spiritual function of kings achieved through merging the two aspects into a single royal and religious garment?¹⁰ In other words, did the garments of kings and priests illustrate their separate or unified functions? The historian’s typical question of origin and chronology is also pertinent here: Did kings wear purple mantles and white *chitons* first and were later imitated by priests? Or did the converse occur? How did kings’ clothing influence priests’ clothing and vice versa? Were they perceived as similar or different? Regrettably, no ancient source answers these questions fully, but as we shall see, a series of ancient sources from different times and places in antiquity provide answers to many of them.

The challenge for the historian of antiquity is to understand how these royal and priestly duties overlap and complement one another. In antiquity, there is a broad range of governance models combining kings and priests. There are examples of theocracy and divine kingships, as in Egypt; there is kingship ordained by the gods, or royal rule by consent of the gods, or sacral kingship in which a secular ruler ensures good relations

5 Strootman 2007, 160–66. The materiality of the Hellenistic court life is also explored in his chapters on palaces, royal households, royal processions, and ceremonies, as well as in the appendix on regalia—the king’s costume, the diadem, the scepter, and the color purple.

6 Strootman 2007, 162: “Clothing was instrumental in constructing the cohesiveness of the *philoi* group, as by clothing in like manner the *philoi* expressed their loyalty to each other and to the king.”

7 Sayce 1899; Houston 1920; Brunton 1926.

8 Adcock 1953; Ritter 1965; Carlier 1978, 1983, 2002; Gaudemet 1978; Heinen 1978; Lévy 1978; Drews 1983; Austin 1986; Barcelò 1993; Launderville 2003; Virgilio 2003; Grawehr et al. 2020.

9 Carlier 1983, 488; Morris 2003, 12–13.

10 On the thaumaturgic properties of kings, see the seminal study by Marc Bloch (1961).

with the divine powers by fulfilling priestly duties. It begs the question how these diverse governance models are expressed in clothing.

The approach I have taken is to explore whether the official vestments of rulers are a key to understanding their combined sacerdotal and secular duties. One of the highly visible links between priestly and political dress is the color purple. However, it remains an open question whether purple was originally the dress color of a priest who had become a king or that of a king when acting as the head of a religious ceremony.

The topic of kings and priests is not new—just about every historical and anthropological study takes the traditional approach of person-centered and institution-focused analysis. Already Plato (*The Statesman*, 290d–e) discussed the combined functions of priests and kings in Egypt and Greece:

In Egypt, for example, no king can rule without being a priest, and if he happens to have forced his way to the throne from some other class, he must enroll himself in the class of priests afterwards; and among the Greeks, too, you would find that in many states the performance of the greatest public sacrifices is a duty imposed upon the highest officials. Yes, among you Athenians this is very plain, for they say the holiest and most national of the ancient sacrifices are performed by the man whom the lot has chosen to be the King.

And in Greece, Aristotle (*Pol.* 3.1285b) observed how the ancient monarchical powers were reduced to ritual responsibilities with the emergence of democratic institutions: “but later on when gradually the kings relinquished some of their powers and had others taken from them by the multitudes, in the cities in general only the sacrifices were left to the kings, while where anything that deserves the name of royalty survived the kings only had the command in military expeditions across the frontiers.”

The anthropologist James Frazer included the chapter “Priestly Kings” in his controversial and influential 1890 monograph *The Golden Bough*, highlighting what he believed to be universal sacred elements of kingship in antiquity and in ethnographic records.¹¹ Such global aspects of sacral kingship were discussed at a large conference in Rome in 1955, “The Sacral Kingship: Contributions to the Central Theme of the VIIIth International Congress for the History of Religions,” which gathered experts in the history of religions.¹² The conference surveyed royalty all over the world and its connections to the divine sphere. Clothing and the material culture of sacred kingship, however, were rarely or merely superficially discussed. My focus here is to investigate further whether the association of the royal and divine is supported, emphasized, highlighted, or symbolized in clothing. To do so, I examine the links between royal clothing and priestly clothing to ascertain whether the clothing of kings and of priests confirms their association or signals a dissociation between their roles.

Beyond the specifics of priestly and kingly dress, this type of analysis aims to broaden our general understanding of antiquity. Dress history is closely connected to theories of individual and group identity, which also provide a pertinent conceptual framework for

11 Frazer 1890, 44: “The union of a royal title with priestly duties was common in ancient Italy and Greece.”

12 Edsman 1959.

studying priestly dress. In a recent publication, *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, Laura Gawlinski gathered the theories underpinning religious dress, especially in ancient Greece.¹³ She concluded that introducing new theories stemming from phenomenology, performative theory, and embodiment to the study of dress in a religious context will broaden the scope of investigation and go “beyond the trappings of ‘difference.’”¹⁴ Moreover, it has the potential to make us more aware of the individual and bodily experience of wearing clothing.

THE COMBINED POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND MILITARY PREROGATIVES OF KINGS IN ANTIQUITY

In Athens, Aristotle (*Const. Ath.* 57.1) observed how the ancient monarchical responsibilities survived in the archon-king (βασιλεύς) institution, with the duty to oversee various rituals:¹⁵ “These are the matters superintended by the Archon. But the King superintends, first, the mysteries, in co-operation with Superintendents elected by show of hands by the People, two from the whole body of the citizens, one from the Eumolpidae and one from the Heralds. . . . He also holds all the Torch-race Competitions; also he is the director of practically all the ancestral sacrifices.”

In Elis, groups of officials called *Basilae* (οἱ Βασίλαι) undertake sacrifices, and their title may likewise stem from a royal title.¹⁶ The existence of sacral kingship in Paphos, Cyprus, is confirmed by literary and inscriptional sources.¹⁷

Another significant historical case is fifth-century BCE Sparta, where royal prerogative and duties rested on confirming military command and ensuring priestly functions. The main source for the combined sacral and warfare duties of Spartan kings is Herodotus:

These privileges the Spartans have given to their kings: two priesthoods, of Zeus called Lacedaemon and of Zeus of Heaven; they wage war against whatever land they wish, and no Spartan can hinder them in this on peril of being put under a curse; when the armies go forth the kings go out first and return last; one hundred chosen men guard them in their campaigns; they sacrifice as many sheep and goats as they wish at the start of their expeditions, and take the hides and backs of all sacrificed beasts.¹⁸

13 Gawlinski 2017.

14 Gawlinski 2017, 175.

15 Aristotle, *Politics* 1322b: “And connected with this is the office devoted to the management of all the public festivals which the law does not assign to the priests but the officials in charge of which derive their honor from the common sacrificial hearth, and these officials are called in some places Archons, in others Kings and in others Presidents.”

16 Pausanias 6.20.1: “On the summit of the mountain the Basilae, as they are called, sacrifice to Cronus at the spring equinox, in the month called Elaphius among the Eleans.”

17 Maier 1989.

18 Herodotus 6.56.1: γέρεά τε δὴ τάδε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι Σπαρτιῆται δεδώκασι, ἱρῶσύνας δύο, Διὸς τε Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Διὸς οὐρανίου, καὶ πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν ἐπ’ ἣν ἂν βούλωνται χώραν, τούτου δὲ μηδένα εἶναι Σπαρτιητέων διακαλυπτήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἄγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. στρατευομένων δὲ πρώτους ἰέναι τοὺς βασιλέας, ὑστάτους δὲ ἀπιέναι· ἑκατὸν δὲ ἄνδρας λογάδας ἐπὶ στρατῆς φυλάσσειν αὐτούς· προβάτοισι δὲ χρᾶσθαι ἐν τῇσι ἐξοδίῃσι ὁκόσοισι ἂν ὦν ἐθέλωσι, τῶν δὲ θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφραγας.

...

Such are their rights in war; in peace the powers given them are as follows: at all public sacrifices the kings first sit down to the banquet and are first served, each of them receiving a portion double of what is given to the rest of the company; they make the first libations, and the hides of the sacrificed beasts are theirs.¹⁹

According to Xenophon (*Const. Lac.* 15.2), it was Lycurgus, the mythical legislator at Sparta, who was the source of this double governance: “He ordained that the King shall offer all the public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader.”

Another example of combined kingship and priestly functions in antiquity is Cyrene. Here the legal heir to the throne, Battus, was paralyzed and could not fully assume power.²⁰ This situation engendered internal conflict.²¹ Via mediation from Delphi and an arbitrator, the king’s power was divided into two: political power was transferred to the people of Cyrene, while religious power was conferred on King Battus. According to Herodotus, the arbitrator “set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, were now to be held by the people in common.”²²

The earliest Greek written sources on royalty, priesthood, and textiles stem from the Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Linear B inscriptions. In the palace archives of Knossos, textiles associated with the king are described as of the type *te-pa*/TELA+TE and are very large, dense wool textiles with no particular decoration. Tablet KN Lc(1) 525 records an anticipated production of forty royal *te-pa* by the people of a village called *se-to-i-ja*.²³ The same type of textiles, *te-pa*, is also given to priestesses and the key-bearer in the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos.²⁴ Mycenaean kings, priests, and priestesses own land, and flax is grown on the king’s fields.²⁵ Thus the Linear B tablets enable us to conclude that the

19 Herodotus 6.57.1: ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐμπολέμια, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τὰ εἰρηναῖα κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδοται. ἤν θυσίῃ τις δημοτελὴς ποιέηται, πρῶτους ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἵζειν τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρῶτον ἄρχεσθαι διπλήσια νέμοντας ἑκατέρῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι δαιτυμόνεσι, καὶ σπονδαρχίας εἶναι τούτων καὶ τῶν τυθέντων τὰ δέρματα.

20 Herodotus 4.161.1: “Arcesilaus’ kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm in his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in view of the affliction that had overtaken them, sent to Delphi to ask what political arrangement would enable them to live best.”

21 Diodorus (8.30.2) later reports on this situation: “For the civil strife which arose among the Cyreneans an arbitrator appeared in the person of Demonax of Mantinea, who was considered to be a man of unusual sagacity and justice. Accordingly, he sailed to Cyrenê, and receiving from all the stewardship of public affairs, he reconciled the cities on the following conditions.”

22 Herodotus 4.161.3: τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεί Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

23 On tablet KN Le 654, this village appears to deliver two textiles of this royal type abbreviated *wa*. However, it is unlikely that these *te-pa* were garments, given that their weight in raw wool amounts to 21 kilos apiece.

24 PY Un 6 recto.

25 PY Na 1356.

Mycenaean kings undertook a royal production of textiles and that kings and priests used the same type of textiles. Textiles thereby formed an important part of the economy, lives, prestige, and function of Mycenaean kings and priests.²⁶

Anthropologists have long emphasized how textiles and clothing can play vital roles in connecting the human and divine worlds.²⁷ This path has been followed by an increasing interest in the clothed body and the numerous ways clothing carried social and cultural meanings in antiquity.²⁸ Indeed, Greek religion and cult practice frequently expressed a strong interest in and concern for the “social skin” of their agents, being divinities, priests, cult personnel, worshippers, and pilgrims.²⁹ Hence, clothing regulations are found in many ancient Greek cults³⁰ and also are a recurrent phenomenon in rituals and cults in the ancient Near East.³¹

The topic of kings’ and priests’ dress is worth pursuing, as it provides insight on conventions regarding elite men’s clothing. Traditionally, dress historians have tended to focus on women’s preferences and consumption of wardrobes, but with kings and priests we find ourselves in a purely masculine universe, and not a private universe but rather a public, visual, representative, and political one. The theories of fashion and clothing that are germane here do not so much concern personal choices or fashion but are rather those from studies of uniforms, dress codes, and power dressing.

Signs of royal and religious power never appear in isolation but are written into specific ceremonial rituals. Sartorial signs of royal and religious power are linked to specific places and specific occasions. Wearing a diadem or a purple cloak marks an institutionalized ritual. Re-dressing in another garment, such as a priestly garment, signifies a change of function and context, but the dressing, undressing, and re-dressing can also mark the transition from one status to another. Moreover, the acts of dressing, undressing, and re-dressing can form the link between the double functions, not unlike the royal convention of “investiture,” in which a new king divests himself of his own private garment and dons the official garment of a king, sometimes even that of the former king to ensure continuity.

Regrettably, the paucity of sources in Greece does not permit us to determine who set the agenda in ancient Greek male elite power dressing, but the sources do suggest that priests and kings had similar aspirations to power through luxurious and codified dressing by employing the same types of color codes and garment types. Furthermore, we shall see that they did not merge in a joint uniform. Indeed, the viewer would have perceived apparent sartorial differences between the king and the priest, even when he was one and the same person.

26 Nosch and Perna 2001; Nosch 2021, 110–11, 127–29.

27 See Schneider 2006, 204–5; Hermkens 2010.

28 See, e.g., Sebesta and Bonfante 1994; Cleland, Harlow, and Llwellyn-Jones 2005; Lee 2015; Cifarelli and Gawlinski 2017; Nosch and Wagner-Hasel 2019.

29 Gawlinski 2011, 2017; Kristensen 2012; Brøns 2016, 2022; Brøns and Nosch 2017.

30 Gawlinski 2011, 2017; Brøns 2016, 2017, 2022; Brøns and Nosch 2017.

31 Zawadzki 2006; Brøns and Nosch 2017; Gaspa 2017, 2018; Quillien 2019.

DRESSED AS KING

Kingship is often associated with the color purple. The earliest link between purple and kingship is established by the fortuitous preservation of a Linear B tablet containing the terms *wa-na-ka-te-ro* “royal” and *po-pu-re-jo* “purple.” Later, in the Homeric epics, purple and prestige clothing items are used as effective tools for illustrating the legitimacy and authority of masculine kingship.³² Homeric kings wear purple garments and fur skins, especially of felines such as panthers and lions,³³ and King Midas, the eighth-century BCE Phrygian ruler at Gordion, was buried with textiles dyed in red, purple, brown, and blue hues.³⁴

In the Archaic and Classical periods, scholars find that purple may have carried two contradictory meanings simultaneously. On the one hand, it visualizes legitimate monarchy, linked to religious offices that were a special prerogative of kings. On the other hand, purple could also convey the negative signals of a ruler’s tyranny, deceit, and lack of appropriate modesty.³⁵ In a story told by Herodotus (1.152.1), Ionians and Aetolians sent an envoy to Sparta, a simple civilian but dressed in a purple cloak, and he thereby gained the full attention of the Spartans.

A significant aspect of royal clothing is the opportunity to draw attention to ethnic or regional features to highlight and manifest origin or ancestry. No Archaic or Classical Greek texts describe this phenomenon, but the Greeks may have known it from their neighbors to the east. The Nabonidus Chronicle narrates major historical events and conflicts in the second half of the sixth century BCE. Following the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus the Great chose to wear Elamite clothing at the investiture ceremony for his son Cambyses in 538 BCE in the temple of the divinity Nabû. The meaning of this Elamite clothing is debated; it may be non- or anti-Babylonian clothing or Persian legacy clothing, or it may refer to Cyrus’s ancestry in Elam. Javier Álvarez-Món compares the imagery of dress of Elamite, Babylonian, and Assyrian rulers with archaeological clothing found in rich graves and concludes that the Elamite dress worn by Cyrus would probably have been a long, fringed, cotton robe decorated with golden bracteates and rosettes.³⁶

PERSIAN ROYAL ATTIRE

“For every king in the Mediterranean world, the Great King was a fascinating example,” writes Pierre Carlier.³⁷ To the Greeks, all Persian kings wore luxurious clothing and used high-quality textiles in their palaces.³⁸ Herodotus was well aware of the exquisite quality of textiles on display at the Achaemenid court and those that the Persian army brought

32 Wace and Wace 1962; Marinatos 1967, 10; Carlier 1983, 441; Stulz 1990, 96–120; Wagner-Hasel 2007; Nosch 2014, 2021.

33 Homer, *Iliad* 10.20–25, 29–30, 133–34, 177–78; *Odyssey* 19.215–39, 21.118. See Buchholz 2012, 85, 99; Nosch 2021.

34 Ballard et al. 2023.

35 Stulz 1990; Blum 1998; Nosch 2021.

36 For further discussion and relevant bibliography, see Álvarez-Món 2009.

37 Carlier 2002, 268.

38 Miller 1997; Balatti 2019; Flemestad 2022, 116–24.

along in military campaigns. After the victory at Plataea in 479 BCE, Greek soldiers discovered luxury tents, inwoven with gold and silver threads (σκηναὶ κατεσκευασμέναι χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ), and colorful clothing (ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης) abandoned on the battlefield by the Persian general Mardonius and his fleeing troops.³⁹

King Xerxes the Great's royal palace at Susa was renowned for its costly curtains and furnishing fabrics.⁴⁰ But according to Herodotus, Xerxes wore clothing made by his queen: "Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-colored mantle, marvelous to see" (ἐξυφήνασα Ἀμιστρὶς ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξει).⁴¹

When the Greeks arrived in Persia during the conquests of Alexander the Great, they encountered a royal wealth of textiles and clothing that was later reported by Alexander's biographer, Curtius Rufus,⁴² who also described King Darius III's rich wardrobe: "The attire of the king was noteworthy beyond all else in luxury; a purple-edged tunic woven about a white center, a cloak of cloth of gold, ornamented with golden hawks, which seemed to attack each other with their beaks; from a golden belt, with which he was girt woman-fashion, he had hung a scimitar, the scabbard of which was a single gem. The Persians called the king's head-dress *cidaris*; this was bound with a blue fillet variegated with white."⁴³

The Achaemenid king could gift his worn royal attire to a loyal subject, and an example of this gifting is narrated in the Book of Esther, set at the royal court in Susa, Persia, in the fifth century BCE. Queen Esther, a young Jewish woman, was married to the Persian king Ahasuerus. In the account, the king orders a member of the Persian elite, Haman, to honor the Jewish man Mordecai by giving him a royal robe that the king had worn.⁴⁴ Later in the narrative, Mordecai appears in public in such royal clothing: royal robes of blue and white, a great golden crown, and a mantle of fine linen and purple.⁴⁵

Highly valuable textiles were hoarded along with precious stones and metals and could be stored in royal treasuries for generations. Plutarch narrates the event of the opening of the royal treasury at Susa, where Alexander the Great's soldiers found purple textiles

39 Herodotus 9.80.1–2.

40 Esther 1:6–8.

41 Herodotus 9.109.

42 On Persepolis's textile wealth, see Curtius Rufus 6.6.3: *vestis ingens modus* "a vast amount of clothing."

43 Curtius Rufus 3.3.20: *Cultus regis inter omnia luxuria notabatur: purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat, pallam auro distinctam aurei accipitres, velut rostris inter se concurrerent, adornabant, ex zona aurea muliebriter cinctus acinacem suspenderat, cui ex gemma vagina erat. Cidarim Persae vocabant regium capitis insigne: hoc caerulea fascia albo distincta circumibat.*

44 Esther 6:7–11: "And Haman said to the king, 'For the man whom the king delights to honor, let royal robes be brought, which the king has worn, and the horse which the king has ridden, and on whose head a royal crown is set; and let the robes and the horse be handed over to one of the king's most noble princes; let him array the man whom the king delights to honor, and let him conduct the man on horseback through the open square of the city, proclaiming before him: "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delights to honor."' Then the king said to Haman, 'Make haste, take the robes and the horse, as you have said, and do so to Mordecai the Jew who sits at the king's gate. Leave out nothing that you have mentioned.' So Haman took the robes and the horse, and he arrayed Mordecai and made him ride through the open square of the city, proclaiming, "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delights to honor.'"

45 Esther 8:15: "Then Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal robes of blue and white, with a great golden crown and a mantle of fine linen and purple, while the city of Susa shouted and rejoiced." On the topic of garments and dressing in the Book of Esther, see Spoelstra 2019.

worth 5,000 talents. The precious purple dye was traced to the Greek city of Hermione.⁴⁶ Another ancient historian, Arrian, drawing from his source, Aristoboulos, reports how, during his campaign, Alexander the Great visited King Cyrus's grave monument in Pasargadae. It is uncertain whether this visit actually took place,⁴⁷ but the passage testifies to what Greeks would expect to find in a royal Achaemenid wardrobe:⁴⁸ precious Babylonian rugs (τάπητα), thick purple mantles (καυνάκαι), a Median sleeved garment (κάνδυσ), tunics woven in Babylonian workshops (χιτῶνες τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας), Median trousers (ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαί), hyacinth-blue garments (στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς), and garments dyed in purple and other colors (αἱ δὲ πορφύρας αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης χροῆς).⁴⁹ Persian kings would accumulate such precious textiles from their own workshops, from war booty,⁵⁰ as tribute from conquered provinces, or as gifts from other royal houses.⁵¹ Some royal textiles were redistributed to friends and staff, to reward loyal and courageous behavior, or to forge new alliances.⁵²

HELLENISTIC ROYAL ATTIRE—LEGACY AND ASPIRATION

In the Hellenistic period, displaying and affirming royalty through luxury clothing was accepted and even became part of an expansionist strategy. Two kings, Alexander the Great⁵³ and Demetrius I Poliorcetes, were known in antiquity to wear luxurious and flamboyant clothing to convey their aspirations. They also used clothing as a marker of ethnic origin and successful military conquests. As Macedonian rulers, their iconic basic dress would be typically Macedonian: the soft *kausia* on the head and a *chlamys* cloak for riding and warfare.⁵⁴

46 Plutarch, *Alexander* 31.1–2.

47 Balatti 2019.

48 See also the essays on Achaemenid and Persian dress by Miller (chapter 4) and Hallmann (chapter 6) in this volume.

49 Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.5–6: ἐν δὲ τῷ οἰκίματι πύελον χρυσὴν κεῖσθαι, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κύρου ἐτέθαπτο, καὶ κλίνην παρὰ τῇ πύλῳ· πόδας δὲ εἶναι τῇ κλίνῃ χρυσοῦς σφυρηλάτους καὶ τάπητα ἐπίβλημα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα. ἐπεῖναι δὲ καὶ κάνδυσ καὶ ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας. καὶ ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ καὶ στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς λέγει ὅτι ἔκειντο, αἱ δὲ πορφύρας αἱ δὲ ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης χροῆς, καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἀκινάκας καὶ ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά, καὶ τράπεζα ἔκειτο. “In the chamber lay a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus’ body had been buried; a couch stood by its side with feet of wrought gold; a Babylonian tapestry served as a coverlet and purple rugs as a carpet (τάπητα ἐπίβλημα τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ καυνάκας πορφυροῦς ὑποστρώματα). There was placed on it a sleeved mantle and other garments of Babylonian workmanship (κάνδυσ καὶ ἄλλους χιτῶνας τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ἐργασίας). According to Aristoboulos, Median trousers (ἀναξυρίδες Μηδικαὶ) and robes dyed blue (στολαὶ ὑακινθινοβαφεῖς) lay there, some dark (πορφύρας), some of other varying shades, with necklaces, scimitars and earrings of stones set in gold, and a table stood there.”

50 Reuthner 2019.

51 Aelian, *De natura animalium* 6.46, concerning gifts of bright red, lac-insect-dyed textiles brought from India to the Persian king as gifts.

52 See Balatti 2019 for a detailed discussion. She has gathered the ancient Greek and Roman references: Herodotus 3.84 (Median clothing as compensation), 7.116; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.3; *Anabasis* 1.2.27; Diodorus 17.77.5; Aelian, *Varia Historia* 1.22.32; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 15.2.

53 For a full summary of the issues regarding Alexander the Great’s costume in ancient sources and iconography, see Strootman 2007, 360–66; Flemestad 2022, 137–59.

54 Lattimore 1975; Kingsley 1981.

King Alexander the Great, evidently, did not confine himself to a single royal outfit but changed according to context, occasion, and political strategy. Plutarch describes his full military attire in a passage concerning the battles against Darius in the summer of 331 BCE in the following way: Alexander wore an iron helmet, a girded undergarment made by Sicilians (ὑπένδυμα τῶν Σικελικῶν ζωστόν), and a doubled linen breastplate (θώρακα διπλοῦν λινούν).⁵⁵ The linen breastplate was a spoil of war from the Battle of Issus about two years earlier, his sword a gift from another king, and an elaborate belt (woven by the weaver Helicon) a gift from the Rhodians.⁵⁶ Hence, in Plutarch's view, every one of Alexander's dress items had its own story corroborating his legitimacy, international outlook, and ancestry.

According to Plutarch, it was during Alexander the Great's vast conquests in Asia that the king began dressing in barbarian-style clothing (ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολήν).⁵⁷ Other ancient historians, Curtius Rufus and Arrian, confirm this change in dress, except that they consider the style of dress to be Persian rather than barbarian.⁵⁸ However, they all agree that the costume appears foreign and not the traditional or appropriate dress for a Greek king, since Alexander deliberately mixed elements of Persian and Macedonian clothing and also wore Greek clothing elements, such as a purple tunic decorated with a central vertical, white band, called a *chiton mesóleukos* or *chiton diáleukos*.⁵⁹

55 Gleba 2012.

56 Plutarch, *Alexander* 32.5–6: “After sending this message to Parmenio, he put on his helmet, but the rest of his armour he had on as he came from his tent, namely, a vest of Sicilian make girt about him, and over this a breastplate of two-ply linen from the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of iron, but gleamed like polished silver, a work of Theophilus; and there was fitted to this a gorget, likewise of iron, set with precious stones. He had a sword, too, of astonishing temper and lightness, a gift from the king of the Citians, and he had trained himself to use a sword for the most part in his battles. He wore a belt also, which was too elaborate for the rest of his armour; for it was a work of Helicon the ancient, and a mark of honour from the city of Rhodes, which had given it to him.”

57 Plutarch, *Alexander* 45.1–3: Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὴν Παρθικὴν ἀναζεύξας καὶ σχολάζων, πρῶτον ἐνεδύσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν στολήν, εἴτε βουλόμενος αὐτὸν συνοικεῖν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις νόμοις, ὥς μέγα πρὸς ἐξημέρων ἀνθρώπων τὸ σύνηθες καὶ ὁμόφυλον, εἴτ' ἀπόπειρά τις ὑφείτο τῆς προσκυρήσεως αὐτῇ τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν ἐκδιαίτησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐπιζομένοις. οὐ μὴν τὴν γε Μηδικὴν ἐκείνην προσήκατο, παντάπασιν βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν, οὐδ' ἀναξυρίδας οὐδὲ κἀνδυν οὐδὲ τιάραν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ τῆς Περσικῆς καὶ τῆς Μηδικῆς μειζάμενος εὖ πως, ἀτυφοτέραν μὲν ἐκείνης, ταύτης δὲ σοβαρωτέραν οὖσαν. “From thence he marched into Parthia, where, during a respite from fighting, he first put on the barbaric dress (βαρβαρικὴν στολήν), either from a desire to adapt himself to the native customs, believing that community of race and custom goes far towards softening the hearts of men; or else this was an attempt to introduce the obeisance among the Macedonians, by accustoming them little by little to put up with changes and alterations in his mode of life. However, he did not adopt the famous Median fashion of dress, which was altogether barbaric and strange, nor did he assume trousers (ἀναξυρίδας), or sleeved vest (κἀνδυν), or tiara, but carefully devised a fashion which was midway between the Persian and the Median, more modest than the one and more stately than the other.” See also Nosch 2021, 111–21; Flemestad 2022, 151.

58 Curtius Rufus 6.6.4: *itaque purpureum diadema distinctum albo quale Dareus habuerat capiti circumdedit vestemque Persicam sumpsit*. “Accordingly, he encircled his brow with a purple diadem, variegated with white such as Darius had worn, and assumed the Persian garb.” Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.7.4, employs the term *kitaris* for the headdress, not *diadema*; Athenaeus 12.535f, 12.537e–f.

59 Plutarch, *Alexander* 45.2; *Moralia* 329F–330D. For more references and discussion of Alexander the Great's dress, see Ritter 1965, 47–49; Blum 1998, 191–93; Strootman 2007; Nosch 2021; Flemestad 2022.

Strootman contextualizes this ancient debate of Alexander the Great's wardrobe choices within the anti-Alexander tradition and the Greeks' and Macedonians' feelings of an offensive orientalism.⁶⁰ Strootman concludes: "Alexander's Orientalism is a complex problem. His wearing of Oriental royal dress probably wasn't in the first place meant for a Macedonian audience at all. It was rather aimed at the former court aristocracy of the Achaemenid kings whose sovereign he had become and whose co-operation he needed."⁶¹

Therefore, we may assume that a certain normative notion, or even dress code, of what appropriate elite and royal dress should look like existed in ancient Greece, at least in Alexander the Great's time and onward. This conclusion is based both on the negative reactions toward Alexander's wardrobe choices, deemed strange and inappropriate, and on an anecdote from his reign: Alexander the Great appointed a new king, Abdalonymus, in the city of Tyre by sending him a "royal outfit" (βασιλικῆς ἐσθῆτος). Alexander's messenger dressed Abdalonymus in "regal attire" (βασιλικὴν στολὴν) for the occasion, and then he was presented to the public and proclaimed king of Tyre.⁶² It is notable that in Tyre, the city renowned for its purple-dye production, the royal clothing is not specifically described as purple but simply "royal." This suggests that "royal" implied it was purple—the local color of wealth and prestige—or, conversely, that by the end of the fourth century BCE purple clothing had become a generalized commodity, and royal attire would entail much more than merely being colored with the precious mollusk dye.

The Hellenistic king Demetrius I Poliorcetes (336–283 BCE), king of Macedon, wore a purple *kausia* on his head symbolizing his Macedonian origin and legacy.⁶³ In antiquity, he clearly had a reputation for luxurious clothing. Plutarch criticized him and other Hellenistic kings for having nothing of Alexander's grandeur but merely imitating him "like actors on a stage." Plutarch describes Demetrius's lavish wardrobe in detail and his spectacular cosmic mantle:

And there was in truth much of the theatrical about Demetrius, who not only had an extravagant array of cloakings and head-gear (ἀμπεχόμενον καὶ διαδούμενον περιττώς)—double-mitered broad-brimmed hats and purple robes shot with gold (καυσίαις διμίτροις καὶ χρυσοπαρύφοις ἀλουργίσιν), but also equipped his feet with gold-embroidered shoes of the richest purple felt (ἐκ πορφύρας ἀκράτου συμπεπιλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς πεποιημένον ἐμβάδας). And there was one cloak which was long in the weaving for him, a magnificent work, on which was represented the world and the heavenly bodies; this was left behind half-finished (ἡμιτελές) when the reversal of his fortunes came, and no succeeding king of Macedonia ventured to use it, although not a few of them were given to pomp and luxury.⁶⁴

60 Strootman 2007, 360–61.

61 Strootman 2007, 361.

62 Diodorus 17.47.4–5: . . . λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν κατήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὀνομασμένον μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἐν τινὶ κήπῳ μισθοῦ μὲν ἀντλοῦντα, ῥάκεσι δὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἐσθῆτι χρώμενον. δηλώσας δὲ τὴν περιπέτειαν καὶ περιθείς τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν ἀρμόζοντα κόσμον ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα τῶν Τυρίων.

63 Athenaeus 12.535f; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 41. Athenaeus's and Plutarch's narratives are probably based on the account of Duris of Samos. See also Blum 1998, 214–15; Nosch 2021, 111–21.

64 Plutarch, *Demetrius* 41–45; Athenaeus 12.535f–536.

Once, in a naval battle against Rhodes, Demetrius Poliorcetes lost one of his ships to the enemy. The cargo was in fact a shipment of purple textiles and royal garments, *esthès basilikè*, belonging to Demetrius's wife, Phila. The Rhodians forwarded the booty to Ptolemy I in Egypt, according to Diodorus, as these fabrics were appropriate for a king.⁶⁵ Indeed, Rhodes maintained close ties with Egypt, as observed in the late Hellenistic Lindos Temple Chronicle, in which King Ptolemy I is recorded among other mythical and historical celebrity donors of gifts to the temple: "King Ptolemy, 20 skulls of cattle. On which has been inscribed, 'King Ptolemy offered sacrifice to Athena Lindia during the priesthood of Athena [held] by Athanas the son of Athanagoras', as the public record of the Lindians testifies."⁶⁶ The Lindos Temple Chronicle exemplifies well the duties of kings to make appropriate sacrifices and honor deities at home and abroad.

King Demetrius I Poliorcetes's son Antigonus Gonatas probably tried to distance himself from the extravagant and excessive father.⁶⁷ Yet, when in 274 BCE Antigonus Gonatas lost a battle against Pyrrhus, Pyrrhus mocked him because he still wore the sign of royalty, a purple mantle: the episode refers back to Antigonus Gonatas's father, who years earlier lost against Pyrrhus and had to sneak away clad in a simple *chlamys* as disguise.⁶⁸

In the Seleucid kingdom, royal attire consisted of a *kausia* and a *chlamys*,⁶⁹ and these dress items functioned as tokens of office. This official wardrobe is exemplified in King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (regent 175–164 BCE), who on his deathbed transferred temporary power in the form of his *chlamys* and *kausia* to his *philos* Philip, since the legitimate royal successor, Antiochus V Eupator, was still a minor.⁷⁰ The old king's clothing thus had its own agency of power and legitimacy: "And he called Philip, one of his friends, and established him over his whole kingdom. And he gave him his crown and robe (τὸ διάδημα καὶ

65 Diodorus 20.93.4. For an alternative presentation of Demetrius Poliorcetes, see the image of the day of his wedding to Phila depicted in a Roman fresco at Boscoreale. Here the king is seminude, wearing a simple cloak on his shoulders and holding a staff in his hand. The scene takes place before he becomes king and shows a more private and modest side of the monarch.

66 Higbie 2003, 41. The identification of King Ptolemy is debated. The reference could be to Ptolemy I Soter (367/6–282 BCE), but Higbie (2003, 137) argues instead for his son Ptolemy II Philadelphos (308–246 BCE).

67 Virgilio 2003, 68: "Ma il celebre aforismo di Antigono Gonata mette in luce anche il suo sforzo di dare alla monarchia macedone, recuperata con la vittoria di Lisimachia sui Galati (277 a.C.), l'immagine e lo stile nuovi di una basileia filantropica al servizio dei sudditi. Con ciò egli implicitamente intendeva differenziarsi dalla pessima fama formatasi attorno al padre Demetrio Poliorcete, il re effimero e fuggitivo che aveva perduto il regno diventando semplice privato. Plutarco presenta Demetrio come l'antimodello del basileus: un re dissoluto e cinico; un re da teatro cui erano abituali gli abbigliamenti eccessivamente sfarzosi; talmente sprezzante dei sudditi da non riceverli in udienza e da buttare platealmente nel fiume le loro petizioni scritte; abbononato dai soldati nell'ultima battaglia contro Pirro perché stanchi di combattere per il suo lusso sfrenato. . . . è probabile che alla smisurata e rovinosa ambizione (πλεονεξία) attribuita a Demetrio Poliorcete e a Pirro, Antigono Gonata abbia voluto intenzionalmente contrapporre un programma regale fondato su un responsabile e filantropico 'spirito di servizio'."

68 Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 26.15; *Demetrius* 44.9.

69 On the topics of the *kausia*, *krepides*, and *chlamys*, see the discussion and overview of extant literature in Strootman 2007, 162–65. These male soldier dress elements were not originally related to royal attire but, because of the Macedonian rise of power, became symbols of political and cultural heritage, dynasty, and privilege.

70 Strootman 2007, 166.

τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ) and the seal ring in order to guide Antiochus his son and raise him to be king.”⁷¹

The exorbitant and luxurious lives of Hellenistic kings in Egypt and Asia Minor stand in sharp contrast to the stereotyped austerity of Spartan kings, as promulgated by Plutarch. Describing the Spartan king Cleomenes (260–219 BCE, king of Sparta 235–222 BCE), Plutarch uses clothing as a measure of modesty:

In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes (πορφύρας) or shawls (χλαίνας) about him, and no array of couches and litters; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed (ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ἱματίῳ τῷ τυχόντι), to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.⁷²

This Spartan story should be compared with another anecdote, this time narrated by Polybius, according to whom the Spartan tyrant Machanidas was immediately recognized on the battlefield by his purple cloak (πορφύρις).⁷³ Evidently, the ancient historians aimed to demonstrate that modest and just Spartan kings did not need purple dress to enforce legitimacy as typical tyrants did, even in Sparta. Thus the clothing of kings became a potent literary and political device to characterize the rulers’ legitimacy and morals.

THE CLOTHING OF GREEK KINGS IN CULT CEREMONIES

As a general rule, kings in ancient societies are always to some degree involved in cults. However, in the ancient sources, we primarily encounter evidence for this connection in Sparta and the kingdoms of Asia Minor. There are two explanations: these regions were the ones in which monarchies persisted and even flourished during Classical and Hellenistic times, and/or Greek authors cherished the colorful descriptions of all the strange and flamboyant elements of these sophisticated eastern populations and of the peculiarities of Sparta.

In Miletus and Ephesus, and in nearby Chios, kings and archon-kings held sacral offices.⁷⁴ Miletus was ruled by an *archon basileus* (“archon-king”); in Ephesus, the descendants of the ancient king were responsible for the Eleusian Demeter cult;⁷⁵ and in

⁷¹ 1 Maccabees 6:14.

⁷² Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 13.1–2.

⁷³ Polybius, *Histories* 11.18.1.

⁷⁴ See Pausanias 7.2.1 (Neileus, king of Miletus). For Androkles, king in Ephesus, see Pausanias 7.2.8; for Oinopion in Chios, see Pausanias 7.4.8.

⁷⁵ Strabo 14.1.3.

Chios, kings were charged with sacral duties in Hellenistic times. Similar, formalized double priestly and royal functions for kings and archon-kings are found in Kyzikos in the Myrsia area and in Chalcedon in Bithynia, both located at the Hellespont; in Kos; and on the Cycladic islands.⁷⁶

In some city-states with democratic institutions, the monarchy persisted as sacred offices and in official titles.⁷⁷ In Ephesus, the prestigious family branch, the *Basilides*, was named after the Greek term for a king, *basileus*. A local dynasty of kings, it married into the dynasty of Lydia. According to legend, the *Basilides* descended from Androcles, the son of the Athenian king Codrus and the legendary founder of the city of Ephesus. According to Strabo, *Basilides* members wore purple clothing (*porphyrai*) as a sign that they belonged to the royal lineage.⁷⁸ Their name and purple dress may, moreover, be explained by the fact that the *Basilides* in Ephesus were responsible for the sacred offices of the cult of Demeter.

A fourth-century BCE inscription informs us of such priestly functions of kings in Asia Minor, among them the kings of Ephesus, who may have played a leading role in Pan-Ionia.⁷⁹ The inscription reports on the local kings and how they collected funds for a regional sanctuary, probably for its renovation.⁸⁰

GARMENTS AND CLOTHING REGULATIONS FOR PRIESTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

The clothing of priests and priestesses of all ranks was highly regulated in antiquity.⁸¹ Joan Breton Connelly, in her 2007 monograph *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, states that “while sacred costume for priests and priestesses was not universally prescribed, we can have no doubt that it existed. The wearing of sacred dress was so integral to traditional cult that . . . legislation was passed in an attempt to keep ritual costume going.”⁸²

Various written sources testify to the appearance of priestly garments, and they mainly show up in two variants: purple or white. Most evidence for priestly clothes stems from Asia Minor. At Cos, in the Athena Nike sanctuary, priests had to wear white, while priests in the sanctuary of Zeus Alseios and Herakles Kallinikos, also at Cos, wore purple *chitons*,

76 See Hommel 1967, 59–60, for references.

77 For Athens, see Braund 2002.

78 Strabo 14.1.3: “Androclus, legitimate son of Codrus the king of Athens, was the leader of the Ionian colonization, which was later than the Aeolian, and then he became the founder of Ephesus; and for this reason, it is said, the royal seat of the Ionians was established there. And still now the descendants of his family are called kings; and they have certain honors, I mean the privilege of front seats at the games and of wearing purple robes as insignia of royal descent, and staff instead of sceptre, and of the superintendence of the sacrifices in honor of the Eleusinian Demeter.” See Blum 1998, 153; Kleiner, Hommel, and Müller-Wiener 1967.

79 Hommel 1967, 62: “Eine Sonderstellung scheint im Panionion der *Basileus* von Ephesos einzunehmen, der eigens genannt wird.”

80 Hommel 1967, 54: “Die ‘Könige’, die offiziellen Vertreter der ionischen Städte im *koinón* sollen ein Geldbetrag in (Gold-?) Stateren eintreiben.” See also Nosch 2021, 112.

81 Connelly 2007, 85–115 (in the chapter “Dressing the Part: Costume, Attribute, and Mimesis”); Brøns 2016, 273–304 (in chapter 9, “Priestly Garments”). The topic is also discussed by Gawlinski (chapter 10) in this volume.

82 Connelly 2007, 115.

crowns of leaves, and gold rings when performing the sacrifices, and white garments at all other times, as shown in local inscriptions.⁸³ At Pergamon, local inscriptions stipulate that priests must wear a white *chlamys*.⁸⁴ In Hellenistic Priene, in a priesthood for Dionysus, the priest wore a *stola*, and it is documented in a sales contract that this piece of clothing should be worn in the months of Dionysian festivals and in public in the city's theater.⁸⁵ In the city of Skepsis in Asia Minor, the priests of Dionysus wore a purple *chiton*, shoes that matched the clothes, and a golden wreath, as attested in an inscription from the second century BCE.⁸⁶ A priest in Magnesia on the Meander wore *porphyra*,⁸⁷ and a priest in Tarsos wore a white-and-purple *chiton* with a *chlamys*.⁸⁸

At Eleusis, the sacred officials had to wear a headband of twisted cloth (*strophion*) and a cloak called a *phoinikis*, made of purple wool and also known as soldiers' clothing in Sparta.⁸⁹ The fact that the priests of Eleusis wore distinctive clothing, which singled them out immediately, is evident from the later narrative of Plutarch: at the battle of Marathon, Kallias, the *dadouchos* priest of Demeter at Eleusis, arrived on the battlefield wearing this priestly costume. Some barbarians saw him and believed him to be the king, not because of his garment but "because of his long hair and headband."⁹⁰ We have a fairly good idea of what a *dadouchos* would have looked like in the fourth century BCE, since this figure is depicted on a red-figured *stamnos* from Eleusis. He leads a procession, holds two torches, and wears a richly pleated undergarment and a belted, patterned overgarment.⁹¹ In Eleusis, the prestigious *hierophant* and *dadouchos* priesthoods were recruited from two ancient families, the Eumolpic clan and the Kerykid clan. The legendary ancestors Eumolpos and Keryx, or their descendants recruited as priests, show up in vase paintings. Cecilie Brøns observed that in the first half of the fifth century BCE, they are represented as wearing *himation*, *chiton*, and beards, while later they appear in *ependytes* robes and high Thracian boots and are shaved.⁹² These differences mean that formal male clothing in antiquity did change over time.

Connelly argues: "It is hard to imagine that Greek priesthood would have escaped this very human means of signification, particularly within a system that was so steeped in tradition and so richly associated with divine, royal, and status-bound symbolism."⁹³ Indeed, Brøns concurs by concluding that "priests and priestesses generally were allowed costly and colorful garments, since they were often allowed to wear purple garments and gold accessories."⁹⁴ She also concludes that while priestly dress was often regulated, it was not consistently regulated, and in many sanctuaries priests were given the freedom to

83 Sokolowski 1969, no. 163.

84 Sokolowski 1955, no. 65.

85 Sokolowski 1955, no. 37; Gawlinski 2017, 167.

86 SEG 26.1334. For more examples, see Brøns 2016, 290.

87 Brøns 2022, 250; Strabo 14.1.41.

88 Brøns 2022, 250; Athenaeus 5.54.

89 On the Spartan military *phoinikis*, see Campobianco 2016.

90 Plutarch, *Aristides* 5.6.

91 See Gawlinski 2017, 165, fig. 1.

92 Brøns 2016, 288.

93 Connelly 2007, 87.

94 Brøns 2016, 297.

wear what they pleased.⁹⁵ Gawlinski has analyzed the defining iconographical accessories for priestesses (keys), *kanephoroi* (baskets, *peplos*), and priests (sacrificial knives), and she makes the important observation that these sacred accessories highlight the *functions* and *actions* of cult personnel.⁹⁶ In contrast, prescriptive texts, as well as ancient literary narratives, describe priests in terms of the colors and kinds of clothing, while their distinctive accessories are never mentioned.

PRIESTS' AND KINGS' GARMENTS IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

The evidence for the dress of priests and kings in ancient Greece is scattered and sparse, but when we turn to the ancient Near East and Anatolia, the Assyrian, Mesopotamian, and Babylonian images and texts reveal a wealth of data that confirm priestly and royal clothing were of major concern to ancient societies. The textual and iconographic sources on royal and cultic attire are rich and outstanding. Two scholars, Louise Quillien and Salvatore Gaspa, have recently published excellent works and analyzed kingly and priestly clothing in Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts and images.⁹⁷

Already in the second millennium BCE, cylinder seal imagery clearly identifies priests and kings by their stature, size, and placement, but their clothing is rather stereotyped and outlined in its major shapes and types, without colors or decoration: long, belted garments wrapped around the upper body or around the waist.

Two permanent power-dress items for kings were girdles and distinctive headgear in the form of a hat, a cap (worn by Babylonian kings), or a tiara (worn by Assyrian kings). As Gaspa writes, “garments seem to have played a role as *manifesto* of Assyrian royal ideology.”⁹⁸ Indeed, garments and textiles in royal iconography highlight “the centrality and superior status of the royal person.”⁹⁹

In one text, the royal Assyrian investiture robe is termed *tillû*, which is in fact a Babylonian garment term.¹⁰⁰ Gaspa elucidates that Neo-Assyrian sources in particular, both reliefs and texts, give valuable insights into a series of crucial accessories for Assyrian kings: ceremonial weapons, parasols and canopies, a scepter, jewelry, and the *lubussu* dress.¹⁰¹ In the iconography of the royal garments, fringes and tassels are visible on the Assyrian king's short-sleeved tunic and on his overgarment.¹⁰²

95 Brøns 2022, 250–51.

96 Gawlinski 2017, 164–70.

97 Quillien 2014, 2019, 2022; Gaspa 2017; 2018, 145–56 (chapter 5.1, “Royal Garments”), 218–22 (chapter 5.5.2, “Textiles for Cultic Performers”); 2024.

98 Gaspa 2018, 146; 2024, 9.

99 Gaspa 2024, 1.

100 Gaspa 2018, 21.

101 Gaspa 2018, 151: “The king's public persona was accentuated by his royal costume, which also required the presence of a number of accessories used as royal insignia; these items, that epitomized the Assyrian royal power, were fundamental components of the king's dress (such as his sceptre, the jewellery and the ceremonial weapons) and of his appearance in the public (such as the royal parasol and garments worn by his personal attendants).” See also Gaspa 2024, 5.

102 Gaspa 2024, 9–14 discusses tassels and fringes and the possible terms for these royal garments.

When investigating Assyrian priestly and royal dress, it is important to remember the close association of their functions and status. According to tradition, the Assyrian king was merely vice-regent and high priest of a kingdom governed by the supreme god, Aššur. When offering to the gods as a high priest, the Assyrian king would dress in a *sasuppu* draped over his shoulders, perhaps a shawl that he would also use to dry the divine statue's hands.¹⁰³ Interestingly, according to Gaspa, the Assyrian king's ritual dress was similar to that used in profane contexts.¹⁰⁴

Texts from Babylonia dated to the Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, and Hellenistic periods and explored by Quillien¹⁰⁵ contain numerous and detailed references to priestly dress. In Babylonia, the clothing of priests played an important role in their consecration and in their functions. Priestly dress in Babylonia is diverse, yet over the centuries it has the special headdress as a constant, common feature. Royal costumes have this same feature. Priests would have more than one type of significant headdress, according to their function and tasks to perform. Neo-Assyrian letters mention a headdress called *kubšu*, which was offered to the *šangû* priest at his appointment,¹⁰⁶ while a Hellenistic ritual text from Uruk states that the *mukkalu* priest must wear a *tapšû* headdress and the chief lamentation priest a *sûnu* headband.¹⁰⁷ Quillien observes that other priests participating in the same ritual did not have to wear a headdress, and she concludes that headgear does not seem to be stipulated for all personnel in this ritual. According to Quillien, "each member of the temple personnel is identified by a specific outfit, which was made up of a unique association of garment, coat, belts, and headdress. It expressed his identity, his place in the hierarchy of the clergymen and his role in the ritual."¹⁰⁸ Not surprisingly, the simplest costumes were worn by the lowest categories of priests. Hence, nonconsecrated lamentation priests wore a *šibtu* garment with two broad bands (*mēzeḫu*) over it,¹⁰⁹ while consecrated priests and lamentation priests wore a precious linen *lubāru* garment and the chief lamentation priest a red-purple *sûnu* headband. The religious hierarchy was highly visible in the dress.

Priests of even higher status would also wear a linen *lubāru* garment, but combined with a *hullānu* mantle over the shoulders.¹¹⁰ It seems that with each rising level of status, more layers of garments were added, and Quillien describes how certain high-status priests would wear a draped linen *šibtu* garment with a thin *ḥuṣannu* linen belt beneath two layers of *lubāru* and *hullānu* garments tied with broader *nēbeḫu* belts.¹¹¹

There is partial overlap between priestly and royal clothes. Certain priests, as well as the king, wore outfits with several layers: both priests and kings wore an outer layer of a

103 Gaspa 2017, 162; 2018, 218–22.

104 Gaspa 2017, 164; 2018, 220.

105 Quillien 2019.

106 Löhnert 2007, 276–79; Quillien 2019, 74.

107 Lenzen 1959; Quillien 2019, 74–75.

108 Quillien 2019, 74–75.

109 According to Quillien (2019, 75), "Among the temple personnel, they had the simpler outfit. The *šibtu* is usually a rectangular woollen fabric wrapped around the body and the *mēzeḫu* is a large band of fabric, maybe worn as a stole or a scarf."

110 According to Quillien (2019, 75), the *hullānu* mantle may have sleeves and be decorated.

111 Quillien 2019, 75; see also Malatucca 2017, 111–12.

lubāru garment tied with a broad *nēbeḥu* belt. Under this layer, though, their garments differed: priests wore the linen *ṣibtu*, while the king wore a linen *naḥlaptu* garment tied with a *patinnu* belt. Moreover, his jewelry and regalia singled out the king's attire.¹¹²

Quillien observes, furthermore, that the official dress of priests changed according to their tasks in rituals and that, for the performance of certain liturgical tasks, the priest would undress or change clothing. She concludes that "garments worn by the priests also served to materialize the different stages of the ritual, and the gestures performed with these clothes (to put on, remove, rip off, cover the head) certainly had meanings."¹¹³

The rich textual evidence from Babylonia and Assyria enables a diachronic view of the development and changes in priestly dress terms, which testify to a consistent terminological continuity from the Neo-Babylonian period to Hellenistic times. Moreover, garment terms used for divinities' clothing often hark back to garment terms of the second millennium BCE and are similar to terms used to designate priests' clothing. In contrast, according to Quillien, ordinary people's clothing terms are more recent and emerge throughout the first millennium BCE.¹¹⁴ Hence, priestly clothing terminology in Babylonia is clearly marked by archaic and archaizing features.

JEWISH PRIESTLY AND ROYAL GARMENTS

In the Jewish tradition, too, political and religious power is expressed in textiles and garments. In Exodus, which narrates the historical and mythological past, several chapters are dedicated to correct priestly dress and how it shapes the initial cult praxis.¹¹⁵ Jewish priestly clothing contains foundational qualities,¹¹⁶ sacred garments convey continuity,¹¹⁷ and priestly clothing in early Jewish religious texts and rituals can be seen as instrumental for the creation of priesthood.¹¹⁸ Indeed, "without the high priest and his vestments, there is no meaningful cult."¹¹⁹

Hasmonean rule in Judea (140–37 BCE) was legally based on the office of high priest¹²⁰ yet struggled to unite it with kingly power. Ancient sources narrate the story of Jonathan, the first high priest in Jerusalem in the second century BCE. Jonathan was a brave

112 Quillien 2019, 74–75.

113 Quillien 2019, 77.

114 Quillien 2019, 80–82.

115 Exodus 28; Bender 2008, 193–242; Berner 2019. See also Burton 2019 on the metaphorical meanings of clothing and glory.

116 Utzschneider 1988, 168–71 (chapter titled "Der priesterliche Ornat als Stiftung"), 172–76 (chapter titled "Die Investitur des Priesters und die Konstitution des priesterlichen Amtes"); Bender 2008, 193–257; MacDonald 2019.

117 Bender 2008, 197: "Die priesterliche Sukzession ist primär textil vermittelt." Exodus 29:4–9 and Leviticus 8:6–13 describe how Moses dresses Aaron and Aaron's sons in priestly attire.

118 Utzschneider 1988, 168: "Priester gibt es erst, wenn und weil ihre Kleider angefertigt wurden und Aaron und seine Söhne in diesen Kleidern vor Jahwe erscheinen"; also 172: "Man könnte nach unseren obigen Überlegungen auf den Gedanken kommen, die Person des Priesters sei lediglich als 'Kleiderständer' für den gestifteten Ornat von Belang. Dies ist sicherlich zu überspitzt. Aber es fällt doch auf wie unmittelbar die Kleider mit der Priesterweihe, ja der Priestereigenschaft selbst verbunden sind."

119 MacDonald 2019, 447.

120 Trampedach 2013.

and courageous soldier who fought in support of Demetrius I Soter in the conflicts with other Hellenistic rulers, including King Alexander Balas. Alexander Balas wished to win Jonathan to his side and therefore contacted him. He addressed him as his equal brother and sent him a purple garment (*porphyra* or *stole porphyra*) and a golden crown. Jonathan was then promised the official appointment as high priest in Jerusalem if he would change sides and fight for Alexander Balas.¹²¹ Jonathan accepted the offer. During the Feast of Tabernacles in 153 BCE, Jonathan donned the high priest's garments (*hagia stolé* or *hieratiké stolé*) and officiated for the first time.¹²² Jonathan also received the special honor of entering the circle of the king's friends, the Hellenistic court institution of *philoi* of the king's true and loyal allies, who received gifts and clothing from his hand. Erich Gruen¹²³ makes the compelling observation that 1 Maccabees 10:16–29 actually reflects two kinds of garments. On the one hand, there was the purple garment for a king, within the Hellenistic royal court tradition of donating purple textiles to courtiers as part of the increasingly ritualized Hellenistic court life.¹²⁴ Indeed, during Alexander Balas's reign, the practice of offering a purple garment to the king's loyal friends was customary.¹²⁵ On the other hand,

121 1 Maccabees 10:15–20: “Now Alexander the king heard of all the promises which Demetrius had sent to Jonathan, and men told him of the battles that Jonathan and his brothers had fought, of the brave deeds that they had done, and of the troubles that they had endured. So he said, ‘Shall we find another such man? Come now, we will make him our friend and ally.’ And he wrote a letter and sent it to him, in the following words: ‘King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have heard about you, that you are a mighty warrior and worthy to be our friend. And so we have appointed you today to be the high priest of your nation; you are to be called the king’s friend’ (and he sent him a purple robe and a golden crown) (ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν) ‘and you are to take our side and keep friendship with us.’” Josephus, *Antiquities* 13.44–45: “Accordingly when it was decided by himself and his Friends to send to Jonathan, he wrote the following letter. ‘King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have long heard of your courage and loyalty, and for this reason have sent to you to propose a friendly alliance. We therefore elect you this day high priest of the Jews with the title of my Friend. I have also sent you as gift a robe of purple (στολὴν πορφύραν) and a gold crown; and I request you, who have been honoured by us, to act toward us in like manner.’”

122 1 Maccabees 10:21–24: “So Jonathan put on the holy garments (ἐνεδύσατο Ἰωναθαν τὴν ἁγίαν στολὴν) in the seventh month of the one hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of tabernacles, and he recruited troops and equipped them with arms in abundance. When Demetrius heard of these things he was grieved and said, ‘What is this that we have done? Alexander has gotten ahead of us in forming a friendship with the Jews to strengthen himself. I also will write them words of encouragement and promise them honor and gifts, that I may have their help.’” Josephus, *Antiquities* 13.46: “On receiving this letter, Jonathan, at the time of the festival of Tabernacles, put on the high-priestly robe (ιερατικὴν στολὴν), this being four years after the death of his brother Judas—for there had been no high priest during this time.”

123 Gruen 1998, 33: “Alexander Balas, when appointing Jonathan as High Priest in 152, sent him purple garb and a gold crown. And, two years later, in a state ceremony at Ptolemais, Balas formally robed Jonathan in the purple. The vestments of the Jewish High priest traditionally included purple. But the gesture of Alexander Balas accompanied his designation of Jonathan as ‘king’s friend.’ The garment represented Seleucid court practice. The text properly distinguishes between the purple robe which Balas supplied to Jonathan and the sacred vestments which he donned as High Priest. Acceptance of the former, indeed the personal robing by the king himself in ceremony, signaled that Jonathan took on the role of Hellenistic courtier and royal official. The position was juxtaposed directly—and with perfect consistency—to the office of High Priest. 1 Maccabees states the fact without comment. None was needed.”

124 For purple as a sign of belonging to the circle of the king's friends in Seleucid court life, see Bickerman 2013, 41–44.

125 Athenaeus 5.211b. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.182–86), young courtiers were already dressed in Tyrian purple at King Solomon's court, but this observation may be an allusion to Josephus's own time and Hellenistic court tradition.

there was the *hagia stolé*, the sacred garment designed for a high priest, and this garment is not said to be purple.¹²⁶

Nevertheless, in 140 BCE Simon was appointed leader and high priest (1 Maccabees 35–43), and it was stipulated in a decree recorded on bronze tablets that he should have the exclusive right to wear a purple robe and a gold buckle.¹²⁷ However, Simon was not formally king—he was *hegoumenos* commander and high priest. His right and privilege to wear purple suggests that the purple robe invested him as high priest. But Simon's grandson Aristobulus (104/3 BCE) took the kingly title and wore a diadem, the Hellenistic royal prerogative of kings.¹²⁸ The merger of the roles of high priest and king in Hasmonean rule was hence completed. Kai Trampedach contrasts the Hasmonean monarchy with the ideal monarchy in the contemporary Law of the King from the Temple Scroll found in Qumran, which argues that the king and the high priest should be different persons.¹²⁹

The author Josephus proves to be a unique witness and source of information about Jewish priestly garments thanks to his own family tradition of priestly functions. His works, *The Jewish War* (written around 75 CE) and *Jewish Antiquities* (written nearly twenty years later, around 94 CE), narrate historical events, anecdotes, and details of dress culture. From Oliver Gussmann's rich study of the priesthood in Josephus's writings, we have comprehensive knowledge of how Josephus used clothing for his literary and political ends.¹³⁰

First, Josephus is a rich source for the terminology of sacred clothing. Overall, he uses three terms for priestly clothing: *στολή*, *ἐσθής*, and *ἔνδυμα*. He does not use the term *στολή* in *The Jewish War*, only *ἐσθής*, but in *Antiquities* he changes the terminology and uses *στολή* as the main term for priestly dress.¹³¹ Gussmann suggests that as Josephus matured, he aimed to express a clearer separation between the profane and sacred spheres, including in clothing.¹³² Moreover, in *Antiquities* Josephus uses the term *στολή* together with adjectives qualifying the rank of the wearer—for example, “priestly dress” or “high-priestly dress.” With these clothing terms, he distinguishes the ordinary priest from the high priest by adding adjectives and genitival forms, just as the various ranks of priests would have been visualized through clothing.¹³³ From a priestly family himself, Josephus had firsthand experience in priestly clothing and therefore knew technical and intimate details well.¹³⁴

In Jewish priestly clothing, the difference between the high priest and the ordinary priest is highly visual: the ordinary priest wore a *στολή*, a long tunic of white linen girded

126 For the traditional garb of the high priest, see Exodus 28:4–5; Bender 2008, 228–42.

127 Trampedach 2013, 244–46.

128 Trampedach 2013, 249.

129 Trampedach 2013, 250–52.

130 Edwards 2001; Gussmann 2008, 366–409, 432–33. Gussmann's chapter 8, “Textilien und Texte: Priester-gewänder bei Josephus,” is dedicated to priestly dress.

131 Gussmann 2008, 366–68.

132 Gussmann 2008, 368: “Es ist möglich, dass Josephus ein Jahrzehnt später zwischen heiligen und profanen Gewändern stärker unterscheiden wollte.”

133 Gussmann 2008, 367.

134 Gussmann 2008, 372–73.

with a colorful woven band.¹³⁵ For the high priest's attire there were two versions, one very simple and the other quite elaborate.¹³⁶ In the elaborate version, he wore the same outfit as ordinary priests underneath, but with a belt with inwoven gold threads; over this outfit he wore his ephod mantle with symbolic decorations of precious stones, referring to cosmic phenomena as well as to the twelve tribes of Israel.¹³⁷

In *Antiquities*, Josephus narrates the exodus from Egypt and the establishment of the first tabernacle, including precise descriptions of the early designs of priestly clothing (handmade by Jewish women):¹³⁸

There were peculiar garments (στολαί) appointed for the priests, and for all the rest, which they call Cohanoëoe[-priestly] garments, as also for the high priests, which they call Cahanoëoe Rabbae, and denote the high priest's garments. . . . he puts on that which is called Machanase, which means somewhat that is fast tied. It is a girdle (διάζωμα), composed of fine twined linen (βύσσος). . . . Over this he wore a linen vestment (λίνεον ἔνδυμα), made of fine flax doubled (διπλῆς σινδόνης βυσσίνης): it is called chethone, and denotes linen (λίνεον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει), for we call linen by the name of chethone. This vestment reaches down to the feet, and sits close to the body; and has sleeves (χειρῖδας) that are tied fast to the arms: it is girded to the breast a little above the elbows, by a girdle (ζώνη) often going round, four fingers broad, but so loosely woven (διακένως δ' ὕφασμένη) that you would think it were the skin of a serpent. It is woven with flowers of scarlet, and purple, and blue, and fine twined linen (ἄνθη εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνύφανται φοίνικι καὶ πορφύρᾳ μετὰ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου πεποικιλμένα), but the warp was nothing but fine linen (στήμων δ' ἐστὶ μόνη βύσσος).¹³⁹

Josephus is careful to explain the technical details to his Greco-Roman readers, including the Aramaic clothing terminology for the Jewish priests' dress,¹⁴⁰ and, according to Annette Weissenrieder, he thereby seeks to underscore the priestly legitimacy and ancestry

135 Gussmann 2008, 370–74, 432; Josephus, *Antiquities* 3.151–58; Bender 2008, 220–21.

136 MacDonald 2019, 435: “The priestly literature of the Pentateuch describes two different vestments that are to be worn by the high priest within the Tabernacle. According to Exod. 28, Aaron is to wear an intricate set of sacred vestments when he ‘goes into the holy place before YHWH’ (יהוה אל הקדש לפני יהוה, v. 29–30, 35): ‘a breastpiece, an ephod, a robe, a checked tunic, a turban and a sash’ (v. 4) as well as a rosette (v. 36–38) and linen undergarments (v. 42). The vestments are made from costly materials: gold, gemstones, fine linen, and yarns in blue, purple, and crimson. The reader is informed that the rich costume is for Aaron's glorious adornment (v. 2), but also most of Aaron's wardrobe is given a symbolic or instrumental significance. In contrast, Lev. 16 has Aaron ‘go into the holy place’ (יבא אהרן אל הקדש; v. 3) to atone for Israel's sins having bathed and dressed in simple vestments: a tunic, undergarments, sash and turban (v. 4). These garments are said to be made from ‘linen,’ לב, a different word from the term in Exod. 28, שש.”

137 Utzschneider 1988, 168–71; Bender 2008, 228–42; Gussmann 2008, 374–83, 433.

138 The clothing of a priest should ideally be made by the priest's own mother, and here women get to play a role in the cult; see Lehman 2014.

139 Josephus, *Antiquities* 3.151–54. N.B.: I have altered the translation “embroidered” to “woven” in view of the discussion in Droß-Krüpe and Paetz gen. Schieck 2014.

140 Weissenrieder 2017, 168: “A careful analysis of the terminology that Josephus uses to describe vestments reveals various forms and mechanisms for specifically emphasising ‘unusual’ or even ‘exotic’ elements in the text. Josephus does not shy away from introducing new loan words in his description of the priestly and high-priestly vestments. In his description of these garments in *AJ* 3.151–187, Josephus uses Aramaic and Hebrew terms that were obscure and unfamiliar, at least in Rome.”

rooted in an Aramaic tradition.¹⁴¹ However, despite Josephus's aim to name the priestly clothing with special Aramaic terms, the so-called *chethone* is likely to be a version of the widely documented and ancient Semitic root *ktn* attested throughout the second and first millennia in Semitic languages and borrowed into the Indo-European languages—for example, in Greek *chiton*.¹⁴²

Second, Josephus also narrates a series of historical anecdotes highlighting the political role of clothing in the cult. King Uzziah of Judah, likely dated to the eighth century BCE, was a vigorous leader during a long reign, as narrated in 2 Chronicles 26:1–20 and 2 Kings 15:1–7. Josephus retells the story but with a significant addition: that King Uzziah had the audacity to don the high-priestly vestments (ἱερατικὴν στολήν) and go to the temple to offer incense, an act normally the prerogative of the priests. This offence of the established order ended his life.¹⁴³ Another event narrated by Josephus illustrates the powerful and dangerous combination of royal descent and wearing high-priestly vestments. A young descendent of the Hasmonean royal lineage, Aristoboulos, was appointed high priest by King Herod of Judea in 35 BCE, but at the upsetting sight of the crowd cheering the young prince dressed as high priest, Herod began to fear that the young man would establish his own political platform. The king therefore changed plans and drowned the young prince-priest.¹⁴⁴ Finally, from Josephus's own time, he reports in *The Jewish War* that, after the fall of Jerusalem, a priest and the temple treasurer delivered, in exchange for their security, the sacred veils and garments, priestly vestments, and a large quantity of purple and scarlet to Titus.¹⁴⁵ Titus's father, the Roman emperor Vespasian, ordered this rich booty of Jewish temple textiles to be stored in his royal palace.¹⁴⁶

141 Weissenrieder 2017, 168–69: “The priests spoke Aramaic, and since the second century BCE Aramaic was most likely their written language; however, it was not known to the Romans, who most scholars think would have been Josephus’ target audience. But it would be quite mistaken to think that Josephus chose to transliterate from Aramaic into Greek in order to intensify the exotic flavour of the text—Hebrew would have been quite exotic enough for a Roman reader. Rather what Josephus seeks to do is to set up Aramaic as a priestly language, implying that its use dates back to the time of the tent of the tabernacle. In other words, he is deliberately shifting Aramaic out of the everyday world and representing it to outsiders as a priestly language in use ever since the days of the tent by representing it as a priestly language, establishing the era of the tent of the tabernacle as an ideal time.”

142 Michel and Nosch 2017, ix–xx.

143 Josephus, *Antiquities* 9.222–26.

144 Josephus, *Antiquities* 15.50–56; Edwards 2001, 156.

145 Josephus, *Jewish War* 6.387–90: “During those same days, one of the priests named Jesus, son of Thebuthi, after obtaining a sworn pledge of protection from Caesar, on condition of his delivering up some of the sacred treasures, came out and handed over from the wall of the sanctuary two lampstands similar to those deposited in the sanctuary, along with tables, bowls, and platters, all of solid gold and very massive; he further delivered up the veils (τὰ καταπετάσματα), the high-priests’ vestments (τὰ ἐνδύματα), including the precious stones, and many other articles used in public worship. Furthermore, the treasurer of the temple, by name Phineas, being taken prisoner, disclosed the tunics and girdles worn by the priests, an abundance of purple and scarlet (τούς τε χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ζώνας ὑπέδειξε τῶν ἱερέων πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον) kept for necessary repairs to the veil of the temple.”

146 Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.162.

We are less informed about the dress of the Jewish monarchy,¹⁴⁷ yet the ancient texts illustrate that a certain vestimentary decorum was expected for a Jewish king. When King David entered Jerusalem and celebrated by dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, his wife, Michal, represented as a negative figure, scorned him for this lack of royal decorum: “But Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said, ‘How the king of Israel honored himself today, uncovering himself today before the eyes of his servants’ maids, as one of the vulgar fellows shamelessly uncovers himself!’” Against his wife, King David argued that his unconventional dress and dance were permitted because he was dressed to honor God, who had made him king.¹⁴⁸ The conflict between husband and wife is also a conflict about the appropriate dress for a king who ministers as a priest, and about the tension between royalty and modesty. In the later chronicle, the dancing was toned down and David’s dress adapted to appropriate priestly dress.¹⁴⁹

In Roman times, when Jesus of Nazareth was arrested and mocked as the king of the Jews, Roman soldiers clothed him in their image of a stereotyped king: a crown of thorns and a purple garment, which is described differently in the three Gospels: as Greek *porphyra*/Latin *purpura* in the Gospel of Saint Mark; as *chlamys kokkina/clamys coccinea* in the Gospel of Saint Matthew, composed later than the Gospel of Saint Mark; and as *himation porphyron/veste purpurea* in the Gospel of Saint John.

Mark 15:17 reads:

καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν **πορφύραν** καὶ περιτιθέασιν αὐτῷ πλέξαντες ἀκάνθινον στέφανον

*et induunt eum **purpuram** et inponunt ei plectentes spineam coronam*

“And they clothed him in a **purple cloak**, and plaiting a crown of thorns they put it on him.”

In Matthew 27:28, the garment of Jesus is instead a scarlet *chlamys* cloak:¹⁵⁰

καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν **χλαμύδα κοκκίνην** περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ

*et exuentes eum **clamydem coccineam** circumdederunt ei*

“And they stripped him and put a **scarlet robe** upon him.”

Finally, in John 19:2, Jesus’s garment has become a purple mantle, a *himation*:

καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται πλέξαντες στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ **ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν** περιέβαλον αὐτόν

147 This absence can also be observed in biblical texts; see Burton 2019, with reference to 1 Kings 3:21 and girdles, emphasizing the link between king and warrior.

148 2 Samuel 6:20–22.

149 1 Chronicles 15:27; Schulz 2019.

150 Since a *chlamys* is typically a soldier’s cloak, it may be better translated as “cloak” instead of “robe”; on the *chlamys*, see Flemestad 2022, 146–48.

Et milites plectentes coronam de spinis, imposuerunt capiti ejus: et veste purpurea circumdederunt eum

“And the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and arrayed him in a **purple robe**.”¹⁵¹

In purple, he was dressed as a king, not as a priest, according to the Gospels.¹⁵² The passages demonstrate that in the first century CE, purple still had strong royal connotations. They also demonstrate that purple was accessible beyond the elite.

RADIATING THE DIVINE ORDER AND THE UNIVERSE

A king and his regalia may radiate divine powers, and textiles and clothing can become necessary means to protect his subjects from the effects of those powers.¹⁵³ In Sassanian history, and perhaps further back in time, we encounter the tradition of the king who is veiled because of his splendid radiance.¹⁵⁴ This idea also appears in Jewish tradition with Moses, the first prophet, who had to wear a veil after encountering YHWH (Exodus 34:29–35).¹⁵⁵

In Iranian culture, the coronation of the king marked his birthday, when he assumed a new name—his throne name. On that occasion, he would dress in a starry vestment symbolizing his role as cosmic ruler. Otherwise, his dress was composed of both secular and sacral clothing items reflecting his double political and priestly functions.¹⁵⁶ His kingly secular clothes were red, and when performing a ritual he would don his priestly garb over them. Thus the Iranian royal tradition preserved the colors red and white for the king. The historian of religion Gustav Widengren associated this dress with Achaemenid court culture, in which the king was clad in a purple-edged tunic with a white central part and dark-purple headgear variegated with white.¹⁵⁷ Here, Widengren was perhaps influenced by the linguist Georges Dumézil—specifically, his study of Indo-Iranian cultures and their color symbolism.¹⁵⁸

The tradition of astral symbols on royal attire was known already in Neo-Assyrian kingly clothing: the royal robe was adorned with stars, which marked the very special

151 A *himation* is an outer garment and thus perhaps best translated as “mantle” or “cloak.”

152 In Isaiah 63:16, God wears a red garment, thus contributing to a characterization of YHWH as a royal figure, according to LeMon and Purcell 2019.

153 Hidding 1959, 58: “As the sky or another phenomenon symbolize the High God as the origin and essence of all being, so the king with his regalia symbolizes the same idea on an earthly scale. The scepter, the staff, the crown, the mantle, the throne, the imperial orb etc. witness to and proclaim the holy mystery of all life by which alone the order in this world as well can be upheld.”

154 Widengren 1959, 246–47.

155 I thank Kenny Clewett for this information.

156 Widengren 1959, 253.

157 Curtius Rufus 3.3.17–18.

158 Dumézil (1954, 45–57) discussed the color symbolism of white, red, and black/blue in ancient Indian and Iranian societies, as well as in Hittite sources and the *Rigveda*. In conclusion, he saw a “tripartition fonctionnelle des sociétés indo-européennes” and the colors white, black, and red as forming “un système symbolique, avec des valeurs fonctionnelles” (Dumézil 1954, 57). According to his analyses, red/purple is associated with warriors and the military, while white is associated with Brahmins and priests.

relationship between the king and the gods. The robe's decoration included images of the sacred tree, the purifying genii, the winged disk, and other iconic elements.¹⁵⁹

The Jewish temple also was lavishly furnished with precious textiles with cosmological meaning.¹⁶⁰ The curtain of the temple combined fine linen thread with dyed yarns, probably of wool, in the colors purple, red, and blue. This combination, according to Josephus, would symbolize the universe and its elements of fire, earth, sea, and air.¹⁶¹ In another text concerning the earliest Jewish traditions of rituals, Moses's brother, the high priest Aaron, was said to wear clothing depicting the whole world: "For on his long robe the whole universe was depicted."¹⁶²

It is worth noting that cosmological imagery is also integrated in Hellenistic Babylonian priestly dress, as it was in the dress of Hellenistic kings in Greece.¹⁶³ The ritual texts from Hellenistic Uruk, mentioned above, describe how the *šibtu* garment of some priests was adorned with celestial patterns, such as stars and a rainbow; other priests wore a *hullānu* mantle decorated in embroidery or inwoven tapestry with divine figures.¹⁶⁴

Examples of the visual appearance of Hellenistic kings with cosmic connotations appear in a dozen stelae from the kingdom of Commagene (in present-day southeastern Türkiye) depicting King Antiochus I (r. 70–38 BCE). These stelae give us a corpus of royal Hellenistic imagery from a specific region. On them, King Antiochus stands on the left-hand side, in a three-quarters pose, and shakes hands with a divinity. The king's head is adorned with upright feathers and a tiara, perhaps of cloth or of metal plates and adorned with laurel leaves or eagles. As an example, a relief from Arsameia on the Nymphaios is shown in figure 9.1.

159 Gaspa 2018, 152–54.

160 On cosmic symbolism in Jewish cult, see Hayward 1996, 145.

161 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.5.4: "but before these doors there was a veil (καταπέτασμα πέπλος) of equal largeness with the doors. It was a Babylonian curtain (Βαβυλώνιος ποικιλτός), embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple (ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου κόκκου τε καὶ πορφύρας), and of a con-texture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colors without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe (εἰκόνα τῶν ὅλων); for by the scarlet (τῇ κόκκῳ) there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax (τῇ βύσσῳ) the earth, by the blue (τῇ ὑακίνθῳ) the air, and by the purple (τῇ πορφύρῳ) the sea; two of them having their colors the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other (τῆς δὲ βύσσου καὶ τῆς πορφύρας διὰ τὴν γένεσιν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τὴν δ' ἡ θάλασσα). This curtain had also embroidered (κατεγέγραπτο δ' ὁ πέπλος) upon it all that was mystical in the heavens, excepting that of the [twelve] signs, representing living creatures." Note the ongoing discussions of translating ancient textile techniques by "embroidery" in Droß-Krüpe and Paetz gen. Schieck 2014; see also Weissenrieder 2017, 176, for the cosmological connotations of sacred Jewish textiles.

162 Book of Wisdom 18:24. The Hellenistic Jewish Book of Sirach, from the second century BCE, describes concretely and metaphorically how the first high priest, Moses's brother Aaron, was clothed with perfection of beauty in breeches, tunic, and mantle decorated with bells and pomegranates. The garments were made of gold, purple, and blue and included a richly decorated girdle and a breastplate with precious stones (Sirach 45:6–22); see Hayward 1996, 63.

163 Nosch 2021. See page 289 above on King Demetrius's cloak adorned with in-woven images of heavenly bodies.

164 Quillien 2019.

Antiochus wears a military costume¹⁶⁵ consisting of a light, long-sleeved tunic with a leather cuirass worn over it that is richly decorated with lozenges containing eight-pointed stars. He wears a cloak attached with a fibula on his right shoulder and reaching down to his knees. Around his waist is a sash; two cords stretch from the sash down between his legs and pull on the cloth otherwise covering his upper legs. This cloth is probably the lower part of his knee-length tunic. His legs are covered in tight-fitting trousers or leg wrappers. The lower part of his costume emphasizes his crotch, thighs, and legs, perhaps conveying the idea of horse riding, mobility, and virility. The upper part of his costume and his head, conversely, convey a cosmic ideal of peace and royalty, emphasized by the stars on his upper body (a recurrent motif on other numismatic and sculptural portraits of King Antiochus) and by the feathers, which imitate solar rays.¹⁶⁶ Antiochus's costume and posture with the Greek gods testify to the combined Greek and Persian heritage of the Commagene dynasty,¹⁶⁷ uniting the legacy of Alexander the Great with the grandeurs of the Achaemenids.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study I have used clothing as a key to analyze the power expressions of priests and kings. The material and physical aspects of clothing and its tactile qualities should be included in any discussion of power and authority because royal garments, robes of state, and priestly garb are often large and heavy and thereby convey the weighty responsibilities of rulers and authorities. Sometimes, the royal robe can embody the ruler's authority and become a powerful agent in its own right—as in Babylonia, where the king's official garments could act on his behalf when the king was physically absent.¹⁶⁸ Priestly garments also may embody portable authority and power: Moses was instructed by God to undress the old high priest Aaron and pass his vestments to Aaron's son Eleazar, and Aaron died immediately after this change of clothes (Numbers 20:22–29).



Figure 9.1. Stela from Arsameia with image of King Antiochus I of Commagene. Drawing by Farzana Khosrawi.

¹⁶⁵ Rose 2013, 221.

¹⁶⁶ Rose 2013, 222.

¹⁶⁷ Rose 2013, 223; Flemestad 2022, 132–36.

¹⁶⁸ Alvarez-Món 2009, 22–23; Gaspa 2018, 146–49; 2024, 17–18.

Along the same lines of thinking are Quillien's observations of how priests' clothes in Babylonia are not simple, static objects hung on the human body but actively move and transform the ritual praxis. The actions of clothing—to cover, to dress, to rip off, and to undress—*enact* the rituals and mark the transitions between various phases of a ceremony.¹⁶⁹ Utzschneider calls this dressing and undressing, this robing and disrobing, *Investitur* and *Devestitur*.¹⁷⁰

For the historian, it is essential to note that the sources for royal and priestly textiles are chronologically scattered and often appear in isolation. The Mycenaean Greek archives in Linear B and the Near Eastern archives in cuneiform, as well as iconography, can inform us about the Late Bronze Age; for the first part of the first millennium BCE, we rely on Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions; in Greece and Anatolia of the fifth century BCE, historians such as Herodotus constitute our main source. The historians Arrian, Curtius Rufus, and Plutarch report on Alexander the Great centuries after him and cluster around the first century BCE to the first century CE. The First Book of Maccabees was written around 100 BCE, while the texts of the Old Testament are notoriously difficult to date.

A central question of this essay is whether the garments of kings and priests express their divided or unified functions. Moreover, the historian's often unavoidable questions of origin and sequence emerge: Did kings wear purple mantles and white *chitons* first and were then imitated by priests? Or did the opposite occur? How did kings' clothing influence priests' clothing and vice versa? By piecing together evidence from early and late sources, a picture emerges, albeit still blurry. Kings were associated with purple since the time of the Mycenaean Linear B tablets; in Homer, purple is a sign of the elite, not only the king. In Archaic and Classical Greece, it probably would have seemed natural for a king to wear purple, but doing so was not his exclusive right, as priests also donned purple garments. Thus purple belongs to the symbols of royalty, but not necessarily to its prerogatives. It is rather the wearing of a diadem that becomes a royal prerogative, along with the holding of a scepter. Indeed, holding the scepter may also originate in the priestly and cultic functions of a king, since priests, too, held such symbols of dignity and power. In the fourth-century BCE Panionion inscription concerning the sacred functions of kings in Asia Minor, kings appear with their scepters,¹⁷¹ but according to Strabo, the king of Ephesus had a staff instead of a scepter.¹⁷² Hence the color purple and the scepter/staff may be seen as shared symbols for kings and priests.

The color purple undergoes changes in meaning in antiquity but remains a sign of wealth and prestige. Its value is undermined in Archaic and Classical Greece by its association with tyranny and antidemocratic behavior,¹⁷³ and in Hellenistic times by a wider distribution and commercialization of the dye product. In comments on the dress choices of Alexander the Great, the color purple is not in itself the focus of criticism; it is the oriental patterns, the foreign origins of the fabric, and the foreign clothing styles that

169 Quillien 2019, 77.

170 Utzschneider 1988, 172–75.

171 Hommel 1967, 60–61.

172 Strabo 14.1.3; Hommel 1967, 62.

173 Nosch 2021.

provoked criticism by his contemporaries.¹⁷⁴ Alexander's taste for exotic patterns and for mixed Median-Persian-Macedonian royal dress, with its foreign connotations, was perceived as much more provocative than the color purple per se. It is also noteworthy that Alexander's commentators refer to his wardrobe from only a political perspective—they do not mention any cultic connotations.

Melanie Wasmuth discusses how the double role as pharaoh of Egypt and king of Persia was visualized in the statue of Darius I. He displays a typical Egyptian posture, yet his dress (*kypassis/kapyris*) is typical of the Achaemenid court: a wide, foot-length garment with long, wide sleeves and a belt rendered in stone with incised patterns, suggesting an intrinsically and probably colorful (tablet-)woven one.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, along the folds of the front side of his garment are incised Egyptian hieroglyphs on the right and, in cuneiform, a trilingual Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian text on the left¹⁷⁶—hence, a perfect example of identity expressed in body posture, clothing, and language.

Gawlinski highlights how sacred dress in ancient Greece may be defined as “fossilized fashion,” since it uses dress items that were no longer worn by the general population as a distinctive feature. As an example, she adduces the dress of the *kanephoros*, literally “the basket bearer,” which is a function of the cult that in the visual sources is identified by a girl or woman carrying a basket on her head and wearing a *peplos*.¹⁷⁷ The *peplos* had gone out of fashion and use in the fifth century BCE in the general female population,¹⁷⁸ yet it continued to play a role in signaling ancestry, tradition, and history. I find that Gawlin-ski's compelling case may be taken further to suggest that similar, fossilized fashion items would be expected in other kinds of priestly dress; in fact, fossilized fashion elements might even constitute a defining feature of priestly dress. In comparison, kings' dress may contain fewer fossilized elements and be more apt to include new political and strategic dress elements, imbued with intention.

A clear difference between royal and priestly clothing is that priests' clothing is frequently regulated and restricted by sanctuary rules. Talmudic recommendations and rules state that without the priestly garb, the ritual is invalidated.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, kings may be expected to follow conventions and traditions but are not bound to the same degree by dress regulations and laws.

Brøns has also observed a gender difference in priestly dress, since male priestly dress is more often regulated than that of priestesses, and priests' dress is more visibly singled out in iconography than that of their female counterparts.¹⁸⁰

174 Blum 1998, 206–7.

175 Wasmuth 2017, 107–8.

176 Wasmuth 2017, 101.

177 Gawlinski 2017, 164–67.

178 Lee 2003.

179 Zevachim 17b.6: “The mishna teaches that a priest lacking the requisite priestly vestments disqualifies the rites he performs.”

180 Brøns 2016, 299: Priests “in several instances can be shown to wear special garments or dress items that identify their priestly function. This does not imply unity in dress, however, but rather outstanding clothing.” In the sanctuary of Andania, however, women's clothes were more regulated than men's; see Gawlinski 2011.

A particularity of priestly attire highlights purity and pollution, which are important topics in ancient religion. Thus a distinctive feature of priestly dress in Greek,¹⁸¹ Roman,¹⁸² Egyptian,¹⁸³ Jewish,¹⁸⁴ and Assyrian¹⁸⁵ cult involves the strong notion of purity and often implies purification processes for clothes, including, in particular, restrictions on fibers—which fibers can be worn and which ones can be mixed. Pollution and contamination can go both ways: into the sanctuary or diffusing holiness outside.¹⁸⁶ These notions are not reported for royal attire anywhere in the ancient world.

Another significant difference is that kings sometimes chose to include ethnic references in their clothes to manifest pedigree, ancestry (e.g., Cyrus the Great in Elamite dress, Alexander the Great in Macedonian *kausia* and *chlamys*), dynastic ambitions, or achieved conquests (e.g., Alexander the Great in Median or Persian attire).

Official clothing for kings and priests conveys an authority of office, and in religions with hereditary priestly offices, official clothing conveys the notion of continuity of office.¹⁸⁷

In Hellenistic times, new developments occurred in royal dress codes. In the Hellenistic court norms, it became customary for a king's *philoi* to dress in attire very similar to that of the king.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, monarchies underwent political changes, and deifying the ruler became an accepted praxis. In the processes of deification, a new vestimentary phenomenon emerged when kings could dress as gods. A contemporary critic of Alexander the Great, Ephippus of Olynthus, stated that on certain occasions, Alexander would don the costumes of deities such as the Egyptian god Ammon or the Greek gods Artemis and Hermes.¹⁸⁹

Josephus's scholarship illustrates how priestly clothing terminology can be used as an index of political orientation. In his first work, *The Jewish War*, he uses only the general term ἱερωὺς for priestly clothing; but two decades later, in *Jewish Antiquities*, he

181 On concepts of purity versus impurity of fibers in Greek sanctuaries, see Brøns 2022.

182 Larsson Lovén 2017.

183 According to Herodotus 2.35, Egyptian priests wear only linen; see Gerolemou 2017, 60–61.

184 The prohibition of blending animal and plant fibers in Orthodox Jewish religion is still in vigor. It is worth noting that, generally, few archaeological textiles from antiquity interweave wool and linen, and hence this convention seems to stem just as much from a technological praxis as from a request for purity. Priests and the high priest, however, are to wear a blend of linen and wool; see Bender 2008, 197; Shamir 2017.

185 Gaspa 2018, 220.

186 Ezekiel 44:17–19: “When they enter the gates of the inner court, they shall wear linen garments; they shall have nothing of wool on them, while they minister at the gates of the inner court, and within. They shall have linen turbans upon their heads, and linen breeches upon their loins; they shall not gird themselves with anything that causes sweat. And when they go out into the outer court to the people, they shall put off the garments in which they have been ministering, and lay them in the holy chambers; and they shall put on other garments, lest they communicate holiness to the people with their garments.”

187 Utzschneider 1988, 172, for the two concepts of *Amtsautorität* and *Amtskontinuität*; 175: “Zunächst sind die Kleider die materiale Repräsentanz des Amtes selbst. Wer sie anhat, ist als Amtsträger ausgewiesen. Die Kleider sind insofern auch das Zeichen der Amtskontinuität. Neue Kleider sind demnach Zeichen eines neuen Amtes, nicht Attribute eines neuen Amtsträgers.”

188 Strootman (2007, 360) emphasizes how the dress of the *philoi* mirrors the royal attire: “The costume of the king was basically the same as the costume of his *philoi*.”

189 *FGrH* 126 F5, which corresponds to Athenaeus 12.537E–538B; Fredericksmeier 1986, 216.

chooses a more specialized terminology and introduces *στολή* as an exclusive term for priestly dress.¹⁹⁰

It should be noted that priestly dress reflects not only royal dress but also elite dress in general. For example, Nathan MacDonald has observed that Jewish priestly dress has much in common with aristocratic Persian attire.¹⁹¹

Concepts stemming from the analyses of military uniforms are germane here and can be beneficial to the discussion of clothing of kings and priests in antiquity. Military uniforms focused attention on specific parts of the male body: the head, forefront, chest, waist, and shoulders. This essay illustrates that priests and kings of antiquity would visualize their power by the same bodily means: *mitra*, tiara, or diadem on the head;¹⁹² shoulders emphasized by animal hides (in Homer), by elaborately decorated mantles, or by the military *chlamys*; and the chest by tunics with inwoven, central, vertical bands and girded with elaborate belts.¹⁹³

The significant insignia—crown, diadem, mantle, and scepter—are placed on the body near the face and chest and on the front of the body, although they are also visible from the back. Research on tracking eye movement demonstrates that humans tend to focus their glance unconsciously on the human face (eyes, mouth) and on the upper body. Our focus on the head and torso helps us identify other humans. That the upper body plays a significant role in our ability to evaluate others was demonstrated in tests by psychologists conducted on university students. When the torso was hidden (by a black plastic bag, for the purpose of the test), the students were less able to make similarity-based assessments of their classmates. This finding means that the torso—its physical features and decoration in terms of jewelry and clothing—is important for the basic human understanding and appreciation of others.¹⁹⁴

Military uniforms are said to be primarily functional. However, fashion studies and military historians have clearly demonstrated that in addition to preserving ethnic vestiges and national traditions, uniforms also follow fashion. The overwhelming trend in uniform design, however, is that they follow the style of the currently ruling superpowers.¹⁹⁵

190 Gussmann 2008, 366–68.

191 MacDonald 2019, 441: “A number of the individual items of the priestly vestments appear to reflect the dress worn by the aristocratic class. The robe, *מעיל*, was worn by figures of status, such as the king (1 Sam. 15:27; 24:4, 11) or those in his family (1 Sam. 18:4; 2 Sam. 13:18). In Ezek. 26:16 the princes of Tyre are dressed in robes and embroidered garments. The turban, *מצנפת*, is associated with a crown in Ezek. 21:26, and the rosette, *ציץ*, that adorns it is identified as a diadem, *בציר*, in Exod. 29:6.”

192 See Panagiotopoulos 2012 for elite headgear in the Aegean; Raja 2017 for distinctive Palmyrene hats worn by priests; and Reade 2009 for elite headgear worn at the Assyrian court. Maier 1989 demonstrates how priest-kings at Paphos, Cyprus, would wear an Egyptian-inspired crown with an Achaemenid/Assyrian-style beard.

193 Kilian-Dirlmeier 2012.

194 Bahns et al. 2016, 151–70.

195 See Galster, Honeyman, and Nosch 2010. The political and military superpowers thus define the uniforms’ designs, which are then imitated by those who aspire to power and those who are under the protection of superpowers. In the twentieth century CE, the USA and the Soviet Union set two different design styles for their military uniforms, which then “trickled down” (an expression from fashion studies) on each side of the Iron Curtain to the nations’ NATO and Warsaw Pact allies in their satellite states.

The crossover influence between kings' and priests' wardrobes in antiquity may have mirrored a similar development—namely, that power dressing had a strong normative force and also imitated the dress of powerful figures. Thus, through (slow-changing) fashions and sudden imitations in power dressing, we can perceive who were considered the most powerful rulers and political entities of the time. Hence, dress can become a looking glass that reflects nuances of power structures and rank.

The diverse traditions and tensions described in this study—those between priestly and kingly functions and between priestly and royal clothes—came to a halt in Roman imperial times when the Roman emperor assumed the highest priestly functions and Julius Caesar was appointed *Pontifex maximus* in 63 BCE. With the dismantling of the Roman Empire centuries later, the issue became relevant again with the emergence of the Christian church as a religious power center in Rome and Byzantium.

Taking off royal attire and changing into civilian clothes signifies ending a reign and retiring. Plutarch (*An Seni* 11) formulates it as a cloaked piece of advice: Ruling is tiresome, and in time a king must stop reigning:

There is, then, a time to advise even a king when he has become an old man to lay aside the crown and the purple, to assume a cloak and a crook, and to live in the country.

ABBREVIATIONS

- FGrH* Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin: Weidmann and Leiden: Brill, 1923–
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Amsterdam: Gieben and Leiden: Brill, 1923–

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adcock, Frank Ezra
 1953 "Greek and Macedonian Kingship." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39: 163–80.
- Álvarez-Món, Javier
 2009 "Notes on the 'Elamite' Garment of Cyrus the Great." *Antiquaries Journal* 89: 21–33.
- Austin, M. Michel
 1986 "Hellenistic Kings, War and the Economy." *Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2: 450–66.
- Bahns, Angela J., Christian S. Crandall, Omri Gillath, and Jeremy B. Wilmer
 2016 "Nonverbal Communication of Similarity via the Torso: It's in the Bag." *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 40, no. 2: 151–70.
- Balatti, Silvia
 2019 "Kleider für den Großkönig: Fabrikation und Umlauf von Textilien am Hof der Achämeniden." In *Gaben, Waren und Tribute: Stoffkreisläufe und antike Textilökonomie*, edited by Beate Wagner-Hasel and Marie-Louise B. Nosch, 93–116. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Ballard, Mary, Asher Newsome, Elizabeth Simpson, and Brendan Burke
 2023 "Ancient Chromophores and Auxiliaries: Phrygian Colorants from Tumulus MM at Gordion, Turkey, ca. 740 BCE." *Heritage* 6: 2220–46.

Barcelò, Pedro

- 1993 *Basileia, Monarchia, Tyrannis: Untersuchung zu Entwicklung und Beurteilung von Alleinherrschaft im vorhellenistischen Griechenland*. Historia Einzelschriften 79. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Bender, Claudia

- 2008 *Die Sprache des Textilen: Untersuchungen zu Kleidung und Textilien im Alten Testament*. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 177. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Berner, Christoph

- 2019 “‘Mind the Step!’ (Exod. 20:26), or, Even Better: ‘Wear Breeches!’ (Exod. 28:42–43): The Issue of (Un-)covering One’s ‘Shame’ in Cultic Legislation.” In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 417–34. London: Bloomsbury.

Bickerman, Elias J.

- 2013 *Institutions des Séleucides*. Beirut: Institut français du Proche-Orient.

Bloch, Marc

- 1961 *Les rois thaumaturges: Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. Paris: Colin. English translation by J. E. Anderson, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1973.

Blum, Hartmut

- 1998 *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt*. Antiquitas Abhandlungen zur alten Geschichte 47. Bonn: Habelt.

Braund, David

- 2002 “Friends and Foes: Monarchs and Monarchy in Fifth-Century Athenian Democracy.” In *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, edited by Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson, 103–18. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brøns, Cecilie

- 2016 *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th–1st Centuries BC*. Ancient Textiles Series 28. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2017 “Sacred Colours: Purple Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the Second Half of the 1st Millennium BC.” In *Treasures from the Sea: Sea Silk and Shellfish Purple Dye in Antiquity*, edited by Hedvig Landenius Enegren and Francesco Meo, 109–17. Ancient Textiles Series 30. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2022 “What to Wear? Dress-Codes in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries.” In *Evidence Combined: Western and Eastern Sources in Dialogue*, edited by Raija Mattila, Sebastian Fink, and Sanae Ito, 231–60. Melammu Symposia 11. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Brøns, Cecilie, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.

- 2017 *Textiles and Cult in the Mediterranean in the First Millennium BC*. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Brunton, Winifred

- 1926 *Kings and Queens of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Scribner’s Sons.

Buchholz, Hans-Günter

- 2012 “Ornat, fürstliche Kleidung.” In *Erkennungs-, Rang- und Würdezeichen*, edited by Hans-Günter Buchholz, 84–108. *Archaeologia Homerica: Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Burton, Marilyn E.

- 2019 "Robed in Majesty: Clothing as a Metaphor for the Classical Hebrew Semantic Domain of כבוד." In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 289–300. London: Bloomsbury.

Campobianco, Luca Sansone di

- 2016 "Clothing the Self in Metaphor: The Spartan *Phoinikis* as a Sign of Double Identity." In *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom: The Use of Textiles, Clothing and Cloth Production as Metaphor, Symbol and Narrative Device in Greek and Latin Literature*, edited by Giovanni Fanfani, Mary Harlow, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 179–94. Ancient Textiles Series 24. Oxford: Oxbow.

Carlier, Pierre

- 1978 "L'idée de monarchie impériale dans la *Cyropédie* de Xénophon." *Ktema* 3: 133–63.
 1983 *La royauté en Grèce avant Alexandre*. Groupe de recherche d'histoire romaine de l'Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg: Études et travaux 6. Strasbourg: Association pour l'étude de la civilisation romaine.
 2002 "Homeric and Macedonian Kingship." In *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, edited by Roger Brock and Stephen Hodkinson, 259–69. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cifarelli, Megan, and Laura Gawlinski, eds.

- 2017 *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Cleland, Liza, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds.

- 2005 *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Connelly, Joan Breton

- 2007 *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Drews, Robert

- 1983 *Basileus: The Evidence for Kingship in Geometric Greece*. Yale Classical Monographs 4. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Droß-Krüpe, Kerstin, and Annette Paetz gen. Schieck

- 2014 "Unravelling the Tangled Threads of Ancient Embroidery: A Compilation of Written Sources and Archaeologically Preserved Textiles." In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 207–35. Ancient Textiles Series 19. Oxford: Oxbow.

Dumézil, Georges

- 1954 *Rituels indo-européens à Rome*. Études et commentaires 19. Paris: Klincksieck.

Edsman, Carl-Martin, ed.

- 1959 *The Sacral Kingship: Contributions to the Central Theme of the VIIIth International Congress for the History of Religions (Rome, April 1955) / La regalità sacra: Contributi al tema dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni (Roma, aprile 1955)*. Numen Book Series 4. Leiden: Brill.

Edwards, Douglas R.

- 2001 "The Social, Religious, and Political Aspects of Costume in Josephus." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 153–59. 2nd ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Flemestad, Peder

- 2022 *Order and Adornment: The Role of Dress in Plutarch*. Lund: Lund University.

Frazer, James G.

- 1890 *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*. London: Macmillan.

Fredericksmeyer, Ernst A.

- 1986 "Alexander the Great and the Macedonian *kausia*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116: 215–27.

Galster, Kjeld, Katrina Honeyman, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.

- 2010 "Textile History and the Military: An Introduction." *Textile History* 41, suppl. 1: 1–5.

Gaspa, Salvatore

- 2017 "Textiles in Assyrian and Babylonian Temples from the 1st Millennium BCE." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 145–73. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2018 *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Boston: de Gruyter.
- 2024 "Assyrian Imperial Elites and Textile Culture of the 1st Millennium BC: Shaping Power Visions through Textiles." In special issue "Dress for Success: Textiles, Furniture, and Power Accessories Expressing Status in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean (3rd–1st Millennia BCE)," edited by Noemi Borrelli and Rachele Pierini. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 11, no. 2: 241–324.

Gaudemet, Jean

- 1978 "A propos d'un 'héritage' romain des monarchies hellénistiques." *Ktema* 3: 165–75.

Gawlinski, Laura

- 2011 *The Sacred Law of Andania: A New Text with Commentary*. Sozomena 11. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2017 "Theorizing Religious Dress." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 161–78. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Gerolemou, Maria

- 2017 "Priestly Dress in the Ancient Mediterranean: Herodotus as a Source-Book." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 58–64. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Gleba, Margarita

- 2012 "Linen-Clad Etruscan Warriors." In *Wearing the Cloak: Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch, 45–55. Ancient Textiles Series 10. Oxford: Oxbow.

Grawehr, Matthias, Christina Leypold, Martin Mohr, and Ellen Thiermann, eds.

- 2020 *Klassik – Kunst der Könige: Kings and Greek Art in the 4th Century BC—Tagung der Universität Zürich vom 18.–20. Januar 2018*. Rahden: Leidorf.

Gruen, Erich S.

- 1998 *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gussmann, Oliver

- 2008 *Das Priesterverständnis des Flavius Josephus*. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 124. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Hayward, Charles T. R.

- 1996 *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*. London: Routledge.

Heinen, Heinz

- 1978 "Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolémaïque." *Ktema* 3: 177–99.

Hermkens, Anna-Karina

- 2010 "Clothing as Embodied Experience of Belief." In *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, edited by David Morgan, 231–46. London: Routledge.

Hidding, Klaas Albert Hendrik

- 1959 "The High God and the King as Symbols of Totality." In *The Sacral Kingship: Contributions to the Central Theme of the VIIIth International Congress for the History of Religions (Rome, April 1955) / La regalità sacra: Contributi al tema dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni (Roma, aprile 1955)*, edited by Carl-Martin Edsman, 54–62. Numen Book Series 4. Leiden: Brill.

Higbie, Carolyn

- 2003 *The Lindian Chronicle and the Greek Creation of Their Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hommel, Peter

- 1967 "Die Inschrift vom Panionion." In *Panionion und Melie*, edited by Gerhard Kleiner, Peter Hommel, and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, 59–63. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Supplement 23. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Houston, Mary G.

- 1920 *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Persian Costume*. London: Black.

Kilian-Dirlmeier, Imma

- 2012 "Ringschmuck, Pektorale und Gürtel als Würdezeichen." In *Erkennungs-, Rang- und Würdezeichen*, edited by Hans-Günter Buchholz, 159–84. *Archaeologia Homerica: Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Kingsley, Bonnie

- 1981 "The Cap That Survived Alexander." *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, no. 1: 39–46.

Kleiner, Gerhard, Peter Hommel, and Wolfgang Müller-Wiener

- 1967 *Panionion und Melie*. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Supplement 23. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Kristensen, Troels Myrup

- 2012 "Textiles, Tattoos, and the Representation of Pilgrimage in the Roman and Early Christian Periods." *Herom: Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture* 1: 107–34.

Larsson Lovén, Lena

- 2017 "On Priests, Priestesses, and Clothing in Roman Cult Practices." In *Textiles and Cult in the Mediterranean in the First Millennium BC*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 135–41. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Lattimore, Steven

- 1975 "The Chlamys of Daochos I." *American Journal of Archaeology* 79, no. 1: 87–88.

Launderville, Dale

- 2003 *Piety and Politics: The Dynamics of Royal Authority in Homeric Greece, Biblical Israel, and Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2003 "The 'Peplos' and the 'Dorian Question.'" In *Ancient Art and Its Historiography*, edited by Alice A. Donohue and Mark D. Fullerton, 118–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2015 *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lehman, Marjorie

- 2014 "Dressing and Undressing the High Priest: A View from Talmudic Mothers." *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* 26: 52–74.

LeMon, Joel M., and Richard A. Purcell

- 2019 "The Garments of God: Iconographic Case Studies from Isaiah 6:1; 59:17; and 63:1–6." In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 269–88. London: Bloomsbury.

Lenzen, Heinrich

- 1959 *XV. vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*. Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 4/4. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

Lévy, Edmond

- 1978 "La monarchie macédonienne et le mythe d'une royauté démocratique." *Ktema* 3: 201–25.

Löhnert, Anne

- 2007 "The Installation of Priests according to Neo-Assyrian Documents." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 16: 273–86.

MacDonald, Nathan

- 2019 "The Priestly Vestments." In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 435–48. London: Bloomsbury.

Maier, Franz Georg

- 1989 "Priest Kings in Cyprus." In *Early Society in Cyprus*, edited by Edgar Peltenburg, 376–91. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Malatacca, Luigi

- 2017 "Ordinary People's Garments in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Sources." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 107–21. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Marinatos, Spyridon

- 1967 *Kleidung, Haar- und Bartracht*. *Archaeologia Homerica: Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Michel, Cécile, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2017 "Textile Terminologies." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, ix–xx. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Miller, Margaret C.

- 1997 *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morris, Sarah

- 2003 "Imaginary Kings: Alternatives to Monarchy in Early Greece." In *Popular Tyranny: Sovereignty and Its Discontents in Ancient Greece*, edited by Kathryn Morgan, 1–24. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Nosch, Marie-Louise

- 2014 "Voicing the Loom: Women, Weaving, and Plotting." In *KE-RA-ME-JA: Studies Presented to Cynthia Shelmerdine*, edited by Dimitri Nakassis, Joann Gulizio, and Sarah A. James, 91–101. Prehistory Monographs 46. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.

- 2021 "Les textiles des royautés en Grèce." In *Le pouvoir et la parole: Mélanges en mémoire de Pierre Carlier*, edited by Ariane Guieu-Coppolani, Marie-Joséphine Werlings, and Julien Zurbach, 103–38. Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy.
- 2022 "Klæder skaber konger: Antikkens grækernes syn på kongers dragt." In *Monarkier: Et festskrift til Hendes Majestæt Dronning Margrethe II i anledning af hendes 50-års regeringsjubilæum den 14. januar 2022*, edited by Marianne Pade, 31–42. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
- Nosch, Marie-Louise, and Massimo Perna
- 2001 "Cloth in the Cult." In *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age—8th International Aegean Conference, University of Göteborg, 12–15 April 2000*, edited by Robin Hägg and Robert Laffineur, 471–77. Aegaeum 22. Liège: University of Liège.
- Nosch, Marie-Louise, and Beate Wagner-Hasel, eds.
- 2019 *Gaben, Waren und Tribute: Stoffkreisläufe und antike Textilökonomie*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis
- 2012 "Würdezeichen auf dem Haupt." In *Erkennungs-, Rang- und Würdezeichen*, edited by Hans-Günter Buchholz, 109–58. *Archaeologia Homerica: Die Denkmäler und das frühgriechische Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Quillien, Louise
- 2014 "Flax and Linen in the First Millennium Babylonia BC: The Origins, Craft Industry and Uses of a Remarkable Textile." In *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 271–96. Ancient Textiles Series 18. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2019 "Identity through Appearance: Babylonian Priestly Clothing during the 1st Millennium BC." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 19: 71–89.
- 2022 *Histoire des textiles en Babylonie, 626–484 av. J.-C.: Production, circulations et usages*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 126. Leiden: Brill.
- Raja, Rubina
- 2017 "Between Fashion Phenomena and Status Symbols: Contextualising the Wardrobe of the So-Called 'Former Priests' of Palmyra." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 209–29. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Reade, Julian
- 2009 "Fez, Diadem, Turban, Chaplet: Power-Dressing at the Assyrian Court." *Studia Orientalia Electronica* 106: 239–64.
- Reuthner, Rosa
- 2019 "Textiles Beutegut und Kleidermärkte in Athen: Überlegungen zum Verbleib der Kleidung aus der Perserbeute." In *Gaben, Waren und Tribute: Stoffkreisläufe und antike Textilökonomie*, edited by Beate Wagner-Hasel and Marie-Louise Nosch, 237–50. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Ritter, Hans-Werner
- 1965 *Diadem und Königsherrschaft: Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Großen und im Hellenismus*. Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte 7. Munich: Beck.
- Rose, Charles Brian
- 2013 "A New Relief of Antiochus I of Commagene and Other Stone Sculpture from Zeugma." In *Excavations at Zeugma Conducted by Oxford Archaeology*, edited by William Aylward, 220–31. Los Altos: Packard Humanities Institute.
- Sayce, Archibald H.
- 1899 *Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs*. New York: Scribner's Sons.

Schneider, Jane

- 2006 "Cloth and Clothing." In *Handbook of Material Culture*, edited by Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer, 203–20. London: Sage.

Schulz, Sarah

- 2019 "The Dancing David: Nudity and Cult in 2 Sam. 6." In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 461–76. London: Bloomsbury.

Sebesta, Judith Lynn, and Larissa Bonfante

- 1994 *The World of Roman Costume*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Shamir, Orit

- 2017 "The High Priest's Garments of Mixed Wool and Linen (*sha'atnez*) Compared to Textiles Found in the Land of Israel." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 199–208. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.

Sokolowski, Franciszek

- 1955 *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris: de Boccard.
1969 *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et de divers savants 18. Paris: de Boccard.

Spoelstra, Joshua Joel

- 2019 "Mordecai's Royal Vestments: Princely and/or Priestly?" *Old Testament Essays* 32, no. 1: 174–96.

Strootman, Rudolf

- 2007 "The Hellenistic Royal Court: Court Culture, Ceremonial and Ideology in Greece, Egypt and the Near East, 336–30 BCE." PhD diss., Utrecht University.

Stulz, Heinke

- 1990 *Die Farbe Purpur im frühen Griechentum*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Trampedach, Kai

- 2013 "Between Hellenistic Monarchy and Jewish Theocracy: The Contested Legitimacy of Hasmonean Rule." In *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean*, edited by Nino Luraghi, 231–59. Stuttgart: Steiner.

Utzschneider, Helmut

- 1988 *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz: Studien zur Bedeutung der sinaitischen Heiligtumstexte (Ex 25–40; Lev 8–9)*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 77. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Virgilio, Biagio

- 2003 *Lancia, diadema e porpora: Il re e la regalità ellenistica*. Studi ellenistici 14. Pisa: Giardini.

Wace, Helen P., and Alan J. B. Wace

- 1962 "Dress." In *Companion to Homer*, edited by Alan J. B. Wace and Frank H. Stubbings, 499–501. London: MacMillan.

Wagner-Hasel, Beate

- 2000 *Der Stoff der Gaben: Kultur und Politik des Schenkens und Tauschens im archaischen Griechenland*. Frankfurt: Campus.
2007 "Der Stoff der Macht: Kleideraufwand, elitärer Konsum und homerisches Königtum." In *Keimelion: Elitenbildung und elitärer Konsum von der mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche. Akten des internationalen Kongresses vom 3. bis 5. Februar 2005 in Salzburg*, edited by Eva Alram-Stern and Georg Nightingale, 325–37. Veröffentlichungen der mykenischen Kommiss-

- sion 27. Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 350. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 2015 “Dreifußkessel und der Stoff der Gaben.” *Historische Anthropologie* 23, no. 3: 336–52.
- Wasmuth, Melanie
- 2017 *Ägypto-persische Herrscher- und Herrschaftspräsentation in der Achämenidenzeit*. Oriens et Occidens 27. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Weissenrieder, Annette
- 2017 “A Roadmap to Heaven: High-Priestly Vestments and the Jerusalem Temple in Flavius Josephus.” In *Beyond Priesthood: Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Roman Empire*, edited by Richard L. Gordon, Georgia Petridou, and Jörg Rüpke, 157–83. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Widengren, Gustav
- 1959 “The Sacral Kingship of Iran.” In *The Sacral Kingship: Contributions to the Central Theme of the VIIIth International Congress for the History of Religions (Rome, April 1955) / La regalità sacra: Contributi al tema dell’VIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia delle Religioni (Roma, aprile 1955)*, edited by Carl-Martin Edsman, 242–57. Numen Book Series 4. Leiden: Brill.
- Zawadzki, Stefan
- 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: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

SOURCES OF GREEK/LATIN TEXT QUOTATIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

- Aristotle
- 1944 *Aristotle in 23 Volumes*. Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.
- Arrian
- 1976 *Anabasis of Alexander*. Vol. 1, *Books 1–4*. Translated by P. A. Brunt. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bible, Revised Standard Version
- 1946–71 *Revised Standard Version of the Bible*. Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.
- Curtius Rufus
- 1946 *History of Alexander*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 2 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.
- Diodorus
- 1933 *Diodorus Siculus*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.
- Herodotus
- 1921 *The Persian Wars*. Vol. 1, *Books 1–2*. Translated by A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Josephus
- 1930–63 *Jewish Antiquities, Books I–III*, translated by H. St. J. Thackeray; *Books IV–VI*, translated by H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus; *Books VII–XVII*, translated by Ralph Marcus; *Books*

XVIII–XX, translated by Louis H. Feldman. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

1927–28 *The Jewish War, Books I–VII*. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

1 Maccabees

2007 “1 Makkabees.” Translation by George Themelis Zervos in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, 478–502. New York: Oxford University Press. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/20-1makk-nets.pdf>.

Pausanias

1918 *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. 4 vols. Translated by W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

Plato

2021 *Plato in Twelve Volumes*. Translated by Harold N. Fowler. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

Plutarch

1919 *Plutarch's Lives*. Translated by B. Perrin. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

Strabo

1924 *Geography*. Vol. 3, *Books 6–7*. Translated by H. L. Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

Xenophon

1925 *Xenophon in Seven Volumes*. Vol. 7, *Constitution of the Athenians*. Translated by E. C. Marchant and G. W. Bowersock. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press and London: Heinemann.

10

“A Religion without Priests”? Dressing the Dynamic Identities of Greek Religious Personnel

Laura Gawlinski
Loyola University Chicago

THE TITLE OF this essay references Walter Burkert’s influential description of religious authority in ancient Greece: “Greek religion might almost be called a religion without priests: there is no priestly caste as a closed group with fixed tradition, education, initiation, and hierarchy, and even in the permanently established cults there is no *disciplina*, but only usage, *nomos*.”¹ At its core, this statement gets at what many find unsettling about the relationships among ritual, power, and permanence during the ancient Greek historical periods. Influenced, consciously or not, by the priests and other leaders of living religions, there are expectations of structure and specialization that are not met. What, then, did it mean to be a “priest” at that time, and how did that identity relate to dress?²

GREEK “PRIESTS”

The Greek terms most often translated as “priest” and “priestess” are *hiereus* (ἱερεύς) and *hiereia* (ἱέρεια), which point to the main function of religious officials as taking care of the *hiera*, the sacred things. But precisely what that meant varied, and there was little priests did that was exclusive to them. As Jan Bremmer succinctly puts it, the difference between a priest and a regular worshipper “seems to have been more a matter of intensity or frequency than an absolute difference.”³ In addition to the many men and women who held the titles *hiereus* and *hiereia*, scholars now also emphasize the large number of other religious functionaries who bore different titles, from temple attendants (*neokoroi*) to basket bearers (*kanephoroi*) to seers (*manteis*). It seems that one part of the problem of approaching Greek priesthood is not so much that there are no priests but that there are too many, and their numbers and diversity defy easy categorization.⁴

1 Burkert 1985, 95. For critiques, see Fowler 2015 and the essays collected in Dignas and Trampedach 2008, Horster and Klöckner 2012, and Horster and Klöckner 2013.

2 I thank Aleksandra Hallmann for the opportunity to think about these questions in a setting that brought together a wide range of ancient cultures.

3 Bremmer 2012, 222.

4 Parker (2010, 197–200) extrapolates from the number of priesthoods mentioned in a “sacred law” from Aixone (*IG II² 1356*; *SEG* 46.173, 54.214) that there may have been at least 545 deme priests in Athens. Although this number is speculative, the evidence does point to a large number of priests.

Furthermore, the duties and sphere of authority of priests and these other cult agents were notably local; one was not a priestess, but the priestess of *Athena Polias*, for example, focused on a specific sanctuary in a specific city.⁵ The method by which one became a priest varied, but our sources never treat priesthood as a calling or cite specialized educational requirements for entering it. Eligibility was fairly broad, though particular cults could set restrictions of gender, age, or family status. Election, lot, or purchase were the routes that led to priesthood, but they were not all necessarily used in the same place at the same time.⁶ The practice of purchasing priesthoods, for example, was common in a limited number of cities (primarily in Asia Minor and on nearby islands) and rare before the Hellenistic period. The opportunity to hold a priesthood was almost always tied to other areas of status or authority: lineage requirements favored the aristocracy, purchasing necessitated substantial wealth, and even a democracy took family and finances into account when defining citizenship. Finally, the term of a priesthood varied. In Athens, many if not all of the priesthoods tied to particular families—the *genos*-priesthoods—could be lifelong, but for the rest, priesthood was a temporary state, as short as a single year.⁷

This fluidity of titles, duties, eligibility, and term limits has made it difficult to find an overarching definition for what a Greek priest was. Therefore, when we attempt to look for “priests’ dress,” we run the risk of reifying Greek priests to do so. This essay looks more closely at the question of the identity of an ancient Greek priest in the Classical and Hellenistic periods alongside matters of dress. To what extent did an individual identify as a priest? To what extent—in the words of this volume—was there an inward significance to being a priest that manifested in outward appearance? How essential was that identity? Religions with strict hierarchies that assert a high level of control over members are associated with stricter dress codes, usually including the clergy.⁸ Conversely, the expectation of finding similarly strict costumes is subverted by the nature of ancient Greek religious authority.

PRIESTS’ DRESS?

The possible evidence for the dress of priests and priestesses has been listed several times, but the scholarly watershed is Margaret Miller’s 1989 article that examines the *ependytes*—a short, sleeveless chiton, which had previously been argued to have a cultic use.⁹ In the course of that analysis, Miller summarizes what was known to that point about the clothing and appearance of religious officials, determining that so-called sacerdotal dress was

5 Some evidence suggests that recognition as a priest could extend further, at least within the same city-state. Priests could be granted an honorific status at other religious spaces and events, such as being featured in processions for gods other than the one they served. For example, one procession for Apollo at Athens included ritual experts (*exegetai*), other priests (οἱ ἄλ[λ]ο[ι] ἱερεῖς), and the *hierophant* and *daduch* of the Eleusinian Mysteries, in addition to the priest of Apollo Pythios (*SEG* 21.469 C, lines 34–37; 129/8 BCE).

6 Lupu 2009, 44–52, offers a useful overview of the methods.

7 Horster 2012.

8 For examples of control, see Gawlinski 2017, 166–71, and the articles collected in Arthur 1999, especially those focused on control as manifested in the special dress of modern Christian sects. For an example of Late Antique Christian hierarchical priestly dress, see Serfass 2014; for the high priest in Judaism, see Taylor 2014; Shamir 2017.

9 Miller 1989. For further collections of the evidence, see Mantis 1990; Connelly 2007; Hoff 2008; Brøns 2017, 273–304; Leventi 2019.

neither standardized nor terribly particular.¹⁰ A few common characteristics do emerge, however. Dress features that were used as markers of religious authority included color (especially purple¹¹), material expense (finer textiles and the use of gold), and headbands (especially the thickly rolled band called the *strophion*). Also notable were accessories held in the hand, such as staffs or keys. But it is essential to note that none of these is exclusive to priesthood—they are typical markers of status. Since these dress features were used in conjunction with a range of other types of status, their association with the office of priest or priestess becomes ambiguous. Does the visual read as “priest,” or is it borrowing from other areas of privilege, such as wealth, political power, or family status? When someone was honored or commemorated, was that person being shown as “priestly”? Did other identity elements override that distinction, or were the markers of the different elements of identity indistinguishable from one another?

In the visual evidence, it is usually context that leads to the identification of a figure as a priest or priestess, an approach that can be dangerously circular when trying to determine which dress items matter.¹² A typical “altar group” scene, showing preparations for a sacrifice, can serve as an example (fig. 10.1). On this red-figure vase, the slightly taller man,



Figure 10.1. Altar group scene, Attic bell-krater attributed to the Nikias Painter, fifth century BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 41.162.4. Creative Commons license.

10 Miller 1989, 322: “The evidence shows the existence of only the most inconsistent and rudimentary code for priestly dress, one which had not even the virtue of exclusiveness but shared features with common worshipers and amounted to nothing more elaborate than an ancient equivalent of ‘Sunday best.’”

11 See Nosch, chapter 9 in this volume.

12 On the necessity of context, see also Bobou 2014, 275–76; Leventi 2019, 69; Michailidou 2020, 566.

closest to the altar and reaching toward it while leaning on a staff, is typically identified as a priest. The four slightly smaller men, based on their arrangement, actions, and the objects they hold, can be read as helping him, thus suggesting a hierarchy. Nothing obvious suggests another kind of authoritative role for the man at the altar—there is no graphic indication that he is a ruler or politician—and the fact that they are all men suggests this tableau is not a family scene. Even though one does not have to be a priest to sacrifice, “priest” is the most reasonable identification here. This image has a greater variety in dress than other, similar scenes. The man at the altar wears just a himation wrapped around the waist, leaving his chest bare. The two men across the altar wear, respectively, a himation wrapped around the waist but tucked to a shorter length, and a himation wrapped more fully around the shoulders.¹³ The two figures on the far ends, holding spits with meat and innards (*splanchna*), are completely nude. They all wear wreaths on their heads. The visual clues are all fairly clear, and reading a vase in such a way to determine which figure is in the position of religious authority is probably similar to what a viewer would do at a festival or in a sanctuary. But the dress items are also incredibly generic: if we were to Photoshop our priest out of this scene and into another scene where a wreath would be appropriate—a symposium, perhaps—he would not be out of place. His visual persona here is borrowed from the general toolbox of indications of status: nice clothes, taller height, prominent positioning, aristocratic leaning on a staff.

To better explore the question of intersectional priestly identity, I have compiled the main evidence for dress associated with priests and priestesses who have been securely identified as such, turning aside from more generic religious scenes like the altar group above. The evidence for the dress of “real” priests and priestesses (i.e., nonmythological, nongeneric) falls into three main categories: funerary reliefs that depict the deceased in the guise of a religious role, dedicatory portraits that identify the individual as a priest or priestess in writing, and inscriptions concerning the sale of priesthoods that note what the incumbent can or cannot wear. Finally, I conclude with the priesthoods of the Eleusinian Mysteries of Demeter and Kore, whose dress is attested in a variety of literary, epigraphic, and visual sources and thus uniquely provides an opportunity to explore the meaning of priestly dress in a single cult over a long period of time. This approach, focusing closely on these specific types of evidence, reveals that the outward expressions of religious authority in Greece were always fluid—and particularly dependent on location and historical circumstance.

FUNERARY MONUMENTS

Around the beginning of the fourth century BCE, tombstones featuring images of priests and priestesses carved in relief began to appear in Athens. The iconographical features that identify their position—the loose chiton, knife, and key—were already in use in earlier art in the context of scenes of religious rituals but, for a relatively brief period of time, come to be used, decontextualized, to indicate the roles of these individuals. The men wear a loose,

13 The wearing of the himation in this way is known from sculpted portraits and would have seemed old-fashioned and therefore solemn and authoritative (Dillon 2006, 112).

unbelted chiton.¹⁴ The strongest link that associates this garment style with priests is its frequent combination with a knife, the tool of animal sacrifice, as on a marble funerary relief from Attica (fig. 10.2). But although the knife is associated with ritual, its connection to priests specifically has proved less secure: Karine Rivière has shown that knives in Greek art in the preceding Archaic period were not connected with this style of dress, nor were they consistently identified with the figures who should be considered priests in vase painting.¹⁵ Also complicating the association is a figure on the east frieze of the Parthenon in Athens (c. 442–438 BCE) who wears the loose chiton and hands a folded textile to a younger attendant. He does not have a knife, but his garment alone has been used to suggest he is a priest. Alternatively, it has been argued that he represents another kind of administrator, perhaps the *archon basileus*, the civic official who oversaw religious festivals; his garment is thus explained as providing him with the characteristics of a priest because of his related role.¹⁶ This garment style, accompanied by a knife or not, was tied to a man involved in ritual, but the specifics of its message about authority are more ambiguous to us now. It is clear, however, that later, in the fourth century BCE, certain Athenian men or their families chose a means of expressing a position in the community that was connected to religion, and that connection was made identifiable through dress.

The key to identifying the funerary reliefs of priestesses is a literal key, a correlation based on vase paintings that show a key in use in a door of a temple.¹⁷ The key appears in terracotta votives by at least the early fifth century BCE and is common on later, South Italian vases that feature scenes with mythological priestesses; one example illustrates a priestess looking back in fear while Cassandra grasps the statue of Athena as protection



Figure 10.2. Priest on Attic funerary relief, late fifth century BCE. Drawing by Maria Marinou, adapted from Staatliche Museen, Pergamonmuseum K 28, Berlin.

14 Miller 1989, 321–22; Mantis 1990, 78–96; Connelly 2007, 229–31; Hoff 2008, 115–17.

15 Rivière 2017.

16 Hoff 2008, 113; see also Miller 1989, 131; Mantis 1990, 78–81.

17 Kosmopoulou 2001, 292–98; Ajootian 2007, 28–30 (on the Polystrate relief); Connelly 2007, 92–104, 229–34; cf. Quercia 2017 for a new interpretation of keys as distaffs.



Figure 10.3. Priestess with key, Campanian hydria from Nola attributed to the Danaid Group, about 340–320 BCE. British Museum 1824,0501.35.



Figure 10.4. Priestess Polystrate on Attic funerary relief, early fourth century BCE. Drawing by Maria Marinou, adapted from Kerameikos Museum I 430.

from Ajax during the sack of Troy (fig. 10.3).¹⁸ One of the oldest examples of the Attic funerary monuments that use the key is the stela of Polystrate (fig. 10.4), named in an inscription above the figure (not shown here). In addition to the key, women are sometimes associated with another priestly accessory, the tympanum. In a relief from Piraeus (mid-fourth century BCE) the deceased Chairestrate is depicted seated, and an attendant brings this drum to her.¹⁹ This relief is especially remarkable because the seated woman also has a key with her, propped on her shoulder, and the inscription makes her identity clearer to us: she is the *propolos*, or minister, of the Mother of all Things Born.²⁰ These accessories mark her as having a significant religious position and indicate the specific cult with which she is associated. As with the reliefs of priests, it is notable that these women or their families at this time chose a commemoration that highlighted religious authority. But unlike the priests wearing the loose chitons (cf. fig. 10.2), these associations are made not through textiles but solely through accessories. There is no unusual garment or garment style for the priestesses, a difference in degree of specificity that Ralf von den Hoff has rightly tied

18 Connelly 2007, 97–104 (98–100 for this vase).

19 Connelly 2007, 234–38 (Piraeus Museum inv. no. 3627).

20 μητρός παντοτέκνου πρόπολος | σεμνή τε γεραιρά τῷδε τάφῳ κείται | Χαιρεστράτη (IG II² 6288, lines 4–6): “The old and revered minister of the Mother of All Things Born lies in this tomb—Chairestrate.” Translations are my own except when otherwise noted.

to gender.²¹ These monuments depict the identity of the deceased as ritual officials, but that identity is subsumed by gender identity.

DEDICATORY PORTRAITS

Personal representation is also an aspect of the public dedication of portrait statues. The most common types of honorary portraits for males in the Archaic and Classical periods depicted them as poets, philosophers, and athletes.²² Although there may have been early dedications of priests, there was no sculpture type for priests, and there is no solid evidence earlier than the fourth century BCE for the dedication of official portraits of priests and priestesses.²³ As with most of our questions about ancient dress, a major problem is preservation; at best, the portraits are known from the inscribed statue bases, not the base and image combined. The first certain example (c. 360 BCE) is a portrait of Lysimache, priestess of Athena Polias in Athens, now known only from its inscribed base (*IG II² 3453*).²⁴ Without the associated image, the text cannot be used to sort out how a priestess might have been shown at this time, but it does provide important information about the historical contexts of such images. Athena Polias had a *genos*-priesthood, so Lysimache had to be chosen from a particular family line, and in fact, her dedication makes reference to her genealogy: “[Lysimache] was daughter of Drakontides with respect to her descent, and she lived eighty-eight years; having served Athena sixty-four years she saw four generations of children.”²⁵ Catherine Keesling highlights the fact that Lysimache was probably the first priestess to serve Athena Polias in the newly built Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis, but her portrait was set up much later: it would have appeared not long after a new, democratically elected priesthood of Athena Nike was established in the same sanctuary.²⁶ Keesling thus ties this image to an affirmation of the older *genos*-priesthoods at a competitive moment in time. The wider context of location, historical circumstances, and cult must be taken into account when interpreting public images and their displayed identities.

Until the Hellenistic period, we can only speculate about what these images looked like.²⁷ At that time, there is then an increase in dedications that mention the holding of

21 Hoff 2008, 116–17. It has been noted that in the reliefs with keys, the women wear a chiton and himation; for a discussion of this pairing as an aspect of priestess images, see Michailidou 2020, 561–66. This consistency does seem to be significant, but since there is nothing extraordinary about the combination, I do not think it is enough to identify a priestess on its own. Leventi (2019, 72–75) examines the very different iconography of several non-Athenian reliefs.

22 For male types, see Dillon 2006. See also Keesling 2017, esp. 74–80 on priests and priestesses.

23 Ma 2013, 169–74; the focal points of this dedicatory activity were Athens, Rhodes, and Delos, and it was most popular in the Hellenistic period.

24 Keesling 2017, 74–79. Keesling notes that although there is a Roman head in the British Museum that scholars have suggested is a copy of the original, its style does not fit the early fourth-century date.

25 [Λυσιμάχη? γραῖ? ἡδ]ε Δρακο[ντι]δο ἦν [τὸ γέ]νος μέν, | [ὀγδώκοντ' ὀκτ]ῶ δ' ἐξέπεράσεν ἔτη· | [^{3-4?}] ἢ ἐξή]κοντα δ' ἔτη καὶ τέσσαρα Ἀθανᾶι | [λατρεύς? ἡδε γένη] τέσσαρ' ἐπέϊδε τέκνων (lines 1–4); Keesling 2017, 75–77, for translation and text.

26 Keesling 2017, 78.

27 See Lambert 2012 on the “image” of priests and priestesses presented by inscribed state honors; although they do not address the visual image, the information gained about forms of prestige and their chronological shifts is similar.



Figure 10.5. Hegeso (formerly Nikeso) from Priene, first half of third century BCE. bpk Bildagentur/Berlin Antikensammlung inv. no. SK 1928/Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, New York.

religious office; in two cases, both the statue and its inscribed base are preserved, thus confirming the identification of the figure. A portrait of Hegeso, priestess of Demeter and Kore, was set up in Priene in the first half of the third century BCE (fig. 10.5). The priestess Aristonoe's portrait was set up at the sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous in Attica by her son in the mid-second century BCE (fig. 10.6). Their dedicatory inscriptions call them priestesses, cite the goddesses they served, and identify them through reference to their male family members.²⁸

Both Hegeso and Aristonoe wear a chiton and himation in a similar way, with the himation rolled up and arranged over the arm.²⁹ This wrapping is just one of several options that could be chosen for female dress in portraits in the Hellenistic period. The details of the texture and arrangement of the garments are not identical, however; Hegeso's rolled himation forms a drape over her chest, and the material has a crinkly texture.³⁰ This outfit is more "modern" than the other, and the old-fashioned style of the later Aristonoe portrait has complicated the dating of that statue. Although these variations stifle any attempt to see this draping as "priestess dress," arranging

the himation over the shoulder was a popular choice for sculptures of priestesses; the "open format" leaves the arms free, at least when compared to other options that were more fully wrapped, allowing for accessories to be added to the hands.³¹ Although Aristonoe's arm is now missing, records indicate that the original arm, outstretched, held an

28 Dedication of Hegeso (*IPriene B-M 192*): Ἡγησῶ Ἰπποσθένους, | Εὐκρίτου δὲ γυνή, | ἱερῇ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης "Hegeso, daughter of Hipposthenes, wife of Eukritos, priestess of Demeter and Kore." The woman's name was formerly read as "Nikeso" and appears in many publications as such. Dedication of Aristonoe (*IG II² 3462*): Θέμιδι καὶ Νεμέσει | Ἱεροκλῆς Ἱεροποιοῦ Ῥαμνοῦσιος | ἀνέθηκε τὴν μητέρα Ἀριστονόην | Νικοκράτου Ῥαμνουσίου ἱέρειαν | Νεμέσεως "To Themis and Nemesis: Hierokles son of Hieropoios, the Rhamnousian, dedicated his mother Aristonoe, daughter of Nikokratos the Rhamnousian, priestess of Nemesis."

29 Dillon 2010, 75–78; Dillon terms this style the "Rhamnous-Aristonoe format."

30 Leventi (2019, 69) emphasizes a connection between this texture and the folds on a Knidian sculpture of Demeter—Hegeso's goddess (BM 1051).

31 Dillon 2010, 68–59.



Figure 10.6. Aristonoe from Rhamnous, mid-second century BCE. National Archaeological Museum Athens inv. no. 232, from DAI. Photo by Gösta Hellner, DAI, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-1972/457. All rights reserved.

offering bowl.³² This accoutrement and action would have suggested “ritual” to a viewer even without the inscription or location. We cannot be certain what Hegeso held in her hand, but most scholars now accept that it was a torch, fitting for her cult, Demeter and Kore. Hegeso’s head is not preserved, but traces of curls on her shoulders have been plausibly connected to images of Demeter, another visual reference to the specific cult. One accessory that is notably absent is the key; although it is treated as the *sine qua non* for priestess images, there are no keys with these images or anywhere else in Hellenistic portrait sculpture.

Sheila Dillon emphasizes how gender politics influenced female portraiture in the Hellenistic period.³³ Through fine fabrics, a vague yet youthful beauty, and modest wrappings, the images combine both respectability and desirability. Serving as a priestess is one of the few reasons a woman could be acknowledged publicly, and as in all public honors, even for men, the honoree is a reflection of the family as a whole. Without accessories such as a libation bowl or a literal identification through inscription, there is no way to know that these women were priestesses. The choice of open-format garment wrapping underscores their actions and duties, not unlike the accessories of the key or tympanum. The pretext for the portrait might have been acceptable public service, but their garments are tied most closely to their identities as women and members of families of financial means.

PRIESTHOOD SALES

Also in the Hellenistic period, the newer method of acquiring a priesthood by purchase was popularized.³⁴ It appears almost exclusively in Asia Minor and on nearby islands; only one example, Roman

32 Dillon 2010, 77–78 (for both sculptures). See also Leventi 2019, 69–72, for the dress and iconography of these sculptures.

33 Dillon 2010, 101–2 (dress), 131–34 (face).

34 Lupu 2009, 48–53; *LSAM* 44 from Miletos, about 400 BCE, is the oldest surviving example (Lupu 2009, 52). For the practice at Priene, see Horster 2013 (includes the Dionysos Phleios cult); for Kos, see Kató 2013; Paul 2013 (esp. 262–65 on dress).

Imperial in date, is known from the mainland.³⁵ The practice is evidenced in the form of inscriptions called *diagraphai*, announcements of sales, as well as other inscriptions that reference purchased priesthoods alongside other cult management matters; specifications vary, as does the price one would be expected to pay. The *diagraphai* generally include the price to pay (or that was paid), the cult associated with the priesthood, the term limit, expectations, and perquisites, from portions of sacrificial meat to various honors and exemptions from duties. For the subject at hand, these texts are important because a number of them contain clauses that regulate dress.³⁶

The dress clauses are found exclusively for priests; none for priestesses are known from the purchasing documents.³⁷ Among the most expensive purchases—12,002 drachmas (line 35)—is the *diagraphē* for the priest of Dionysos Phleios at Priene (c. 130 BCE). In the text, the incumbent is instructed to wear a *stole* and a golden crown of ivy when at the theater; he is also to wear this particular outfit during festival months (*I.Priene B-M* 144; *LSAM* 37):

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐμ προεδρία | καθῆσθαι καὶ στολὴν ἔχειν ἣν ἄμ
βούληται καὶ | στέφανον κισσοῦ χρυσοῦν [lines 13–15].

“He will get to sit in the theater in an honorific seat and wear a stole—whichever he wants—and a golden crown of ivy.”

ἔχέτω δὲ καὶ στολὴν ἣν ἄμ βού-|ληται καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν μῆνα Ληναίων |
καὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνα· καὶ τοῖς Καταγωγίοις καθη-|γήσεται τῶν συγκαταγόντων τὸν
Διόνυσον, | στολὴν ἔχων ἣν ἂν θέλῃ καὶ στέφανον χρυ-|σοῦν [lines 19–24].

“And let him wear a stole—whichever he wants—and a gold crown during the months of Lenaion and Anthesterion. And for the Katagogia festival, he will lead those who ‘bring down’ Dionysos, while wearing a stole—whichever he wants—and a gold crown.”

Similarly, the outfit of the purchaser of a priesthood of Nike at Kos (*IG* XII 4:330; first century BCE) features gold and a wreath, but in different forms: he is to wear a purple chiton, gold rings, and an olive wreath (κιτῶνα π[ορ]φύρεον καὶ δακτυλῖος χρυσεός καὶ στέφ[ανο]ν θάλλινον [lines 8–10]) during a procession in the month of Petageitnyos (lines 5–6), as well as while in the sanctuary and during all other sacrifices ([ἐν τ]ῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς θυσίαις πάσαι[ς] [lines 11–12]). However, he is also unusually given the additional instruction to wear white at all other times ([λ]ευχιμονίτῳ δὲ διὰ βίου [line 12]). The costumes vary from cult to cult, and even for a single priest in different situations.

Why priesthood purchase becomes an option and grows in limited popularity is not entirely clear. The rise of this method of becoming a priest has been connected to an increase in wealth and a desire to use that wealth to access honors, though the honors

35 Lupu 2009, 177–90 (NGSL no. 5, lines 16–20, Attica, early second century CE). It concerns a private association rather than a civic cult.

36 They are a major source for the evidence of priestly purple discussed by Nosch in chapter 9 of this volume.

37 Paul 2013, 262.

recorded for these priests pale in comparison with those for other types of officials.³⁸ The dress items were included because they were otherwise heavily proscribed and regulated: only the one who paid the most was rewarded with flashy symbols, like gold crowns and purple garments. These particular clothing regulations have familiar elements, such as nice garments, purple colors, headbands, and gold, but they must be read as a function of a particular moment in time in particular locales. Although these priesthoods were new opportunities for gaining honor, the issuing body ensured that these familiar honorary elements would not be easily mistaken as the result of a different channel that led to honors. Part of that assurance came through linking the dress to the cult and limiting the situations in which various items were worn³⁹—in the case of the Dionysos Phleios cult, the time (months with major Dionysos festivals), location (the theater), and type of wreath (ivy) were all related to the god Dionysus, while for the priest of Nike, the regulation of his dress in nonfestival situations tied him even more closely to his role.

ELEUSINIAN PRIESTHOODS

The final topic of consideration is not a type of evidence but a collection of priests: the priesthoods of the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis have frequently been singled out as different from other ancient Greek priests in terms of their status and responsibilities.⁴⁰ There is more documentation for the officials of this cult than any other, and for a much longer and nearly continuous stretch of time.⁴¹ The prominence of the officials has typically been tied to the distinctiveness of *genos*-cult; the most active ritual agents—the *hierophant*, *daduch*, and *hierokeryx*—were chosen from specific *genē* in Athens and generally held their positions for life. The unusual cultic requirements for Mysteries, especially initiation, were a factor as well.⁴² Initiation was required to lead the initiation of others, and the priestly roles were associated with very specific, though not fully understood, actions: in the fifth century BCE, the Athenian politician Alcibiades was even put on trial for mocking the Mysteries, including mimicking the actions of specific official roles that must have been recognizable. This cult had an unusual combination of *genos*-association, extramural fame, and ritual specificity.

Along with the copious documentation about other aspects of the cult are a striking number of references to dress, especially of the *hierophant* and the *daduch*; particularly prominent are their reddish or purple robes and the wearing of a *strophion*.⁴³ Although none of the individual dress items were exclusive to these figures or these cults, the frequency

38 Horster 2013, 192–93. Kató (2013) emphasizes how an increase in wealth allowed access to honors formerly reserved for elites; priesthood was a tool of social mobility.

39 Paul (2013, 263–65) notes a number of explicit cultic connections for the dress of the priests at Kos. Similarly, in the case of a *koinon*-priest at Priene, the purchaser is limited to a subsidiary role in situations that do not concern the Panionion, an extramural sanctuary that served as a center for Pan-Ionic festivals (Horster 2013, 203–4).

40 Miller 1989, 323, especially on the *ependytes* occasionally used for the *daduch*; cf. Gawlinski 2017, 170–71.

41 Clinton 1974.

42 For dress in mystery cults more generally, see Gawlinski 2008.

43 Clinton 1974, 32–35.

with which their appearance is noted is striking. The evidence is not as consistent or specific as one would perhaps hope; it points to the use of dress as a salient feature of the appearance of these officials, but there is still not quite what one could call a “uniform.”

When the preponderance of evidence is examined more closely, it becomes clear that the bulk of it comes from Roman Imperial-period sources.⁴⁴ Even the oft-cited story about Kallias, the fifth-century BCE *daduch* who supposedly appeared on the battlefield in his priestly garments and was mistaken as a king, comes down to us through early second-century CE Plutarch (*Life of Aristides* 5; see also Nosch, chapter 9 in this volume). The only definitive image of a *hierophant* is an Attic relief inscribed as a dedication by the *hierophant* from the deme Hagnous dating to the second century CE (Athens Ephorate of Antiquities inv. no. L 13114).⁴⁵ Found in the area of the Olympeion in Athens, it depicts a man approaching Demeter and her daughter; he is dressed in heavy robes, wears high boots, and has both a *strophion* and wreath on his head. When this piece is contextualized in its own time, details specific to priestly representations in this period emerge. Through its classicizing style and reference to a grand cult revered when Athens was at its prime, this and other sculptures like it served to make a connection to the past to amplify the promotion of the individual in the present.⁴⁶

There is enough contemporary Classical and Hellenistic evidence to suggest that dress was always part of the performance of the identity of the Eleusinian priests, but information is lost if the later evidence is read only backward to an earlier time. The quantity of data from the Roman period is not merely an accident of preservation but indicative of the values of Roman Imperial elites. Our sources show a new (or perhaps renewed) interest in so-called priestly dress at that time that must reflect a shift in the situation of religious authority. The Eleusinian Mysteries was the august cult that captured the attention of Greeks under Roman rule and was used to make connections to their past.⁴⁷ With this interest in these selective *genos*-priesthoods came an intensified focus on the outward expressions of that selectiveness through dress.

44 Written sources for the dress of the *hierophant* and *daduch* include Athenaeus 21e (early third century CE); Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades* 22 (early second century CE); Arrian, *Discourses of Epictetus* 3.21.16 (early second century CE); and *I.Eleusis* 483 (*IG II²* 3592), line 22 (162 CE or shortly after; on the *strophion*). Of the literary, epigraphic, and visual evidence listed in Clinton 1974, there are few sources from the Classical period: the Eleusis vase featuring a *daduch* (Eleusis Museum inv. no. 636, 450–425 BCE; see Clinton 1974, 48–49) and the pair of speeches about the court proceedings against Andocides for impiety in 399 BCE (Andocides 1.112 and Lysias 6.51). From the Hellenistic period there are only two sources: *I.Eleusis* 201 (*IG II²* 1235), lines 13–15 (c. 225 BCE; on the myrtle wreath), and a fragment of the histories of Ister of Cyrene, *FGrHist* 334, F29 (mid-third century BCE).

45 For the *hierophant* from Hagnous, see Leventi 2015, 68–70; also Leventi 2010 (on iconography).

46 Klöckner 2012. Horster and Schröder (2014) cover further Athenian sculpture in the Roman period. In Mylonopoulos 2013, 137–42, the strongest example of an official being honored in the definitive guise of a priest is, significantly, from the Roman period (first to third century CE, Aphrodisias).

47 Bremmer 2012. The epigraphic evidence also supports the power of the Eleusinian priesthoods in Roman Imperial Athens; see Camia 2014; Lambert 2012, 89–92 (honors for the *daduch* Themistokles in the first century BCE).

CONCLUSION

Some overarching themes connect the various threads of Greek “priestly dress”: associations with other forms of honor, a heightening of gender signification, a focus on ritual actions through both accessories and types of garments, and intensification tied to economic and social factors. These themes are historical and socially contingent, however, and change substantially over time. Athenian funerary monuments featured priestly symbols for the first time in the fourth century BCE; women’s new public roles in the Hellenistic period needed new expressions in sculpture; elaborate dress was codified as a perquisite when priesthood became a way to move up the social ladder; and Roman Imperial elite competition was displayed through the outfit of the *hierophant*. The particulars of dress practice cannot always be extrapolated. There was no single “priest dress,” but dress was used by those who held that office in different times and places as the position itself changed. To find it, we must look more closely at local cults and be sensitive to chronological changes. Greek religious authority was indeed fluid, and the visual expression matches that fluidity.

ABBREVIATIONS

- FGrHist* Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–58
- I.Eleusis* Kevin Clinton, *Eleusis: The Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*. 2 vols. Athens: Archaeological Society at Athens, 2005–9
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1873–
- I.Priene* B-M Wolfgang Blümel and Reinhold Merkelbach, eds., *Die Inschriften von Priene*. 2 vols. Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 69. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 2014
- LSAM* Franciszek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l’Asie Mineure*. Paris: de Boccard, 1955
- SEG* Angelos Chaniotis, Thomas Corsten, Nikolaos Papazarkadas, Eftychia Stavrianopoulou, and Michael Wesley Zellmann-Rohrer, eds., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ajootian, Aileen

- 2007 “Praxiteles and Fourth-Century Athenian Portraiture.” In *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, edited by Peter Schultz and Ralf von den Hoff, 13–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arthur, Linda B., ed.

- 1999 *Religion, Dress and the Body*. Oxford: Berg.

Bobou, Olympia

- 2014 “The Costume of Young Cult Agents.” In *Mädchen im Altertum / Girls in Antiquity*, edited by Susanne Moraw and Anna Kieburg, 275–86. Munich: Waxmann.

Bremmer, Jan N.

- 2012 “Athenian Civic Priests from Classical Times to Late Antiquity: Some Considerations.” In *Civic Priests: Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 219–35. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Brøns, Cecile

- 2017 *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Burkert, Walter

- 1985 *Greek Religion*. Translated by John Raffan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Camia, Francesco

- 2014 "Political Elite and Priestly Posts in Athens during the Roman Imperial Period: Some Considerations." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188: 139–48.

Clinton, Kevin

- 1974 *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s. 64. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Connelly, Joan Breton

- 2007 *Portrait of a Priestess*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Dignas, Beate, and Kai Trampedach, eds.

- 2008 *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Dillon, Sheila

- 2006 *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2010 *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fowler, Michael A.

- 2015 "Religious Expertise." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, edited by Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt, 293–307. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gawlinski, Laura

- 2008 "'Fashioning' Initiates: Dress at the Mysteries." In *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Cynthia S. Colburn and Maura K. Heyn, 146–69. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- 2017 "Theorizing Religious Dress." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 161–78. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Hoff, Ralf von den

- 2008 "Images of Cult Personnel in Athens between the Sixth and First Centuries BC." In *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, edited by Beate Dignas and Kai Trampedach, 107–41. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Horster, Marietta

- 2012 "The Tenure, Appointment and Eponymy of Priesthoods and Their (Debatable) Ideological and Political Implications." In *Civic Priests: Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 161–208. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2013 "Priene: Civic Priests and Koinon-Priesthoods in the Hellenistic Period." In *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 177–208. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Horster, Marietta, and Anja Klöckner, eds.

- 2012 *Civic Priests: Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2013 *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Horster, Marietta, and Thoralf Schröder

- 2014 “Priests, Crowns and Priestly Headdresses in Imperial Athens.” In *Attitudes toward the Past in Creating Identities: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at Stockholm University, 15–17 May 2009*, edited by Brita Alroth and Charlotte Scheffer, 233–39. Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis.

Kató, Péter

- 2013 “Elite und Priestertümer im hellenistischen Kos.” In *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 279–301. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Keesling, Catherine M.

- 2017 *Early Greek Portraiture: Monuments and Histories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Klöckner, Anja

- 2012 “Tradition—Repräsentation—Distinktion: Eine Fallstudie zu Reliefweihungen von Priestern im späthellenistischen und römischen Attika.” In *Civic Priests: Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 27–66. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Kosmopoulou, Angeliki

- 2001 “‘Working Women’: Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones.” In *Annual of the British School at Athens* 96: 281–319.

Lambert, Stephen D.

- 2012 “The Social Construction of Priests and Priestesses in Athenian Honorific Decrees from the Fourth Century BC to the Augustan Period.” In *Civic Priests: Cult Personnel in Athens from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 67–133. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Leventi, Iphigeneia

- 2010 “Η ελευσινιακή λατρεία στην περιφέρεια του ελληνικού κόσμου: το αναθηματικό ανάγλυφο από το Παντικάπαιο [The Eleusinian cult in the periphery of the Greek world: The votive relief from Panticapaion].” In *Sanctuaries and Cults of Demeter in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of a Scientific Symposium, University of Thessaly, Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, Volos, 4–5 June 2005*, edited by Iphigeneia Leventi and Christina Mitsopoulou, 111–36. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.
- 2015 “The Relief Statue Base of Nummius Nigreinos, Sacred Herald of the Eleusinian Mysteries: The Iconography of Eleusinian Cult Initiates and Officials in Roman Imperial Times.” In *Cult and Votive Monuments in the Provinces: Proceedings of the 13th International Colloquium on Roman Provincial Art*, edited by Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, 63–72. Cluj-Napoca: Mega.
- 2019 “Godlike Images: Priestesses in Greek Sculpture.” In *Greek Art in Motion: Studies in Honour of Sir John Boardman on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday*, edited by Rui Morais, Delfim Leão, and Diana Rodríguez Pérez, 69–77. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Lupu, Eran

- 2009 *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill.

Ma, John

- 2013 *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mantis, Alexander

- 1990 *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερειών και των ιερέων στην αρχαία Ελληνική τέχνη* [Problems of the iconography of priestesses and priests in ancient Greek art]. Athens: Archaeological Resources and Expropriations Fund.

Michailidou, Eugenia

- 2020 "The Lekythos of Myrrhine: Funerary and Honorific Commemoration of Priestesses in Ancient Athens." *Hesperia* 89: 551–79.

Miller, Margaret

- 1989 "The *Ependytes* in Classical Athens." *Hesperia* 58: 313–29.

Mylonopoulos, Joannis

- 2013 "Commemorating Pious Service: Images in Honour of Male and Female Priestly Officers in Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean in Hellenistic and Roman Times." In *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 121–53. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Parker, Robert

- 2010 "New Problems in Athenian Religion: The 'Sacred Law' from Aixone." In *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer*, edited by Jitse Dijkstra, Justin Kroesen, and Yme Kuiper, 193–206. Leiden: Brill.

Paul, Stéphanie

- 2013 "Roles of Civic Priests in Hellenistic Cos." In *Cities and Priests: Cult Personnel in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands from the Hellenistic to the Imperial Period*, edited by Marietta Horster and Anja Klöckner, 247–78. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Quercia, Alessandro

- 2017 "'Temple Key' or Distaff? An Ambiguous Artefact from the Greek and Indigenous Sanctuaries of Southern Italy." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 126–34. Oxford: Oxbow.

Rivière, Karine

- 2017 "What Does the Clothing Say about the Killer? Some Thoughts on Textiles in Depictions of Sacrifice in Archaic Athens." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 17–25. Oxford: Oxbow.

Serfass, Adam

- 2014 "Unraveling the *Pallium* Dispute between Gregory the Great and John of Ravenna." In *Dressing Judaeans and Christians in Antiquity*, edited by Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, and Alicia Batten, 75–96. Farnham: Ashgate.

Shamir, Orit

- 2017 "The High Priest's Garments of Mixed Wool and Linen (*sha'atnez*) Compared to Archaeological Textiles Found in the Land of Israel." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 199–208. Oxford: Oxbow.

Taylor, Joan E.

- 2014 "Imagining Judaeans Priestly Dress: The Berne Josephus and *Judaea Capta* Coinage." In *Dressing Judaeans and Christians in Antiquity*, edited by Kristi Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, and Alicia Batten, 195–212. Farnham: Ashgate.

11

The Phenomenology and Sensory Experience of Dress in Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East*

Allison Thomason

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

THE TITLE OF this volume, *Outward Appearance versus Inner Significance*, suggests that dress becomes dialectically involved in the mutually defining concepts of self and other. However, this binary begs the question “When does dress ‘end’ and the ‘person’ begin?” For example, can a piece of tailored clothing actually redefine the shape and appearance of the body, and therefore even a person’s own “intellectual” concept of their identity or lived experience? How might this mutually affective relationship between dress and the person force a reconsideration of textual, archaeological, and representational evidence? In what follows, I consider varied case studies that focus on different methodological approaches to the evidence; thus this foray is not intended to be a complete account or survey of the phenomenology of dress in Mesopotamia. I focus especially on the practices of dressing and undressing, which can show the mutually affective way that dress and humans interact and therefore illuminate lived experiences of ancient people.

Phenomenology is a theoretical and philosophical term that often is avoided by empirically minded scholars. Matthew Johnson has explained phenomenology concisely for archaeologists as “the study of the structures of human experience and consciousness.”¹ But ultimately, the concern of phenomenology—the dialectic between subject and object (or self and other)—has been a concern of humans since deep antiquity, and more recently, conceptions of self and self-consciousness in Mesopotamian civilizations have been concerns of scholars, whether or not they employ the term “phenomenology” in their work.² While I understand that there are problems with applying our modern idea of self-consciousness and “I” to Mesopotamian civilization, there is no denying that our bodies are not dramatically different physiologically or physically from those of the ancients, such that we can investigate sensory and lived experiences within their proper contexts. For the Mesopotamians, divine beings, excepting their capacity for immortality, had bodies much like but not identical to those of humans. Landscape archaeologists, especially

*The original text for this contribution was submitted in 2018 for the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (former Oriental Institute) seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance.” A similar discussion of phenomenology in Mesopotamian dress was published shortly after this conference; see Thomason 2019b.

1 Johnson 2012, 272.

2 For a summary of Mesopotamian concepts of self and personhood, see Foster 2011.

of Bronze Age Great Britain, have made phenomenological and sensory understandings of landscape the heart of their recent interpretations of prehistoric archaeological sites by exploring the bodily experiences of landscapes and understanding them as subjectively constituted. A group of scholars have been applying such ideas of landscape archaeology within the Near Eastern context and even more specifically the readily accessible sites of Anatolia in modern Turkey, including Alessandra Gilibert,³ Ömür Harmanşah,⁴ and James Osborne.⁵ These approaches find their origins in post-processual archaeology led by Christopher Tilley⁶ and critique the idea that material culture can be read a single way. They contend, rather, that material culture and landscapes can invoke multiple and conflicting meanings and experiences.

Phenomenology as an interpretive framework derives from nineteenth- and twentieth-century German intellectual movements—and as a term, it has the potential to be anachronistically modern.⁷ A phenomenological understanding admits that human experiences with the “world out there” are based on individual and instantaneous feelings and sensory moments. Critics of phenomenological archaeology argue that an essentialist understanding of all “psychic human unity”⁸ is reductionist and fails to account for gendered or other differences in sensory experience. In addition, the densely packed philosophical literature by the likes of Maurice Merleau-Ponty⁹ that interrogates the subject–object dichotomy is intimidating to nonphilosophers. Similar to the acknowledgment that humans have bodies in common is the idea that neurological pathways, beginning as external electrical or chemical stimuli and passing through nerve cells to the brain’s regions, are the same. Although a person’s attunement and attentiveness to stimuli and how they process those stimuli into a response, conscious or not, varies greatly according to individual and social context,¹⁰ a phenomenological analysis and interpretation of material culture can, when coupled with another approach to lived experience and the body—sensory studies—further the cause of reconstructing ancient lives and cultures. Ultimately, phenomenology, sensory studies, and dress intersect in that they are all interested in bodies and how bodies experienced and sensed the world. These approaches all also have in common that they often explicitly engage the term “embodiment.”

Joanne Entwistle argues that “dress” is a verb, a phenomenon of being human and not simply a form of externally adorned communication or set of symbols. Rather, she argues that we understand dress through Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology and concept of embodiment. Merleau-Ponty’s phenomenology expressly centers subjectivity on the experiences of the body, at once affecting and being affected by the intellect or mind. Bodies move between and within different realms of experience, which can be physical, emotional, or social and are not always entirely conscious. As I have written elsewhere, “Entwistle

3 Gilibert 2011.

4 Harmanşah 2014.

5 Osborne 2014.

6 Tilley 2004.

7 Johnson 2012, 270.

8 Johnson 2012, 277.

9 Merleau-Ponty 2012.

10 See also Neumann and Thomason 2022, 1–9.

argues that dress is a series of acts, of practices and sensory experiences, such as getting dressed, feeling and moving with dress, and getting undressed. These practices are in turn culturally contingent—we are constrained socially to respond in certain ways—and therefore interpreted by the individual through their daily lived experience.”¹¹ Along with Entwistle, I suggest that humans are always attuned (on some level of consciousness) to how they live, sense, and move in space and time—especially when such spaces change. A phenomenological and sensory approach to dress considers the evidence as a means to understand how identities are constructed through visual appearances or systems of symbols, but it also requires that we examine such evidence through the lens of phenomenology—as indicative of dynamic and shifting processes, practices, and performances of self. The phenomenological approach to dress concerns how humans “felt” when they dressed or undressed, moved with dress, or recognized and compared others’ dress. These feelings are as much indebted to sensory experience as to concepts of self-identity and the constructs of others.¹²

Of course, as dress is broadly defined today, I am concerned not just with garments but also with dress items of adornment, such as jewelry, weapons, and even perfume. I see several practices and experiences that the Mesopotamian evidence can illuminate, and that I investigate in this chapter, including self-care (formerly known as “toilet and cosmetic” practices); the effect on bodily comportment, as well as pain and pleasure when getting/being dressed or undressed; and the wearing of dress items that physically affect bodily movement, such as jewelry ensembles and undergarments. Each of these subjects deserves its own essay, and some of them have already been addressed in the recent volume edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski.¹³ Research on the phenomenology of dress appears to be on the brink of expanding and broadening our ideas about ancient dress.

SELF-CARE

Do texts and/or artifacts indicate that Mesopotamians had a body consciousness and cultural ideas that bodies had to be taken care of, prepared, and displayed in specific ways, depending on the spaces in which they moved? Finds of “vanity kits” or “toilet sets” with razors, toothpicks, earscoops, and tweezers, such as those from elite graves dating to the Early Dynastic period (c. 2900–2300 BCE) in the royal cemetery of Ur, would suggest an answer in the affirmative (fig. 11.1).¹⁴ Mesopotamian pharmacological texts also include recipes for mouthwash to alleviate bad breath.¹⁵ Quite obviously, such ideas of self-care crossed gender lines and demonstrated an acute awareness of one’s body and its presentation within social contexts. Other objects related to self-care and adornment practices—mirrors—are found predominantly in graves from the third millennium BCE (such as at Kish and Ur) but also in some domestic contexts.¹⁶ Excavators in the past have assumed,

11 Thomason 2019a; 2019b, 221.

12 Entwistle 2000, 8.

13 Cifarelli and Gawlinski 2017.

14 E.g., Woolley 1934, 56–60, 310.

15 Paulissian 1993, 103–4.

16 Albenda 1985.



Figure 11.1. Set of silver toilet instruments, self-care objects from Ur, Royal Cemetery. B17085. <https://www.penn.museum>, accessed October 31, 2024. Courtesy of the Penn Museum, Philadelphia.

based perhaps on modern bias or associated artifacts but rarely on actually sexed skeletons, that only women used mirrors and that the presence of a mirror indicates the deceased was female. This assumption relies heavily on the Eurocentric concept that women's grooming requires more attention and time—and personal vanity—than men's self-care.¹⁷ Certainly, the example from the first-millennium Neo-Assyrian queens' tombs at Nimrud¹⁸ and the image on a slightly later relief of the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon's mother gazing into a mirror provide tangible evidence of women's use of mirrors.¹⁹ These images clearly derived from the Syro-Hittite world, as several stelae show female figures (goddesses or elite) holding mirrors in one hand and spindles in the other. Indeed, the symbolic and ceremonial use of such objects by women in the typical "female spaces" of weaving and self-care seems to be important in these religiopolitical contexts.

A recent find from farther afield—an ivory-handled bronze mirror from a Late Bronze Age warrior's grave at Pylos in Greece—reminds us that gazing into mirrors to gain an image of oneself is not an exclusively female practice.²⁰ Mirrors in Mesopotamia served as powerful cultic objects and perhaps liminal windows through which the gazing individual could potentially gain access to other worlds, either as votive offerings or portals.²¹ Thus their presence in the queens' tombs at Nimrud and other grave contexts across the Near East—liminal spaces—makes sense. Mireille Lee and others advance such ideas for the function and purpose of mirrors in the classical world.²² In ancient Greece, the mirror illuminated the prophetic image of a woman's future husband. Mirrors may have allowed users to juxtapose—and activate—their own bodies within those of other realms or times. Such juxtaposition might have inspired an uncanny consideration of one's place within the universe or time—here we are

¹⁷ Tudor 2020.

¹⁸ Hussein, Altaweel, and Gibson 2016, 44.

¹⁹ Albenda 1985.

²⁰ Stocker and Davis n.d.

²¹ Nemet-Nejat 1993.

²² Lee 2017.

approaching a concept of phenomenology. As Lee writes, “Mirrors were essential tools for the performance of feminine toilette, but also for magic, rituals and death.”²³

Textual evidence for how and when to use these items of grooming and self-care in the process of dressing certainly exists and reflects Mesopotamian conceptions of aesthetics that we can investigate to learn about Mesopotamian performance by the nude or dressed body. Irene Winter,²⁴ Benjamin Foster,²⁵ and Claudia Suter²⁶ explore what constitutes a perfect male body in Mesopotamia, and Amy Gansell studies Mesopotamian conceptions of female beauty.²⁷ These analyses move toward understanding grooming and dressing, activities related to self-care, as more than simply applied materials or aspects of “costume” but further as socially charged behaviors conditioned by specific political moments. Finally, with regard to self-care and grooming, the importance of scent (and the sense of smell) cannot be underestimated. Of course, the use of perfumes and incense in Mesopotamia is widely known and evidenced through texts and archaeological finds of vessels in graves. We also know that textiles for humans and statues of gods were laundered, tailored, and mended, but whether for reasons of health, feel, or appearance is not clear.²⁸

MOVEMENT AND SPACE

How did dress feel when a person moved or even stood still? How did it look? How did it sound? I have argued elsewhere that garments in Mesopotamia for elites were specially fringed to bring attention to the wearer when they moved.²⁹ These fringes and tassels (along with multiple folds and garment pieces) worn by statues marked the status and wealth of their patrons, as the labor required and special materials used in such embellishments were costly. Images of fringes and tassels on garments are ubiquitous in Mesopotamian art, especially after the Akkadian period, and as a rare archaeological cohort a very smooth linen tassel was found in the Nimrud royal tombs.³⁰ In the context of political memory, Melissa Eppihimer recently argued that fringes on post-Akkadian royal bodies in sculpture were intentionally reminiscent of the Akkadian kings’ penchant for edge embellishment to bring heroic association to later kingly bodies.³¹ But the significance of tasseled and fringed edges extends beyond political signaling. We are conditioned to envision these edges as static and completely vertical and to see their representation in sculpture and other works as the same. However, the acknowledgment that such dress fittings must have swayed with gravity when worn by a living, moving body is important. They brushed against the skin of the wearer, or others close to that person, bringing tactile responses and exaggerating the kinaesthetic experience of being dressed. Alexis Castor has argued for a

²³ Lee 2017, 164.

²⁴ Winter 1996.

²⁵ Foster 2010.

²⁶ Suter 2012.

²⁷ Gansell 2014a, 2014b, 2018.

²⁸ Waerzeggers 2006; Gaspa 2013; Wasserman 2013.

²⁹ Thomason 2019b.

³⁰ Crowfoot 1995, 2008.

³¹ Eppihimer 2017. See also Kawami 2019 for a discussion of fringes in Elamite dress.

similar body consciousness for jewelry worn by individuals in the Hellenistic period.³² For example, she argues that long earrings with elaborately moving and dangling elements attached with flexible chains and rings not only attracted the light while the wearer moved their head but also reminded that person of their relationship to their own body when they raised a hand to adjust the earrings or felt them skimming their neck. To be sure, we are relying on our own modern experience with such dangly earrings, but in the world of phenomenology and sensory studies, recognition of how our own lived experiences can relate to those of ancient bodies is permitted, even required.³³ This phenomenological and sensory approach suggests that technological choices—how and why an item of dress was produced—are not merely material. Rather, they also influenced or were influenced by the sensory moments and lived experiences of dress on the body.

The particular cut and style of a textile garment could have invoked this bodily consciousness. Mesopotamian textual records abound from most periods with references to entire ensembles.³⁴ The administrative and epistolary tablets from palaces at sites such as Mari, Ebla, and Nineveh are most useful for envisioning elite garments. These outfits included long and short gowns and tunics, as well as various wraps, shawls, and belts. Letters regarding ceremonial dress suggest that the garments were chosen by their wearers for various moments or occasions related to daily life, ceremonies and rituals, or even the grave. The nomenclature regarding individual garments or ensembles perhaps hints at how individuals got dressed. Archaeological material supports the idea that clothing was produced for specific individuals with their physical measurements in mind to fit snugly on the body, and that gendered bodies often wore generically shaped textiles differently, with accompanying belts, sashes, and pins.³⁵ Gansell argues that the varying diameters of anklets and bracelets from the Neo-Assyrian queens' tombs at Nimrud indicate that these dress objects were designed with specific wearers in mind.³⁶ Textual discussions of the activity of getting dressed also reveal a degree of body consciousness. In the Mari record especially, different vocabulary words describe a multitude of ways of getting dressed and wearing textiles.³⁷ Many words referring to garments etymologically indicate the sensory weight of the garment on a particular part of the body. For example, a Sumerian garment called a *šagida* meant "worn over the heart/abdomen." Another outer cloak was called *šusega*, which meant "set on or put over the hand or arm."³⁸ This naming of garments according to where they were worn indicates a strong body consciousness and acknowledgment of weight and feel. Images of elaborately draped and folded garments on royal torsos and limbs are common in Mesopotamian art from its inception. Throughout Mesopotamian records, there are many references to long and short gowns, and to long- and short-sleeved tunics, which may have been suited, as determined by their wearers, for

³² Castor 2017.

³³ Johnson 2012; Harries 2017.

³⁴ Durand 2009; Gaspa 2013; Thomas 2014.

³⁵ Highcock 2019; Michel 2020, 180.

³⁶ Gansell 2018, 84.

³⁷ Durand 2009.

³⁸ Foster 2010, 130–37, *passim*.

various tasks or occasions. They also allowed different experiences related to touch and temperature for their wearers in life and in death.

Ariane Thomas has argued that “made-to-measure” cut-and-sewn pieces for an individual body can be identified on the basis of tablets discussing the king’s bodily measurements in the Mari archives. These garments could be slipped over the head and the arms poked through the sleeves in one movement. Other garments might have consisted of columnar sheaths onto which sleeves, collars, or borders were tied or sewn while worn on the body of the wearer.³⁹ Evidencing a third way of getting dressed, some garments consisted simply of voluminous rectangular textiles that were wrapped, folded, and draped around the body and then secured with belts or pins. Each of these scenarios allows us to envision the dressing process for Mesopotamians based on different vocabulary words (and of course their modern translations).

While textual references illuminate that garments and items of adornment were worn in life and death, archaeological and pictorial evidence from tombs can tangibly demonstrate how such wearing was an embodied act marked by body consciousness. For example, in the queens’ tombs at Nimrud, hundreds of small beads and gold ornaments found lying over the bodies of the queens indicate that their funeral garments were polychromatic, shimmery, and heavy. The single monumental image of a “sitting” Assyrian queen (as opposed to a queen mother), Ashurbanipal’s garden scene from Room S of the North Palace at Nineveh (fig. 11.2), shows Liballi-sharrat dressed (like the king) in elaborately decorated robes, with rosettes indicating appliquéd ornaments or heavy embroidery or tapestry, reconstructed digitally by Gansell.⁴⁰ Stamp seals from the queens’ tombs also show elaborate garments worn by the queens in front of deities. All these spaces in question—presence before deities, the formal bearing of a funeral, a banquet in the presence of her king in front of servants and visitors—created a body consciousness that influenced the queen’s (or her court’s) choices to dress in rather formal ways, with elaborate and movement-altering



Figure 11.2. Garden scene of Ashurbanipal and Queen Liballi-sharrat. Nineveh, North Palace. BM 124290. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁹ Thomas 2014, 79–80.

⁴⁰ Gansell 2018, fig. 12.

dress ensembles. Gansell suggests that the queen's sartorial choices and the messages they conveyed were deeply entrenched in that of the regime as a whole.⁴¹ In some ways, however, by viewing the queen as meaningful ornament, we are imagining her lived daily experience only in relation to political and courtly contexts even if she does have some agency in those dress choices. A phenomenological approach considers not only how other viewers considered the ensemble but also how the queen herself sensed her dress and her body while wearing and moving in the dress items.

It is also relevant to ask whether the practice of dressing changed for elites in different spaces of the palace. While the issue of private and public spaces in Neo-Assyrian palaces is contested,⁴² David Kertai⁴³ has recently argued that completely private spaces where one could find solitude did not exist in a Neo-Assyrian palace. Salvatore Gaspa has identified a tablet that refers to garments "of the house" (*bētu*) worn by women in the Assyrian palace, and he interprets this expression to mean they were not worn outside the palace.⁴⁴ And of course, going back to the Middle Assyrian period, the Middle Assyrian Laws from Assur indicate such sumptuary regulations based on legal and marriage status. For example, article 40 reads, "Wives of a man, [or widows] or any [Assyrian] women who go out into the main thoroughfare [shall not have] their heads [bare]. . . . Daughters of a man . . . when they go out into the main thoroughfare during the daytime, they shall be veiled."⁴⁵ But independent women (*ḥarimtu*, sometimes translated as "prostitutes")⁴⁶ and slave women were forbidden to wear veils, and any man who saw one in public with a head covering was required to bring her to the palace, where her clothing would be seized and she would suffer permanent bodily punishment.⁴⁷ However, it is difficult to find other textual references to answer the questions of how the Neo-Assyrian queen moved about within the palace and in what states of being dressed or undressed she was in comparison to this fully dressed representation in Ashurbanipal's garden scene. Furthermore, what sensory experiences or body consciousness did such movement in various states of dress evoke for the queen and those around her? These questions remain hypothetical, but the pictorial and archaeological material should be approached with such questions in mind.

BODILY COMPORTMENT AND THE SENSORY EXPERIENCES OF DRESSING AND UNDRRESSING

A phenomenological and sensory approach can also shed light on the ability of dress to inhibit or force smaller, more subtle bodily movements on its wearer. Restriction of bodily comportment or posture, much less movement through large spaces, was probably dictated both by rules of court and by the elaborate courtly ensembles worn by individuals in

41 Gansell 2018.

42 Svård 2015.

43 Kertai 2015.

44 Gaspa 2013, 236.

45 Roth 1997, 167–78.

46 Recent work has interrogated the translation of *ḥarimtu* as "prostitute"; see Assante 1998; Roth 1997, 24–25.

47 Roth 1997.

the palace. Returning to the king and queen in the garden scene of Ashurbanipal from his palace at Nineveh, the king is allowed to be somewhat “undressed,” as the Egyptian-style pectoral resting on his couch knob indicates he had the possibility or intention of wearing (or shedding) it in the past, present, or future. Meanwhile, the queen is dressed from head to toe, with her limbs and torso completely covered. Both royals wear diadems around their heads rather than the tall fezzes or mural crowns worn by kings and queens, respectively, in other contexts in reliefs.⁴⁸ Perhaps the space of the banquet in the garden allowed some individual and body-conscious choices about headgear or jewelry in a still rigidly embodied ceremonial moment. Such choices also appear in hunting scenes, where representing the appropriate royal dress ensemble dictated that the king wear a short kilt and boots (rather than sandals) for ease of movement.

The different context of wearing dress in death brings up the possibility that the elaborate dress items found on the deceased in burials were not actually worn in daily experience. The weight of some anklets or bracelets found in the queens’ tombs at Nimrud, worn individually or in pairs, exceeds 2 kg (4 lb.). Josephine Verduci⁴⁹ and John Green⁵⁰ have argued that such heavy bangles served to mark rites of passage and emitted clamorous sounds when worn in the Iron Age Levant. Some particularly small anklets from the Levant and Hasanlu, Iran, indicate that the rings of metal were placed on children’s bodies, which then grew, causing the rings’ difficult removal.⁵¹ Ethnographic analogies suggest that anklets and bracelets can then “‘grow into’ and become fixed on the body” when worn for extended periods of time without removal.⁵² While we do not know for certain that the jewelry from tombs at Neo-Assyrian Nimrud or in the Iron Age Levant was worn in life, the representations on monumental reliefs and portable figurines from the ancient Near East show that such items—thick bangles and anklets, diadems with counterweights, and heavy drop earrings—adorned both human and divine bodies. The heaviness of such objects must have been felt by the wearers. In Ashurnasirpal II’s large-scale reliefs, the artists in some cases depicted the ends of the bracelets “cutting into” the flesh of wrists or arms (fig. 11.3). This effect could be a result of the technique of carving in low relief—as it is certainly more pronounced on some figures than on others in the images from Ashurnasirpal II’s palace—but it could also reflect the recognition and choices made by the artisans of the perfect fit and heavy weight of the bangles, as well as of the voluminous strength of the king’s muscles. However, more than just a symbolic code, the representation in stone of the bracelets’ relationship with the flesh of the king could bring forth viewers’ own somatic memories and experiences of the weight and touch of dress items on their bodies. This method of consideration, which incorporates phenomenology and sensory experience, “allows us empathy with the past,” which enlivens the objects and the ancient people who experienced them.⁵³

48 Ornan 2002.

49 Verduci 2017.

50 Green 2007.

51 Cifarelli 2018, 90.

52 Green 2007, 295.

53 Harries 2017, 113.



Figure 11.3. Relief from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Nimrud. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. VA 00942. <https://id.smb.museum/object/1743996/gefl%C3%BCgelter-genius-nach-links-schreitend>, accessed October 31, 2024. Photo by Allison Thomason.

A similar approach to the feel of dress items on the skin and flesh of the wearer has been attempted with respect to how cylinder seals were used by their owners. In a recent paper, Sarah Scott⁵⁴ suggested that the skin-to-stone contact of a seal fastened to a wrist, held in a hand, or swinging on a chain bouncing against a body forced an awareness by the seal's owner of the junction of their own body and the outside world. In the activity of sealing a tablet, pressing finger against stone and stone against wet clay, the identity and corporeality of owner, seal, and tablet are elided through heat transfer and tactility. Neville McFerrin proposes a similar elision of body, space, and dress for the elaborately adorned courtiers and tribute bearers depicted in the stone reliefs from the royal Apadana audience hall at Persepolis, whose elaborate garments mimic the fringed edge of the king's baldachin depicted in reliefs from Palace G at the same site.⁵⁵ Finally, we cannot forget the nonhuman bodies that textiles can harbor: pests. Wearing textiles wrapped on the head in particular could bring itching and discomfort, as these items of clothing could have harbored head and body lice, nuisances recognized by ancient Mesopotamians.⁵⁶ These experiences with and of dress could have provoked a heightened awareness of the body and its relationship to dress in the ancient contexts.

Certainly the size and weight of extra-large garment pins worn by elite men and women at Hasanlu, Iran, in the Early Iron Age would have limited or dramatically affected

⁵⁴ Scott 2017.

⁵⁵ McFerrin 2017, 2019.

⁵⁶ Adamson 1988. I thank Margarita Gleba for this suggestion.

an individual's gait and carriage—and made them acutely aware of what they were wearing, in addition to signaling to viewers near and far about the relevance of such items to personal and communal identity (fig. 11.4). The site of Hasanlu is unique when considering the phenomenology of dress, as dressed human remains were preserved in destruction levels of elite buildings burned by marauders, as well as in burials in a cemetery nearby. Thus we have the rare opportunity to envision how dress was worn in life, during a moment of extreme emotional, physical, and psychic stress, as well as in death, and to relate these moments to gender and age when skeletons can be sexed.⁵⁷ Michelle Marcus pointed out that the pins found on destruction victims and in burials at Hasanlu ranged in length from 5 to 36 cm, and they were often worn in pairs at the shoulders with their points facing up, aimed at the face.⁵⁸ The sexing of skeletons at Hasanlu is fraught with difficulty, but at the very least we can conclude that the position and length of the garment pins worn by elite men and women at



Figure 11.4. Excavation photo of Burial SK 59 from Hasanlu, Iran. Courtesy of the Penn Museum, Philadelphia.

Hasanlu could have made the individuals acutely aware of what they were wearing and how they moved in dress.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the excessively long and heavy garment pins might have garnered multiple meanings when worn or manipulated by different members of society; shorter pins found at Hasanlu in votive deposits were associated with liminal protection.⁶⁰ Conversely, restriction of movement might have been caused by extremely fragile items of jewelry worn in elaborate hairstyles or headdresses, such as metal hairpins too light to fasten clothing. Ivory or bone combs are often found in ancient Near Eastern tomb contexts, and evidence of wear patterns and repairs on jewelry from Levantine Iron Age graves indicate they were worn in life.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Cifarelli 2017.

⁵⁸ Marcus 1994, 4.

⁵⁹ Danti and Cifarelli 2015; Cifarelli 2018.

⁶⁰ Cifarelli 2018, 2022.

⁶¹ Verduci 2017, 28; 2022.

If heavy items of jewelry, which cut into the flesh and were dragged down by gravity, caused some sort of painful sensations for their wearers in life, did dress objects also bring the wearer pleasure, comfort, or even relief from pain? Many examples in the Mesopotamian textual record mention or even focus on textiles and dress.⁶² They range from royal inscriptions and legal codes to letters and tablets related to commerce and the movement of dress items. They also include juridical texts that discuss dress items as personal movable property. In many of these texts about textiles, the experience and feeling of dress are explicitly or referentially noted through discussion of the “quality” of the material. For example, a trader from Assur selling his family’s textiles in Kanesh in Anatolia writes to his wife/producer that the garment she produces for the sale must meet market demand:

Make sure that only one side of the textiles is combed, and it shouldn’t be sheared. The weave should be dense. Compared to the textiles that you sent me before, add a mina of wool to each (of the other textiles) and make sure that they’re thin! The other side should be lightly combed, and if it is slightly hairy, then it will turn out like one of those *kutanum*-textiles.⁶³

The quality of such woven textiles made of wool (and occasionally linen) is described in a numerical ranking form as “first” to “fifth,” depending on the raw material, the fineness of the weave, the addition of extra adornment such as tassels and fringes, and polychromatic color or intricacy of pattern.⁶⁴ Excavators of the tombs of the queens of Nimrud in the 1980s found tassels and tiny bits of finely woven fabric, with their fibers of flax linen still showing a polished sheen (fig. 11.5). To the nonwearers or people who handled these linen textiles before they adorned the bodies of the royal women at Nimrud, they must have symbolized great luxury, wealth, and status. To the queens who wore the textiles, they might have felt exceptionally cool, smooth, and soft—or heavy if they were adorned with a multitude of beads and other appendages.⁶⁵ Another way to examine how Mesopotamians noticed the quality of textiles can be found in a tablet from a Neo-Babylonian private archive. The text notes how precise care was given to finishing processes applied to garments. These processes involved fulling the cloth in liquids, often urine, which helped set the colored dyes. After fulling, textiles were often washed in liquids imbued with fine oils to soften or give a sweet-smelling fragrance to the cloth. After the laundering process, the last step was often to pick or “comb” the fabric, thus eliminating any scratchy inclusions and creating a thicker, fluffier feel, as indicated by words for “soft garment” in the Akkadian repertoire of the first millennium BCE.⁶⁶

Of course, the finest and most elaborately decorated fabrics were reserved for dressing the statues of gods, which involved rituals of purification, auspiciousness, and appropriateness to activate the relationship between the divine and human. The activities and

62 Examples are too numerous to cite. For recent work on Assyrian texts, see Gaspa 2018; for Mari, see Durand 2009.

63 TC 3, 17. Translated from Michel 2001, 444–45 (no. 318); Thomason 2013, 100.

64 Firth 2013, 143.

65 Crowfoot 2008.

66 E.g., some Akkadian words used were *habû* “soft garment” (CDA, 100) and *narbu* “soft garment” (CDA, 241).

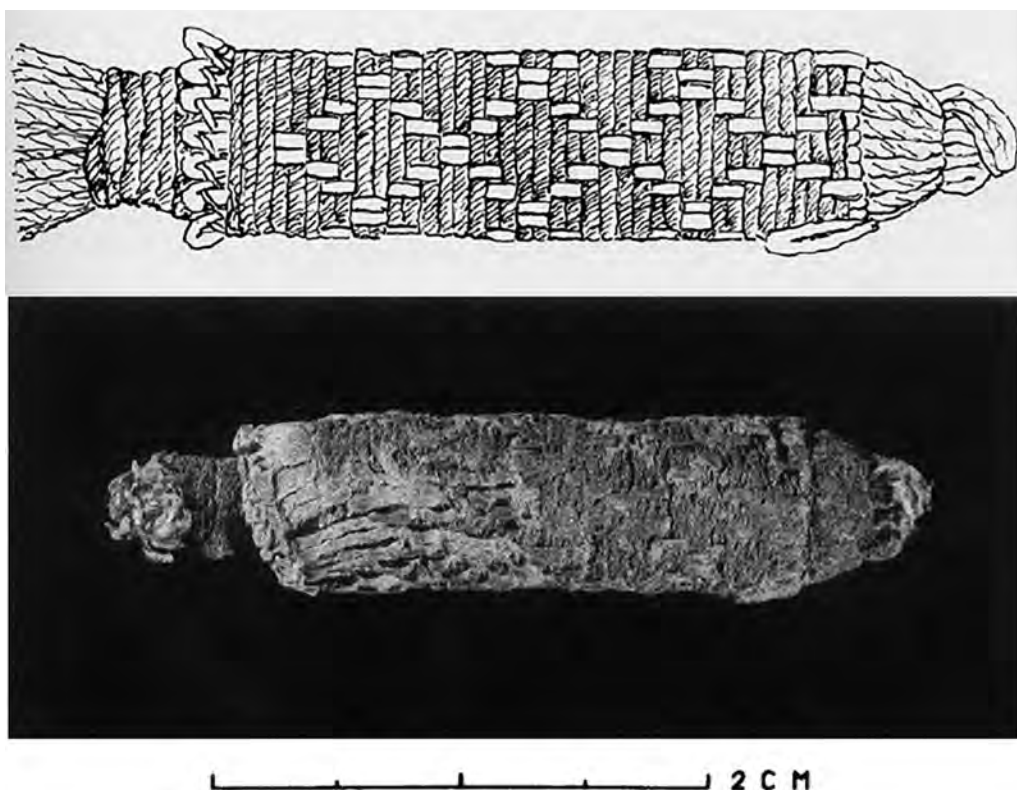


Figure 11.5. Examples of a linen tassel from the Nimrud tombs (Curtis et al. 2008, fig. 151-2). Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

rituals involved in getting dressed allowed statues of gods to become enlivened. Kiersten Neumann has argued that the dressing of the statue “presented the divine on earth through the realization and perpetuation of Assyrian expectations of a god.”⁶⁷ And the same holds true for the courtly elite, who dressed for ritually prescribed and auspiciously predetermined performances; the royal figures became mediators and elided the distance between the human world and the divine, something that Mehmet-Ali Ataç has also considered in relation to Neo-Assyrian reliefs⁶⁸ and that Gansell has suggested for Neo-Assyrian queens in relation to an imperial ideology of female fertility.⁶⁹

Another question to ask might be “What practices of bodily discipline involved dressing and undressing?” For example, did Mesopotamians wear corsets, belts, or other garments or devices to control their body shape, as ruled by society, or to relate to an embodied experience? Indeed, we have now come to the topic of Mesopotamian underwear. Countless studies of dress objects related to female bodily discipline—corsets, bras, bustles, and so forth—percolate the literature on dress in the European early modern and

⁶⁷ Neumann 2017, 12.

⁶⁸ Ataç 2010.

⁶⁹ Gansell 2018, 93.

contemporary worlds.⁷⁰ Again, these corsets and bras are interpreted as symbol systems and the body as a sign of how societies constructed notions of gender and femininity. They are seen as status symbols, as, in addition to employing voluminous amounts of material, elaborate body shapers in many periods required servants to lace, tie, and adjust them from the back.

But underwear has many functions—if applied close to the body and tightly, it can of course mold and shape the body in a hidden or unacknowledged way. After becoming fully dressed only the wearer is aware of its presence. It also protects the wearer from an uncomfortable garment, and at the same time it protects a garment from bodily fluids and excessive wear. Like nakedness, dress items worn close to the body could, when exposed, bring the wearer a sense of allure and power rather than embarrassment. For example, Winter,⁷¹ Foster,⁷² and Suter⁷³ all suggest that the “sexy” image of Naram-Sin on his victory stela shows him “stripped down” in a body-hugging undershirt and short kilt. A good illustration of an attempt to shape the body through other means is the “goddess with flowing vase” sculpture from the palace of Mari, where we can see straps and wraps accentuating and separating her breasts and waist (fig. 11.6).⁷⁴



Figure 11.6. Statue of a goddess with flowing vase from Mari (Parrot 1959, pl. VI).

⁷⁰ Waugh 1954; Hollander 2016.

⁷¹ Winter 1996.

⁷² Foster 2010.

⁷³ Suter 2012.

⁷⁴ Frankfort 1970, figs. 131–32; Breniquet 2013, 12.

Bodily consciousness also emerges in the act of undressing, where individuals would have been aware of the lived experiences of becoming undressed or being nude, which must have resonated with sensory experiences related to temperature, feel, and of course sex and its anticipation. Bodily metaphors in the courtly love poetry from Mesopotamia, as well as on numerous plaques, pendants, and figurines from many periods, were explicitly erotic and demonstrate that the body or certain parts of it (exposed when nude or intimated when dressed)—the breasts, vulva, thighs, penis, and so forth—were understood as responsive sights of pleasure, often stimulating many senses in the lover beyond touch, such as taste, vision, and hearing.⁷⁵

Mesopotamian consciousness of the lived experience of undressing—perhaps related to sexuality—comes from a literary context in the famous myth *The Descent of Inanna/Ishtar to the Netherworld*. The myth is known from several copies in both Sumerian (Inanna) and Akkadian (Ishtar), but the fragmentary nature of the cuneiform record renders the story incomplete to this day. Nevertheless, it is worth quoting extensively from the Sumerian version to access the experiences of dressing and undressing for Mesopotamians:

1–5. From the great heaven she set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven the goddess set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven Inana set her mind on the great below. My mistress abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld. Inana abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld.

...

14–19. She took the seven divine powers. She collected the divine powers and grasped them in her hand. With the good divine powers, she went on her way. She put a turban, headgear for the open country, on her head. She took a wig for her forehead. She hung small lapis-lazuli beads around her neck.

20–25. She placed twin egg-shaped beads on her breast. She covered her body with a *pala* dress, the garment of ladyship. She placed mascara which is called “Let a man come, let him come” on her eyes. She pulled the pectoral which is called “Come, man, come” over her breast. She placed a golden ring on her hand. She held the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line in her hand.

...

114–22. When she heard this, Ereškigala slapped the side of her thigh. She bit her lip and took the words to heart. She said to Neti, her chief doorman: “Come Neti, my chief doorman of the underworld, don’t neglect the instructions I will give you. Let the seven gates of the underworld be bolted. Then let each door of the palace Ganzur be opened separately. As for her, after she has entered, and crouched down and had her clothes removed, they will be carried away.”

...

⁷⁵ Leick 2003, 111–29.

164–72. After she had crouched down and had her clothes removed, they were carried away. Then she made her sister Ereškigala rise from her throne, and instead she sat on her throne. The Anuna, the seven judges, rendered their decision against her. They looked at her—it was the look of death. They spoke to her—it was the speech of anger. They shouted at her—it was the shout of heavy guilt. The afflicted woman was turned into a corpse. And the corpse was hung on a hook.⁷⁶

Most studies of this text and Inana's dress have read the dress items as words and have focused on the symbolic values attached to the different objects she puts on and sheds repeatedly during her journeys. Undoubtedly, the myth focuses a reader's attention on the practices of dressing and undressing and on Inana's realization of the power of such lived experiences. If this is the case, the myth illustrates how Mesopotamians had a concept of embodiment—that bodies have different experiences when moving through different spaces and in different states of dress or undress (in the *Descent* myth, the spaces descending to and inside the Netherworld). Inana's conscious choice of apparel and her various states of being dressed acknowledge the dialectic nature of dress. She is conscious of how her body is altered as she deliberately bounces from earth to the underworld, to the heavens and back. In the *Descent* myth, the goddess's frequent acts of dressing and undressing are multivalent performances, imbued with sexual pleasure and fertility as well as anticipated pain, humility, or vulnerability, as once naked she becomes a rotting corpse nailed to the wall like a primitive animal skin.

Finally, the wearing of items of dress could relieve bodily pain—certainly the case when amulets and seals were worn apotropaically. The best example of this practice is an inscribed carnelian Kassite stamp seal, an heirloom, found on the body of Sargon II's queen, Ataliyā, in her tomb at Nimrud.⁷⁷ She or her scribes added the label “from the head(dress) of Kurigalzu” on the object. Other seals found in her tomb have labels such as “for relief of pain in the head . . .” inscribed on them. Clearly, the antiquity and the materials of these stone seals not only warded off or rid the body of the evil demons of disease but also were thought to have relieved bodily pain.⁷⁸

CONCLUSION

The phenomenological and sensorial approach to the evidence discussed here shows how dress can be studied as more than an outward demonstration of one's inner identity. Considering dress as a verb, a performance, and a practice allows us to understand dressing, living in and with dress, and undressing as embodied experiences familiar to all humans. With the explicit assumption that human bodies move and sense in similar ways, even if the qualities and spaces in which they move and sense differ, we can evocatively “feel” the meaning and relevance of dress(ing) for humans distant to us in time and place.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Black et al. 1998–.

⁷⁷ Hussein, Altaweel, and Gibson 2016, 14.

⁷⁸ al-Gailani Werr 2008; Hussein, Altaweel, and Gibson 2016, 14.

⁷⁹ I thank Claudia Brittenham, a fellow participant in the seminar, for making this suggestion in the general discussion at the conclusion of the conference in March 2018.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CDA Jeremy Black, Andrew George, and Nicholas Postgate, eds., *Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000
- TC 3 Julius Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes: Troisième série*. Paris: Geuthner, 1935

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamson, P. B.
1988 “Some Infective and Allergic Conditions in Ancient Mesopotamia.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 85, no. 2: 163–71.
- Albenda, Pauline
1985 “Mirrors in the Ancient Near East.” *Source: Notes on the History of Art* 4, no. 2/3: 2–9.
- al-Gailani Werr, Lamia
2008 “Nimrud Seals.” In *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*, edited by J. E. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon, and L. al-Gailani Werr, 155–62. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq.
- Assante, Julia
1998 “The kar.kid/ḫarimtu, Prostitute or Single Woman? A Reconsideration of the Evidence.” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 30: 5–96.
- Ataç, Mehmet-Ali
2010 *The Mythology of Neo-Assyrian Kingship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Black, Jeremy A., Graham Cunningham, Esther Flückiger-Hawker, Eleanor Robson, and Gabor Zólyomi
1998– “Inana’s Descent to the Netherworld.” In *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. Accessed February 14, 2018. <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section1/tr141.htm>.
- Breniquet, Catherine
2013 “Functions and Uses of Textiles in the Ancient Near East: Summary and Perspectives.” In *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, edited by M.-L. Nosch, H. Koefoed, and E. A. Strand, 1–25. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Castor, Alexis Q.
2017 “Surface Tensions on Etruscan and Greek Gold Jewelry.” In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 83–100. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Cifarelli, Megan
2017 “Costly Choices: Signaling Theory and Dress in Period IVb Hasanlu, Iran.” In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 101–22. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
2018 “Gender, Personal Adornment, and Costly Signaling in the Iron Age Burials of Hasanlu, Iran.” In *Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Saana Svärd and Agnès Garcia-Ventura, 73–108. University Park: Penn State University Press.
2022 “Dress, Sensory Assemblages, and Identity in the Early First Millennium BCE at Hasanlu, Iran.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Kiersten Neumann and Allison Thomason, 141–60. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Cifarelli, Megan, and Laura Gawlinski, eds.

- 2017 *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Crowfoot, Elisabeth

- 1995 "Textiles from Recent Excavations at Nimrud." *Iraq* 57: 113–18.
 2008 "Textiles from Recent Excavations at Nimrud." In *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*, edited by J. E. Curtis, H. McCall, D. Collon, and L. al-Gailani Werr, 149–54. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

Curtis, John E., Henrietta McCall, Dominique Collon, and Lamia al-Gailani Werr, eds.

- 2008 *New Light on Nimrud: Proceedings of the Nimrud Conference, 11th–13th March 2002*. London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq.

Danti, Michael D., and Megan Cifarelli

- 2015 "Iron II Warrior Burials at Hasanlu, Iran." *Iranica Antiqua* 50: 61–157.

Durand, Jean-Marie

- 2009 *La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*. 2 vols. Archives royales de Mari 30. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Entwistle, Joanne

- 2000 *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity.

Eppihimer, Melissa

- 2017 "Tassels, Cultural Identity and Historical Memory in Royal Statues from Mari and Eshnunna." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Boston, MA, November 15–18.

Firth, Richard

- 2013 "Considering the Finishing of Textiles Based on Neo-Sumerian Texts from Girsu." In *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch, Henriette Koefoed, and Eva Andersson Strand, 140–60. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford: Oxbow.

Foster, Benjamin R.

- 2010 "Clothing in Sargonic Mesopotamia: Visual and Written Evidence." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennium BC*, edited by C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch, 110–36. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford: Oxbow.
 2011 "The Person in Mesopotamian Thought." In *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson, 117–39. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Frankfort, Henri

- 1970 *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. 4th ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gansell, Amy R.

- 2014a "The Iconography of Ideal Feminine Beauty Represented in the Hebrew Bible and Iron Age Levantine Sculpture." In *Image, Text, Exegesis: Iconographic Interpretation and the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Izaak J. de Huster and Joel M. LeMon, 46–70. New York: Continuum.
 2014b "Images and Conceptions of Ideal Feminine Beauty in Neo-Assyrian Royal Contexts, c. 883–627 BCE." In *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman, 391–420. Berlin: de Gruyter.
 2018 "Dressing the Neo-Assyrian Queen in Identity and Ideology: Elements and Ensembles from the Royal Tombs at Nimrud." *American Journal of Archaeology* 122, no. 1: 65–100.

Gaspa, Salvatore

- 2013 "Textile Production and Consumption in the Neo-Assyrian Empire." In *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch, Henriette Koefoed, and Eva Andersson Strand, 224–47. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2018 *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: A Study of Terminology*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 19. Boston: de Gruyter.

Gilibert, Alessandra

- 2011 *Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance*. Topoi—Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 2. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Green, John D. M.

- 2007 "Anklets and the Social Construction of Gender and Age in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Southern Levant." In *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, edited by Sue Hamilton, Ruth D. Whitehouse, and Katherine I. White, 283–311. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

Harmanşah, Ömür, ed.

- 2014 *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place*. Joukowsky Institute Publications 5. Oxford: Oxbow.

Harries, John

- 2017 "A Stone That Feels Right in the Hand: Tactile Memory, the Abduction of Agency, and Presence of the Past." *Journal of Material Culture* 22, no. 1: 110–30.

Highcock, Nancy

- 2019 "To Toggle Back and Forth: Clothing Pins and Portable Identities in the Old Assyrian Period." In *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli, 27–40. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hollander, Anne

- 2016 *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress*. London: Bloomsbury.

Hussein, Muzahim Mahmoud, with Mark Altaweel and McGuire Gibson

- 2016 *Nimrud: The Queens' Tombs*. Oriental Institute Miscellaneous Publications. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Johnson, Matthew H.

- 2012 "Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41: 269–84.

Kawami, Trudy S.

- 2019 "Some Observations on Fringes in Elamite Dress." In *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli, 147–60. Oxford: Oxbow.

Kertai, David

- 2015 *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Palaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2017 "The Gendered Economics of Greek Bronze Mirrors: Reflections on Reciprocity and Feminine Agency." *Arethusa* 50, no. 2: 143–68.

Leick, Gwendolyn

- 2003 *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature*. London: Routledge.

Marcus, Michelle I.

- 1994 "Dressed to Kill: Women and Pins in Early Iran." *Oxford Art Journal* 17: 3–15.

McFerrin, Neville

- 2017 "Fabrics of Inclusion: Deep Wearing and the Potentials of Materiality on the Apadana Reliefs." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 143–60. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- 2019 "The Tangible Self: Embodiment, Agency and the Functions of Adornment in Achaemenid Persia." In *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli, 233–48. Oxford: Oxbow.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice

- 2012 *Phenomenology of Perception*. Translated by Donald A. Landes. London: Routledge. First published 1945, Paris: Gallimard.

Michel, Cécile

- 2001 *Correspondance des marchands de Kanish au début du II^e millenaire avant J.-C.* Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- 2020 "Belts and Pins as Gendered Elements of Clothing in Third and Second Millennia Mesopotamia." In *Textiles and Gender in Antiquity from the Orient to the Mediterranean*, edited by Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel, and Louise Quillien, 179–92. London: Bloomsbury.

Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea

- 1993 "A Mirror Belonging to the Lady of Uruk." In *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell, and David B. Weisberg, 163–69. Bethesda: CDL Press.

Neumann, Kiersten

- 2017 "Gods among Men: Fashioning the Divine Image in Assyria." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 3–24. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Neumann, Kiersten, and Allison Thomason

- 2022 *The Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Ornan, Tallay

- 2002 "The Queen in Public: Royal Women in Neo-Assyrian Art." In *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the XLVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki*, edited by S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting, 461–78. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Osborne, James F.

- 2014 "Settlement Planning and Urban Symbolism in Syro-Anatolian Cities." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 24, no. 2: 195–214.

Parrot, André

- 1959 *Mission archéologique de Mari. Vol. 2, Le palais: Documents et monuments*. Paris: Geuthner.

Paulissian, Robert

- 1993 "Dental Care in Ancient Assyria and Babylonia." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 7, no. 1: 96–116.

Roth, Martha T.

- 1997 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. 2nd ed. Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Scott, Sarah J.

- 2017 "Skin-on-Skin: Exploring Surface Relationships between Seals and Impressions." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Boston, MA, November 15–18.

Stocker, Sharon, and Jack L. Davis

- n.d. "Griffin Warrior Tomb." Accessed October 31, 2024. <https://griffinwarrior.org/griffin-warrior-tomb/>.

Suter, Claudia E.

- 2012 "The Royal Body and Masculinity in Early Mesopotamia." In *Menschenbilder und Körperkonzepte im Alten Israel, in Ägypten, und im Alten Orient*, edited by Angelika Berlejung, Jan Dietrich, and Joachim Friedrich Quack, 433–58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Svärd, Saana

- 2015 *Women and Power in Neo-Assyrian Palaces*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 23. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Thomas, Ariane

- 2014 "In Search of Lost Costumes: On Royal Attire in Ancient Mesopotamia." In *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 74–96. Ancient Textiles Series 16. Oxford: Oxbow.

Thomason, Allison K.

- 2013 "Her Share of the Profits: Women, Agency and Textile Production at Ashur and Kültepe/Kanesh in the Second Millennium B.C." In *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch, Henriette Koefoed, and Eva Andersson Strand, 93–112. Ancient Textiles Series 12. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2019a "Clothing and Nudity in the Ancient Near East: Archaeological and Iconographic Aspects." In *Clothing and Nudity in the Hebrew Bible*, edited by Christoph Berner, Manuel Schäfer, Martin Schott, Sarah Schulz, and Martina Weingärtner, 87–126. London: T&T Clark.
- 2019b "The Phenomenology and Sensory Experience of Dress in Mesopotamia: The Embodiment of Discomfort and Pain through Dress." In *Fashioned Selves: Dress and Identity in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli, 219–32. Oxford: Oxbow.

Tilley, Christopher

- 2004 *A Phenomenology of Landscape*. Oxford: Berg.

Tudor, Faye

- 2020 "'Gazing in hir glasse of vaine glorie': Negotiating Vanity." In *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558–1660*, edited by Simon Smith, Jacqueline Watson, and Amy Kenny, 185–200. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Verduci, Josephine

- 2017 "Early Iron Age Adornment within Southern Levantine Mortuary Contexts: An Argument for Existential Significance in Understanding Material Culture." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 25–46. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- 2022 "Adornment Practices in the Ancient Near East and the Question of Embodied Boundary Maintenance." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Kiersten Neumann and Allison Thomason, 127–40. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis.

Waerzeggers, Caroline

- 2006 "Neo-Babylonian Laundry." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 100: 83–96.

Wasserman, Nathan

- 2013 "Treating Garments in the Old Babylonian Period: 'At the Cleaners' in a Comparative View." *Iraq* 75: 255–77.

Waugh, Norah

- 1954 *Corsets and Crinolines*. London: Routledge.

Winter, Irene J.

- 1996 "Sex, Rhetoric and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by Natalie Boymel Kampen, 11–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woolley, C. Leonard

- 1934 *Ur Excavations*. Vol. 2, *The Royal Cemetery*. London: Trustees of the British Museum and Philadelphia: Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

12

The Hasanlu Lion Pins and Communal Identity: The Case for Empathy in Interpretation*

Megan Cifarelli
Manhattanville College

THIS ESSAY is the most recent entry into a decades-long conversation among excavators and art historians about the nature of an artifact type that is very much identified with the site of Hasanlu: the so-called lion pins, small bronze lion figurines cast onto iron spikes. During the 1990s, Michelle Marcus argued cogently that these objects functioned as armorial personal ornaments that contributed to the militarized identity of elite women at the site.¹ Oscar Muscarella's fractious critique of Marcus disputed her attribution of particular pins to particular sexed and unsexed bodies.² Neither of these scholars, however, questioned the received wisdom that these objects were part of an elite local costume that signaled aspects of identity that could include gender, group affiliation, militarism, religious or secular rank, and others.³

Based on careful analysis of excavation records, this study seeks to lay to rest the notion that the lion pins were ever worn as elements of local costume and operated within the constellation of characteristic sartorial elements that contributed to the construction of elite identity at Hasanlu. I propose an alternative interpretation of these objects, their manufacture, their typical use, and their particular use at the time of their deposition. In doing so, I hope to broaden the way we think about dress—defined broadly by Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne Eicher as “an assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body”⁴—and the well-established role played by dress and dress

*I would like to thank Richard Zettler (Penn Museum) and Michael Danti (Penn–Iraq Heritage Stabilization Project) for permission to study and publish materials from Hasanlu and for access to the excavation records. Katherine Blanchard, keeper of the Near East section, Penn Museum, and Daira Szostak, collections manager, Metropolitan Museum of Art, graciously facilitated my study of the materials. I am grateful for the feedback I received from the participants of the ISAC seminar at which this study was originally presented. Finally, Amy Gansell and Isabel Cifarelli offered their honest and constructive thoughts on drafts of this essay, thereby improving it enormously. Any remaining errors are my own.

1 See Marcus 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996b.

2 Muscarella 2004.

3 For concurring views of the lion pins, see de Schauensee 1988, 51; 2011a, 70. For a thoughtful discussion of the semantic distinction between the terms “dress” and “costume,” see McFerrin 2017. Following McFerrin, this essay uses “costume” in the sense of the association of clothing and dress elements with a specific social group.

4 Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992, 1.

components in the construction and embodiment of identities.⁵ The application of dress theory to archaeological materials has focused primarily and successfully on the relationship between dress and social identity and the reification of social categories. This essay expands on the understanding of the relationship between dress and identity. At Hasanlu, the lion pins, rather than functioning as elite dress items, appear to have served as a component of divine dress. By contributing to the animation of cult statues, they participated in a divinely inflected communal identity that was invoked by residents during the site's final disaster.

THE HASANLU LION PINS AS UNIQUE TO HASANLU'S MATERIAL CULTURE

Well before the start of the Joint Expedition to Hasanlu in 1956, the objects known as "lion pins" were closely associated with, and unique to, the site of Hasanlu in the Lake Urmia Basin of northwestern Iran (fig. 12.1).⁶ They first emerged from the archaeological record of Hasanlu in 1936, when, during the last of Sir Aurel Stein's "Persian Journeys," he discovered a "bronze figurine cast on an iron core representing a grotesque animal showing the general type of a lion."⁷ Commercial excavations of the site in the late 1940s turned up four additional lion pins in an unspecified area of the Lower Mound near a modern school-house.⁸ By 1956, residents of Hasanlu village had identified these artifacts as commodities of interest to the excavators and brought in eight more lion pins for viewing or purchase.⁹ The Joint Expedition discovered its first in situ lion pin in 1958 in a citadel context dating to the site's destruction at the end of Period IVb, about 800 BCE. The earliest field records list these objects as "lions" or "lion figurines," but during the 1960 season the nomenclature shifted to "lion pin," for reasons not recorded. In subsequent seasons, eighty-seven more lion pins emerged from the Period IVb destruction level on the citadel at Hasanlu, bringing the total associated with the site to 101.¹⁰

Each lion pin consists of a bronze figurine of a recumbent, snarling lion cast onto a hefty iron spike (fig. 12.2). The pins range in total length from 12 to 25 cm. The iron shaft is as thick as 2.5 cm at the point where the lion is cast on, and it tapers to a sharp point. In many instances, a loop with a chain can be found at the union of the body and shaft. The lion pins are crafted in a range of styles, but as a group they are closely related to the local style of artistic production in their use of geometric surface patterning and beaded

5 Sørensen 2007, 148–49.

6 Led by Robert H. Dyson of the Penn Museum, this project included the Archaeological Service of Iran and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It lasted from 1956 to 1977. For a full bibliography for the site through 2006, see Muscarella 2006.

7 Stein and Andrews 1940, 396, pl. XXXI.

8 Hakemi and Rad 1950, pls. 28, 75. These lion pins are in the Tehran Museum.

9 These eight include HAS56-1 (UPM56-20-1), HAS57-1 (UPM58-40-1), HAS57-13 (Tehran 10500), HAS58-1 (Tehran), HAS58-13, HAS58-54 (Tehran 10589), HAS58-91, and HAS58-92.

10 While Muscarella (2004, 694) and Marcus (1993, 159) refer in general to 100 or 103 lion pins discovered at the site, for the purposes of this study only the 88 excavated by the Joint Expedition are considered, as there is no precise and reliable contextual information for the 13 examples from earlier excavations and those described in excavation records as "brought in."



Figure 12.1. Map showing the location of Hasanlu. Base map: Wikimedia Commons.

decoration on the face and mane,¹¹ and they are in keeping with a local penchant for the creation of bimetallic objects.¹² They have not been found in documented excavations at any other site; therefore, it is possible to conclude that they were manufactured locally.¹³

LION PINS AT HASANLU: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The interpretation of the lion pins has been fraught with disagreement regarding the precise associations between these objects and particular sexed and unsexed skeletons, with implications for whether their use can be considered gendered. Despite this interpretive tension, a point of agreement in nearly every mention of the Hasanlu lion pins in excavation records and subsequent publications is that these objects were worn at the site as dress items.¹⁴ Based on the premise that the lion pins were worn, Marcus asserted in an innovative and persuasive argument that they were integrated into elite female costume and functioned as a form of symbolic communication contributing to the construction of aspects of local identity, including gender, group identity, militarism, and religious and secular rank.¹⁵

Such interpretations of the lion pins have failed to consider fully the implications of the catastrophic context in which excavators found the bulk of them. The site of Hasanlu was

¹¹ Marcus 1993, 163.

¹² de Schauensee 1988, 151; Pigott 1989.

¹³ Muscarella 2004, 695–96, lists a number of unprovenienced lion pins in various locations.

¹⁴ de Schauensee 1988, 151; 2011a, 70; Muscarella 1988, 42; 2004; Marcus 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996b.

¹⁵ Marcus 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996b.



Figure 12.2. Five lion pins from BBII, reproduced to scale. *a*, HAS60-554 (UM61-5-207); *b*, HAS60-954 (UM61-5-180); *c*, HAS60-980 (MMA61.100.11); *d*, HAS60-986 (UM61-5-184); *e*, HAS62-525 (UM63-5-181). Photos courtesy of Penn Museum.

brutally destroyed around 800 BCE in an Urartian attack as part of the burgeoning kingdom's campaign of territorial consolidation.¹⁶ Within the destruction of the citadel, in and among the monumental buildings, archaeologists found the bodies of hundreds of men, women, and children killed by combat and fire or crushed in the collapse of burning buildings (figs. 12.3 and 12.4). The highest concentration of bodies was found in the site's largest temple, named by the excavators "Burned Building II" (BBII).¹⁷ This structure is two stories tall, with a large, central columned hall surrounded by storage rooms—some sealed—and rich treasuries. There is no reliable count of the skeletons, because of vagaries in recording, but the number of them is at least sixty and is likely higher (fig. 12.5).¹⁸ Nine of them were found above the ground-floor level in the fill of the second-story collapse (findspots indicated in green in fig. 12.5); the remainder were found on the ground floor crowded in the doorway and northeastern quadrant of the main hall (Room 5) and in the entrance room (Room 2) of BBII. These remains represent the bodies of fifteen children (indicated in red) and thirty-six adults (indicated in blue), including local women, local men, and enemy combatants. It appears that the building collapsed from its southern end to its

16 While the date and perpetrators of Hasanlu's destruction have been debated (Medvedskaya 1988, 1991; Magee 2003), the archaeological evidence supports the excavators' assessment that the destruction occurred around 800 BCE and that Urartian forces were responsible. See Dyson and Muscarella 1989; Kroll 2010; Danti 2011; Cifarelli 2017a.

17 Dyson 1989; Muscarella 1989, 2004, 2006; Danti 2013b.

18 Marcus (1993, 159) states that sixty skeletons were excavated in BBII, and Muscarella (2004, 695) states that there were sixty-two. Neither source lists the skeletons, so it is not possible to compare them. My analysis of the excavation records yields sixty registered skeletons with SK numbers, some of which seem to describe the bones of more than one individual. In addition, the notebooks mention skeletons that do not appear to have been registered, perhaps because they were crushed beyond recovery.

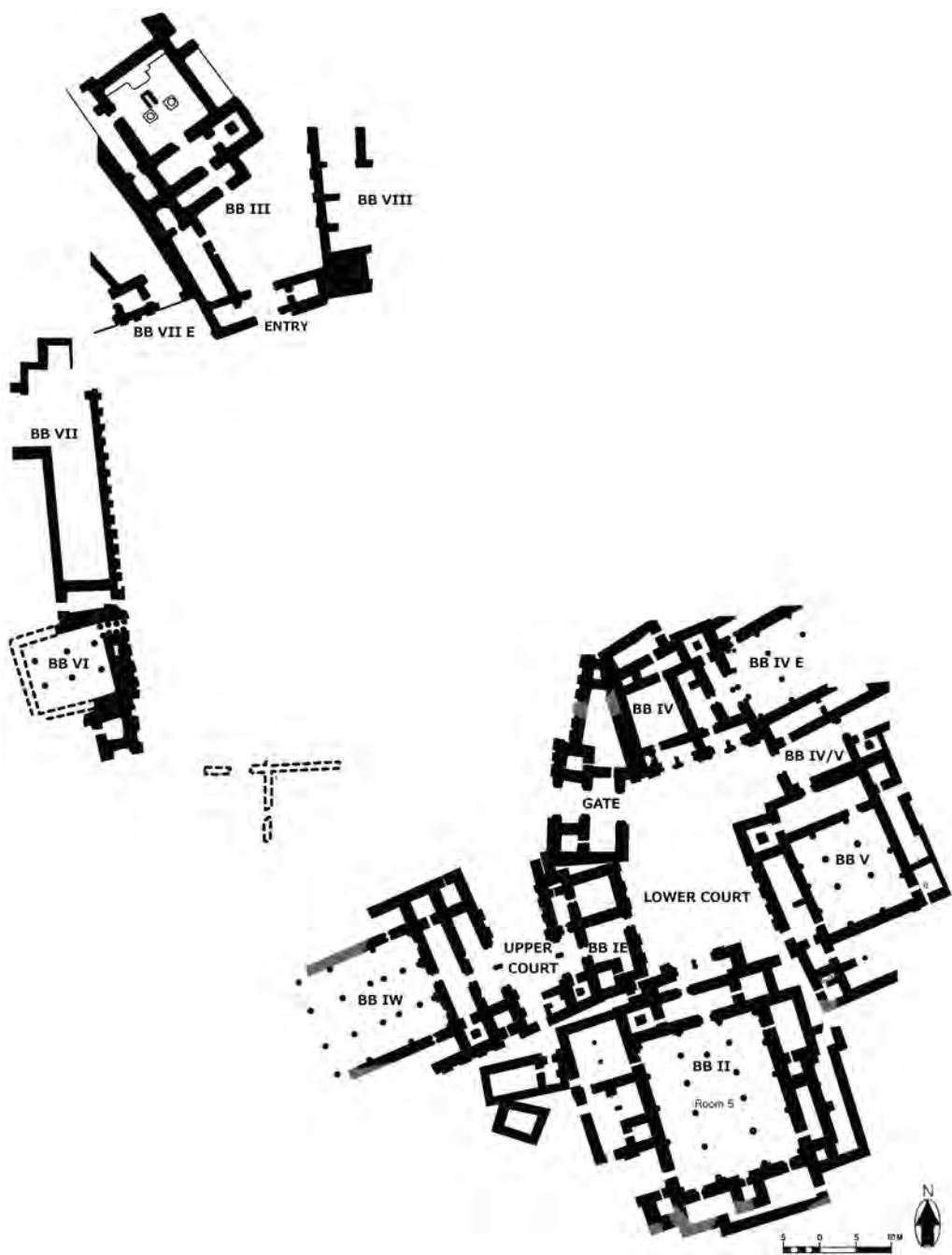


Figure 12.3. Plan of the Period IVb (1050–800 BCE) citadel on the Upper Mound at Hasanlu. Courtesy of Penn Museum.



Figure 12.4. Excavation photo of the citadel destruction. Photo courtesy of Penn Museum.

northern end, thus forcing people into the northeastern corner, where their bodies were crushed and burned in the conflagration. Skeletal trauma indicates that a few women and children had been executed with swords or spears before the collapse.¹⁹ The overlapping arrangement around the central pillar in Room 5 of at least ten young children and infants strongly suggests that these children were either somehow attached to the column while living or had been executed before their placement there. For example, SK125, the remains of a young child on the northern side of the central pillar base, had an iron sword blade through its skull.²⁰

It is in this catastrophic context, among these dozens of bodies, that excavators discovered seventy-one of the eighty-eight lion pins excavated at the site (fig. 12.6). Outside this building, eleven individual lion pins were found scattered around the citadel (fig. 12.7). The only cluster found outside BBII is a group of six lion pins in the fill from the collapsed second story of BBIV/V Room 1, associated with the remains of multiple very young children cataloged as SK334 (fig. 12.8).²¹ Consideration of this unusual pattern of deposition is essential to the interpretation of the lion pins. This exploration of the relationship between lion pins and identity at Hasanlu must focus not only on the visual, material, affective, and

19 For example, the excavators recorded an iron weapon running through the left hand of SK156, found just over the threshold in Room 2; see Danti 2014, 793.

20 SK125 is Burial 7 in square BB30, located on the northern face of the pillar.

21 Hasanlu Notebook 61, 92–94. The lion pins are HAS72-136 (Tehran), HAS72-160 (UPM73-5-47), HAS72-161 (Tehran), HAS72-162 (Tehran), HAS72-163 (UPM73-5-540), and HAS72-164 (UPM73-5-541). It is important to point out that the excavators did discover dense clusters of bodies elsewhere on the citadel, but only SK334 and the more than sixty bodies in BBII are associated with lion pins.



Figure 12.5. Plan of the BBII citadel showing the locations of bodies.

agentive properties of the objects themselves but also on the transformative potential of the emotionally charged catastrophic context in BBII.

There is little direct evidence from the site for Muscarella's and Marcus's central premise—that lion pins were worn on the body as a part of local elite costume. The presence of textile pseudomorphs (physical traces or “fossils” of textiles on the surface of metals) on the iron shafts of certain lion pins has been cited as evidence that these objects were fasteners that “pierced a garment.”²² Textile pseudomorphs, though, merely provide evidence that the metal was in contact with fabric at the time of deposition. Pseudomorphs are a common feature of the metal objects—including weapons, vessels, and dress items—in burial and citadel contexts at Hasanlu.²³ Additionally, the iron shafts of the lion pins are much thicker than garment pins at Hasanlu, the largest of which approach 1 cm in diameter. Often

²² See, e.g., de Schauensee 2011a, 71.

²³ de Schauensee 2011a lists six lion pins with pseudomorphs: HAS60-570 (UPM61-5-237), HAS60-571 (UPM61-5-240), HAS60-567 (UPM61-5-239), HAS60-577 (UPM61-5-214), HAS 60-954 (UPM61-5-180), and HAS62-525 (UPM63-5-181). In addition are HAS60-568-9 (Tehran), HAS60-977 (UPM61-5-183), and HAS62-422, HAS62-523, and HAS62-524 (Tehran), bringing the total number to twelve. De Schauensee (2011a, 62, 69, 72) lists other artifacts from Hasanlu with pseudomorphs. Numerous other objects at the site show evidence of textile pseudomorphs, including a metal bowl from a burial (HAS59-0237, discarded), and an iron bracelet worn on the body of a young male in a burial, which, despite being found on the right wrist, appears to have been wrapped all around with multiple layers of fabric (HAS57-083 [UPM58-4-0038]).



Figure 12.6. Plan of the BBII citadel showing the locations of lion pins and bodies on the ground-floor level.

exceeding 2 cm in diameter, these iron shafts would have caused considerable damage if used to pierce the types of textiles preserved through pseudomorphs (fig. 12.2e).²⁴

Moreover, as Muscarella noted, with very few exceptions the data from the excavation records simply do not support the assignment of specific lion pins to bodies in BBII.²⁵ Critical information was lost because of the rapid pace of excavation, inadequate supervision, and poor recording.²⁶ BBII was a complex and challenging archaeological context: at the moment of its collapse and the creation of the destruction level, the building was a burning, two-story structure containing at least sixty people, its main hall and store-rooms replete with furnishings and offerings, and the site of active slaughter and looting. While the architecture of the building was well recorded, the swiftness of the removal of the bodies did not allow for careful documentation. For example, between August 18 and August 22, 1960, twenty-two overlapping bodies were “excavated.”²⁷ The excavation notebooks from these days contain cursory sketches of the locations of skeletons with lists of

24 Personal communication, Margarita Gleba, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, May 16, 2018 (see also chapter 14 in this volume).

25 See Muscarella 2004.

26 For important critiques of the Joint Expedition, see Muscarella 2006; Danti 2013a.

27 Hasanlu Excavation Notebook 14, 32–36.



Figure 12.7. Plan of the Period IVb citadel showing the locations of single lion pins and clusters of lion pins.



Figure 12.8. Excavation photo showing the cluster of lion pins associated with SK334. Photo courtesy of Penn Museum.

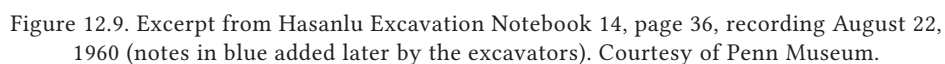
objects, without much indication of the disposition of objects with respect to the bodies (e.g., fig. 12.9). Years later, excavators reconstructed assemblages of “mortuary furniture” linked to skeletons on “burial sheets” (e.g., fig. 12.10) that were clearly designed for deliberate burials. Despite the fact that these secondary records included numerous dress-related and non-dress items found on or near bodies,²⁸ the dress items appearing on burial sheets were interpreted by researchers as having been worn and were used to reconstruct the dress and accoutrements of those who died in catastrophic contexts. On their own, these fabricated assemblages do not, in my estimation, provide sufficient evidence for what was actually worn on the body, as distinguished from what was being carried or looted, fell from upper stories, or was otherwise in the environment. Only those objects that are explicitly associated in the records with a location on the body, particularly beaded neck jewelry and encircling ornaments such as finger rings, bracelets, armlets, and anklets, can be categorized as being worn at the time of deposition, an analysis that is occasionally corroborated by photographs showing objects in association with skeletal remains.²⁹

Despite claims that between one and three lion pins were typically “worn” by “about half” the skeletons in BBII,³⁰ using burial sheets substantiated by photographs Muscarella

28 The iron sword (HAS60-1102) running through the skull of SK125 in BBII, for example, was included in the “mortuary furniture” listed on the burial sheet.

29 For example, of the 192 bracelets recorded as coming from BBII, 120 were associated with particular skeletons in “burial sheets,” but only 16 are described as having been found on the right or left arm/wrist of the skeleton.

30 Such claims by Marcus (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996b) have been enumerated and refuted by Muscarella (2004, 694).



B10 had beads + ~~silver~~ helmet, bowl + spoon of bronze, weapons, bracelets + 2 horns

HASANLU PROJECT

000076
August 19, 1960
(Van Horn)

BURIAL SHEET:

Site: Citadel Hill ~~PHI~~ rooms (G. Hale)

Operation Number: XL (AA30) Burial Number **B 10 SK135**

Stratum Number: **(4)3**

Phase: Grey Ware

Period: 9th cent. BC
WB

Photograph: /

Position Body: twisted round to L
Head: Facing into corner between bench + wall E
Arms:
Hands: ?
Legs:

Orientation: NNW

Preservation: bad

Sex:

Age:

Mortuary Furniture: beads, helmet, bowl + spoon of bronze, bracelet
bundle of iron spears, 3 lions, bronze "egg-c"

Bones Catalogued: /

116 in bowl 112 113 114
HAS 60-624 HAS 60-620 HAS 60-621 HAS 60-622
HAS 60-597 598 614
117 jar 60-535 124 60-658 100 115
122 ring 60-639 125 60-660 HAS 60-554, 555, 556 HAS 60-623
121 B10 60-627

Remarks: on floor nearest to door of XL **(3)4**
(AA30)

References:

116 = 60-597 = VPM 5-336
116 = HAS 60-598 = MMA 61-100-26, 27
117 = HAS 60-605 T
118 = HAS 60-609 T
119 = HAS 60-614 Disc
124 60-658 Obj card indicates 2 copper tubes. Requir some copies Not 60-900!
125 Culbr pins Obj card Requir square
61-5-930
Sample # 13 XL (4)3 B10 113 61-5-930
Wool Textile frags on cb/br pot HAS 60-621.

Figure 12.10. Top: The only original record of objects associated with SK135 (Burial 10 in AA30). Bottom: Reconstructed "burial sheet" for SK135. Courtesy of Penn Museum.

concluded that only eight of the seventy-one lion pins excavated in BBII can actually be assigned to particular skeletons. Three were found with the unsexed adolescent SK255, two with the small child SK256, and three with the unsexed young adult SK263. Excavation photographs of these three bodies clearly show lion pins alongside the upper arms of the skeletons, although in positions that are as consonant with being held or carried in arms as with being worn as fasteners (e.g., fig. 12.11). To this small catalog of lion pins on bodies, we should add the six lion pins associated with the cluster of young children's remains cataloged as SK334, mentioned above. With the exception of these four skeletal contexts, the paucity and unreliability of excavation data make it impossible to conclude anything more definitive than the presence of clusters of lion pins that overlapped the clusters of bodies.

Of equal importance to the particular contexts in which the lion pins were found is the consideration of their absence from the contexts at Hasanlu in which social identities are constructed and negotiated. Burial rituals and resultant mortuary assemblages provide critical opportunities for crafting and signaling social identities, and in these mortuary contexts the dress of the deceased plays a central role.³¹ Excavators uncovered approximately 100 Period IVb burials at Hasanlu, and analysis of their assemblages suggests the construction of a heterarchical range of gendered social categories largely crafted through dress. These categories include male “warriors”³² and “archers”;³³ elite women wearing dangerously long and sharp garment pins³⁴ and dress items crafted from imported, individual armor scales,³⁵ and younger women identified with elaborate headdresses.³⁶ Not a



Figure 12.11. Excavation photo of SK263, an unsexed young adult in BBII, showing the placement of two of the three lion pins associated with this body. Photo courtesy of Penn Museum.

31 Arnold and Jeske 2014; Sørensen 2007.

32 Danti and Cifarelli 2015.

33 Cifarelli 2016.

34 Cifarelli 2017b.

35 Cifarelli 2018a.

36 Cifarelli 2018b.

single lion pin was found among the excavated burials, calling into question the notion that lion pins were an essential component of elite female costume at the site.

We can look, as well, to collections of what appear to be votive offerings in BBII for evidence of a link between lion pins and elite identity. Objects dedicated by an individual to a temple bear a strong connection to the identity of the giver,³⁷ an identity that might be linked to a gendered social category akin to those displayed in burials. For example, broadly distributed evidence—found in the Amarna letters, the palace at Mari, the Qatna inventories, and the Hittite world—indicates that toggle pins in Late Bronze Age West Asia were owned by and identified with women and were offered by women to female deities.³⁸ In these cases, there is a gendered alignment of artifact type, giver, and recipient. Male deities at Qatna, on the other hand, received jewelry from men and women, as well as weapons and vessels, and hundreds of weapons were dedicated to the male god Haldi in temples in Urartian fortresses.³⁹ Based on the notion that gifts and giving link participants in a form of identification, it is reasonable to conclude that a gift to a god constitutes a fragment of the giver's identity, entangling the worlds of things, humans, and the divine.⁴⁰ At Hasanlu, the rooms that surrounded the main hall and occupied the second story of BBII—some of which were sealed—served as rich treasuries filled with decorated furnishings, precious and imported heirlooms, metal vessels, weapons, armor, and dress items.⁴¹ The ground-floor rooms immediately west of the main hall, Rooms 14 and 15, contained a large collection of metal objects, including weapons, armor, and long and short garment pins—precisely the categories of dress-related artifacts by which identities are constructed in the Period IVb burials at the site. As was the case with the burials, these assemblages do not contain lion pins (fig. 12.12). The absence of lion pins from among the hundreds of dress items given as votives and collected in temple treasuries contributes to the argument against their role as dress items used in the construction or signaling of identity at the site.

In sum, then, while lion pins are clustered with, among, and in three cases on the bodies crowded into the northeastern corner of BBII, Room 5, we do not have sufficient evidence to support the notion that lion pins were being worn there or that they functioned as dress items at the site. With the single exception of the lion pins found with the infant remains (SK334) in BBIV/V, lion pins are not found on or around the nearly 200 bodies excavated outside BBII. They are absent from the dress assemblages in excavated burials and are not represented among the dress items offered to the deity or deities in BBII. So it is difficult to support assertions that lion pins were dress items that participated in the active construction of gendered identity for individuals or groups at the site.

37 Owen 2013; Roßberger 2016.

38 For the Amarna letters and the inventories from Mari and Qatna, see Roßberger 2015; for the Hittite world, see Klein 1983.

39 For Qatna, see Roßberger 2015, 316–20; for Urartu, see Çilingiroğlu 2011.

40 E.g., Baumbach 2004; Osborne 2004; Castor 2010.

41 For sealing, see Marcus 1996a. Muscarella 1980 and de Schauensee 2011b provide analyses of decorated furnishings. For the identification of heirlooms, see Dyson 1989; Marcus 1991.



Figure 12.12. Plan of the BBII citadel showing the locations of temple treasuries and storage (in blue) and the distribution of lion pins.

MANUFACTURE AND TYPICAL USE OF THE LION PINS

Once the notion that these objects participated in local costuming practices is dispensed with, it is possible to approach an understanding of the function of lion pins as crafted objects found in a temple. While the lion pins share numerous material attributes—they are all bronze recumbent leonine figures with snarling mouths, protruding tongues, and tails that wrap down and around the flank with the tip projecting above the back, cast onto a tapering iron shaft—there are significant variations in this corpus. Most of the lion pins are too damaged and corroded for their original dimensions to be recovered, but the lengths of the extant bronze lion figurines range from 2.6 to 12.0 cm. Of the eighty-eight excavated examples, thirty-three feature an attached chain, which may have served as a fastener (fig. 12.2a). The vastly different states of preservation and conservation among these objects precludes formal typological categorization, but in broad strokes their molded surface articulation takes the form of beading or horizontal hatch marks, and more rarely a combination of both decorative techniques (fig. 12.2). In some instances, cleaning has revealed geometric decoration incised onto the surface of the lions. Through direct examination of the examples in the collections of the Penn Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and of photographs of the remainder of the corpus of eighty-eight excavated examples, I have concluded that the lion pins were crafted individually rather than in sets or mass produced.

Evidence of the use and reuse of stone molds for mass production of metal goods at Hasanlu⁴² indicates that the individualized production of each lion pin should be viewed as a meaningful choice rather than an artisanal default. In addition, some effort seems to have been made to vary not just the size and decorative techniques for these objects but also the surface color. Metallurgical analysis of the alloys from which a number of lion pins (and other metal objects at the site) were made has shown that artisans intentionally manipulated the proportion of antimony in the alloy to create a range of hues and surface qualities that mimicked the appearance and sheen of silver and gold.⁴³ The series of choices made in the production of these lion pins did not serve to simplify or reduce the labor for this class of artifacts but to produce singular objects carefully and individually.

An Urartian bronze figurine in the History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan may provide an explanation for the painstaking manufacture of the lion pins and for their intended use (fig. 12.13). This small statuette is purported to have been found in the Darabey fortress, near the city of Van, and dates to between the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.⁴⁴ In art historical terms, it participates in the Urartian artistic tradition that Paul Zimansky has termed the “Urartian State Assemblage,” a state-sponsored koine that served as the material and visual correlate for the political power of this archipelagic polity.⁴⁵ While Hasanlu fell decades before this tradition flourished, the Urartian State Assemblage incorporates numerous aspects of the material culture of northwestern Iran as a result of the longstanding, bilateral cultural ties between



Figure 12.13. Figurine, seventh century BCE. History Museum of Armenia, Yerevan 1242. Photo courtesy of Yerevan Museum.

⁴² Danti 2011.

⁴³ Fleming, Nash, and Swann 2011.

⁴⁴ Piotrovskii 1967, 52; Aruz, Graff, and Rakic 2014, 87. I thank Karen Robinson for bringing this object to my attention when it was featured in the Metropolitan Museum’s *Assyria to Iberia* exhibition in New York City in 2014. This figurine, with an extensive bibliography, is published in that exhibition’s catalog (Aruz, Graff, and Rakic 2014, 87, no. 27) as coming from the Darabey fortress near the city of Van. However, it was in fact acquired by the History Museum of Armenia in Yerevan (no. 1242) from a G. Aramyanets in 1936 and had been on the antiquities market in Van as early as 1916 (Piotrovskii 1967, 52).

⁴⁵ Zimansky 1995.

the South Caucasus, where the kingdom of Urartu established its capitals in the ninth century BCE, and the region encompassing Hasanlu.⁴⁶ For example, elaborately decorated and oversized forked standards wrought of bronze marked important monumental spaces on Hasanlu's citadel, and such forked standards appear a century later as artifacts in Urartian royal fortresses and incorporated into Urartian royal iconography.⁴⁷ It is therefore reasonable to infer that this figurine can inform our understanding of cultural practices at Hasanlu.

The small figurine represents a seated, sumptuously dressed young woman holding her right hand open and aloft and her left hand up in a fist. A clear parallel for this figure is found on an Urartian royal medallion in gold from Toprakkale that depicts a



Figure 12.14. Medallion (gold), about seventh century BCE. Toprakkale, Berlin. Photo from ArtResource.

female figure approaching a seated goddess or her cult statue, a distinction that doubtless means more to contemporary scholars than to an ancient audience (fig. 12.14).⁴⁸ Like the goddess on the medallion from Toprakkale, the figurine likely held a branch or blossom in her lower hand, and her layered gown and fringed mantel are similarly decorated with rectangular plaques, representing appliquéés. In addition, the figurine is adorned with a decorated belt wrapping around her waist, multiple bracelets encircling each wrist, and a lavish necklace of four rows of beads or chain. Three long strands of beads or chain hang from the lowest row and fall to her lap. Between her breasts is an object that features a small recumbent lion above a disk, which in turn rests on the short end of a long triangular object. This object has been referred to variously as a “pendant in the form of a miniature dagger topped by a tiny figure of a recumbent lion”⁴⁹ and a “swordlike ornament,”⁵⁰ but in 1966, Maurits van Loon, one of the primary excavators of Hasanlu in the early years, identified it as a “lion pin” and noted that its placement, form, and proportions link this leonine ornament to those found at Hasanlu.⁵¹ On the basis of this ornament, this figurine

⁴⁶ Cifarelli 2019.

⁴⁷ See van Loon 1966, 83; Makkay 1983, pl. 9:6–8; Kroll 2009, 2010; Baştürk 2011.

⁴⁸ Akurgal 1961, fig. 16.

⁴⁹ Piotrovskii 1967, 51.

⁵⁰ Aruz, Graff, and Rakic 2014, 87.

⁵¹ van Loon 1966, 127.

has been identified as Arubaini, the consort of the Urartian chief deity Haldi, whose iconography features lions.⁵²

I propose that the nature and purpose of the Hasanlu lion pins can be found at the intersection of the imagery of a cult statue wearing the equivalent of a lion pin and the concentration of lion pins in the temple context. While I am not suggesting that a goddess from the Urartian pantheon was worshipped at Hasanlu, I believe that this figurine may show us how the lion pins were normally used at Hasanlu—as part of the dress of a cult statue in BBII. This explanation is clearly speculative but is the first to account for the concentration of the lion pins in BBII. Indeed, one of the excavated lion pins bears the impression of wood on its iron shaft, perhaps suggesting that it was wrested from a wooden statue in the midst of the destruction and looting of the site.⁵³ If integrated into the cult statue of a goddess whose divine attributes include the lion, the identity to which these objects contribute and with which they are associated is divine and communal, not human and social.

It has been well established that the materials, dress, and adornment of cult statues in ancient West Asia participated in the transformation of a man-made thing into an animated celestial presence capable of acting and interacting.⁵⁴ Sacralized cult statues were agentive in their own right. This sacralization could be enacted through rituals, such as the *mīs pî* or opening/washing of the mouth ceremony.⁵⁵ But Kim Benzel has also demonstrated that in ancient West Asia, materials—including gold and silver—possess visual, physical, and affective properties understood to be inherently divine and therefore agentive.⁵⁶

Viewed through this lens, the lion pins are not simply sacred accessories but agents of transformation and potentially inalienable fragments of divinity. While not made of gold or silver, their crafting through sophisticated, pseudoalchemical processes that produced colors and surfaces more akin to gold and silver than bronze may have rendered their aesthetic impression and affective impact on viewers indistinguishable from objects made of precious materials. Their laborious manufacture as singular objects, each wholly unique, points to the ritualization and significance of their creation. Perhaps each lion pin was crafted for a particular instance of the animation of the deity and then retired in the temple's columned hall.

We know very little about cult practices at Hasanlu or the extent to which the residents of Hasanlu who found themselves trapped in BBII on that grim day were familiar with the space in which the bulk of these lion pins were found. Based on analogies to well-documented West Asian societies, it seems unlikely that columned-hall space in BBII was accessible to the general population but instead was the abode of the deity, frequented

52 Piotrovskii (1967, 51) qualified his identification of the figure as Arubaini as a “guess,” but his surmise has been codified over the years into a less equivocal identification.

53 HAS60-0018 (UPM61-5-322) was found outside BBII in X28, the gate area on the western side of the lower court.

54 See Dick 2005; Hurowitz 2006; Winter 2007; Hundley 2013; Benzel 2015; Pongratz-Leisten and Sonik 2015; Neumann 2017.

55 Walker and Dick 2001; Hundley 2013, 263–67.

56 See Benzel 2015.

primarily by her or his caretakers.⁵⁷ The broad age distribution of those who died in BBII—from infants to the very elderly—suggests that these people were not temple personnel charged with the care and feeding of the deity but a cross section of the residents of Hasanlu. While the sacred space may have been familiar to some, it was likely forbidden to others. Everyday residents of Hasanlu, however, would have been acquainted with the cult statue of the goddess and her accoutrements through the kinds of festivals and processions that are well attested in ancient West Asia.⁵⁸

How were the lion pins perceived by residents of Hasanlu? How do man-made sacred objects and works of art appear to, and possibly exert agency over, believers? In the eighteenth century, German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten first used the term “aesthetics” to describe the ways in which perceptions emerge from an entanglement of sensory inputs and knowledge.⁵⁹ Nearly three centuries later, scholars in a wide range of fields investigate the same nexus of sensory, emotional, and cognitive aspects to our understanding of the perceptual processes involved in the creation and reception of aesthetic objects. Their work demonstrates that our sensory and social experiences in the world, including visual and aesthetic perceptions, are mediated through multisensory mental imagery⁶⁰ or representations.⁶¹ This mental imagery, according to cognitive psychologist Donald Hoffman, is produced as our brains dynamically process sensory inputs through a network of memories, associations, and emotions. Natural selection has favored perceptual processes that yield an image that is useful, while not objectively “real” or accurate.⁶² In her study of the neural processes involved in aesthetic experiences, Gabrielle Starr has shown that we process outside stimuli, internal imagery, punishments and rewards, and emotions in an integrated brain center called the “default mode network (an interconnected set of brain areas that contributes to our sense of self-identity . . .).”⁶³ In this brain area, perceptions of sensory data become linked to self-awareness, theory of mind (the ability to attribute mental states to oneself and others), and social awareness. The ancient perception of objects is therefore an “historically and culturally embedded, humanly embodied, imaginatively structured event, the meaning of which is always tied to a particular community.”⁶⁴ For residents of Hasanlu, the aesthetic impact of the lion pins is inextricable from an awareness of their awe-inspiring divinity and their transformative, supernatural role in the temple.

Moreover, within the Hasanlu community, in the temple in which they participated in the presencing of the deity, these lion pins, gleaming in shades of bronze, silver, and gold, possessed the quality that Alfred Gell referred to as the “technology of enchantment and the enchantment of technology.” Created through processes beyond the ken of most, such

57 The literature on ancient Near Eastern cultic practices is enormous, and of course such practices diverged broadly across time and geography. For the most part, however, the buildings characterized as temples were the homes of deities and temple staff, which could include members of the priesthood. For general discussions, see Snell 2010; Schneider 2011; Hundley 2013.

58 Bidmead 2004; Winter 2007; Snell 2010, 43; Fleming 2015.

59 See Seeley 2006, 195.

60 Starr 2013; Malafouris 2010.

61 Pongratz-Leisten and Sonik 2015, 35–42.

62 Hoffman 2016.

63 Starr 2013, 35.

64 Pongratz-Leisten and Sonik 2015, 41.

magical objects participate in a “network of intentionalities” essential to the construction of social identity and social cohesion.⁶⁵ Simply put, through what Pierre Bourdieu termed “scheme transfers,” an understanding of the artisan’s skill is elided with, and ultimately effaced by, the power and agency of the temple and the deity herself, reinforcing for viewers the “desirability of the social order” in which they encounter this enchantment.⁶⁶ The agency attributed to the deity is thus distributed to the lion pins.⁶⁷ The indexical relationship between the lion pins as manufactured items, material attributes of a cult statue, and partible fragments of the divinity of the goddess herself is protracted and recursive, but it seems entirely reasonable to me that residents of Hasanlu would associate the affective and aesthetic properties of the lion pins with agency distributed from divine power. On any day when a lion pin could be seen, the matrix of knowledge and collective experience of lion pins on dressed cult statues during festivals and rituals would ensure that the identity to which they contribute is not only divine but also communal.

CATASTROPHIC DEPOSITION

But it is essential to note that the archaeological record of the Hasanlu citadel does not by any means reflect an ordinary day. The deposition of more than sixty bodies of children and adults in a crushed, burned temple manifests an extraordinary catastrophic moment, and it is impossible to consider the distribution of lion pins in the temple without considering how the residents of Hasanlu might have experienced the events of that day. We are cautioned against attempts to empathize naively with the emotions of ancient others “because of the great and unknown differences between past experiences and our own.”⁶⁸ However, while we acknowledge that the ways emotions are experienced and expressed are unquestionably culturally mediated,⁶⁹ we can again turn to neuroscience for an understanding of the essence of their biological underpinnings. Contemporary neuroscience has identified emotions broadly as a functional “relevance” detection system that is experienced neurologically along two axes—pleasant to unpleasant, arousing (eliciting a physical response) to lulling.⁷⁰ We do the past a disservice when we fail to consider the impact of emotion on embodied experience, for according to Chris Gosden, “At the heart of our emotional life lies material culture and the sensory appreciation of objects echoes in its complexity our emotional responses to the world.”⁷¹

65 Gell 1992, 41.

66 Gell 1992, 44; Bourdieu 1977.

67 Winter 2007, 133–35.

68 Tarlow 2000, 724. Terms such as “empathy” and “emotion” are resistant to definition, particularly with respect to their application to archaeology; see thoughtful discussions and extensive bibliography in Tarlow 2000; Gosden 2004. A recent volume (Kipfer 2017) features essays investigating methodologies for the expression and detection of emotions in the art and texts of the ancient Near East. For an exploration of the archaeology of grief in particular, see Cannon and Cook 2015.

69 See Tarlow 2000; Mesquita 2007; Sonik 2017. Sonik (2017, 223–29) in particular provides a thought-provoking discussion of the value of persisting with the study of ancient emotions despite the challenges presented by the passage of millennia.

70 See Fox et al. 2018; Starr 2013, 119–22.

71 Gosden 2004, 38.

A number of aspects of the experiences of those in the BBII context must remain unknown. We cannot know, for example, whether the noncombatants in BBII went there to seek safety or were coerced. But it is not, I believe, presuming too much to interpret the experience of those who died in BBII as intensely emotional. For many, their home was under attack, their city was burning, and they were certainly trapped in the temple with enemy combatants who were systematically slaughtering them. There were no adults near the infants and young children arranged around the central pillar—most adults were between the pillar and the entrance to the room and the northeastern corner, strongly suggesting that the children had already died and there was no need to protect them as the adults tried to flee from the collapsing building.⁷² It is reasonable to surmise that they were experiencing heightened, unpleasant emotions, and it seems reasonable to consider this intensely affective, alienating transformation of a sacred environment in the analysis of the behavior that resulted in the distribution of lion pins among the bodies.

I wonder whether, at this horrifying moment, in a space that elicited memories of divine power, the residents of Hasanlu attempted to leverage the potent agency of these



Figure 12.15. Plan of the BBII citadel showing the dense cluster of lion pins overlapping the cluster of children.

⁷² We must even consider the intriguing and unsettling possibility that the children whose bodies surrounded the central pillar were, intentionally, ritually sacrificed in a last-ditch attempt to assuage the divinity.

fragments of divinity for their own protection. Perhaps the association of these objects to the presencing of the divine and the memories of the transformation of man-made objects into animated divinity were so powerful that in the midst of this cataclysm the residents of Hasanlu sought to borrow—for themselves and their children—the magical efficacy, agency, and divine identity inherent to the lion pins. This explanation might help account for the clustering of these objects within BBII. If we remove the fallen adults from the floor plan of BBII, it is clear that the densest cluster of lion pins overlaps the infants and toddlers arranged around the central column in Room 5 (fig. 12.15). And perhaps not coincidentally, the only cluster of lion pins found outside BBII is also associated with infant remains. These overlapping clusters of lion pins and babies are puzzling—one does not generally equip infants and toddlers with sharp, heavy objects, and they certainly were not wearing them as dress items. But once we relinquish the notion that the lion pins are dress items that relate to issues of social identity encountered in daily life, and recognize them as constituent elements of the divinity essential to communal well-being, we can speculate that these lion pins were preferentially placed on the bodies of the most vulnerable residents of Hasanlu to solicit the presence and care of the deity in a moment of utmost catastrophe.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study is not to sensationalize a grisly context but to acknowledge and honor the fact that the archaeological record of the destruction of Hasanlu provides evidence of actual events that happened to real human beings. Previous interpretations of these objects, perhaps unwittingly predicated on the excavators' adoption of the term "lion pin," overlooked their clear and meaningful association with a temple in the throes of a horrific destruction and analyzed them as dress items in daily use by an elite group. Treating these objects as components of costume in effect naturalized their association with bodies in the temple and allowed for the crafting of rational and compelling arguments regarding their role in identity construction at the site. With the stripping away of decades of false premises and assumptions, it is clear that the circumstances responsible for this pattern were far from natural. Investigating the nature of the lion pins as singular material objects allows for the exploration of their affective potential as powerful fragments of the divine. By recognizing what we share across the millennia—our complexity as intersubjective subjects enmeshed in complex social and material networks—we can consider the embodied experiences of those who died in BBII on that terrible day through a more empathetic lens and acknowledge the complexity of the entanglements among humans, things, and identities.

ABBREVIATIONS

BBII	Burned Building II
BBIV/V	Burned Building IV/V
HAS	Hasanlu (excavation registration number)
ISAC	Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (University of Chicago)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akurgal, Ekrem

- 1961 *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Arnold, Bettina, and Robert J. Jeske

- 2014 "The Archaeology of Death: Mortuary Archaeology in the United States and Europe 1990–2013." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43, no. 1: 325–46.

Aruz, Joan, Sarah Graff, and Yelena Rakic, eds.

- 2014 *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Baştürk, Mahmut Bilge

- 2011 "Thoughts on the Trident Motif on Some Urartian Seal Impressions." *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 48: 164–76.

Baumbach, Jens David

- 2004 *The Significance of Votive Offerings in Selected Hera Sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia, and Western Greece*. BAR International Series 1249. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Benzel, Kim

- 2015 "'What Goes In Is What Comes Out'—but What Was Already There? Divine Materials and Materiality in Ancient Mesopotamia." In *The Materiality of Divine Agency*, edited by Beate Pongratz-Leisten and Karen Sonik. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Bidmead, Julye

- 2004 *The Akitu Festival: Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimization in Mesopotamia*. Piscataway: Gorgias.

Bourdieu, Pierre

- 1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cannon, Aubrey, and Katherine Cook

- 2015 "Infant Death and the Archaeology of Grief." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 25: 399–419.

Castor, Alexis Q.

- 2010 "An Early Hellenistic Jewelry Hoard from Poggio Colla." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55: 245–62.

Cifarelli, Megan

- 2016 "Masculinities and Militarization at Hasanlu, Iran: A View from the Burials." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 79, no. 1: 196–204.
- 2017a "Archaeological Evidence for Small Scale Crisis: Hasanlu between Destructions." In *From Crisis to Collapse: Archaeology and the Breakdown of Social Order*, edited by Timothy Cunningham and Jan Driessen, 205–31. Louvain la Neuve: UCL Presses.
- 2017b "Costly Choices: Signaling Theory and Dress in Period IVb Hasanlu, Iran." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 101–19. Special Studies in Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- 2018a "Entangled Relations over Geographical and Gendered Space: Multi-Component Personal Ornaments at Hasanlu." In *Exhibiting an Imaginative Materiality, Showing a Genealogical Nature: The Composite Artefacts in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Silvana Di Paolo, 51–61. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- 2018b "Gender, Personal Adornment, and Costly Signaling in the Iron Age Burials of Hasanlu, Iran." In *Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Agnès Garcia Ventura and Saana Svärd, 77–112. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

- 2019 "Hasanlu, the Southern Caucasus, and Early Urartu." In *Over the Mountains and Far Away: Studies in Near Eastern History and Archaeology Presented to Mirjo Salvini on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, edited by Pavel Avetisyan, Roberto Dan, and Yervand Grekryan, 144–56. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Çilingiroğlu, Altan
 2011 "Urartian Religion." In *Urartu: Transformation in the East*, edited by Kemalettin Köroğlu and Erkan Konyar, 166–79. Istanbul: YapıKredi.
- Danti, Michael D.
 2011 "The 'Artisan's House' of Hasanlu Tepe, Iran." *Iran* 49: 11–54.
 2013a *Hasanlu V: The Late Bronze and Iron I Periods*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
 2013b "The Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in Northwestern Iran." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, edited by Daniel T. Potts, 327–76. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 2014 "The Hasanlu (Iran) Gold Bowl in Context: All That Glitters. . . ." *Antiquity* 88, no. 379: 791–804.
- Danti, Michael D., and Megan Cifarelli
 2015 "Iron II Warrior Burials at Hasanlu, Iran." *Iranica Antiqua* 50: 61–157.
- de Schauensee, Maude
 1988 "Northwest Iran as a Bronzeworking Centre: The View from Hasanlu." In *Bronze-Working Centres of Western Central Asia c. 1000–539 BC*, edited by John Curtis, 45–56. London: Kegan Paul.
 2011a "Contexts of Textiles from the Hasanlu IVB Destruction Level." In *People and Crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu, Iran*, edited by Maude de Schauensee, 57–86. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
 2011b "Furniture Remains and Furniture Ornaments from the Period IVB Buildings at Hasanlu." In *People and Crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu, Iran*, edited by Maude de Schauensee, 1–42. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Dick, Michael
 2005 "The Mesopotamian Cult Statue: A Sacramental Encounter with Divinity." In *Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Neal Walls, 63–87. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Dyson, Robert H.
 1989 "The Iron Age Architecture of Hasanlu: An Essay." *Expedition* 31: 107–28.
- Dyson, Robert H., and Oscar White Muscarella
 1989 "Constructing the Chronology and Historical Implications of Hasanlu IV." *Iran* 27: 1–27.
- Fleming, Daniel E.
 2015 "Seeing and Socializing with Dagan at Emar's Zukru Festival." In *The Materiality of Divine Agency*, edited by Beate Pongratz-Leisten and Karen Sonik, 410–37. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Fleming, Stuart J., Samuel K. Nash, and Charles P. Swann
 2011 "The Archaeometallurgy of Period IVB Bronzes at Hasanlu." In *People and Crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu, Iran*, edited by Maude de Schauensee, 103–34. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Fox, Andrew S., Regina C. Lapate, Richard J. Davidson, and Alexander J. Shackman
 2018 "Epilogue—The Nature of Emotion: A Research Agenda for the 21st Century." In *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*, edited by Andrew S. Fox, Regina C. Lapate, Richard J. Davidson, and Alexander J. Shackman. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gell, Alfred
 1992 "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology." In *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics*, edited by Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton, 40–63. Oxford: Clarendon.

Gosden, Chris

- 2004 "Aesthetics, Intelligence and Emotions: Implications for Archaeology." In *Rethinking Materiality: The Engagement of Mind with the Material World*, 33–40. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Hakemi, Ali, and Mahmud Rad

- 1950 "Sharḥ va Natīje-Ye Kāvoshhā-Ye 'elmi-Ye Ḥasanlū, Soldūz [The Description and Results of the Scientific Excavations of Hasanlu, Solduz]." *Gozareshha-Ye Bāstān-Shenasi 1329* 1: 1–103.

Hoffman, Donald D.

- 2016 "The Interface Theory of Perception." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 25, no. 3: 157–61.

Hundley, Michael B.

- 2013 *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East*. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Hurowitz, Victor

- 2006 "What Goes In Is What Comes Out: Materials for Creating Cult Statues." In *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, edited by Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, 3–25. Providence: Brown Judaic Studies.

Kipfer, Sara, ed.

- 2017 *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 285. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Klein, Harald

- 1983 "Tudittum." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 73: 255–84.

Kroll, Stephan

- 2009 "Ein Kultgerät aus Hasanlu/Iran." In *Alpen, Kult und Eisenzeit: Festschrift für Amei Lang*, edited by Jennifer Bagley, Christiana Eggl, Daniel Neumann, and Michael Schefzik, 517–24. Rahden-Westfalia: Leidorf.
- 2010 "Urartu and Hasanlu." In *Urartu and Its Neighbors: Festschrift in Honor of Nicolay Harutyunyan on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday*, edited by Aram Kosyan, Armen Petrosyan, and Yervand Grekyan, 21–35. Yerevan: Association for Near Eastern and Caucasian Studies.

Magee, Peter

- 2003 "Deconstructing the Destruction of Hasanlu: Archaeology, Imperialism and the Chronology of the Iranian Iron Age." *Iranica Antiqua* 43: 89–106.

Makkay, Janos

- 1983 "Metal Forks as Symbols of Power and Religion." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35: 315–44.

Malafouris, Lambros

- 2010 "The Brain-Artifact Interface (BAI): A Challenge for Archaeology and Cultural Neuroscience." *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 5, nos. 2–3: 264–73.

Marcus, Michelle I.

- 1991 "The Mosaic Glass Vessels from Hasanlu, Iran: A Study in Large-Scale Stylistic Trait Distribution." *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 4: 536–60.
- 1993 "Incorporating the Body: Adornment, Gender, and Social Identity in Ancient Iran." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3, no. 2: 157–78.
- 1994 "Dressed to Kill: Women and Pins in Early Iran." *Oxford Art Journal* 17, no. 2: 3–15.
- 1995 "Art and Ideology in Ancient Western Asia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M. Sasson, John Baines, Gary Beckman, and Karen S. Robinson, 4:2487–505. New York: Scribner's Sons.

382 MEGAN CIFARELLI

- 1996a *Emblems of Identity and Prestige: The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu, Iran: Commentary and Catalog*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- 1996b "Sex and the Politics of Female Adornment in Pre-Achaemenid Iran." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by Nathalie Kampen, 41–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McFerrin, Neville
- 2017 "Fabrics of Inclusion: Deep Wearing and the Potentials of Materiality on the Apadana Reliefs." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 143–59. Special Studies in Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Medvedskaya, Inna N.
- 1988 "Who Destroyed Hasanlu IV?" *Iran* 26: 1–15.
- 1991 "More on the Destruction of Hasanlu IV: Problems of Dating." *Iranica Antiqua* 26: 149–61.
- Mesquita, Batja
- 2007 "Emotions Are Culturally Situated." *Social Science Information* 46: 410–15.
- Muscarella, Oscar W.
- 1980 *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran*. University Museum Monograph 40. Hasanlu Special Studies 2. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- 1988 *Bronze and Iron*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- 1989 "Warfare at Hasanlu in the Late 9th Century B.C." *Expedition* 31, nos. 2–3: 24–36.
- 2004 "The Hasanlu Lion Pins Again." In *A View from the Highlands: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Charles Burney*, edited by Antonio Sagona, 693–710. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 12. Leiden: Brill.
- 2006 "The Excavations of Hasanlu: An Archaeological Evaluation." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 342: 69–94.
- Neumann, Kiersten
- 2017 "Gods among Men: Fashioning the Divine in Assyria." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 3–24. Special Studies in Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Osborne, Robin
- 2004 "Hoards, Votives, Offerings: The Archaeology of the Dedicated Object." *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1: 1–10.
- Owen, David I.
- 2013 "Treasures of the Sacristy." *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 107: 29–42.
- Pigott, Vincent
- 1989 "The Emergence of Iron at Hasanlu." *Expedition* 31, nos. 2–3: 67–79.
- Piotrovskii, Boris
- 1967 *Urartu: The Kingdom of Van and Its Art*. New York: Praeger.
- Pongratz-Leisten, Beate, and Karen Sonik
- 2015 "Between Cognition and Culture: Theorizing Materiality of Divine Agency in Cross-Cultural Perspective." In *The Materiality of Divine Agency*, edited by Beate Pongratz-Leisten and Karen Sonik, 3–69. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, and Joanne Eicher
- 1992 "Dress and Identity." *Clothing and Textile Research Journal* 10: 1–8.

Roßberger, Elisa

- 2015 *Schmuck für Lebende und Tote: Form und Funktion des Schmuckinventars der Königsgruft von Qatna in seinem soziokulturellen Umfeld*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2016 "Dedicated Objects and Memory Construction at the Ištar-Kititum Temple at Iščāli." In *Proceedings of the 9th ICAANE Basel 2014*, edited by Rolf E. Stucky, Oskar Kaelin, and Hans-Peter Mathys, 1:419–30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schneider, Tammi J.

- 2011 *An Introduction to Ancient Mesopotamian Religion*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Seeley, William P.

- 2006 "Naturalizing Aesthetics: Art and the Cognitive Neuroscience of Vision." *Journal of Visual Arts Practice* 5, no. 3: 195–214.

Snell, Daniel C.

- 2010 *Religions of the Ancient Near East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sonik, Karen

- 2017 "Emotion and the Ancient Arts: Visualizing, Materializing, and Producing States of Being." In *Visualizing Emotions in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Sara Kipfer, 219–61.

Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig

- 2007 "Gender, Things and Material Culture." In *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, edited by Sarah Milledge Nelson, 75–107. Lanham: AltaMira.

Starr, G. Gabrielle

- 2013 *Feeling Beauty: The Neuroscience of Aesthetic Experience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Stein, Aurel, and Fred Andrews

- 1940 *Old Routes of Western Iran*. London: Macmillan.

Tarlow, Sarah

- 2000 "Emotion in Archaeology." *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 5: 713–36.

van Loon, Maurits Nanning

- 1966 *Urtarian Art: Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.

Walker, Christopher B. F., and Michael Dick

- 2001 *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Miš Pi Ritual*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus.

Winter, Irene J.

- 2007 "Agency Marked, Agency Ascribed: The Affective Object in Mesopotamia." In *Art's Agency and Art History*, edited by Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner, 68–100. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Zimansky, Paul

- 1995 "Urtarian Material Culture as State Assemblage: An Anomaly in the Archaeology of Empire." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 299/300: 103–15.

13

The Color of Cloth as a Transformative Marker of Identity in Ancient Egyptian Temple Rituals

Katarzyna Kapiec
Polish Academy of Sciences

THE SYMBOLISM OF colors was formed by the official ancient Egyptian religion. It included both the royal mortuary cults and worship of the gods and is even noticeable in the paint layer of hieroglyphic texts. Influenced by the official religion, color symbolism was respected in private funeral beliefs as well. Colors played a significant role in the arrangement of clothing. As temple and tomb decoration shows, the clothes of ancient Egyptians varied from simple white ones (made of natural linen) to sophisticatedly colored ones. The latter are especially well attested in royal clothing and insignia. The basic palette of linen colors associated with their symbolism consists of white, green, blue, red, and yellow.¹ Colored linen was also used in temple rituals, concentrated on the act of dressing the statue of a god or the deceased king (in mortuary temples) or offering particular kinds of linen to the gods. By receiving and/or wearing a variety of textiles, different qualities were acquired that created the identity essential to the subsequent steps of the ritual.

This study focuses on the colored textiles attested in the rituals taking place in temples. It aims to capture the transformative marker of identity of each colored cloth applied during these ceremonies (by receiving or wearing it). This approach corresponds to the subject of this volume by focusing on the identity acquired through attire. Both textual sources (ritual texts, inscriptions accompanying the scenes) and iconographic sources (temple scenes) are here investigated.

In terms of chronology, the study is limited by the available data, depending on the period. In the Old Kingdom (c. 2686–2160 BCE),² the main sources are the Pyramid Texts and scattered information from the funerary temples of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty in Abusir. In the Middle Kingdom (c. 2055–1650 BCE), the Coffin Texts constitute the main

1 As demonstrated in the course of this chapter, the established set of four colored cloths consisted of white/bright, green, red, and purple/bluish red. The symbolism of yellow (referred to as “gold” in Wilkinson 1994, 108) and blue (referred to as “lapis-lazuli” and “turquoise” in Aufrère 1991, 463–517) is used in the construction of royal insignia such as the *nms*-headcloth, *nh3h3*-flail, *hsbd*- and *mfk3t*-scepters, and *hd*-mace. (The color symbolism of some of these items is discussed in Goebs 2011, 75–77, 79, 82; on the *nms*, see Goebs 1995, 167–68). On the theory of basic color terms, see Berlin and Kay 1969; for its utilization in Egyptology and discussion of it, see Baines 1985; 2001, 145, 155 n. 1. However, it is worth noting that the basic color terminology of ancient Egypt (black, white, red, and green; Schenkel 1963, 143–44; Baines 1985, 284) differs slightly from the colors of linen discussed here.

2 Throughout this chapter, the chronology cited follows Shaw 2000.

source of information about color and colored-textile symbolism, as no data are preserved from the temple context. The New Kingdom (c. 1550–1069 BCE) offers more abundant and assorted sources of information, including temple decoration (e.g., in Karnak, the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, and the temple of Seti I in Abydos), papyri with ritual liturgies, and funerary texts such as the Book of the Dead. After the New Kingdom the sources are again narrowed—there are no preserved temples from the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1069–664 BCE). However, one of the best-preserved sources of the liturgy used in the daily temple ritual comes from the Twenty-Second Dynasty (c. 945–715 BCE).³ There are no data from the Late Period (664–332 BCE) pertinent to the present study, although there is information regarding some of the linen discussed in this chapter—for instance, *jdmj* (see below). Ultimately, Greco-Roman (332 BCE–395 CE) temples, such as the temple of Horus in Edfu and the temple of Hathor in Dendera, constitute valuable sources for the rendering of old Egyptian traditions during that period.

In terms of specific temple rituals, the daily temple ritual is the main focus here. Nevertheless, various festivals held in temples and funerary rituals—for instance, the ritual of the renewal of power for the New Year and the opening of the mouth ritual—required that the celebrant be anointed and clothed at the beginning stage to be able to proceed further. Pieces of colored linen were also involved in the ritual of consecrating the *mr.t*-chests, as, according to the Greco-Roman sources, the linens were inside these chests.⁴ Therefore, all such rituals are also included in the scope of this chapter to capture the complex aspects of the linen in question.

The interest of researchers in colored fabrics and the proposed interpretations of color symbolism referred to below and analyzed in the context of the temple ritual inspired the advanced studies presented here. Further analysis of the symbolism related to the colors of linen allows us to understand more clearly the meaning of the particular stages of rituals.

THE PLACE OF LINEN IN TEMPLE RITUALS

Dressing the god's statue takes place in the beginning stage of the daily temple ritual.⁵ It is performed after the purification and followed by the anointing, the application of eye paint (sometimes in addition to the donning of regalia and necklaces), and the final censuring.⁶ All these stages serve as preparation for the offering ritual, also known as the “ritual of Amen-hotep I” or “ritual of ancestors.”⁷ Qualities attained by receiving all these essential products enabled the creation of a special identity that was required for the following steps—the god, having been purified, dressed, anointed, and adorned with paraphernalia, was now ready to receive the crux of the whole ritual—the offering. The contribution of colored linen resulted in the god's acquisition of particular features, thereby unifying these elements into a single identity. Significantly, that these steps of the temple ritual (purification,

3 P. Berlin 3014, 3053, and 3055, known as “liturgies for Amun and Mut” or the “Karnak liturgy”; Moret 1902. See also Braun 2013.

4 Egberts 1995, 181–89.

5 Moret 1902, 179–90; Osing 1999; Braun 2013, 163–71; David 2016, 126–68.

6 Vymazalová and Coppens 2009, 65; Goebis 2011, 62; David 2016, 131–32.

7 Tacke 2013.

dressing, anointing) were always carried out at the beginning of the ceremony, regardless of the kind of ritual being performed, means that such preparation was required in any ceremony before proceeding to further steps.

The existence of linen, including colored textiles, in the rituals performed in temples is attested since the Old Kingdom. Chests depicted in the decoration of the pyramid temple of Sahura (c. 2487–2475 BCE, Fifth Dynasty) in Abusir are labeled as containing green (*w3d.t*) and red (*jdmy*) linen. Unfortunately, the layout of the scene cannot be reconstructed with certainty because of the small number of preserved blocks.⁸ These fragments were found together with blocks representing the offering procession to the treasury (*pr-ḥd*).⁹

Furthermore, rituals involving the presentation of linen to cult statues in the Old Kingdom were studied by Hana Vymazalová and Filip Coppens. They concluded that the practice of performing the ritual appears to have remained consistent throughout all periods up to Greco-Roman times, with possible differences in the frequency and subject of the ritual.¹⁰ Their study focused on two papyrus archives from the temple complexes of two other kings of the Fifth Dynasty: Neferirkara I (c. 2475–2455 BCE) and Raneferef (c. 2448–2445 BCE). The first archive concerns activities performed at the mortuary temple related to the deceased king, while the second one provides information about the supplies for the monument. Although the information found in the archives of Neferirkara I is relatively concise, it enumerates steps corresponding to the stages of rituals described in the New Kingdom sources (regarding both divine and mortuary temples).¹¹ Significantly, the archives fail to provide any information about the daily ritual concerning deities—the priest's clothing the divine statues is attested there only on festival days.¹² On the other hand, this Old Kingdom source attests the daily offering for the deceased king, performed twice—in the morning and in the evening. However, it must be noted that these sources come from the funerary temples of kings. The ritual routine in divine temples may have been different. Unfortunately, there are thus far no sources that would shed more light on this aspect.

In the Old Kingdom, dyeing textiles was rather uncommon; only a few times are textiles depicted as red or green in tomb decoration.¹³ Thus there is a question as to why these textiles were described according to their color. The answer might only have to do with deeply rooted religious symbolism, with no real foundation in the physical objects. Yet it has been suggested that the names of colors were applied to reflect the natural shades of linen, which can oscillate from light brownish/reddish to greenish/bluish/grayish, depending on the quality of the fabric and its treatment during the processing of fibers.¹⁴

8 Borchardt 1913, pls. 61–63.

9 Borchardt 1913, 67, 125–26, pl. 60.

10 Vymazalová and Coppens 2009, 71; 2011, 785–87; Coppens 2016, 29–31.

11 Posener-Kriéger 1976, 52–57; Vymazalová and Coppens 2009, 67.

12 Vymazalová and Coppens 2009, 67; 2011, 787.

13 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 431; on the techniques and difficulties in dyeing the textiles, see Germer 1992, 5–96; van Rooij and Vogelsang-Eastwood 1994, 20–22. The description of dyeing the cloths is attested only in the temple of Dendera (Dend. IV, 109/10–11).

14 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 431.

There is no explicit textual or iconographic evidence of the course of the rituals performed in Middle Kingdom temples, where colored textiles would be listed or depicted. Nevertheless, colored linen was in use in that period, as it has been attested in the funerary domain. For instance, *jdmj*-linen (see below) is the most frequently enumerated fabric in the so-called “friezes of objects” in Middle Kingdom coffins.¹⁵ Moreover, the symbolism of colored textiles was transmitted in the Coffin Texts.

In the New Kingdom, scenes depicting the offering of specific linens are rarely attested in temples in general. Usually linen is treated collectively (as *mnḥ.t*)¹⁶—the colors are not listed specifically. Thus, in Karnak almost all references to dyed textiles are dated to the Greco-Roman period.¹⁷ A unique depiction is found in the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (c. 1473–1458 BCE, Eighteenth Dynasty), where several chests containing linen are arranged in a manner resembling a frieze of objects (fig. 13.1).¹⁸ In the same room there is also an antithetical scene representing Hatshepsut and Thutmose III offering *mnḥ.t* and most probably *jdmj*-linen to Amun-Ra (fig. 13.2).¹⁹ Although neither the depiction of chests nor the offering scene features any specific ritual, they indicate that these items were used in several rituals performed in this temple context, including the daily temple ritual.²⁰

The episodes of the daily temple ritual involving the offering of colored textiles are attested in only three temples in the New Kingdom. The first one is Luxor Temple, where a scene in room XVII depicts episode 17,²¹ the offering of *mnḥ.t*, *mṛ.t* (“divine linen”),²² and



Figure 13.1. Upper row of the so-called frieze of objects in the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Photo by Maciej Jawornicki. Courtesy of the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw and Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences.

15 Jéquier 1921, 34. The frieze of objects is a special way of featuring funerary objects/items—they are depicted in groups (rows) but not mixed with one another as on an offering table. These items constitute funerary objects used by the deceased in the afterlife and were very common in the decoration of Middle Kingdom coffins (Willems 1988, 200–228); but such an arrangement is also attested in a few temple contexts (see below).

16 *Wb.* 2, 87/13–88/2.

17 Biston-Moulin 2017, 32, 39, 66, 242; the exceptions are two attestations of *ḥd.t*-linen dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, together with the *p3k.t* and *sṣr nsw* textiles. The first attestation is dated to the period of Thutmose III (Annals of Thutmose III, KIU 3475, 6); the other comes from the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun (KIU 3450, 35; Bennett 1939, 8–15). The context concerns the supplying of the temple.

18 Naville 1906, pl. CXXX; Kapiiec 2016, 96–97, fig. 2; 2018, 195–96, fig. 2; 2021, 52–55, fig. 32, pl. 3.

19 Naville 1906, pl. CXXXIII; Kapiiec 2017, 213; 2021, 93–105, fig. 64, pl. 6.

20 I discuss this matter in detail in the second volume of the publication of the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Kapiiec 2024, 85–129, 283–87).

21 Numeration according to David 2016.

22 *Wb.* 2, 49/2.

jdmj-linen by Amenhotep III (c. 1390–1352 BCE, Eighteenth Dynasty) and Renenutet to Amun-Ra.²³

The second is the temple of Seti I (c. 1294–1279 BCE, Nineteenth Dynasty) in Abydos, which constitutes the exception among the extensive depictions of the daily ritual in temples. At the same time, it is the largest iconographic and textual source of this ritual dated to the New Kingdom in general.²⁴ In the six chapels of the sanctuary, there is a sequence of forty-seven episodes from the daily temple ritual, including scenes representing offerings of three colored textiles. White (*hḏ.t*), green (*wḏ.t*), and red (*jnsj*) textiles are listed there in episodes 17 (17A), 19, and 21, respectively (fig. 13.3).²⁵

The third occurrence comes from the temple of Seti I in Qurna. However, only one colored fabric is mentioned there—green (*wḏ.t*).²⁶

The next source for the daily temple ritual in which colored textiles are mentioned is the series of papyri from the Twenty-Second Dynasty (fig. 13.4). The sequence of these linens is slightly extended here—*jdmj*-linen is mentioned as the fourth fabric.²⁷

As mentioned above, there are no data on temple rituals involving colored linen dated to the Late Period. Yet temples from Greco-Roman times constitute an important source. In scenes in the temple of Edfu illustrating the episodes of offering colored cloth in the daily temple ritual, the sequence differs from the previously attested ones in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. There are also four linens mentioned, but slightly different kinds—*hḏ.t*, *wḏ.t*, *jrtjw*, and



Figure 13.2. Hatshepsut (name recarved for Thutmose II) offering *mnḥ.t* linen to Amun-Ra. South wall of the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Photo by Maciej Jawornicki. Courtesy of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw.

23 Brunner 1977, pl. 63; Waitkus 2008, 2:163–65.

24 Moret 1902; David 2016.

25 Calverley and Broome, 1933, pls. 13 (chapel of Osiris, *wḏ.t* and *jnsj* only), 23 (chapel of Isis), 33 (chapel of Horus); 1935, pls. 12 (chapel of Amun-Ra), 19 (chapel of Ra-Horakhty), 27 (chapel of Ptah); David 2016, 131, 142, 144.

26 Braun 2013, 76.

27 P. Berlin 3014, 3053, and 3055, known as “liturgies for Amun and Mut” or “Karnak liturgy”; Moret 1902, 2–3. On spells 49 and 51–53, see Braun 2013, 163–65, 166–71. Spell 50 is devoted to *mnḥ.t*-linen (Braun 2013, 165–66).

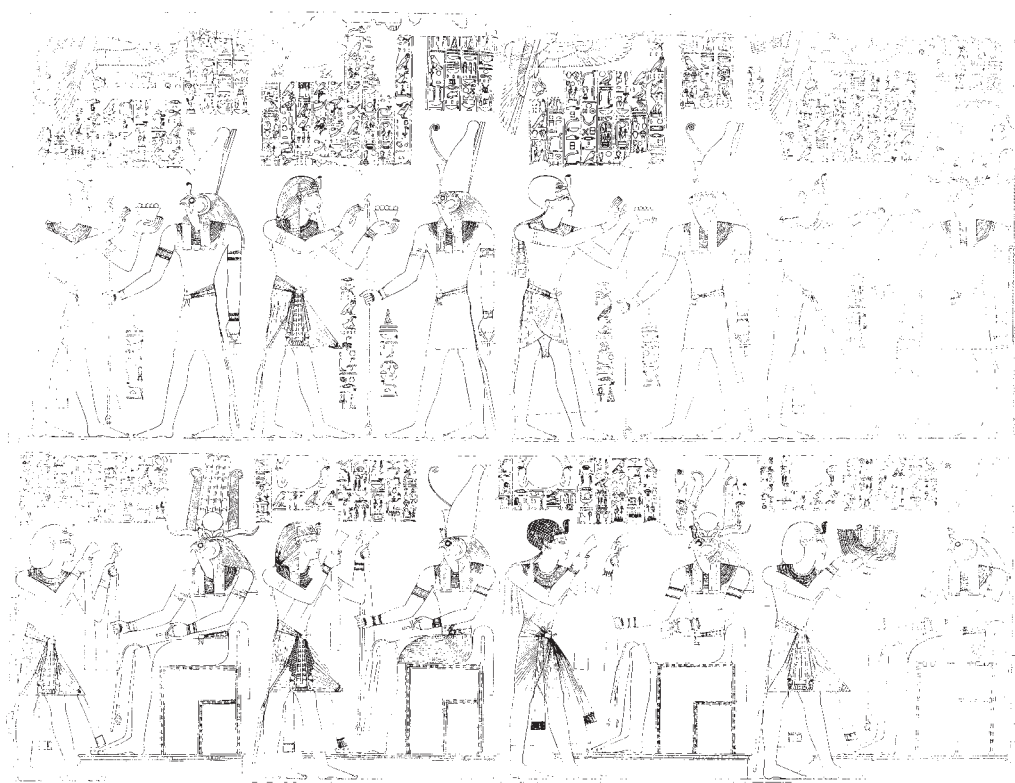


Figure 13.3. Eastern section of the south wall of the chapel of Horus in the temple of Seti I in Abydos. In the lower row are three episodes illustrating the offering of colored linen (after Calverley and Broome 1933, pl. 33). Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.



Figure 13.4. Fragment of P. Berlin 3055 (Karnak liturgy) with spells devoted to the offering of colored linen. Photo by Sandra Steiß. Courtesy of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, inv. no. 3055.

jdmj,²⁸ indicating that *jrtjw*-linen was substituted for *jnsj*-linen in this context. However, it must be noted that in the temple of Dendera the sequence of linen in the daily temple ritual is different: it consists of both colored and other textiles, whose presentation is intertwined with purification rites. Textiles are listed in the following order: *w3d.t*, *mnḥ.t*, and *wnšb* linen/object.²⁹ This set does not correspond to any known sequence. Apart from this exception, the evolution of the set of colored linens reveals that white or neutral linen inaugurated the sequence throughout time. For the following textiles there is no strict order, at least not in the daily temple ritual (see below). One can conclude that no codified sequence of linen was applied in this ritual.

Apart from the daily temple ritual, colored textiles were listed in other contexts in the Greco-Roman period. For instance, in the temple of Opet at Karnak, in the procession of gods in the exterior parts (*soubassement* processions), the already-attested sequence of colored linen consists of *ḥd.t*, *w3d.t*, *jrtjw*, and *jdmj* (fig. 13.5).³⁰ Such a sequence also occurs four times in offerings scenes in the temple of Edfu³¹ and twice in the temple of Dendera.³²

The renewal aspect of the daily temple ritual is expressed in the first steps of the ceremony, where the preparation of the divine statue corresponds to the mummification process. These steps include purification of the body, wrapping it in linen, anointing it, and supplying it with amulets.³³ All these acts were performed to provide the deceased with successful regeneration in the afterlife. They were also applied with an eye to the practical aspect of the embalming process. Nevertheless, it appears that these steps, already linked with qualities of regeneration and renewal, were also implemented in the opening of the mouth ritual³⁴ or in royal festivals such as the ritual of the renewal of power for the New Year.³⁵ Similarly, as Ute Rummel has observed, during the Sed festival the king was purified with incense, anointed, and clothed in a robe made of *jdmj*-linen in order to be able to achieve regeneration.³⁶ In light of the latter interpretation, the colorful linen applied in these rituals can be understood as one of the items essential to achieving renewal and

28 East and west walls of the main sanctuary (Edfu I, 31/2–16, pl. XI; 44, 19–45, pl. XII; see also Braun 2013, 80). David (2016, 178) suggested that the sequence should be read as follows: *ḥd.t*, *jrtjw*, *w3d.t*, *jdmj*.

29 Dend. I, 46, 63–64; David 2016, 167. *Wnšb* is translated as either “object” (symbol of the cycle of time) or “linen” (*Wb.* 1, 325/9; Wilson 1997, 238). David (2016, 178) suggested that the sequence should be read as follows: *mnḥ.t*, *wnšb*, *w3d.t*.

30 KIU 3785; Opet 206.

31 Chamber of the Throne (Edfu I, 289/14–290/5; 296/7–14, pl. XXIXa); Chamber of Linen (Edfu I, 124/16–125/18; 126/14–127/14, pl. XXIIb); Mesen Chamber (Edfu I, 237/16–238/9; 244/15–245/7, pl. XXVIIb); and the *wabet* (Edfu I, 423/5–424/3; 432/9–433/7, pl. XXXIIIa; also Coppens 2007, 151). See also Wollnerová 2021, 159.

32 *Wabet* (Dend. IV, 247/3–248; 265/7–266/10, pl. CCCXI). The sequence is also found in the procession in the Chamber of Linen (Dend. IV, 113/6); for more information about the “chambers of linen” in Greco-Roman temples, see Coppens 2007, 74–76, 132–44; on processions in the chambers of linen in Philae and Dendera, see Coppens 2014. Processions with linen were studied by Ryhiner (1995). For a study of this sequence of linen, see Wollnerová 2021.

33 Vymazalová and Coppens 2010, 75 n. 11.

34 Otto 1960, 114–66; Assmann 2001, 408–25; Rummel 2006, 400–401; for a detailed comparison of the particular rituals, see Vymazalová and Coppens 2010, 96, table 1.

35 Goyon 1972, 53–130.


36 Rummel 2006, 397–401.



Figure 13.5. Detail of *soubassement* procession in the temple of Opet at Karnak (KIU 3785). Photo CNRS-CFEETK 151994 by Ph. Soubias. Courtesy of the Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities / Centre national de la recherche scientifique, USR 3172).

regeneration. The meaningful symbolism of fabrics is evidenced by the fact that they were attributed to various goddesses of the Egyptian pantheon, including Isis,³⁷ Nephthys,³⁸ Hathor,³⁹ Sakhmet,⁴⁰ Tayet,⁴¹ Renenutet,⁴² Serket,⁴³ and Temet.⁴⁴

WHITE (BRIGHT) LINEN

White-colored linen (*hdt* )⁴⁵ is attested for the first time in the mastaba of Isheti/Teti from the reign of Pepi II (c. 2278–2184 BCE, Sixth Dynasty).⁴⁶ In the Middle Kingdom, it is

37 E.g., Dend. I 64/4, 87/5; Dend. II 36/9, 98/7; Dend. IV, 265/7–266/10, pl. CCCXI; Wilson 1997, 86; Coppens 2007, 174.

38 E.g., Dend. II 117/5, 137/5, 148/9, 152/9, 153/4; Wilson 1997, 86.

39 E.g., BD spell 164; Dend. I 89/8; Dend. II 44/7, 45/14, 51/11; Ryhiner 1995.

40 E.g., Dend. I 5/11, 123/10; Moret 1902, 187; Berlandini-Grenier 1976, 126–29; Assmann, Bommas, and Kucharek 2005, 446–48; Braun 2013, 168–69; David 2016, 144.

41 E.g., Dend. II 51/6; Dend. III 119/4; Dend. IV 179/11, 265/7–266/10, pl. CCCXI; Edfu I 122/9; Opet 226.R; Wilson 1997, 127; Coppens 2007, 174; on the goddess Tayet, see Cruz-Urbe 1996.

42 E.g., Edfu I 126/16, 238/1, 289/17; Moret 1902, 179–80; Wilson 1997, 127; Goebis 2011, 66.

43 E.g., Edfu I 566/13; Edfu IV 48/6; Wilson 1997, 127, 207–8.

44 E.g., du Bourguet 2008, 148, no. 169.

45 Wb. 3, 210/16–18.

46 Drioton and Lauer 1958, 227, pl. XIX.

frequently listed in friezes of objects.⁴⁷ In the royal context it appears in the New Kingdom, when it is mentioned as a temple commodity in the Annals of Thutmose III (c. 1479–1425, Eighteenth Dynasty).⁴⁸ And it is attested in the sequence of colored fabrics in the daily temple ritual from the New Kingdom onward (see above).

The term *ḥd.t* can be understood in two ways—as a white-colored textile or as a term designating the brightness of its color. The word *ḥd* means “to be white” but also “to be bright”—that is, to shine. Therefore, a wordplay is involved in the name of the *ḥd.t*-cloth. This aspect is highlighted in episode 17 of the daily temple ritual: “. . . that you may shine in it, that you may be splendid in it.”⁴⁹

There is a possibility that *sšr nswt* (“royal linen”)⁵⁰ and *p3k.t* (“fine linen”)⁵¹ were also considered to be of bright or transparent color. These three kinds of fabrics are sometimes listed together in the context of the best-quality textiles available. For instance, they are described in the aforementioned Annals of Thutmose III (fig. 13.6) and on the Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun as essential and the most precious items with which a temple could be supplied.⁵² In certain attestations, *ḥd.t*-linen is mentioned together with *p3k.t*-linen only.⁵³

If one considers very high-quality linen—which *sšr nswt* certainly was, since it was described as “royal”—it is not characterized as a dyed textile. Therefore, most probably it was the natural color of linen: bright/white/light beige. Although there is no textual evidence for this theory, when one looks at the iconography of royal or noble people it is notable that the color of the garments they wear is usually white or light beige.⁵⁴ Sometimes, especially in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty tomb paintings but also in the Third Intermediate Period (1069–664 BCE), parts of the garments are depicted as transparent (fig. 13.7).⁵⁵

White linen provided protection through luminosity; therefore, the wearer had the potential to dazzle enemies and thus obtain respect, as reflected in the daily temple ritual—“I have clothed you (with the Eye of Horus), with the cloth of Renenutet, whom the gods respect”⁵⁶—and in the Tale of the Sporting King (Eighteenth Dynasty)—“. . . white linen, the fabric of Renenutet.”⁵⁷ The goddess Renenutet was described as a guardian of the king,⁵⁸ so obtaining respect and esteem through a connection with her might be interpreted as acquiring the protection essential for discouraging foes. Moreover, Renenutet was

47 Jéquier 1921, 31–32.

48 *Urk.* IV, 742/15; KIU 3475, 6.

49 Moret 1902, 179–80; Braun 2013, 163–65; David 2016, 142; in the same episode, *jdmy*-linen is enumerated as well.

50 *Wb.* 4, 540/2, 542/3.

51 *Wb.* 1, 499/11–15.

52 KIU 3475, 6 and 3450, 35; Scheele 2005, 21.

53 P. Berlin P 3022 and fragment of P. Amherst M–Q (Sinuhe, line 153; Koch 1990, 54; Twelfth Dynasty); P. Leiden I 344 recto (Ipuwer, line 10, 4; Enmarch 2005, 45; Nineteenth Dynasty).

54 E.g., the tomb of Nebamun (Parkinson 2008).

55 E.g., the tomb of Menna (TT 69; Hartwig 2013).

56 Moret 1902, 179–80; Goebis 2011, 66; Braun 2013, 163–65.

57 D 2,7; Caminos 1956, 36, pl. 13a.

58 Wilkinson 2003, 224.



Figure 13.6. Part of the Annals of Thutmose III, where *ḥd.t* (“white linen”), *sšr nswt* (“royal linen”) and *p3k.t* (“fine linen”) are mentioned together (KIU 3475). Photo CNRS-CFEETK 197879 by Ph. Soubias. Courtesy of the Centre franco-égyptien d’étude des temples de Karnak (Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities / Centre national de la recherche scientifique, USR 3172).

also a goddess of fertility⁵⁹ and often identified with Wadjet, perhaps because of the close connection between the *ḥd* and *w3d* colors (see below). *Ḥd.t* is described as a fearsome robe in one of the scenes depicting an offering of clothes in the temple of Edfu.⁶⁰ It is also described as decorative cloth in a love song on an ostracon found at Deir el-Medina (Nineteenth Dynasty).⁶¹

As Katja Goebs has suggested, the color white may have been connected with lunar qualities. When the moon is described in texts, it is labeled *ḥd* because it is the brightest object in the sky.⁶²

As Penelope Wilson has surmised, in offering scenes at Edfu *ḥd.t*-linen is presented to Horus (in the sanctuary), sometimes accompanied by Hathor and other deities (First

⁵⁹ Wilkinson 2003, 224; Coppens 2007, 153 n. 1150.

⁶⁰ Edfu VII, 261/6–9.

⁶¹ O. Cairo CG 25218 + O. DeM 1266 (Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2009, 142).


⁶² Goebs 2008, 158.



Figure 13.7. Stela of Zed-Khonsu-as-Ankh, Third Intermediate Period.
ISACM E1351 / D. 18885. Courtesy of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.

Chamber West), and in return the king receives protection and strength.⁶³ The radiant qualities of the textile in question are also highlighted.

GREEN LINEN

Green-colored linen (*w3d.t* )⁶⁴ is attested for the first time in the aforementioned pyramid temple of Sahura in Abusir.⁶⁵ It is not attested in private contexts until the Middle Kingdom, when it appears in friezes of objects in tombs and on coffins.⁶⁶ It occurs in the sequence of colored fabrics in the daily temple ritual from the New Kingdom onward (see above).

⁶³ Edfu I 45/7, 124/16, 144/19, 244/15, 296/7, 423/5; Wilson 1997, 697–98.

⁶⁴ *Wb.* 1, 268/10–12.

⁶⁵ Borchardt 1913, 125, pl. 61; Scheele 2005, 18 n. 55.

⁶⁶ Jéquier 1921, 32.

The character of green fabric is immediately recognizable in the translation of its name. The word *w3d* means not only “green” but also “fresh.”⁶⁷ The ancient Egyptians associated green with freshness and vitality; for them the color carried connotations of regeneration and transformation. The word *w3d* can also designate a fortunate man.⁶⁸ Moreover, it was frequently employed in wordplay—the verb *sw3d* can be translated not only as “to make green” (= “to refresh”) but also “to make prosper.”⁶⁹ While the first meaning is quite clear as it relates to “green,” the connotations of the second one suggest a wider association with growing, flourishing, and being fortunate.

Wordplay is attested, for instance, in the daily temple ritual text: “The green cloth (*w3d.t*) may it refresh (*sw3d*) him with its greenness/freshness (*w3d*).”⁷⁰ In the same part of the daily temple ritual, referring to the offering of the green cloth to the god, there are allusions to youth. They indicate that the linen in question had rejuvenating qualities—“(so that) he will be young through it, like Re is rejuvenated.”⁷¹

Since the word *w3d* also was used to denote papyrus,⁷² it might be associated with Wadjet and Lower Egypt. But as Wilson has argued, it can be connected with Upper Egypt as well: in the temple of Edfu, the king is depicted in the White Crown while performing the offering of *w3d.t*-cloth,⁷³ and in another scene located in the chapel of the throne of Ra, this cloth is offered to Horus of Edfu and Hathor, deities associated with Upper Egypt.⁷⁴

The *w3d.t* cloth is well attested in the Greco-Roman period. For instance, in the *wabet* of the Edfu temple, it is offered to Horus with the intent to “make well the body of the god.”⁷⁵ In return, the king receives “an appearance like Ra, renewal like the moon, and life again like Hapy, and Wadjet is on the brow of the king to slay his foes.”⁷⁶ In light of this inscription, green linen can be interpreted as giving luminosity and light (appearance like Ra—solar aspects), regeneration and rejuvenation (association with Hapy as the patron of regular flooding, understood as constant regeneration, plus lunar connotations—namely, regeneration during the night and resurrection in the morning), and protection against enemies (Wadjet as the patron of kingship).

Furthermore, on the exterior walls of the naos in the temple of Edfu, this type of linen is described as the one made by Serket, the goddess of fertility, health, and nature.⁷⁷ Another scene from the temple of Edfu, from the pronaos, highlights the protective qualities of the green textile: Horus wears this garment while fighting with the hippopotamus.⁷⁸

67 *Wb.* 1, 264/12–266/9.

68 *Wb.* 1, 266/10.

69 *Wb.* 4, 64/7–65/8.

70 Moret 1902, 184; Braun 2013, 166–68.

71 Moret 1902, 184; Braun 2013, 166–68.

72 *Wb.* 1, 263/7–264/4.

73 Wilson 1997, 207.

74 Edfu I, 296/5–12.

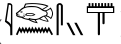


75 Again, the wordplay with *w3d.t sw3d* is used; Edfu I 423/14–17; Wilson 1997, 207.

76 Edfu I, 423/14–17; Wilson 1997, 207.

77 Edfu IV 48/6; Wilson 1997, 207–8.

78 Edfu IV, 344/2; Wilson 1997, 207.

RED LINEN

Three kinds of linen associated with the color red—*jnsj* ()⁷⁹, *jdmj* ()⁸⁰ and possibly *jrtjw* ()⁸¹—appear in the rituals performed in the temple. All these fabrics are attested from the Old Kingdom onward, though it appears that *jnsj* became less popular in the Greco-Roman temples, where it was usually replaced with *jrtjw*, especially in the sequences of colored textiles.⁸² *Jdmj* appears in the sequence of colored textiles after the Third Intermediate Period (see above).

JNSJ

Jnsj linen is attested for the first time in the Pyramid Texts from the Unis pyramid.⁸³ The color *jns* was described as “blood red” and distinguished by Maurice Alliot from the *dšr* kind of red, which he described as “flamingo.”⁸⁴ On the other hand, Wilson has pointed out that in PT 570 (Pyr. §1464a), *jnsj* is described as the kind of red linen that comes from Isis whereas *dšr* is the kind of red that comes from Nephthys, and she concludes that these two words could be used synonymously.⁸⁵ This theory might be supported by spell 17 of the Book of the Dead, which states that “the red (*dšr*) is in the house of red linen (*jnsj*),”⁸⁶ indicating the words’ close connection. Bernard Mathieu has presented a contrary opinion, interpreting these colors as two bloods of a different nature—positive from Isis, the companion of Osiris, and negative from Nephthys, the companion of Seth.⁸⁷ It should be noted that no types of linen are described as *dšr.t*. Alliot pointed out another, similar core of the word *jns*—namely, *ns* “to bleed.”⁸⁸ In light of this connotation, the association of *jns* with blood becomes clear.

Furthermore, *jnsj* is attested as being used in the afterlife—an inscription in the tomb of Meri-Aa (Sixth Dynasty) recalls the anointment with *sft*-oil and then wrapping the body with *jnsj*.⁸⁹ A mention in PT 250 (Pyr. §268b) of a festival devoted to *jnsj*-linen (*hb jns*) highlights the importance of this textile. According to Kurt Sethe, this festival may have been connected with the cult of Nut or Wadjet.⁹⁰ In the Pyramid Texts, *jnsj*-linen has solar connotations—spell PT 254 (Pyr. §285c–d) includes a reference to Ra wearing the textile in question, perhaps because the rising sun gives a strong, red glow.

79 Wb. 1, 100/6–13.

80 Wb. 1, 153/14–16.

81 Wb. 1, 116/12.

82 Egberts 1995, 141.

83 Scheele 2005, 10.

84 Alliot 1955; Wb. 5, 488/1–490/6.

85 Wilson 1997, 86.

86 Grapow 1915–17, 198; Germer 1992, 126.

87 Mathieu 2009, 36.

88 Alliot 1955, 5.

89 Urk. I, 267/11; Germer 1992, 126.

90 Sethe 1935, 274; Scheele 2005, 10.

On the basis of the various ritual texts, Geraldine Pinch noted that the color red may have had a double identity in the rituals:⁹¹ depending on the context, it could be treated in a positive or negative way, beneficial or destructive. In the daily temple ritual text, *jnsj* is associated with rage.⁹² In episode 21 of the daily temple ritual, devoted to the *jnsj* textile, a goddess, most likely Sakhmet,⁹³ is described as “the ruler of the Island of Flames, great of rage,” and is expected to protect the king from the Akeru. In this reasoning, the significance of the color red can be interpreted as leading to the state of awareness and therefore to the states of aliveness and consciousness. In spell 99B of the Book of the Dead, Osiris is called the Lord of *jnsj*.⁹⁴ In another passage of the Book of the Dead (spell 17) is a reference to the “threatening” character of red linen in the sense of becoming aggressive in order to frighten enemies: “Aggressive in his hour, red-eyed in the house of the *jnsj*-linen, fire-face going out backward.”⁹⁵

Jnsj is associated with morning red, as similarly with *jdmj*-linen (see below). *Jns* can also be translated as a verb—“to make red,”⁹⁶ usually in the context of eyes, which can be interpreted as being connected with anger as well as the act of showing the enemy one’s fury and willingness to attack. Following this course of thinking, the color red becomes a form of protection, discouraging a potential foe.

On the other hand, it also had a peaceful aspect—*jnsj*-linen was worn by priests during the Sakhmet festival, as it was believed to have a calming effect on the goddess.⁹⁷ Furthermore, in the magical papyri in Leiden (Nineteenth Dynasty)⁹⁸ and in the Book of the Dead, an epithet *nb.t jnsj* is attested, referring to Sakhmet.⁹⁹ It can be translated in several ways—as “Lady of Red,” “Lady of Blood,” or “Lady of the Red Cloth.”¹⁰⁰ Temet, the daughter of Atum, sometimes identified with Hathor,¹⁰¹ is referred to as a “Lady of *Jnsj*-Linen” as well.¹⁰²

A meaningful attestation of the protective aspect of the *jnsj* textile is a reference to this linen among Senenmut’s epithets on his cube statue with Neferura (Eighteenth Dynasty),

91 Pinch 2001, 182–84; Wilson 1997, 86.

92 Moret 1902, 185–87; Braun 2013, 168–69; David 2016, 144.

93 Moret 1902, 187; Braun 2013, 168–69; David 2016, 144. The goddess is not explicitly named but may have been Sakhmet, to judge from her connection with the Island of Flames (Goebis 2011, 67–68 nn. 62–63; Wilson 1997, 546–47). For more information about the connection between Sakhmet and *jnsj*-linen, see Berlandini-Grenier 1976, 126–29.

94 P. London BM EA 10477 (P. Nu; Lapp 1997, pl. 62), P. Cairo CG 24095 (P. Maiherperi; Munro 1994, pls. 123–24), P. Cairo CG 51189 (P. Juja; Munro 1994, pl. 64).

95 P. Cairo CG 51189 (P. Juja; Munro 1994, pls. 47–49).

96 TLA, lemma no. 27810.

97 Assmann, Bommas, and Kucharek 2005, 446–48. This theory is strengthened by the fact that the oil or ointment stored in *b3s*-vases, mentioned in the myth of the Return of the Distant One, is represented as a counterweight to the negative influence of menstrual blood and as having a calming effect on the goddess. The oil mentioned might be *ˁntjw*, as it is always depicted as being stored in *b3s*-vases, as well as a raw product in the form of red clumps (Kapiec 2018, 201).

98 P. Leiden I 346, Textteil XI (Bommas 1999, 19–20).

99 BD spell 164.

100 Berlandini-Grenier 1976, 127.

101 Richter 2010, 168.

102 Temple in Deir el-Medina, on the Hathoric pillar; du Bourguet 2008, 148, no. 169.

kept in the Cheikh Labib storeroom in Karnak.¹⁰³ The fabric in question is mentioned there in the context of wrapping the Double Crown in it, an act that was interpreted by Jocelyne Berlandini-Grenier as one of protecting the royal insignia.¹⁰⁴

The protective qualities of *jnsj*-linen are also highlighted in the amuletic texts of the magical papyri in Leiden (Nineteenth Dynasty) and in the temple of Edfu—for instance, “I have made my amulet in the form of such a sow on an *jnsj* bandage”¹⁰⁵ and “I tie for you the knot of *jns* at your throat.”¹⁰⁶

JDMJ

Jdmj-linen is one of the most remarkable textiles used in ancient Egyptian rituals, and not only in temples. It appears for the first time in both a private context—the mastaba of Hesira¹⁰⁷ (Third Dynasty)—and a royal context—the archives of Raneferef.¹⁰⁸ It is the most frequently mentioned colored fabric throughout all periods up to Greco-Roman times.

In terms of color, it must be noted that a few sources refer to green or white *jdmj* (e.g., PT 519 [Pyr. §1202b]; CT 934, VII, 15d). These examples are exceptional, however, and to judge from the majority of evidence, *jdmj* should be considered to be red or reddish-colored linen. Apart from the textual evidence, it is worth noting that in iconography, both linen labeled as *jdmj* and the signs (or symbols) designating this textile are painted in red.¹⁰⁹ Although *jdmj* only rarely designates white linen, the attestations are significant—for instance, the sculpture of Mentuhotep II in a festival robe (Cairo JE 36195) (fig. 13.8).

The determinative designating *jdmj*-linen is profoundly symbolic. It is composed of the *mnḥ.t* sign



Figure 13.8. Figure of Mentuhotep II in a festival robe (Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 36195). Courtesy of the archives of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences.

103 Berlandini-Grenier 1976.

104 Berlandini-Grenier 1976, 128.


105 P. Leiden I 346, Textteil XI (Bommas 1999, 19–20).

106 Edfu III 311/14–15; Wilson 1997, 86.

107 Quibell 1913, 25, fig. 8, pl. XVII.18; Scheele 2005, 13.

108 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 222–26, 251, 254, 282, 431–32, 434–35, pls. 11.D, 12.A, 12.G, 13.A, 33.A2, 35.B, 59.F.

109 See the discussion in Scheele 2005, 15–16; Chapman 2017, 47–49.

(Gardiner sign list S 27) and a Horus falcon on a standard: . This sign, used as a symbol, is especially well attested in the so-called linen lists, dated to the Second/Third to Fifth Dynasties.¹¹⁰ Apart from the clear connection to Horus, the determinative representing the falcon on a standard could be associated with Amun or the king.¹¹¹ When the *mnḥ.t* symbol, designating linen in general, and the Horus falcon are combined, it can be understood that this textile had divine connotations and therefore could affect the identity of the wearer.

In the name of *jdmj*-linen is a hidden wordplay, the meaning of which can be found in various types of texts—for instance, episode 17 of the daily temple ritual.¹¹² The word *dmj*¹¹³ can be translated as a verb, “to wrap” or “to touch/be joined to/cleave to.”¹¹⁴ These possible translations explain why *jdmj*-linen may be represented as a tight cloak (for instance, in the aforementioned sculpture of Mentuhotep II) and refer to mummy bindings.

The abovementioned Old Kingdom source—namely, the papyrus archive from the pyramid temple of Raneferef in Abusir—provides evidence for the application of *jdmj*-linen in the *W3g* festival and the festival of Thoth.¹¹⁵ These documents attest a relatively large quantity of linen supplied to the temple, a quantity that might indicate the widespread employment of linen in the temple rituals.¹¹⁶ However, no sources state how this linen was distributed in the temple—whether it was used by priests, to clothe the statue, or possibly for both purposes.¹¹⁷

Jdmj-linen is considered one of the most valuable products. For example, it is depicted in the decoration of the mastaba of Akhetotep (Fifth Dynasty) as a product stored in the state treasury (*pr-ḥd*).¹¹⁸

As has already been widely discussed by scholars,¹¹⁹ *jdmj* had a transformative character as the textile used for the cloak worn by kings during the Sed festival, as well as on all other occasions marking a change of identity.¹²⁰ This aspect is attested in the reliefs representing the Sed-festival sequence in Niuserra’s temple at Abu Gurob.¹²¹ As Rummel has pointed out, this garment “possesses regenerative properties associated with mummy bindings.”¹²² One should pay attention to the form of the cloak in question, since it is represented as wrapped around the king’s figure (fig. 13.8) and resembles the cloth worn by Osiris, Geb, or Atum. Products used together with this linen, oil and incense, constitute

110 Der Manuelian 2003, esp. 228–36.

111 Gardiner 1957, 468.

112 Rummel 2006, 397, 400; Braun 2013, 169–71; David 2016, 142.

113 The word *dmj*, apart from being a verb, was sometimes used to designate *jdmj*-linen; one example can be found in the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1906, pl. CXXX; Kapiiec 2016, 96–97, fig. 2; 2018, 195–96, fig. 2; 2021, 54–55, fig. 32).

114 *Wb.* 5, 453/6–455/3.

115 Posener-Kriéger 1976, 342; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 222–26, 251, 254, 282, 431–32, 434–35, pls. 11.D, 12.A, 12.G, 13.A, 33.A2, 35.B, 59.F.

116 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 432.

117 Vymazalová and Coppens 2009, 69–70.

118 Ziegler 1993, 118–24.

119 Shorter 1934, 19; Stevenson Smith 1935, 149; Scheele 2005, 13–16; Rummel 2006; Goebis 2011, 58–60.

120 Karkowski 2001; Goebis 2011, 59.

121 von Bissing and Kees 1928, pl. 22.52.

122 Rummel 2006, 381.

the items used in the mummification process as well.¹²³ In that context, the regenerative and transformative identity of *jdmj*-linen is reflected at another level, literally connected with the sphere of the afterlife.¹²⁴ What is even more striking in Rummel's study is the conclusion that "the divine nature of the *jdmj* linen effected not only the regeneration but also the deification of its wearer."¹²⁵


Furthermore, the regenerative power of *jdmj*-linen is highlighted in the Coffin Texts and the opening of the mouth ritual, where its properties are once again transformative and rejuvenating.¹²⁶ The protective aspects of *jdmj*-linen are explicitly expressed in the magical papyri of the New Kingdom: "Protection is behind it, protection is behind it, there is a protective amulet!"¹²⁷ Ultimately Rummel, in her research on incense, oils, and linen, showed that wearing *jdmj*-linen in the afterlife was essential for the deceased to be protected from harmful powers.¹²⁸

In the collection of papyri containing the liturgy of the ritual of the renewal of power for the New Year (Late Period), *jdmj*-linen is listed among the goods essential for the king to be able to execute the ritual.¹²⁹

In the Greco-Roman period *jdmj* was still in use, being offered together with other colored textiles during temple rituals, such as the daily temple ritual and the ritual of consecrating the *mr:t*-chests.¹³⁰ Furthermore, as Wilson observed, in the decoration of the sanctuary of the temple of Edfu, when the king offers *jdmj*-linen he receives in return "the splendid appearance of the king in the garments of Horus."¹³¹ This exchange can be understood as obtaining protection against the king's enemies. Being dressed in *jdmj* might also mean transfiguration into the courageous Horus. Furthermore, in the temple of Edfu there are attestations that connect *jdmj* with Renenutet¹³² and Tayet,¹³³ the goddesses of linen.

The relevant connection between two red (or reddish-colored) linens is attested in Papyrus Salt 825 (Ptolemaic period), where *jdmj*- and *jnsj*-linen are listed together in the description of the origins of textiles in general.¹³⁴ The ritual is meaningfully called "for the preservation of life": "Ra was tired, the sweat of his body fell to the ground and germinated,

123 P. Boulaq III (embalming ritual), lines 3, 15; 5, 5; 5, 21–22; 10, 5 (Sauneron 1952).

124 In the Old Kingdom, in Niuserra's temple, *sft*-oil is attested as a product used in the Sed festival, while from the Middle Kingdom onward only the word or sign  *mrh.t*, designating oils and ointments in general, is used; sometimes oil is omitted entirely. *Sntr* and *jdmj* are consequently listed in every example; see Rummel 2006.

125 Rummel 2006, 381.

126 CT VI, 221h, i–p, 226–227b; CT VII, 135 l, 136 d–e; Otto 1960, 131 (scene 53); Rummel 2006, 400.

127 P. Budapest 51.1961, spell 6 (Stegbauer 2009).

128 Rummel 2006, 398–401.

129 P. Brooklyn 47.218.50, lines I, 9; XVI, 22 (Goyon 1972, 54, 74).

130 See, e.g., Dend. IV, 73/18–74/13; Egberts 1995, 181–89.

131 Edfu I 31/10–16; Wilson 1997, 127.

132 The wordplay with the verb *dmy* is used; Edfu I 126/16 (First Chamber West); 238/1 (Mesen Chamber); 289/17 (Chamber of the Throne); Wilson 1997, 127.

133 Edfu I 122/9 (First Chamber West); Wilson 1997, 127.

134 It is worth noting that this papyrus contains information about the Osirian ritual of the house of life; see Gardiner 1938, 167–69.

and turned into linen; that is how the linen (*hbs*)¹³⁵ was produced. As for the garments, *jnsj* and *jdmj*, they come from. . . ”¹³⁶ Although the text concerning the textiles in question is unfortunately lost here, it is noteworthy that these two textiles are listed together. As Wilson noted, these two types of linen “are interchangeable in Ptolemaic texts.”¹³⁷

JRTJW

Jrtjw-linen is attested for the first time in the mastaba of Mereruka (Sixth Dynasty, reign of Teti, c. 2345–2323 BCE)¹³⁸ and continues to be used in private contexts until the New Kingdom.¹³⁹ Although it is not one of the textiles included directly in the daily temple ritual texts of the New Kingdom, it is one of the colored linens depicted among other ritual fabrics in the so-called frieze of objects in the Southern Room of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The latter example indicates it was used in temple rituals already in that period.¹⁴⁰ *Jrtjw* appears frequently in the Greco-Roman temples.¹⁴¹

The basic problem with interpreting *jrtjw* in the context of identity received through color is that the exact color of this textile cannot be described. In the texts there are no explicit references to its color, but most scholars believe it was a kind of purple/red-¹⁴² or even bluish-colored¹⁴³ textile. The latter interpretation may be connected with a product of the same name that is considered a mineral and enumerated in a group together with turquoise, malachite, and lapis lazuli.¹⁴⁴ As Wilson noted, the term *jrtjw* is used in medical texts to describe the discoloration of a bruise or wound, and that is why all these possible colors have to be taken into consideration. However, the arguments for a bluish color seem to be too vague,¹⁴⁵ as there are more references connecting *jrtjw* with red.¹⁴⁶

In the temple of Edfu, in the Chamber of the Throne, *jrtjw* is depicted together with *jdmj* in the special offering ritual.¹⁴⁷ The text accompanying the scene again recalls the protective quality of the color red, connected with frightening enemies: “The king comes with his *jrtjw*-cloth, with which he is to clothe the god and increase the fear and awe of him.”¹⁴⁸ Further in the text, in addition to protection, the king is given the guarantee of

135 *Wb.* 3, 65/18–66/12.

136 Derchain 1965, 137, pl. II.8.

137 Wilson 1997, 86.

138 Duell 1938, pl. 203; Scheele 2005, 45.

139 See, e.g., the full list of Old Kingdom occurrences in Scheele 2005, 45–46.

140 Naville 1906, pl. CXXX; Kapiiec 2016, 96–97, fig. 2; 2018, 195–96, fig. 2; 2024.

141 See the examples gathered in Egberts 1995, 140–42; Wilson 1997, 99–100.

142 Wilson 1997, 99; Germer (1992, 124) pointed out that the plant used for dyeing the *jrtjw*-linen—namely, juniper—most probably gave a similar color as that of the *jnsj*-textile. For references to the discussion about the *jrtjw* color, see Egberts 1995, 139–42.

143 TLA, lemma no. 43590.

144 Egberts 1995, 139–40.

145 Scheele 2005, 45–46 nn. 202–3.

146 Jéquier 1921, 37; Kees 1943, 466 n. 1 (red); Harris 1961, 266 (purplish tint); Wilson 1997, 100; Scheele 2005, 45–46 (red-violet, but also red with bluish tint).

147 Wilson 1997, 100; Wollnerová 2021, 159, 163.

148 Edfu I 289/13.

kingship by Harsomthus.¹⁴⁹ Wilson noted the selection of the crown worn by the king in this scene—the Red Crown—and interpreted the role of *jdmj* as “the guarantor of kingship, the recognizable insignia of rulership and the symbol of awesomeness and power.”¹⁵⁰ Phrases of similar sense are attested in other scenes in the same temple (sanctuary, First Chamber West, *wabet*)—*jrtjw* is described as “the clothing of the god to hide his bodily form.”¹⁵¹ In return, the king receives the guarantee of frightening his enemies, and in this case the protection of *jdmj* and *jrtjw* linen is doubled. Furthermore, *jdmj* and *jrtjw* together with *nfrw* (best-quality) cloth¹⁵² are brought together in the offering bearers’ procession in the eastern staircase.¹⁵³ In the exterior decoration of the naos, these linens are described as those of Serket.¹⁵⁴

An interesting example concerning the problem related to the color of *jrtjw* is the text about driving the calves down a corridor next to a sanctuary in the temple of Edfu, where it is said that the king drives calves that are black, white, green, and *jrtjw* in color.¹⁵⁵ However, in the scene in which the calf is supposed to be *jrtjw*, it is described as speckled.¹⁵⁶ In a similar scene in the temple of Hathor in Dendera, the black calf is labeled as *jrtjw*, which Wilson interpreted as a possible mistake.¹⁵⁷

Moreover, the other red linen, *jnsj*, was replaced with *jrtjw* at some point and is rarely attested in the Greco-Roman temples¹⁵⁸ and the sequences of colored fabrics. In that period, the *jrtjw* textile is present instead.

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN COLORS

The combination of colors can merge the meanings and identity of each component into a new one. Various combinations of colors can be observed in clothing, but in the ritual context two main pairs of colors appear to have had a particular meaning—red with green and green with white.

RED AND GREEN

The connection between red and green is well attested in texts. The abovementioned spell PT 519 (Pyr. §1202a–b) mentions *w3d.t n jdmj* (*jdmj* of green color) in the context of healing the fingers of Osiris. Another interesting example combining the red (*jns*) and green colors is the myth in which Horus Behdety wears both green and red cloth when fighting Seth.¹⁵⁹

149 Edfu I 289/14–290/5; Wilson 1997, 127.

150 Wilson 1997, 127.

151 Edfu I 31/2–8, 126/14–127/13, 432/9–15, Edfu XII 347; Wilson 1997, 100, 127.

152 *Wb.* 2, 261/1–3; Wilson 1997, 515; Scheele 2005, 22–23.

153 Edfu I 566/13.

154 Edfu IV 48/6; Wilson 1997, 127.

155 Translated as “pale blue” in Blackman and Fairman 1949, 107.

156 Blackman and Fairman 1949, 107, text 4; 1950, 70 n. 45.

157 Wilson 1997, 100.

158 Dend. IV 247/3, 11; 265/7, 14; Wilson 1997, 86, 99–100.

159 Wilson 1997, 86.

Mathieu interpreted the pair of *jns* and *w3d* colors as directed against Seth¹⁶⁰ in favor of Osiris. In the daily temple ritual, the passage referring to the offering of red cloth (*jnsj*) mentions the greenness and freshness aspects.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, the connection between red and green linen is highlighted in the New Kingdom texts referring to the *W3g* festival.¹⁶² Significantly, the commonly called “Red Crown” had three main names in ancient Egyptian—*dšr.t*, *w3d.t*, and *n.t*¹⁶³—hence, again, red and green are colligated on another level.

Kurt Sethe and Abd el Monem Joussef Abubakr argued that *w3d* designated not only green but also a bright red until *dšr* was introduced to label brighter (“flamingo”) shades.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, as Goebs noted,¹⁶⁵ Hermann Grapow pointed out that since the color red also had a negative connotation, it was sometimes replaced with green.¹⁶⁶ Joachim Quack observed that the term *w3d* was used to denote the red ink used on papyri (P. Vienna D 3873; P. Carlsberg IA, 3.7), but he interpreted this usage as emanating from an aversion to the use of the word *dšr* in a religious text,¹⁶⁷ possibly because of its negative connotations.

Using a different angle of research, Emma Brunner-Traut studied a physical phenomenon called the “afterimage,” characterized by seeing a shade of green after looking at a red object against a dark background.¹⁶⁸ This occurrence might reflect the sunrise, as when the sun disk appears red against the dark background of night, and looking at it might effect the perception of the sun’s color as a shade of green.

All these actions resulted in the identification of red with green to the point that they were sometimes positioned together, as in the given examples. Therefore, these two colors may have coded the linked notion of arising (red color—rising sun) into life (green/fresh—aliveness), thus strengthening the concept of regeneration embodied in the ritual.

GREEN AND WHITE

In the temple of Edfu, green and white textiles are represented together in the ritual and offering scenes. One example comes from the Mesen Chamber, where there is a scene depicting the king performing the offering of green (*w3d.t*) and white (*h3d.t*) linen to Horus, Hathor, and Harsomthus.¹⁶⁹ The king is described as being dressed like Horus on his day of establishing the inheritance (*smn-jw*).¹⁷⁰ Another example comes from the Chamber of the Throne, where there is a scene representing almost the same offering and, in the

160 Mathieu 2009, 47.

161 David 2016, 144.

162 Assmann, Bommas, and Kucharek 2005, 446–48 (tomb of Neferhotep [TT 49], stela of Pu).

163 Goebs 2008, 155–64.

164 Sethe 1930, 160 n. 2; 1935, 284; Abubakr 1937, 55–56.

165 Goebs 2008, 156.

166 Grapow 1924, 56.

167 Quack 1998, 7–8.

168 Brunner-Traut 1979, 56–57.

169 Edfu I 244/15; Wilson 1997, 207. In the parallel scene, *jdmj*- and *jrtjw*-linen are depicted together (Edfu I 237/16–238/9).

170 Edfu I 245/6–7; Wilson 1997, 207, 846.

accompanying text, the guarantee of legitimate kingship is highlighted.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, in another scene depicting the offering of both textiles, a group of deities give the king, in return, the appearance of Ra (Harsomthus), millions of years and Sed festivals (Shu), and the slaughter of enemies (Horus).¹⁷² These aspects can be interpreted as luminous, regenerative, and protective, respectively. All of them constitute the basic ideology of kingship.

These two types of linen, white and green, are frequently depicted together because they are the first two in the sequence in which all four colored linens are listed. For instance, in a scene in the *wabet* of Dendera, Wadjet presents them to Hathor and Horus of Edfu,¹⁷³ while the opposite scene depicts the king and Tayet offering the *jrtjw*- and *jdmj*-textiles to Isis and Harsomthus.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, both textiles, together with *ntrj* (a kind of cloth),¹⁷⁵ were used to dress and adorn divine figures.¹⁷⁶ Another example, this time from the temple of Opet in Karnak, connects the two fabrics and the *ntrj*-cloth with Tayet, who presents them in the *soubassement* procession.¹⁷⁷

The reason these two colors were combined may have been to strengthen the effect of luminosity shared by green and white. Wearing both colors at the same time, giving off a glow from two different origins, created the full spectrum of luminosity. Green can be associated with the shininess derived from fresh plants or stones (malachite), described by Pinch, who based her research about colors on the linguistic study of John Lyons,¹⁷⁸ as a “shiny, almost moist, texture . . . which . . . gives them the appearance of living things.” White is the radiance connected with brightness, which might have lunar connotations.¹⁷⁹ Another voice in this discussion is that of B. Lukács, who argued that the color system in ancient Egypt was different from ours; for instance, what we translate as “white” may also have labeled transparent or colorless objects.¹⁸⁰ With no strong arguments, Lukács put forward a theory about “green stars,” arguing that the term *w3d.t* was chosen in this expression to highlight the brightness of the stars.¹⁸¹

Furthermore, as Goebs noted, white and green can serve as a luminous parallel to each other, as attested in the throne names of Kamose (*w3d hprw Rꜥw*) and Sheshonq I (*hd hprw Rꜥw stp n Rꜥw*).¹⁸² She concluded her study on this matter by observing that *w3d.t* may have been the “dark shimmer” of the Red Crown. Being the counterpart of the White Crown (*hd.t*), the Red Crown was indeed of darker shade; nevertheless, the luminosity effect

171 This time, the white cloth is enumerated as the first one. In the parallel scene, *jdmj*- and *jrtjw*-linen are again depicted (Edfu I, 124/16–125/18; 126/14–127/14).

172 Edfu I 124/16; Wilson 1997, 207.

173 Dend. IV, 247/3–248/4, pl. CCCXI; Coppens 2007, 174.

174 Dend. IV, 265/7–266/10, pl. CCCXI; Coppens 2007, 174.

175 *Wb.* 2, 365/14–15; Wilson 1997, 558.

176 Edfu I 566/17; Wilson 1997, 697. For more information about the *ntrj*-cloth, see Wilson 1997, 558; Scheele 2005, 23–24.

177 KIU 4110; Opet 226.R.

178 Pinch 2001, 183.

179 Goebs 2008, 158.

180 Lukács 1990–92, 404–5.

181 Lukács 1990–92, 406.

182 Goebs 2008, 157.

involved both crowns.¹⁸³ Mathieu also commented on the functional analogy between these two colors.¹⁸⁴ Recently, Dorothea Wollnerová linked white and green linen with the east and the sunrise.¹⁸⁵

THE MEANING OF COLORED LINEN IN TEMPLE RITUALS

The four colored textiles were presented to gods as well as to deceased kings during temple rituals.¹⁸⁶ The selection of deities in the scenes and texts involving the presence of colored linen is based on the functions and characters of the gods. Thanks to this practice, it is possible to interpret each linen as well as the combinations of linens—solar and lunar gods are connected with renewal and regeneration, aggressive ones with frightening and defeating enemies, and deities associated with the harvest and rebirth of nature with life, health, prosperity, and regeneration.

Wilson, referring to the temple of Edfu, noted that blue/purple, white, red, and green cloth “are indicators of status and in particular of kingship.”¹⁸⁷ She also stated that “cloths are symbols of the kingship and by offering them the king shows that he is the legitimate ruler because he has the correct clothes and can be recognized and feared from his splendid appearance.”¹⁸⁸ The properties of each color of linen discussed in this study are gathered in table 13.1.

The strong renewal qualities of linen—not only colored linens but textiles in general—are expressed in the celebration of the “festival of linen” (*ḥb mnḥ.t*), which most probably took place during the epagomenal days and the New Year.¹⁸⁹ These four main colors are all connected with aspects of regeneration, rejuvenation, and transformation, but on different levels. Only when combined do they create the proper and full state, which can be understood as a complete establishment of the regenerated identity. As the regeneration process is one of the fundamental beliefs in ancient Egyptian religion, it seems reasonable that it had to be secured in numerous ways. Using different colors of linen resulted in the acquisition of all the properties needed to achieve full regeneration, rejuvenation, and transformation.

The fundamental aspect of this belief is that the properties symbolized by each color are acquired through the reception of each kind of textile. The four colors seem to be essential to achieving the entire variety of multicolorization, which led to full regeneration.¹⁹⁰ The significance of these four colors is reflected in the ritual of consecrating the *mr:t*-chests, which relates to (but is not strictly derived from) the myth of Osiris.¹⁹¹ In the

183 Goebis 2008, 157–59.

184 Mathieu 2009, 41–42.

185 Wollnerová 2021, 164.

186 Coppens 2007, 124 n. 916.

187 Wilson 1997, 207.

188 Wilson 1997, 436.

189 Ryhiner 1995, 37–54; Coppens 2014, 472–75, 477.

190 Goebis (2011, 70–94) expanded this interpretation for the other elements used in the daily temple ritual, as well as for different crowns.

191 Egberts 1995, 181–89.

Table 13.1. Properties of colored linen.

Colored linen	Properties
White/bright (<i>ḥd.t</i>)	Strong luminosity (blinding effect) Protection (through respect)
Green (<i>w3d.t</i>)	Refreshment Rejuvenation Health Prosperity Protection (through power)
Red (<i>jnsj</i>)	Protection (through power) Frightening enemies Luminosity (rising sun)
Red (<i>jdmj</i>)	Transformation Transfiguration Protection
Purple/bluish red (<i>jrtjw</i>)	Protection (through power) Frightening enemies

temple of Edfu is a scene representing the consecration of four chests by the king before Horus and Hathor. According to the inscriptions, these chests contained the following linens: *ḥd.t*, *w3d.t*, *jdmj*, and *jrtjw*.¹⁹² Furthermore, these four colored textiles are described in the temple of Edfu as the “foundation of the gods’ sky,”¹⁹³ which can be interpreted as evidence of their principal role in this ritual. The same sequence of colored linens in this ritual is attested in the temple of Dendera.¹⁹⁴ Depending on the character of the ritual and its purpose, the roles of colored linen might be classified as in table 13.2.

Table 13.2. Roles of colored linen.

Recipient of ritual	Character of ritual	Role of colored linen
Living king	Festival	Renewing the royal power, frightening enemies, providing good health, prosperity, and splendid appearance
Deceased king	Mortuary cult	Renewing and preserving life
Divine statue	Daily ritual	Providing everyday regeneration
Osiris (the deceased)	Mortuary cult	Providing Osirian regeneration

¹⁹² Edfu VI 249/3, 14; Wilson 1997, 100; see also Egberts 1995, 139 n. 2, referring to *sšd*-linen as a substitute for *jrtjw*.

¹⁹³ Edfu VIII, 67/15–16.

¹⁹⁴ Dend. IV, 74/4–5; Egberts 1995, 157–59. However, it seems that the sequence of linen in the ritual of consecrating the *mr:t*-chests was not strictly codified; see Kapić 2024, 101–2.

The sequence of colored textiles during the act of clothing (i.e., the figure of a deity or king in various rituals) and in consecrating the *mr.t*-chests appears to be meaningful. Generally it starts with the *ḥḏ.t*-linen, which provides protection and glow and thus a suitable basis for the following garments. Next is the *wṣḏ.t*-cloth, which strengthens the luminous and protective effect and adds refreshment, prosperity, and health. The third cloth is red linen—depending on the period, either *jnsj* (New Kingdom) or *jrtjw* (Greco-Roman)—which reinforces the protective cover, but from a different angle than the previous fabrics (red being the color of anger and power, whereas white and green frighten enemies through their blinding radiance). Finally, after such preparation, the final cloth is applied—the *jdmy*-linen. This textile had the most powerful qualities, as it not only provided protection through the color red but also displayed special transformation and transfiguration properties. This order is not a strict pattern, but it is the most commonly attested one among all sequences listing linen.¹⁹⁵ It can be interpreted as a well-thought-out manipulation and implies that each type of linen had its own properties, evoked only if applied in the right sequence.

Wilson suggested that the four colors can be divided into two pairs—white/green and red/bluish red, symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt, respectively. As an entire sequence, they would symbolize the control the king had over the Two Lands.¹⁹⁶ The division proposed by Wilson is probably based on her iconographic observations in the temple of Edfu, where the offering of four colored garments is symmetrically divided into white/green offered to Hathor and Horus of Edfu and red/bluish red offered to Isis and Harsomthus.

Another attestation of the qualities of these four types of linen is to be found in the temple of Opet at Karnak, where one of the passages of the Osiris hymn says: “. . . so that you shine (*ḥḏ.k*) through the white garment (*ḥḏ.t*), that you glow (*wṣḏ.k*) through the green cloth (*wṣḏ.t*), that you unite with the bluish-red garment and that you join (*dmj.k*) the red cloth (*jdmy*).”¹⁹⁷ In this statement, the aforementioned wordplays are successfully used, simultaneously evoking the qualities of each textile. The same sequence of fabrics is attested in another passage in the same temple concerning the New Year’s festival and also addressing Osiris: “. . . during the New Year’s Festival, being adorned with white clothes (*ḥḏ.t*) and dressed in green fabrics (*wṣḏ.t*), [. . .] the bluish-red linen (*jrtjw*) and red linen (*jdmy*) cover your body.”¹⁹⁸

A colorfully dressed deity or king combined all these features—they dazzled enemies with luminosity, evoking respect from observers while protecting themselves at the same time. Thanks to the colorful garments, they could become renewed and rejuvenated in excellent health and great prosperity. One can observe that each color had different features, yet all are connected with regeneration. They influence one another in such a manner that as a group their significance is much stronger than is each type of colored linen separately. The act of dressing in or offering linen was completed with anointing, applying eye paint,

195 *Jdmy*-linen is absent from the Abydos sequence; however, it is attested in BD spell 17, devoted to white linen (David 2016, 131). Furthermore, in the Greco-Roman period, *jdmy* might be listed before *jrtjw* (Coppens 2007, table XI). Scenes in which a variety of linen types are listed, not just colored ones, follow no systematic sequence (Coppens 2007, 135–36; 2014, 477).

196 Wilson 1997, 436.

197 KIU 3785; Opet 206.L. The wordplay associated with *jrtjw*-linen was not employed in this context (*smṣ.k jrtjw*).

198 KIU 5412; Opet 124.6.

and adorning with regalia and jewelry.¹⁹⁹ By receiving each color of linen, gods, kings, and the deceased adopted its properties into their identity. Thereby would the complete process of regeneration be successfully conducted and all aspects of a good existence secured. As a result the state of *maat* was maintained, crucial to the proper functioning of the ancient Egyptian world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal for reading a draft of this essay and for all the valuable comments offered.

ABBREVIATIONS

BD	Book of the Dead
CT	Coffin Texts
Dend. I	Sylvie Cauville, <i>Dendara I: Traduction</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 81. Leuven: Peeters, 1998
Dend. II	Sylvie Cauville, <i>Dendara II: Traduction</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 88. Leuven: Peeters, 1999
Dend. III	Sylvie Cauville, <i>Dendara III: Traduction</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 95. Leuven: Peeters, 2000
Dend. IV	Sylvie Cauville, <i>Dendara IV: Traduction</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 101. Leuven: Peeters, 2001
Edfu I	Maxence de Rochemonteix and Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 1. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 10/1. 2nd ed. reviewed and corrected by Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1984
Edfu III	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 3. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 12. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1928
Edfu IV	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 4. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 21. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1929
Edfu VI	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 6. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 23. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931
Edfu VII	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 7. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 24. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1932
Edfu VIII	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 8. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 25. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1933
Edfu XII	Émile Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> . Vol. 12. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 29. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934
KIU	Karnak identifiant unique. http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak . Accessed February 20, 2019
O.	Ostrakon

199 Coppens 2007, 204–6; Goebis 2011, 62; David 2016, 131–32.

- Opet Constant de Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet, à Karnak*. Vol. 1. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 11. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1958
- P. Papyrus
- PT Pyramid Texts
- Pyr. Kurt Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–10
- TLA *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>. Accessed February 11, 2019
- TT Theban tomb
- Urk. I Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1932
- Urk. IV Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907
- Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926–63

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abubakr, Abd el Monem Jossuef
1937 *Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Alliot, Maurice
1955 “Une famille de mots reconstituée:  Pyr.  ins ‘être rouge.’” *Revue d'égyptologie* 10: 1–7.
- Assmann, Jan
2001 *Tot und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. Munich: Beck.
- Assmann, Jan, Martin Bommas, and Andrea Kucharek
2005 *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*. Vol. 2, *Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches*. Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 17. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Aufrère, Sydney
1991 *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*. Vol. 2, *Les minerais, les métaux, les minéraux et les produits chimiques, les trésors et les défilés de contrées minières—leur intégration dans la marche de l'univers et l'entretien de la vie divine*. Bibliothèque d'étude 52. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Baines, John
1985 “Color Terminology and Color Classification: Ancient Egyptian Color Terminology and Polychromy.” *American Anthropologist* 87: 282–97.
2001 “Colour Use and the Distribution of Relief and Painting in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos.” In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies, 145–57. London: British Museum Press.
- Bennett, John
1939 “The Restoration Inscription of Tut‘ankhamūn.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25: 8–15.
- Berlandini-Grenier, Jocelyne
1976 “Senenmout, stoliste royal, sur une statue-cube avec Néferourê.” *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 76: 111–32.
- Berlin, Brent, and Paul Kay
1969 *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Biston-Moulin, Sébastien
2017 *Glossaire des inscriptions de Karnak*. Vol. 1, *Le vocabulaire*. Travaux du Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak. Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry.

Blackman, Aylward M., and Herbert W. Fairman

- 1949 "The Significance of the Ceremony *ḥwt-bḥsw* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35: 98–112.
 1950 "The Significance of the Ceremony *ḥwt-bḥsw* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu: Commentary." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36: 63–81.

Bommas, Martin

- 1999 *Die Mythisierung der Zeit: Die beiden Bücher über die altägyptischen Schalttage des magischen pLeiden I 346*. Göttinger Orientforschungen 4. Reihe Ägypten 37. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Borchardt, Ludwig

- 1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-Reʿ*. Vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 26. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Braun, Nadja Stefanie

- 2013 *Pharao und Priester—Sakrale Affirmation von Herrschaft durch Kultvollzug: Das Tägliche Kultbildritual im Neuen Reich und der Dritten Zwischenzeit*. Philippika 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brunner, Hellmut

- 1977 *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 18. Mainz: von Zabern.

Brunner-Traut, Emma

- 1979 "Die grüne Sonne." In *Festschrift Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979*, edited by Manfred Görg, Edgar Pusch, Agnes Wuckelt, and Karl-Joachim Seyfried, 54–59. Ägypten und Altes Testament 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Calverley, Amice M., and Myrtle F. Broome

- 1933 *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. Vol. 1, *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*, edited by Alan H. Gardiner. London: Egypt Exploration Society and Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1935 *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. Vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rēʿ, Rēʿ-Ḥarakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*, edited by Alan H. Gardiner. London: Egypt Exploration Society and Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Camino, Ricardo

- 1956 *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*. Oxford: Griffith Institute / Oxford University Press.

Chapman, Sarah Lynn

- 2017 "The Embalming Ritual of Late Period through Ptolemaic Egypt." PhD diss., University of Birmingham.

Coppens, Filip

- 2007 *The Wabet: Tradition and Innovation in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
 2014 "Processions with Linen and Oils: Reflections on the *Soubassement*-Processions in the 'Chambers of Linen' (*ḥwt-mnḥ.t*) at Philae and Dendara." In *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: Die Soubassements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, edited by Alexa Rickert and Bettina Ventker, 465–82. *Soubassementstudien* 1/1. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2016 "*Ḥb šsp mnḥ.t*: A Feast of Harsomtut of Khadi on Mesore 29." In *Rich and Great: Studies in Honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the Occasion of His 70th Feast of Thoth*, edited by Renata Landgráfová and Jana Mynářová, 29–38. Prague: Charles University Faculty of Arts.

Cruz-Urbe, Eugene

- 1996 "Comments on the Goddess Tayt." *Varia Aegyptiaca* 11: 17–55.

David, Rosalie

- 2016 *Temple Ritual at Abydos*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Derchain, Philippe

- 1965 *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051): Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*. Brussels: Palais des Académies.

Der Manuelian, Peter

- 2003 *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 7. New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University.

Drioton, Étienne, and Jean-Philippe Lauer

- 1958 "Un groupe de tombes a Saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-khouou-Ptah, Sebek-em-khent et Ankhi." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 55: 207–51.

du Bourguet, Pierre

- 2008 *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 121. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Duell, Prentice

- 1938 *The Mastaba of Mereruka*. Part 2, *Chambers A 11–13, Doorjambs and Inscriptions of Chambers A 1–21, Tomb Chamber, and Exterior*. Oriental Institute Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Egberts, Arno

- 1995 *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*. 2 vols. Egyptologische Uitgaven 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabie Oosten.

Enmarch, Roland

- 2005 *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Gardiner, Alan H.

- 1938 "The House of Life." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24: 157–79.
1957 *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Germer, Renate

- 1992 *Die Textilfärberei und die Verwendung gefärbter Textilien im Alten Ägypten*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 53. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Goebs, Katja

- 1995 "Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 122: 154–81.
2008 *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature: Royalty, Rebirth and Destruction*. Griffith Institute Monographs. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
2011 "King as God and God as King." In *Palace and Temple: Architecture—Decoration—Ritual*. 5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie, Cambridge, July, 16th–17th, 2007, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence, 57–101. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Goyon, Jean-Claude

- 1972 *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an: Brooklyn Museum 47.218.50*. Bibliothèque d'étude 52. Wilbour Monographs 7. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale and Oxford: University Press.

Grapow, Hermann

- 1915–17 *Religiöse Urkunden: Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches 1–3*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 5. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

- 1924 *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen: Vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Harris, John R.
- 1961 *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 54. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hartwig, Melinda
- 2013 "Scenes and Texts in the Tomb Chapel of Menna." In *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69): The Art, Culture, and Science of Painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, edited by Melinda Hartwig, 21–90. American Research Center in Egypt Conservation Series 5. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Jéquier, Gustave
- 1921 *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 47. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Kapiec, Katarzyna
- 2016 "Decoration of the Two Chests from the Frieze of Objects in the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari." *Études et travaux* 29: 95–110.
- 2017 "The Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: Epigraphic Work between 2014 and 2015." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 26: 205–18.
- 2018 "The Sacred Scents: Examining the Connection between the *'ntjw* and *sft* in the Context of the Early 18th Dynasty Temples." *Études et travaux* 31: 195–217.
- 2021 *The Southern Room of Amun*. Vol. 1, *History and Epigraphy*. Deir el-Bahari 10. Warsaw: Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences (IKŚiO PAN) and Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2024 *The Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut*. Vol. 2, *Studies on Decoration and Ritual Function*, with an appendix by Izabela Uchman. Deir el-Bahari XI. Warsaw: Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences (IKŚiO PAN) and Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Karkowski, Janusz
- 2001 "Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari." *Études et travaux* 19: 81–112.
- Kees, Hermann
- 1943 *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten*. Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Koch, Roland
- 1990 *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Landgráfová, Renata, and Hana Navrátilová
- 2009 *Sex and the Golden Goddess*. Vol. 1, *Ancient Egyptian Love Songs in Context*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Lapp, Günther
- 1997 *The Papyrus of Nu*. Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1. London: British Museum Press.
- Lukács, B.
- 1990–92 "A Note on Ancient Egyptians' Colour Vision." *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33: 399–406.

Mathieu, Bernard

- 2009 "Les couleurs dans les Textes des Pyramides: Approche des systèmes chromatiques." *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 2: 25–52.

Moret, Alexandre

- 1902 *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti I^{er}, à Abydos*. Annales du Musée Guimet 40. Paris: LeRoux.

Munro, Irmtraut

- 1994 *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Museum Cairo*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Naville, Édouard

- 1906 *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*. Part 5, *The Upper Court and Sanctuary*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 27. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Osing, Jürgen

- 1999 "Zum Kultbildritual in Abydos." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, 317–34. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Otto, Eberhard

- 1960 *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. 2 vols. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Parkinson, Richard

- 2008 *The Painted Tomb-Chapel of Nebamun: Masterpieces of Ancient Egyptian Art in the British Museum*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Pinch, Geraldine

- 2001 "Red Things: The Symbolism of Colour in Magic." In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by W. Vivian Davies, 182–85. London: British Museum Press.

Posener-Kriéger, Paule

- 1976 *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (les Papyrus d'Abousir): Traduction et commentaire*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Posener-Kriéger, Paule, Miroslav Verner, and Hana Vymazalová

- 2006 *The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef: The Papyrus Archive*. Abusir 10. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

- 1998 "Mit grüner Tinte rot schreiben?" *Göttinger Miszellen* 165: 7–8.

Quibell, James Edward

- 1913 *The Tomb of Hesy*. Excavations at Saqqara (1911–12). Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Richter, Barbara

- 2010 "On the Heels of the Wandering Goddess: The Myth and the Festival at the Temples of the Wadi el-Hallel and Dendera." In *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples—Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008*, edited by Monika Dolińska and Horst Beinlich, 155–86. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 3/3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rummel, Ute

- 2006 "Weihrauch, Salböl und Leinen: Balsamierungsmaterialien als Medium der Erneuerung im Sedfest." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34: 381–407.

Ryhiner, Marie-Louise

- 1995 *La procession des étoffes et l'union avec Hathor*. Rites égyptiens 8. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Sauneron, Serge

- 1952 *Rituel de l'embaumement: Pap. Boulaq III, Pap. Louvre 5.158*. Cairo: Imprimerie Nationale.

Scheele, Katrin

- 2005 *Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches: Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch*. Menes 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schenkel, Wolfgang

- 1963 "Die Farben in ägyptischer Kunst und Sprache." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 88: 131–47.

Sethe, Kurt

- 1930 *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18/4. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
- 1935 *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. Vol. 1, *Spruch 213–260*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Shaw, Ian

- 2000 *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shorter, Alan W.

- 1934 "Reliefs Showing the Coronation of Ramesses II." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20, no. 1: 18–19.

Stegbauer, Katharina

- 2009 Projekt Digital Heka, Universität Leipzig. Accessed March 21, 2019. <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/digiheka>.

Stevenson Smith, William

- 1935 "The Old Kingdom Linen List." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 71: 134–49.

Tacke, Nikolaus

- 2013 *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 222. Leuven: Peeters.

van Rooij, Elsie H. C., and Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood

- 1994 "The Pharaonic Textiles." In *Pharaonic and Early Medieval Egyptian Textiles*, edited by Maarten J. Raven, Philomeen P. M. van 't Hooft, Elsie H. C. van Rooij, and Gillian M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, 13–27. Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden 8. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

von Bissing, Friedrich Wilhelm, and Hermann Kees

- 1928 *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re*. Vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Vymazalová, Hana, and Filip Coppens

- 2009 "The Clothing Rite in the Royal Temples of Abusir." In *My Things Changed Things: Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages*, edited by Petra Mariková Vlčková, Jana Mynářová, and Martin Tomásek, 64–73. Prague: Charles University Faculty of Arts.
- 2010 "Long Live the King! Notes on the Renewal of Divine Kingship in the Temple." In *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, edited by Ladislav Bares, Filip Coppens, and Kveta Smoláriková, 73–102. Prague: Charles University Faculty of Arts.
- 2011 "Statues and Rituals for Khentkaus II: A Reconsideration of Some Papyrus Fragments from the Queen's Funerary Complex." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/11*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, 777–91. Prague: Charles University Faculty of Arts.

Waitkus, Wolfgang

- 2008 *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels*. 2 vols. Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia 2. Gladbeck: PeWe.

Wilkinson, Richard

- 1994 *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*. London: Thames & Hudson.
2003 *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Willems, Harco

- 1988 *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*. Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux" 25. Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux.

Wilson, Penelope

- 1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexicon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.

Wollnerová, Dorotea

- 2021 "Presenting Four Coloured Linen in Ptolemaic Temples." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2019: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019*, edited by Marta Arranz Cárcamo, Raúl Sánchez Casado, Albert Planelles Orozco, Sergio Alarcón Robledo, Jónatan Ortiz García, and Patricia Mora Riudavets, 157–67. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Ziegler, Christiane

- 1993 *Le mastaba d'Akhethetep: Une chapelle funéraire de l'Ancien Empire*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

PART IV

TEXTILES AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC
FUNCTIONS OF DRESS

14

Textile Cultures of Mediterranean Europe in the Early First Millennium BCE: Technology, Tradition, Aesthetics, and Identity

Margarita Gleba
University of Padua

CLOTHING REFLECTS THE identity of an individual or a group of people more than most other aspects of material culture do, since it combines both the technological achievements and the aesthetic values of a society. Studying the dress of ancient societies not only helps reconstruct the appearance of ancient people but also reveals numerous aspects of their history. Such study is not an easy task, however, because for most ancient cultures very little direct evidence of their clothing has survived in the archaeological record. Textiles and other materials from which garments were made are seldom preserved. Even when they survive, the corpus of finds is inherently biased because the vast majority of ancient clothing is found in burials, usually those of wealthy people. Nevertheless, meticulous analysis of such material sometimes opens a window into the technologies, traditions, aesthetics, and identities of the past. In what follows, I present some considerations arising from recent research into textile cultures of Mediterranean Europe during the first millennium BCE.

During the period between 1000 and 500 BCE, Mediterranean Europe, broadly encompassing eastern, central, and western regions (Greece, Italy, and Spain, respectively), was an area of dynamic change characterized by the movement of people and goods, the production of wealth, and the rise of urbanism, mobility, and craft specialization. Such transformations occurred primarily under the patronage of elites and were motivated by the need to produce status markers and prestige goods.¹ Textiles constituted the primary material for making dress articles probably at least since the Neolithic period and were undoubtedly among the most important of these status markers, being products whose design and use are subject to cultural patterning.²

With many garments being “off the loom”—that is, woven to shape on the loom rather than tailored in the modern sense of the term—textiles often *were* the garments. They were shaped on and around the body using various devices, such as belts, pins, and fibulae, and were decorated with appliqués in diverse and often precious materials, such as metal, glass paste, amber, shell, bone, and stone. Such elements of dress often survive archaeologically

1 Riva 2010.

2 Sørensen 1997.

because these materials are less perishable than textiles. Furthermore, in inhumation burials they are found *in situ*, allowing us to reconstruct their precise location on the body and hence their specific function in the dress system. Discussions of Iron Age dress are, in fact, usually based on these elements and their combination. Indeed, many publications rely exclusively on such materials to showcase the splendid “garments” found in high-status burials of the Iron Age in Italy, Greece, and Cyprus,³ except that—as in the well-known fairy tale—“the king is naked,” because the cloth component of the dress is no longer there.

Given the importance of textiles for the appearance and construction of dress, it is imperative to understand what kind of fabrics the societies of the northern Mediterranean used during the Iron Age—that is, to define their textile cultures in terms of raw materials and techniques as well as the cultural preferences determined by each society’s specific traditions, aesthetics, and values. Analysis of several hundred textile fragments from across Mediterranean Europe within the scope of the PROCON project provides, for the first time, data on raw materials, thread, and textile technologies used in the region during the first half of the first millennium BCE.⁴ Although the majority of these textiles survive only in mineralized form,⁵ they generate a considerable amount of information about ancient textile structure, including their various technical parameters. The latter include the type of raw material used (e.g., wool or flax); thread structure, including twist direction in warp and weft (z for clockwise; s for counterclockwise; i for no discernible twist; * for splicing), diameter in warp and weft (expressed in millimeters), and tightness of twist (hard, medium, or loose); type of textile weave or binding (plain weave/tabby or twill); thread count (expressed in number of threads per centimeter) in warp and weft, indicating cloth quality; and the presence of edges and other diagnostic features.⁶

Although the material in this study comes primarily from funerary contexts, inevitably creating a bias toward high-status textiles, it is at the same time perfect for such a study because it represents textiles used for garments rather than for other utilitarian purposes, such as furnishings and sails. As such, the material reflects the broad technological patterns of textile production and consumption and can be of great value in their definition.

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

To date, data from ninety-five⁷ textiles originating from various sites in Greece dating between 1200 and 500 BCE have been analyzed.⁸ Apart from a small quantity of fabrics of unidentifiable weave, the bands with supplementary warp floats from Lefkandi,⁹ and

3 E.g., Stampolidis and Giannopoulou 2012.

4 The European Research Council-funded project PROCON—Production and Consumption: Textile Economy and Urbanisation in Mediterranean Europe 1000–500 BCE (2013–18) investigated the role of textile production and consumption in the formation of urban centers during the Iron Age across Greece, Italy, and Spain; see Gleba 2015.

5 On textile mineralization, see Chen, Jakes, and Foreman 1998.

6 Emery 1966; Walton and Eastwood 1988; Seiler-Baldinger 1994.

7 The numbers of objects analyzed here and below reflect the state of the art at the beginning of 2019, when this study was submitted.

8 Gleba 2018.

9 Not included here; see Barber 1991, 197.

a possible gauze weave from Stamna,¹⁰ the rest are all woven in plain or tabby weave and can be subdivided into balanced and weft-faced, although there is substantial variation in quality within each group (fig. 14.1).

A small number of tabbies made with plant fiber (flax, where identified) are quite distinct because they were woven using spliced yarn (fig. 14.1c–d). Until recently, it was thought that all prehistoric plant-fiber textiles in Europe were made with draft-spun and plied yarn, but the latest research suggests that the yarns in these fabrics are in fact spliced.¹¹ In contrast to draft spinning, splicing entails the joining of preformed plant-fiber bundles stripped from plant stalks in such a way that the ends of the fibers overlap either continuously or end to end.¹² To achieve this result, the plant fibers were not thoroughly retted or were even used green directly from the plant. Splicing has been assumed to be a technique used exclusively in ancient Egypt and the Far East,¹³ but recent investigations of European pre- and protohistoric textiles indicate that some form of this method was ubiquitous throughout Europe and the Near East and, in fact, coexisted with the draft spinning of wool well into the first millennium BCE.¹⁴ This appears to be the case with Greek textiles made with plant fibers dating through the Archaic period and in some cases even as late as Classical times.

Splicing allows the creation of exceptionally fine threads, which may have been one of the reasons this technique of thread production continued to be used even after the adoption of draft spinning for flax fiber. In fact, among the Greek balanced tabbies are some exquisitely fine and open fabrics. One example comes from Eretria (fig. 14.1d), with spliced threads measuring less than 0.1 mm in diameter.¹⁵ Later examples of such open balanced linen tabbies are known from other sites in Greece, such as Kerameikos, Marathon, Moschato, and Salamis, all dated to the fifth century BCE, although only the Kerameikos example was produced with spliced threads.¹⁶

More than half the textiles examined from Greece are wool, weft-faced tabbies, which have at least twice as many wefts as warp threads per unit of length, and the weft threads are usually so tightly packed that the warp becomes invisible (fig. 14.1e–f). Most of the weft-faced tabbies have a weft thread count reaching fifty, with the warp thread count averaging ten threads per centimeter. A common characteristic of this group of textiles is that while the warp threads are hard twisted, the weft threads usually have only a weak twist or no discernible twist at all. Weft diameters are often less than 0.1–0.2 mm. The production of such weft-faced tabbies, which are seemingly simple in their basic structure, would have required considerable skill and prime materials. The Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

¹⁰ Kolonas et al. 2017, 534.

¹¹ Gleba and Harris 2019.

¹² Granger-Taylor 1998; Gleba and Harris 2019.

¹³ Granger-Taylor 1998; Kemp and Vogelsang-Eastwood 2001, 74–77.

¹⁴ Gleba and Harris 2019.

¹⁵ Bloesch and Mühletaler 1967; Bérard 1970, 13; Blandin 2007, 43–48.

¹⁶ Spantidaki 2016, 41–42, 111, 113, 114.



a. Lefkandi



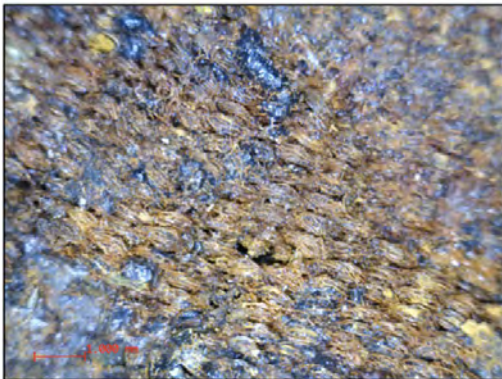
b. Knossos



c. Corinth



d. Eretria



e. Karabournaki



f. Knossos

Figure 14.1. Selection of textiles from ancient Greece: *a–b*, balanced tabbies; *c–d*, spliced tabbies; *e–f*, weft-faced tabbies. Photo *a* by ARTEX; photos *b–f* by M. Gleba.

examples from Lefkandi,¹⁷ Knossos,¹⁸ Stamna,¹⁹ Tyrins,²⁰ Athens,²¹ and Corinth²² are of very high quality and clearly demonstrate that the technology was, by this time, already well developed. By the Archaic period (seventh to sixth centuries BCE), weft thread counts start reaching 100 or more threads per centimeter, as, for example, in the textiles from Corfu.²³ This trend continues into the Classical and later periods.²⁴

Variation and decoration in Greek textiles were introduced by varying thread twist, twist angle, or diameter—a trend that continued into later periods.²⁵ In fact, there is a much greater degree of variation in thread-twist combination in weft-faced tabbies in Greece than in Italy. At Lefkandi, one of the textiles was decorated by inserting a thicker weft thread every ten threads, creating an effect of horizontal bands.²⁶ Additive techniques such as embroidery could also be used, although this technique has been identified only in Classical Attic textiles from Koropi in Athens²⁷ and Nikaia in Piraeus.²⁸ Textiles could be decorated with gold-foil appliqués, some of which have been preserved archaeologically or are depicted in sculpture.

Dyeing was another method to add variety (and likely value) to textiles. To date, only shellfish purple dye has been identified in the archaeological textiles found in Greece (fig. 14.2). The earliest example comes from Stamna, dated between 1200 and 1000 BCE,²⁹ followed by the late seventh- to early sixth-century BCE mineralized textiles from Corfu.³⁰ The remaining purple-dyed fragments all date to the fifth century BCE and have been excavated in Attic burials at Kalyvia,³¹ Maroussi,³² and Athenian Kerameikos.³³ In all but one of these weft-faced tabbies, purple-dyed yarn was used to introduce stripes or other decorative elements.

A similar textile tradition appears to be present in the nearby regions. To the north of Greece, balanced and weft-faced tabbies are the only types of textiles so far recovered in Bulgaria, ancient Thrace.³⁴ The majority of the identifiable fabrics recovered at Lofkënd

17 Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 190–91, 194.

18 Cocking 1996.

19 Kolonas et al. 2017.

20 Hundt 1984.

21 Kourou 2011; Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 194.

22 Davidson 1952, pl. 117.

23 Metallinou, Moulherat, and Spantidaki 2009; Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 191, 195–96.

24 Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 197; Spantidaki 2016, 55.

25 Spantidaki 2014, 2016.

26 Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 192 figs. 7.7 and 7.8, 194.

27 Beckwith 1954; Spantidaki 2016, 81, 112.

28 Margariti 2018.

29 Kolonas et al. 2017.

30 Metallinou, Moulherat, and Spantidaki 2009.

31 Spantidaki 2016, 110 cat. no. 6, 121.

32 Spantidaki and Moulherat 2012, 195; Spantidaki 2016, 113 cat. no. 18, 135.

33 Margariti et al. 2013; Spantidaki 2016, 112 cat. no. 12, 128–29.

34 Dimova 2018.



a. Kerameikos, Athens



b. Maroussi

Figure 14.2. Textiles preserving dye in ancient Greece. Photos by ARTEX.

in Albania are also balanced and weft-faced tabbies.³⁵ To the east, tabbies and weft-faced tabbies are well attested across the Near East already during the Bronze Age and are common during the Iron Age. Specific examples come from the Late Bronze Age royal burial in Qatna, Syria;³⁶ the Iron Age levels (1100–800 BCE) of Hasanlu in northwestern Iran;³⁷ the mining site of Timna, in southeastern Israel, which dates between the thirteenth and ninth centuries BCE;³⁸ and Phrygian Gordion in Turkey, dated between 800 and 600 BCE.³⁹

One of the likely reasons for the popularity of the weft-faced tabby weave in Greece and the Near East is that it was one of the techniques used for making tapestries. In this technique, the wefts of different colors are woven back and forth to fill in just those areas where these particular colors are needed for the design and packed so that the warp is not visible, thereby creating blocks of color. Such tapestry-woven textiles are known since the Middle to Late Bronze Age—for example, at the abovementioned royal burial at Qatna in Syria,⁴⁰ as well as in Egypt.⁴¹ Iron Age examples of tapestry have been found in Gordion⁴² and in a Late Assyrian coffin with female remains from Ur in southern Iraq dated to the late eighth to early seventh century BCE.⁴³ In the Aegean region, the earliest examples of tapestry known to date have been found in Macedonia⁴⁴ and Thrace;⁴⁵ they date to the late Classical to Hellenistic period.

It hence appears that the textile culture of Iron Age Greece was based primarily on balanced and weft-faced tabby weave and was closely related to the Near Eastern tradition.

³⁵ Muros 2014, 416.

³⁶ Reifarth and Drewello 2011.

³⁷ Love 2011.

³⁸ Shamir and Baginski 1993; Workman et al. 2017.

³⁹ Ellis 1981; Burke 2010, 153–57.

⁴⁰ James et al. 2009; Reifarth and Drewello 2011.

⁴¹ Barber 1991, 157; Vogelsang-Eastwood 2000, 275.

⁴² Ellis 1981.

⁴³ Granger-Taylor 1983.

⁴⁴ Spantidaki 2016, 57, 62 fig. 5.17.

⁴⁵ Dimova 2018.

The latter fact is hardly surprising, since close connections existed between these areas long before the first millennium BCE.

CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN

Turning to the central Mediterranean, a different picture emerges from the textile remains from Italy, where the study of 192 textile fragments demonstrates a wider variety of weaves and techniques than that observed in Greece and the Near East (fig. 14.3).

Unsurprisingly, balanced tabbies or plain-weave textiles are generally common and constitute 26 percent of the total (fig. 14.3a–b). Where identified, they are made primarily with plant fiber, mostly flax; are woven in single, primarily z-twisted yarn; and have ten to thirty threads per centimeter. Linen balanced tabbies were likely used for inner garments, as in the case of the Orientalizing Tomb XIII at Veio Poggioverde.⁴⁶ Such textiles are also found in contexts that allow them to be identified as shrouds, or as wrapping material for ossuaries or burial gifts.⁴⁷ This, for example, is the case with fabrics found on the external surfaces of the bronze ossuaries found at the ancient Venetic site of Este in northeastern Italy.⁴⁸

A small group (3 percent) is composed of warp-dominant tabbies woven with spliced plant-fiber yarn (fig. 14.3c–d).⁴⁹ The thread counts range from twenty to fifty-five threads per centimeter in warp and ten to twenty-five threads per centimeter in weft. Among the best examples of this type are fragments from the Tomba del Guerriero in Tarquinia.⁵⁰ Many of these spliced textiles appear to have been used for wrapping cremated remains, as they are often found inside the ossuaries. In addition to textiles, spliced plant-fiber threads were used to attach bronze appliqué to other flexible substrates. From the Tomba del Guerriero in Tarquinia comes a narrow piece of a spliced textile with bronze buttons attached using spliced thread,⁵¹ while other examples of thread with bronze buttons still attached have been found at Vulci.⁵²

A larger group (24 percent) consists of weft-faced tabbies with hard-twisted warps and wefts that have barely any twist, similar to the weft-faced tabbies found across Greece and the Near East described above (fig. 14.3e–f). Where fiber identification has been possible, all these textiles were determined to be made of wool. The thread counts range from ten to eighty threads per centimeter in warp and three to thirty threads per centimeter in weft. The contexts and quality of these textiles suggest that they were likely used for garments. These textiles have a specific geographic distribution, having been found in the Abruzzo region (the majority, in fact, coming from a single site, Alfedena, dated to the seventh to fifth centuries BCE), an area that was culturally connected with the Adriatic Basin during the Iron Age; in the postcolonial contexts of southern Italy; and in a few exceptionally rich

46 De Cristofaro and Piergrossi 2017.

47 Gleba 2014.

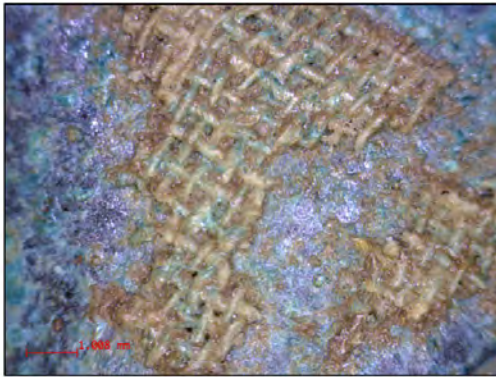
48 Ruta Serafini and Gleba 2018.

49 Gleba and Harris 2019.

50 Stauffer 2013.

51 See also Stauffer 2013, 160–61.

52 Gleba 2017a.



a. Vulci



b. Civita Castellana



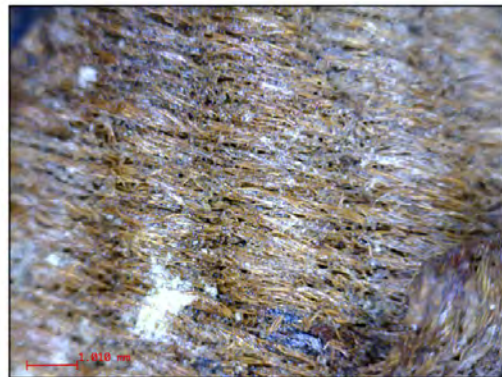
c. Tarquinia



d. Vulci

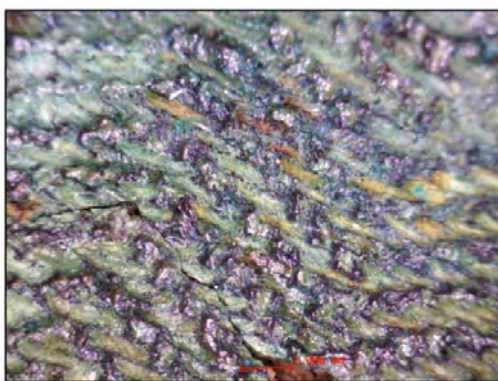


e. Palestrina

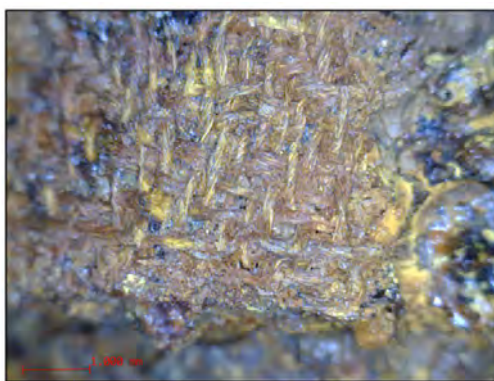


f. Alfedena

Figure 14.3. Selection of textiles from ancient Italy: *a–b*, balanced tabbies; *c–d*, spliced tabbies; *e–f*, weft-faced tabbies. Photos by M. Gleba.



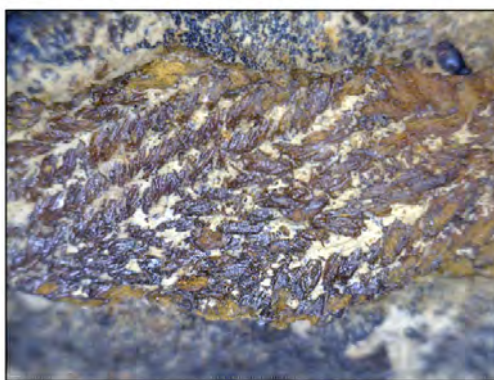
a. Incoronata



b. Civita Castellana



c. Santa Palomba



d. Poggio Civitate di Murlo

Figure 14.4. Selection of textiles from ancient Italy: *a–b*, twills; *c–d*, tablet weaves. Photos by M. Gleba.

Etruscan and Latial burials, which also contained an extraordinary quantity of eastern imports. I will come back to the significance of this later.

More than 26 percent of the Iron Age textiles of Italy investigated thus far, however, fall into a different category and have been found throughout northern and central as well as southern Italy: textiles woven in 2/2 twill weave (fig. 14.4a–b). All the examples where the raw material has been identified are made of wool. These twills are usually woven in z-twisted threads, but more than half are spin- or shadow-patterned—that is, made using alternating groups of threads twisted in opposing directions in both warp and weft, which would have created a subtle checked pattern when viewed in raking light. The thread counts range from five to forty threads per centimeter in both systems, with the majority falling between fifteen and thirty threads per centimeter. These twill textiles often have tablet-woven borders, which constitute 11 percent of the total and are also made of wool, where identified (fig. 14.4c–d). Many such tablet-woven borders are technically complex and extremely labor-intensive and time-consuming.⁵³ The twill textiles with tablet-woven

⁵³ Ræder Knudsen 2012.



a. Vulci



b. Sasso di Furbara



c. Tarquinia



d. Vedretta di Ries

Figure 14.5. Textiles preserving dye in ancient Italy. Photos by M. Gleba.

borders were likely outer garments, often ceremonial in nature, such as the mantles from Tomba del Trono at Verucchio.⁵⁴

It is usually no longer possible to reconstruct the original color of the mineralized textiles, but dye analysis of some of the organically preserved finds indicates the use of sophisticated dyeing methods and a variety of animal and plant dye sources (fig. 14.5). A fine twill preserved on a bronze belt from the late Villanovan female Tomb LXXII in the Cava della Pozzolana necropolis at Cerveteri was woven in white and red checks, the latter dyed with wild madder. A similar pattern appears on one of the recent finds from Vulci.⁵⁵ The textiles found at Verucchio yielded evidence for the use of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), wild madder (*Rubia peregrina*), plant-based yellow dyes, and tannins.⁵⁶ Some of the Verucchio textiles are clearly checked in addition to being woven in diamond twill.⁵⁷ Woad and wild

⁵⁴ Stauffer 2012.

⁵⁵ Gleba 2023.

⁵⁶ Vanden Berghe 2002; Stauffer 2012.

⁵⁷ von Eles 1995, 25 fig. 11; 2007, 180 no. 121.

madder were also detected in the preliminary analyses of textiles from Sasso di Furbara.⁵⁸ One of the fabrics from the Tomba dell'Aryballos sospeso at Tarquinia, dated to the late seventh to early sixth century BCE, had one of the systems dyed with shellfish purple, while another was originally dyed blue with woad.⁵⁹ Woad was also used to color a blue sewing thread in one of the Vedretta di Ries textiles.⁶⁰

In addition, textiles were likely decorated with various beads, buttons, and appliqués in precious materials, such as bronze, gold, amber, glass, and faience, found in the hundreds and even thousands in rich Iron Age tombs across Italy.⁶¹ Small, domed bronze buttons are particularly common over a very wide geographic area and, as already mentioned, often preserve the remains of spliced linen threads, which were used to attach them to the fabric.

Textile evidence from central Europe indicates that eastern Hallstatt elite also consumed very similar textiles—there is an almost infinite variety of dyed and patterned twills woven in single yarns; many of the twills are spin patterned; and although tablet weaves are not integral to the textiles, they were sewn onto the garments and likely served a similar purpose.⁶² Small, domed bronze buttons are also found in large quantities in Hallstatt burials.⁶³

Moreover, Bronze Age mines at Hallstatt have brought to light some of the earliest twills and dyed textiles known in Europe, and possible evidence for tablet weaving and spin pattern in central Europe dates back to at least 1500 BCE.⁶⁴ This evidence indicates that the suite of technical and aesthetic attributes ascribed to central European–Italian textile culture had a long tradition and was well established by the beginning of the Iron Age. Where these techniques developed is another question, since we do not have any extant textiles from Italian contexts contemporaneous with the Bronze Age Hallstatt material. However, the sophistication of the Italian twills from ninth-century BCE burials and the recent find of a complex, tablet-woven textile in an eleventh-century BCE tomb at Santa Palomba near Rome (fig. 14.4c),⁶⁵ with a triangle pattern similar to those of the Iron Age Hallstatt tablet bands, point to a well-established and settled technology.

WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Looking even farther west, less well understood is the textile culture of Spain, where very few textiles dating to the period in question have been found and analyzed to date. Most of them are balanced tabbies, woven with plant fiber (fig. 14.6a–b).⁶⁶ The use of splicing is documented in textiles from the ninth-century BCE cave on Menorca and the burial at

58 Serges, Pizzuti, and Gleba 2019.

59 Gleba, Mandolesi, and Lucidi 2017.

60 Bazzanella et al. 2005, 158.

61 E.g., at Verucchio; see von Eles 2007, 72.

62 Grömer et al. 2013.

63 Grömer 2016, 199.

64 Grömer et al. 2013.

65 De Santis et al. 2010.

66 Alfaro 1984.



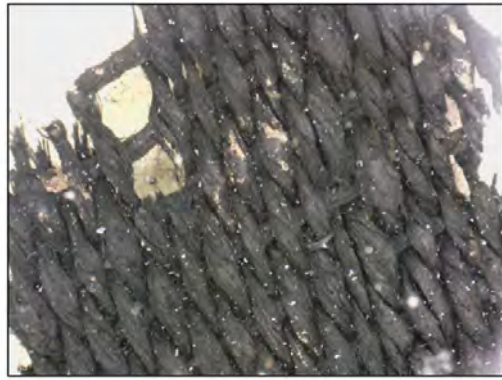
a. Carmona



b. La Albufereta



c. Menorca



d. Carmona



e. El Turuñuelo



f. El Turuñuelo

Figure 14.6. Selection of textiles from ancient Spain: *a–b*, balanced tabbies; *c–d*, spliced tabbies; *e–f*, twills. Photos by M. Gleba.

Carmona, likely dating to the seventh century BCE (fig. 14.6c–d).⁶⁷ The recent discovery of wool twills at the site of Casas del Turuñuelo in Extremadura provides, for the first time, some information about non-plant-based textile technology (fig. 14.6e–f).⁶⁸ One of the Turuñuelo twills is a diagonal 2/2 twill woven with z-twisted yarn in one system and s-twisted yarn in the other. (Without the presence of edges, it is impossible to determine warp and weft.) The second is a 2/1 lozenge twill, woven in yarn that was z-twisted and S-plied. It is of exceptional quality in terms of thread count, with thirty warp threads per centimeter and forty weft threads per centimeter; other archaeologically documented twills from Italy and central Europe rarely reach this quality.⁶⁹

The only other twill fragments dated to pre-Roman times in Iberia found to date are from La Albufereta, dated to the fourth century BCE.⁷⁰ Imprints of 2/2 twills on clay have also been reported at the Iberian settlement sites of Castillejo de la Romana, Azaila, and La Bovina, all in Teruel.⁷¹

While 2/2 twills woven in z-twisted yarn are common across Italy and Central Europe,⁷² z/s twills are relatively rare. Several fragments of coarse wool z/s 2/2 twills were found in a mine at Irun (Roman Oiasso), located in the Basque Country, and are dated on the basis of associated ceramics to 50–150 CE.⁷³ Closer in date, examples of z/s 2/2 twills are known from fifth-century BCE burial contexts in central and eastern France.⁷⁴

More unusual is the 2/1 twill woven in plied yarn in both systems found at Casas del Turuñuelo. While this example is so far unique for Spain, comparisons are again found in France, where 2/2 and 2/1 twills woven with plied yarn in both systems have been documented at several sites dating to the fifth century BCE, although none are as fine as the Casas del Turuñuelo 2/1 twill.⁷⁵

Twills woven in single yarn are typical for Italy and the eastern Hallstatt area of central Europe (eastern Austria, Slovenia, Croatia), but the western Hallstatt region (western Austria, western Germany, and France) favored twills with plied warp and single weft.⁷⁶ The latter were named the “Dürrenberg type” by Lise Bender Jørgensen.⁷⁷ Plying of the warp may have been needed because of the shortness of the available wool fiber.⁷⁸ The twills from Casas del Turuñuelo are thus most similar to the material from France and the western Hallstatt zone.

Despite some technical differences, the textile culture of ancient Spain was clearly twill based and is more closely related to that of Italy and central/western Europe. The

67 Alfaro and Tébar Megías 2007.

68 Marín-Aguilera et al. 2019.

69 Banck-Burgess 2012, 51; Grömer et al. 2013, 64; Gleba 2017b, 1210.

70 Alfaro 1984, 147–48 nos. 127–31; Verdú Parra 2015, 417–18.

71 Beltrán-Lloris 1976, 252; 1979, 58, 92–93.

72 Grömer et al. 2013; Gleba 2017a.

73 Alfaro 2014.

74 Milcent and Moulherat 2000, 314; Verger, Milcent, and Moulherat 2002, 124–27.

75 Milcent and Moulherat 2000, 314.

76 Banck-Burgess 2012, 61.

77 Bender Jørgensen 1992, 122.

78 Rast-Eicher and Bender Jørgensen 2013, 1231.

crossroads with the eastern tabby-based tradition appears to be in the central Balkans, the region of present-day Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Albania. Preliminary investigations demonstrate the presence of twills and weft-faced tabbies in the same Early Iron Age graves of this region.⁷⁹

ICONOGRAPHY

The textile data collected so far thus show clear differences between the textile cultures of various northern Mediterranean regions and the surrounding areas, but how would these differences have translated into dress? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the textiles shown in the coeval iconography. Although more limited chronologically—detailed depictions of the dressed human body do not appear in this region before the seventh century BCE—iconography provides some evidence of the types of textiles that would have been used in dress.

Greek iconography of the Archaic period frequently uses complex figural patterns in dress, likely representing tapestry.⁸⁰ Female dress is often tight and appears to consist of multiple elements, such as wide frieze bands, sewn together. Vertical and horizontal borders are often wide and elaborately patterned. The areas above and below the girdle often differ in pattern. By following the various patterns, Isabella Benda-Weber showed that multiple textile elements were combined to create such dresses, which are thus composite rather than woven in one piece.⁸¹ Antecedents for such patchwork garments can be found in preceding Mycenaean imagery, but also in Egyptian depictions of captured Syrians and Hittites.⁸² It is only in late Archaic and Classical times that the more familiar and much more homogeneous garments we tend to associate with Greek dress developed.⁸³

Italian Archaic depictions of dress show single pieces of clothing with minimal tailoring, frequent plaid patterns, and no figural decoration except in cases where clearly Orientalizing⁸⁴ models have been demonstrated.⁸⁵ Borders, often simple or decorated with geometric patterns, are ubiquitous in Etruscan and Italic representational material.⁸⁶ They were not purely decorative but communicated a clear and important message of status not only in the Italic populations but also among other European Early Iron Age cultures, in particular those of central Europe. The textiles must have served as indicators of social rank or as “ceremonial” clothes, with the border serving as the distinguishing element characterized by technique, pattern, and color. Actual examples of such garments survive

79 Iron Age textiles from the northern and central Balkans are being studied within the scope of the project *Creation of European Identities—Food, Textiles and Metals in the Iron Age between Alps, Pannonia and Balkans (IronFoodTexMet)* (2020–24), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation.

80 Barber 1991, 363; Spantidaki 2016, 57.

81 Benda-Weber 2018.

82 Benda-Weber 2018, 133.

83 Lee 2015; Benda-Weber 2018.

84 Although the term “Orientalizing” has come under criticism (see summary in Hoffman 2022), it is a useful shorthand for referring to intercultural engagement of the Greek and Italic cultures with those of West Asia and North Africa.

85 Bonfante 2003; Verri et al. 2014.

86 Bonfante 2003.

at Verucchio in the form of large, semicircular mantles and tunics with tablet-woven borders.⁸⁷ Although lacking color, figures incised on bronze objects of the Situla Art, which was prevalent in regions of present-day northern Italy, eastern Austria, and Slovenia, also show large, single garments with frequent plaid designs and borders emphasized.⁸⁸

In Iberia, iconographic sources are, like the textile evidence, chronologically later but also show plaid patterns with geometric borders. Possibly the most famous Iberian sculpture in Spain, the *Dama de Baza*, even preserves color, allowing a tentative reconstruction of the subject's attire.⁸⁹

DISCUSSION

The cultures of the northern Mediterranean and central Europe shared similar textile technologies during the Iron Age—the low-whorl drop spindle used for spinning yarn and the warp-weighted loom for weaving cloth.⁹⁰ Yet there appear to be technical, aesthetic, and conceptual differences between the textile and dress traditions of the eastern and central/western Mediterranean. How can we explain these differences?

Tools can certainly be adapted to produce diverse types of cloth, and the analysis of tools from numerous sites carried out within the scope of the PROCON project demonstrates that their different physical characteristics (weight, diameter, thickness) made them suitable for producing different types of textiles—twills in Italy and Spain, and weft-faced tabbies in Greece.⁹¹

However, the tools were being adapted to work with available raw materials, so another part of the explanation may lie in raw-material differences between the Mediterranean regions. Although much more work needs to be carried out on the Greek and Spanish material, preliminary observations of wool fiber diameter measurements indicate differences in the quality of wools in these regions, with Greek and Near Eastern wools being more homogeneous in terms of fiber diameter than those of Italy and Spain. Further confirmation comes from animal bone studies: A recent zooarchaeological study demonstrated a significant difference in the size of domestic sheep in Greece and Italy and a change in the size of sheep in southern Italy following the appearance of Greek settlements there, possibly as a result of the translocation of Greek domesticate varieties to colonies.⁹² This study suggests that sheep varieties in Greece and Italy were different, and this difference likely affected the quality of their fleeces, which over the course of centuries, if not millennia, were selected for optimal performance in specific textile types—in this case, weft-faced tabbies and twills, respectively.

But a large part of the explanation may be inherent in the nature of textile craft, its acquisition patterns, and its conservatism. Technical expertise in textile production would require an extended period of apprenticeship under the supervision of an already-skilled

⁸⁷ Stauffer 2012.

⁸⁸ Harris 2018.

⁸⁹ Demant 2011.

⁹⁰ Gleba 2008; Gleba and Mannering 2012; Grömer 2016; Spantidaki 2016.

⁹¹ Gleba et al., forthcoming.

⁹² Gaastra 2014.

craftswoman.⁹³ Hence, the modes of information transmission that do not involve a person possessing the full knowledge of a particular craft or technique would work only among users of similar technologies. The transfer of new techniques or patterns between communities weaving on the same kind of loom (e.g., a warp-weighted loom in the case of the northern Mediterranean during the Iron Age) would be more likely than between populations using different types of looms.

Without a doubt, textiles circulated over short and long distances in various ways. They were traded, exchanged as gifts, included in dowries or bride-prices, dedicated at sanctuaries, used to pay ransoms, taken as booty, and even given as prizes in competitions. The movement of textiles, tools, and women was instrumental in the transfer of textile-related know-how involving ideas, symbols, inventions, fashions, values, and, consequently, the technology associated with them.⁹⁴

Thus, after the seventh century BCE, significant changes are notable in the production and consumption of textiles in Italy.⁹⁵ As with other forms of material culture (albeit with some delay), Italy shifted its orientation from central Europe toward the eastern Mediterranean in what has long been described as the “Orientalizing revolution.”⁹⁶ The influence of fashion from the east became more pronounced,⁹⁷ and I would argue that this change was at least partly due to the spread of the Greek–Near Eastern tabby-based textile culture westward after the seventh century BCE as part of direct or indirect Hellenization. Weft-faced tabby textiles may have been initially obtained by the indigenous Italic populations through trade and other forms of exchange. One of the earliest known weft-faced tabbies in Italy comes from Tomb 104 of Fondo Artiaco at Cumae in the Bay of Naples, one of the earliest Greek colonies in Italy, and its technical characteristics suggest it is an eastern import.⁹⁸ However, the weaving technique itself was soon taken up, at times resulting in hybrid products such as the weft-faced tabby with a tablet-woven border found in the grave of a female at the indigenous South Italian site of Ripacandida.⁹⁹ It thus combined what appears to be a typically “Greek” weave structure with a typically “Italic” border. The spread of the new textile technique likely resulted from the arrival of its practitioners—women—because when a new craft technology is adopted, the necessary knowledge and know-how must be acquired from a different community of practice. Yet the borders were retained because, as noted above, they were not purely decorative but served as important indicators of status and rank.

The fact that, over time, the weft-faced tabby became the preferred weave of the Romans suggests that with the Romanization of Italy, Greek tabby textile culture eventually supplanted the indigenous Italic twill tradition. Borders, however, were retained as important

93 I use this term intentionally because archaeological, iconographic, and written evidence indicates that textile work in Mediterranean Europe during the period under consideration was carried out primarily by women; see Barber 1994.

94 Gleba 2014.

95 Gleba 2008.

96 Burkert 1992.

97 Bonfante 2003.

98 Gleba and Vanden Berghe, in press.

99 Gleba et al. 2018.

markers of status, as seen in the toga, the Roman descendant of the Verucchio mantles, in which the width of the purple-dyed border continued to signify its wearer's rank.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research leading to the results presented here received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013-312603) and was carried out within the scope of the project Production and Consumption: Textile Economy and Urbanisation in Mediterranean Europe 1000–500 BCE (PROCON). Access to material was kindly provided by the Superintendencies for the Archaeological Heritage of Abruzzo, Basilicata, Lazio and Etruria Meridionale, Roma, Toscana, Umbria, and Veneto in Italy; the Ministry of Culture and Sports in Greece; the British Museum in London, United Kingdom; and the Museum of Natural History in Vienna, Austria.

ABBREVIATION

PROCON Production and Consumption: Textile Economy and Urbanisation in Mediterranean Europe 1000–500 BCE (project name)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfaro, Carmen

- 1984 *Tejido y cestería en la Península Ibérica: Historia de su técnica e industrias desde la prehistoria hasta la romanización*. Bibliotheca praehistorica hispana 21. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- 2014 "Wool Fabrics from Arditurri Roman Mines, Oiartzun (Basque Country, Spain)." In *A Stitch in Time: Essays in Honour of Lise Bender Jørgensen*, edited by Sophie Bergerbrant and Sølvi Helene Fossøy, 171–88. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, Department of Historical Studies.

Alfaro, Carmen, and Estibaliz Tébar Megías

- 2007 "Phoenician Textiles of Carmona (Seville) in the Hispanic-Society Collection (New York)." In *Archäologische Textilfunde—Archaeological Textiles, NESAT IX—Braunwald 18.–21. Mai 2005*, edited by Antoinette Rast-Eicher and Renate Windler, 65–70. North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles 9. Ennenda: Archeo Tex.

Banck-Burgess, Johanna

- 2012 *Mittel der Macht: Textilien bei den Kelten / Instruments of Power: Celtic Textiles*. Stuttgart: Theiss.

Barber, Elizabeth J. W.

- 1991 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Age with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1994 *Women's Work—the First 20,000 Years: Women, Cloth, and Society in Early Times*. New York: Norton.

Bazzanella, Marta, Lorenzo Dal Ri, Alfio Maspero, and Irene Tomedi

- 2005 "Iron Age Textile Artefacts from Riesenferner/Vedretta di Ries (Bolzano/Bozen, Italy)." In *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles*,

edited by Peter Bichler, Karina Grömer, Regina Hofmann-de Keijzer, Anton Kern, and Hans Reschreiter, 151–60. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Beckwith, John

- 1954 “Textile Fragments from Classical Antiquity: An Important Find at Koropi, near Athens.” *Illustrated London News*, January 23, 114–15.

Beltrán-Lloris, Miguel

- 1976 *Arqueología e historia de las ciudades del Cabezo de Alcalá de Azaila (Teruel)*. Monografías Arqueológicas 19. Zaragoza: Librería General.
- 1979 *El poblado ibérico de Castillejo de la Romana (La Puebla de Híjar, Teruel)*. Excavaciones arqueológicas en España 103. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.

Benda-Weber, Isabella

- 2018 “Women’s Dress in Early Greek Art: Types, Patterns and Regional Development.” In *Vetus Textorium: Textiles in the Ancient World—Studies in Honour of Carmen Alfaro Giner*, edited by Manuel García Sánchez and Margarita Gleba, 129–42. Barcelona: University of Barcelona Press.

Bender Jørgensen, Lise

- 1992 *North European Textiles until AD 1000*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Bérard, Claude

- 1970 *L’Hérœon à la porte de l’ouest*. Eretria: Fouilles et recherches 3. Berne: Francke.

Blandin, Béatrice

- 2007 *Les pratiques funéraires d’époque géométrique à Erétrie: Espace des vivants, demeures des morts*. 2 vols. Eretria: Fouilles et recherches 17. Gollion: Infolio.

Bloesch, Hansjörg, and Bruno Mühletaler

- 1967 “Stoffreste aus spätgeometrischen Gräbern südlich des Westtores von Eretria.” *Antike Kunst* 10: 130–32.

Bonfante, Larissa

- 2003 *Etruscan Dress*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Burke, Brendan

- 2010 *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*. Ancient Textiles Series 7. Oxford: Oxbow.

Burkert, Walter

- 1992 *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

Chen, Hsiou Lien, Kathryn A. Jakes, and Dennis W. Foreman

- 1998 “Preservation of Archaeological Textiles through Fibre Mineralization.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 25: 1015–21.

Cocking, Jane

- 1996 “Textile Remains.” In *Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs*, vol. 2, *Discussion*, edited by J. N. Coldstream and H. W. Catling, 613–20. London: British School at Athens.

Davidson, Gladys R.

- 1952 *Corinth XII: The Minor Objects*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

De Cristofaro, Alessio, and Alessandra Piergrossi

- 2017 “Clothes Make the (Wo)man: Historical and Anthropological Considerations of Etruscan Female Costumes between 8th and 7th Century BC.” *Origini* 40: 65–82.

Demant, Ida

- 2011 "From Stone to Textile: Constructing the Costume of the Dama de Baza." *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 52: 37–40.

De Santis, Anna, O. Colacicchi, Maria Rita Giuliani, and Barbara Santoro

- 2010 "Il processo storico nel Lazio antico tra la tarda età del bronzo e la prima età del ferro: I protagonisti." In *L'alba dell'Etruria: Fenomeni di continuità e trasformazione nei secoli XII–VIII a.C.—Ricerche e scavi*, edited by Nuccia Negroni Catacchio, 311–26. Preistoria e protostoria in Etruria: Atti del IX Incontro di studi. Milan: Centro Studi di Preistoria e Archeologia.

Dimova, Bela

- 2018 "Archaeological Textiles from Thrace: State of the Evidence." *Arachne* 5: 24–35.

Ellis, Richard

- 1981 "Appendix 5." In *The Gordion Excavation Final Reports*, vol. 1, *Three Great Early Tumuli*, by Rodney S. Young. University Museum Monographs 43. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Emery, Irene

- 1966 *The Primary Structures of Fabrics*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Gaastra, Jane S.

- 2014 "Shipping Sheep or Creating Cattle: Domesticate Size Changes with Greek Colonisation in Magna Graecia." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 52: 483–96.

Gleba, Margarita

- 2008 *Textile Production in Pre-Roman Italy*. Ancient Textiles Series 4. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2014 "Wrapped Up for Safe Keeping: 'Wrapping' Customs in Early Iron Age Europe." In *Wrapping and Unwrapping Material Culture: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Susanna Harris and Laurence Douny, 135–46. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- 2015 "Production and Consumption: Textile Economies in Mediterranean Europe, 1000–500 BCE." In *Aspects of the Design, Production and Use of Textiles and Clothing from the Bronze Age to the Early Modern Era*, edited by Karina Grömer and Frances Pritchard, 261–70. North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles 12. Budapest: Archaeolingua.
- 2017a "Textiles in Pre-Roman Italy: From a Qualitative to a Quantitative Approach." *Origini* 40: 9–28.
- 2017b "Tracing Textile Cultures of Italy and Greece in the Early First Millennium BC." *Antiquity* 144: 1205–22.
- 2018 "Textile Cultures in Europe 1200–500 BC: A View from Greece." *Arachne* 5: 14–23.
- 2023 "I tessuti di Vulci nel contesto etrusco ed europeo: Osservazioni preliminari." In *Vulci: Work in Progress. Atti del 1 Incontro Internazionale*, edited by Simona Carosi, Carlo Casi, and Carlo Regoli, 55–62. Quaderni Vulcenti 2. Acquapendente: Antiqua Res Edizioni.

Gleba, Margarita, and Susanna Harris

- 2019 "Plant Fibre Technology: Identifying Splicing in Archaeological Textiles." *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 11: 2329–46.

Gleba, Margarita, Susanna Harris, Joanne Cutler, Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, and Bela Dimova

- Forthcoming *Dressing Cities: Textile Economies in Mediterranean Europe 1000–500 BCE*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute.

Gleba, Margarita, Christian Heitz, Hedvig Landenius Enegren, and Francesco Meo

- 2018 "At the Crossroads of Textile Cultures: Textile Production and Use at the South Italian Iron Age Site of Ripacandida." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 31: 27–51.

Gleba, Margarita, Alessandro Mandolesi, and Maria Rosa Lucidi

- 2017 "New Textile Finds from *Tomba dell'Aryballos sospeso*, Tarquinia: Context, Analysis and Preliminary Interpretation." *Origini* 40: 29–44.

Gleba Margarita, and Ulla Mannering, eds.

- 2012 *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*. Ancient Textiles Series 11. Oxford: Oxbow.

Gleba, Margarita, and Ina Vanden Berghe

- In press "Textiles from Cumae Fondo Artiaco 104: Structural and Dye Analyses." In *Cumae, Grave Artiaco 104: Performative Identity and Transculturality in the Middle-Tyrrhenian Region at the End of the 8th c. BC*, edited by A. Babbi. Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.

Granger-Taylor, Hero

- 1983 "The Textile Fragments from PG16." In "Late Assyrian Bronze Coffins," by John Curtis, in *Anatolian Studies* 33 (*Special Number in Honour of the Seventy-Fifth Birthday of Dr. Richard Barnett*): 94–95.
- 1998 "Evidence for Linen Yarn Preparation in Ancient Egypt: The Hanks and Fibre Strips and the Balls of Prepared Rove from Lahun in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC 7421, 7509 and 7510)." In *Lahun Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, 102–11. Reigate: SIA Publishing.

Grömer, Karina

- 2016 *The Art of Prehistoric Textile Making*. Vienna: Natural History Museum Vienna.

Grömer, Karina, Anton Kern, Hans Reschreiter, and Helga Rösler-Mautendorfer

- 2013 *Textiles from Hallstatt: Weaving Culture in Bronze and Iron Age Salt Mines / Textilien aus Hallstatt: Gewebte Kultur aus dem bronze- und eisenzeitlichen Salzbergwerk*. Archaeolingua 29. Budapest: Archaeolingua.

Harris, Susanna

- 2018 "From Value to Desirability: The Allure of Worldly Things." *World Archaeology* 49: 681–99.

Hoffman, Gail L.

- 2022 "Orientalizing." In *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. <https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-4599>.

Hundt, Hans-Jürgen

- 1984 "Die Textilreste aus den Körpergräbern von Tiryns." In *Nadeln der frühhelladischen bis archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes*, edited by Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier, 299–305. Munich: Beck.

James, Matthew A., Nicole Reifarth, Anna J. Mukherjee, Matthew P. Crump, Paul J. Gates, Peter Sandor, Francesca Robertson, Peter Pfälzner, and Richard P. Evershed

- 2009 "High Prestige Royal Purple Dyed Textiles from the Bronze Age Royal Tomb at Qatna, Syria." *Antiquity* 83: 1109–18.

Kemp, Barry J., and Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood

- 2001 *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Kolonas, Lazaros, Christina Margariti, Irene Skals, Kaliope Sarri, Ina Vanden Berghe, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2017 "Heirs of the Loom: Textiles from Stamna (Aitolia, Greece): A Preliminary Analysis." In *Hesperos: The Aegean Seen from the West*, edited by Michael Fotiadis, Robert Laffineur, Yannis Lolos, and Andreas Vlachopoulos, 533–44. Aegaeum 41. Leuven: Peeters.

Kourou, N.

- 2011 “Αττικά τεφροδόχα νεαρών κοριτσιών: Γύρω από έναν αμφορέα και ένα ορυκτοποιημένο ύφασμα της Πρώιμης Γεωμετρικής εποχής [Attic Ash-Urns for Young Maidens: A Shoulder-Handled Amphora and a Textile from an Unknown Early Geometric Grave].” *Benaki Museum* 7: 189–200.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2015 *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Love, Nancy

- 2011 “The Analysis and Conservation of the Hasanlu Period IVB Textiles.” In *People and Crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu, Iran*, edited by Maude de Schauensee, 43–56. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Margariti, Christina

- 2018 “A 5th Century BC Textile Find with Evidence of Embroidery from Attica, Greece.” In *Purple-ae Vestes VI*, edited by Maria Stella Busana, Margarita Gleba, Francesco Meo, and Anna Rosa Tricomi, 67–74. Valencia: Libros Pórtico.

Margariti, Christina, Stavros Protopapas, Norman Allen, and Vladimir Vishnyakov

- 2013 “Identification of Purple Dye from Molluscs on an Excavated Textile by Non-destructive Analytical Techniques.” *Dyes and Pigments* 96: 774–80.

Marín-Aguilera, Beatriz, Esther Rodríguez-González, Sebastian Celestino, and Margarita Gleba

- 2019 “Dressing the Sacrifice: Textiles and Sacrificial Economy at Casas del Turuñuelo, Spain in the Fifth Century BC.” *Antiquity* 93: 933–53.

Metallinou, Garifallia, Christophe Moulherat, and Gioulie Spantidaki

- 2009 “Archaeological Textiles from Kerkyra.” *Arachne* 3: 30–51.

Milcent, Pierre-Yves, and Christophe Moulherat

- 2000 “Un tumulus princier du V^e siècle avant J.-C. à Sainte-Geneviève-des-Bois, La Ronce (Loiret).” In *Fastes des Celtes entre Champagne et Bourgogne aux VII^e–III^e siècles avant notre ère: Actes du Colloque de l’AFEAF, Troyes, 25–27 mai 1995*, edited by Alain Villes and M. Bataille, 295–32. Mémoires de la Société archéologique champenoise 15. Reims: Société archéologique champenoise.

Muros, Vanessa

- 2014 “Textiles and Other Mineralized Organic Remains at Lofkënd.” In *The Excavation of the Pre-historic Burial Tumulus at Lofkënd, Albania*, edited by John K. Papadopoulos, Sarah P. Morris, Lorenc Bejko, and Lynne A. Schepartz, 1:411–24 (text) and 2:1043–57 (illustrations). Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.

Ræder Knudsen, Lise

- 2012 “The Tablet-Woven Borders of Verucchio.” In *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*, edited by Margarita Gleba and Ulla Mannering, 254–65. Oxford: Oxbow.

Rast-Eicher, Antoinette, and Lise Bender Jørgensen

- 2013 “Sheep Wool in Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40: 1224–41.

Reifarth, Nicole, and R. Drewello

- 2011 “Textile Spuren in der Königsgruft: Vorbericht zu ersten Ergebnissen und dem Potenzial zukünftiger Forschungen.” In *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qaṭna*, edited by Peter Pfälzner, 469–82. Qaṭna Studien 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Riva, Corinna

- 2010 *The Urbanisation of Etruria: Funerary Practices and Social Change, 700–600 BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruta Serafini, Angela, and Margarita Gleba

- 2018 “Evidence of Ossuary Dressing in the Funerary Rituals of Pre-Roman Veneto (Italy).” In *Textiles and Dyes in the Mediterranean Economy and Society*, edited by Maria Stella Busana, Margarita Gleba, Francesco Meo, and Anna Rosa Tricomi, 203–16. *Purpureae Vestes* 6. Valencia: Libros Pórtico.

Seiler-Baldinger, Annemarie

- 1994 *Textiles: A Classification of Techniques*. Bathurst: Crawford House.

Serges, Alessandra, Ettore Pizzuti, and Margarita Gleba

- 2019 “Analisi preliminari e ipotesi ricostruttiva del bordo a tavolette rinvenuto al Sasso di Furbara: Nuove prospettive di studio.” In *Trame di storia: Metodi e strumenti dell’archeologia sperimentale (Archeofest 2017)*, edited by Massimo Massussi, Sonja Tucci, and Romina Laurito, 157–72. Rome: ESS Editorial Service.

Shamir, Orit, and Alla Baginski

- 1993 “Textiles from the Mining Camps and Timna.” *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 15: 6.

Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig

- 1997 “Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe.” *Journal of European Archaeology* 5: 93–114.

Spantidaki, Stella

- 2014 “Embellishment Techniques of Classical Greek Textiles.” In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 34–45. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2016 *Textile Production in Classical Athens*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Spantidaki, Youlie, and Christophe Moulherat

- 2012 “Greece.” In *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*, edited by Margarita Gleba and Ulla Mannering, 185–200. Oxford: Oxbow.

Stampolidis, Nicholas, and Mimika Giannopoulou

- 2012 *Princesses of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History*. Translated by Maria Xanthopoulou. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art.

Stauffer, Annemarie

- 2012 “Case Study: The Textiles from Verucchio, Italy.” In *Textiles and Textile Production in Europe from Prehistory to AD 400*, edited by Margarita Gleba and Ulla Mannering, 242–53. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2013 “Textil.” In *La Tomba del Guerriero di Tarquinia: Identità elitaria, concentrazione del potere e networks dinamici nell’avanzato VIII sec. a. C.*, edited by Andrea Babbi and Uwe Peltz, 157–64. Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.

Vanden Berghe, Ina

- 2002 “Appendice 1: Analisi del colore.” In *Guerriero e sacerdote: Autorità e comunità nell’età del ferro a Verucchio; La Tomba del Trono*, edited by Patrizia von Eles, 220. Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio.

Verdú Parra, Enric

- 2015 *La necrópolis ibérica de l’Albufereta (Alacant): Ritos y usos funerarios en un contexto de interacción cultural*. Alicante: Museo Arqueológico de Alicante.

Verger, Stéphane, Pierre-Yves Milcent, and Christophe Moulherat

- 2002 "La butte Moreau à Mardié (Loiret) et les tombes aristocratiques du centre de la Gaule au V^e siècle avant J.-C." In *Les âges du Fer en Nivernais, Bourbonnais et Berry oriental: Regards européens sur les âges du Fer en France; Actes du 17^{ème} colloque de l'AFAEAF, Nevers, 20–23 mai 1993*, edited by Didier Maranski and Vincent Guichard, 117–50. Bibracte 6. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray.

Verri, Giovanni, Margarita Gleba, Judith Swaddling, Timothy Long, Janet Ambers, and Tomasina Munden

- 2014 "Etruscan Women's Clothing and Its Decoration: The Polychrome Gypsum Statue from the 'Isis Tomb' at Vulci." *British Museum Technical Research Bulletin* 8: 59–71.

Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian

- 2000 "Textiles." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 268–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

von Eles, Patrizia

- 1995 *Museo civico archeologico: Verucchio*. Rimini: Province of Rimini.
2007 *Le ore e i giorni delle donne: Dalla quotidianità alla sacralità tra VII e VII secolo a.C.* Verucchio: Pazzini.

Walton, Penelope, and Gillian Eastwood

- 1988 *A Brief Guide to the Cataloguing of Archaeological Textiles*. York: Wordplex Wordprocessing Bureau.

Workman, Vanessa, Orit Shamir, Naama Sukenik, Margarita Gleba, and Erez Ben-Yosef

- 2017 "The Central Timna Valley Project: 5 Years of Ongoing Textile Research." *Archaeological Textiles Review* 59: 67–70.

15

Wearing Wealth: Cloth and Clothing
as Currency in Ancient Egypt

Brian Muhs
University of Chicago

CLOTHING OFTEN SERVED as a signifier of identity, status, or wealth in the ancient world, but it also occasionally served as wealth itself. This essay traces the use of cloth and clothing as a form of money in Egypt from the third through the early first millennia BCE. Money is here defined as anything that serves as a measure of value, a medium of exchange, or a store of wealth, not necessarily at the same time.¹

Cloth may have been used as a form of money in Egypt prior to the third millennium BCE, but there are no texts from that period that could attest to its use as a measure of value or a medium of exchange.² There are quantities of cloth found in tombs that could attest to its use as a store of wealth, but other interpretations are possible. Objects that partook of divinity in ancient Egypt, including human mummies, were frequently wrapped in cloth, sometimes in astonishing quantities, as a form of veneration or even deification.³

When written records of transactions first appear in the middle of the third millennium BCE, they show that the ancient Egyptians already occasionally used weights of metal as notional measures of value in exchanges, perhaps because this usage did not require regular access to actual metal. They used a wider variety of commodities, including quantities of grain and measured sheets of linen cloth, as stores of wealth and media of exchange, probably because there was not sufficient actual metal in storage or circulation for these purposes.⁴ Linen was produced from flax, which was cultivated alongside grain in the Nile Valley and hence was more readily available than metal, which was mined in the deserts beyond the Nile Valley. At the same time, linen was more durable than grain, which was good for a year or two at most.⁵

The mining and smelting of copper and gold, and the importation of silver, slowly increased the availability of metals through the millennia, however. By the second millennium BCE, metal replaced sheets of cloth as the primary store of wealth and also permitted their use as media of exchange in some transactions. Cloth continued to be used

1 Muhs 2016, 8–10.

2 Muhs 2016, 17.

3 Riggs 2014, 1–2, 11–12, 24, 100–107, 215–16, et passim.

4 Muhs 2016, 37–38.

5 Riggs 2014, 114–20.

as a medium of exchange alongside grain and metals, but usually in the form of items of clothing rather than sheets of cloth.⁶ Cloth was briefly used as a measure of value during an economic crisis at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, but thereafter silver seems to have replaced other commodities as an all-purpose currency.⁷ Nonetheless, cloth continued to serve as a signifier of divinity in Egypt through the first millennium BCE.⁸

LATE PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS (DYNASTIES 0–2, c. 3200–2686 BCE)

In the first half of the third millennium BCE, the small number of written texts and narrow range of genres do not include records of exchanges of goods. A few commodity labels or offering lists in or from elite graves refer to significant numbers of items of clothing and sheets of cloth, but it is not clear whether they were intended as a display of wealth and status in the afterlife, a store of wealth for use in exchanges in the afterlife, or both.

Commodity labels are inscribed wooden or bone tags that were attached to grave goods buried in royal and elite tombs from the Late Predynastic and Early Dynastic periods. The inscriptions on the tags appear to have documented the origins, types, or numbers of the commodities to which they were once attached and may have been part of a nascent administrative system that collected and supplied goods to ruling elites. Commodity labels from the Late Predynastic elite or royal Tomb U-j at Abydos are the earliest evidence of writing from Egypt.⁹ At least two and as many as five bone commodity labels from Tomb U-j depict garments, to which the labels were presumably once attached.¹⁰ Other labels depict quantities of strokes, which the excavator suggested could refer to various sizes of cloth sheets using a textile-size notation system.¹¹ That interpretation is doubtful because the signs in question do not otherwise appear until 500 years later, in the Fourth Dynasty, and if the labels are turned 90 degrees, the signs can be read as simple numbers.¹² However, commodity labels from the Early Dynastic royal tombs of Aha, Djer, and Den at Abydos depict cloaks, to which the labels were presumably once attached, and a wooden label from the elite tomb of Neska at Saqqara lists at least two sheets of cloth that the label probably accompanied, all using clear examples of textile-size notation.¹³

Offering lists on slab stelae from Early Dynastic elite tombs at Helwan and Saqqara are another source of information about clothing and textiles in funerary contexts. The ancient Egyptians gradually came to believe that images of goods and commodities, or their names, could complement or substitute for actual goods and commodities buried in tombs with the deceased. Consequently, written lists of desired grave goods began to be incorporated in elite tombs in the Early Dynastic period, usually beside a depiction of

6 Muhs 2016, 75–76, 113–15.

7 Muhs 2016, 159–61, 189–92, 230–31.

8 Hallmann 2015.

9 Dreyer 1998, 113–45.

10 Dreyer 1998, 132–33 (nos. 160–63 and 59 Rs), 144.

11 Dreyer 1998, 113–18 (nos. 1–43), 139–40.

12 Jones 2008, 119–20; 2010a, 83–84.

13 Jones 2008, 125–26.

the deceased seated at an offering table.¹⁴ Early Dynastic offering lists were not organized in tabular form, in contrast to later, Old Kingdom offering lists, and both sheets of cloth and items of clothing are listed together with a variety of other goods and commodities.¹⁵ Sheets of cloth are usually depicted pictographically with different numbers of fringes, in what may be an early form of textile-size notation. In the Second Dynasty, the depictions are occasionally accompanied by quality designations, either “royal” (*iti.wy*), “cloth” (*šsr*), or “large” (*ʿ3.t*).¹⁶ Items of clothing are usually also depicted pictographically, and phonetic complements are rare.¹⁷ Sometimes a number accompanies the depictions of sheets of cloth or items of clothing, presumably specifying the number desired. The numbers are usually between one and four, ten, or twenty, though on one stela from the Second Dynasty the number 1,000 appears.¹⁸

OLD KINGDOM (DYNASTIES 3–6, c. 2686–2181 BCE) AND FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (DYNASTIES 7–11, c. 2181–2025 BCE)

In the second half of the third millennium BCE, the number of written texts and range of genres increases to include a few references to exchanges of goods. These references include both depictions of market activities inscribed on the walls of tomb chapels and records of exchanges. The depictions of market scenes, with one exception, show low-value transactions, in which a wide variety of commodities and goods were exchanged directly for other commodities and goods without indications of value.¹⁹ Records of exchanges, in contrast, were made only for high-value transactions, which often involved real property and cloth²⁰ or cloth and metal.²¹ In such transactions, value was indicated by measurements of the cloth or weights of metal. Cloth was measured in cloth-cubits (0.27 m²), using a special textile-size notation system for indicating the surface area of textiles.²² Metal was weighed in *shati* (7.6 g in later periods) and was probably copper²³ rather than silver.²⁴ Commodity labels and offering lists from elite graves and other texts on papyri increasingly referred to large numbers of textiles, which greatly outnumbered references to items of clothing. The emphasis on textiles suggests that they may have been stockpiled specifically as a store of wealth for use in exchanges, both in life and in the afterlife.

14 Köhler and Jones 2009, 85–96.

15 Köhler and Jones 2009, 51–56.

16 Scheele 2005, 81–82; Köhler and Jones 2009, 46–49; Jones 2010a, 94–95.

17 Köhler and Jones 2009, 49–50; Jones 2010a, 95–99.

18 Jones 2010b, 256–57.

19 Hodjash and Berlev 1980.

20 Posener-Kriéger 1979; Menu 1998 (1985).

21 Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, 84–85 (Sz. 11.4.4).

22 Posener-Kriéger 1977.

23 Fischer 1961, 60–64.

24 Moreno García (2016, 19) admits that copper was the dominant metal used in transactions before the mid-second millennium BCE but circularly argues (on pp. 17 and 20) that references to *shati*-weights of metal in the third millennium BCE must refer to silver because they do so in the late second millennium BCE, when silver was much more common.

A few records of transactions indicate the value of the commodities exchanged using measurements of cloth or weights of metal. Stela Cairo Museum JE 42787 probably dates to the Fourth Dynasty and may come from the workmen's village at Giza.²⁵ It records the purchase of a house in exchange for 10 *shati*, which are then specified as 40 cloth-cubits worth 3 *shati*, a bed worth 4 *shati*, and 20 cloth-cubits worth 3 *shati*. The Gebelein papyri date to the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty and were found in a box in a tomb at the site of Gebelein. The box contained several reed pens, cakes of ink, and fragments of a stone bowl used as a scribal palette, as well as six rolls of papyri now in Cairo (Papyrus Gebelein I–VI, registered as JE 66844) and five fragments of papyri now in Turin (inv. no. Suppl. 17507/1–5).²⁶ Most of the papyri are accounts, but two texts record transactions. Papyrus Gebelein I verso B records the purchase of one house in exchange for a cloth of 15.5 cloth-cubits, while Papyrus Gebelein VI records the purchase of another house in exchange for a cloth of 24 cloth-cubits.²⁷ The tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep at Saqqara probably dates to the later Fifth Dynasty and contains market scenes that depict the purchase of 1 + x cubits of cloth in exchange for 6 *shati*.²⁸ Other references to transactions may indicate that payment was made with bolts of cloth (*d3iw*) rather than some other commodity, but they do not record the measurements or value of the cloth.²⁹ For example, door lintel Cairo CG 1634 from Saqqara records that the lintel was acquired in exchange for bolts of cloth (*d3iw*).³⁰ Likewise, an autobiographical text in a tomb at Deir el-Gabrawi appears to state that a man had his tomb made in exchange for his own bolts of cloth (*d3iw*).³¹

Commodity labels continued to be used into the Old Kingdom. A bone commodity label from the unfinished pyramid of the Third Dynasty king Sekhemkhet at Saqqara lists several sheets of cloth and items of clothing, to which the label may once have been attached. The cloth and clothing are listed in tabular form, as in contemporary offering lists. The top register contains two compartments with quality designations, “royal” (*iti.wy*) and “good fine” (*šmꜥ.t nfr*). Each compartment in the middle register contains either the size of a sheet of cloth using the textile-size notation system or the name of an item of clothing written phonetically. Each compartment in the bottom register contains a hole by which each sheet or item may have been attached, and in the case of clothing a depiction of the item.³²

Offering lists on slab stelae from Old Kingdom elite tombs at Helwan, Saqqara, Meidum, and Giza continue to provide evidence for the ancient Egyptian desire for clothing and textiles in the afterlife. Old Kingdom offering lists are usually organized in tabular form, often dominated by separate sections devoted to sheets of cloth, sometimes called

25 Sethe 1933, 157–58; Goedicke 1970, 149–73; Menu 1998 (1985), 274–78; Strudwick 2005, 205–6 (text 121).

26 Posener-Kriéger 1973, 28–29; Agapov 2015, 583–84.

27 Posener-Kriéger 1979, 2004; Strudwick 2005, 185–86 (text 102).

28 Moussa and Altenmüller 1977, 84–85 (Sz. 11.4.4).

29 Staehelin 1969, 125–33. Janssen (1975, 265–71) translates *d3iw* as “skirt,” but on p. 291 he tentatively suggests that it could be a variant of *diw* “five.”

30 Goedicke 1970, 178–81; Strudwick 2005, 191–92 (text 107).

31 Fischer 1976, 17–18 and fig. 11, referring to Davies 1902, pl. 25, line 29.

32 Jones 2010a, 97–98.

“linen lists.”³³ Each section of a linen list contains a heading with the quality of the sheets of cloth. In the Third Dynasty, three qualities are attested: “royal” (*iti.wy*), “cloth” (*šsr*), and “large” (*ʕ.t*).³⁴ In the Fourth Dynasty, another quality, “good fine” (*šmʕ.t nfr*), is sometimes included between “cloth” (*šsr*) and “large” (*ʕ.t*).³⁵ Below each of the quality headings is a series of compartments specifying different desired sizes of sheets of cloth of that quality using the textile-size notation system. Items of clothing are very occasionally also specified.³⁶ Finally, below each of the size compartments is another compartment indicating the desired number of sheets of cloth of that quality and size. The numbers are almost always 1,000 of each, though one stela from the Third Dynasty requests only 100 of each.³⁷ After the Fourth Dynasty, linen lists became more varied with new and different qualities or types of cloth, and they no longer appear only on slab stelae.³⁸ In the Sixth Dynasty, some decorated burial chambers at Saqqara, Meir, and Dendera depict stacks of bolts and bundles of cloth, sometimes on wooden tables or in chests.³⁹ Hieroglyphic labels indicate large quantities numbering in the thousands, tens or hundreds of thousands, or even millions, as in the burial chamber of Khentika at Saqqara.⁴⁰ The increasing quantities and the emphasis on sheets rather than clothing could indicate that they were primarily intended to serve as stores of wealth rather than as actual articles of clothing, though it has also been suggested that they were intended for mummification.⁴¹

The Gebelein and Abusir papyri provide further evidence for the economic importance of cloth in the Old Kingdom. The primary texts on the Gebelein papyri contain gridded tabular accounts. Three rolls concern ground grains, one roll concerns linen textiles, and one roll is a list of people,⁴² as are the texts on the underside of the lid of the box.⁴³ There also are a variety of shorter texts in the margins and on the reverse sides of the papyri, including the two sales of houses for cloth mentioned above.⁴⁴ The accounts appear to record production obligations owed to an estate (*pr-dt*) by almost 100 households in Gebelein and two neighboring villages. The accounts list for each household the amounts of ground grain and textiles it was obliged to produce, as well as the amounts actually delivered and the remainders still owed.⁴⁵ The linen textile accounts used the same textile-size notation system that also occurs in Old Kingdom linen lists in tombs.⁴⁶

33 Smith 1935; Der Manuelian 2003, 141–52; Scheele 2005, 1.

34 Scheele 2005, 82; Köhler and Jones 2009, 46.

35 Smith 1935; Der Manuelian 2003, 153–57; Scheele 2005, 83; Jones 2010b, 249–51.

36 Older publications, including Smith 1935, did not recognize that the special signs indicated measurements in cloth-cubits, but see Posener-Kriéger 1977, 86–96; Der Manuelian 2003, 158–59; Jones 2010b, 253–56.

37 Jones 2010b, 256–57.

38 Scheele 2005, 87.

39 Scheele 2005, 88–89 and pls. 27–34; Kanawati 2010, pls. 33, 35, 100, 103–4, 106, 112–15, 121, 125, 129.

40 James 1953, 66 and pl. 40.

41 Riggs 2014, 127–28.

42 Posener-Kriéger 1986, 25–27.

43 Posener-Kriéger 1994.

44 Posener-Kriéger 1979.

45 Agapov 2015, 585–88.

46 Posener-Kriéger 1977.

The Abusir papyri are the fragmentary remains of archives from the pyramid and mortuary temple of the Fifth Dynasty king Neferirkare at Abusir⁴⁷ and from the neighboring pyramid and mortuary temple of his son and successor, Neferefre.⁴⁸ Some papyri contain gridded monthly account tables of regular temple revenues and records of additional deliveries for festivals. Estates and towns, presumably similar to the estate that was the subject of the Gebelein papyri, sent the revenues to royal palaces and temples, which then delivered them to the royal mortuary temples.⁴⁹ Other papyri contain gridded monthly account tables of regular distributions to temple personnel and records of irregular distributions on various occasions.⁵⁰ Distributions of different types of cloth occur frequently in the Abusir papyri but are accounted separately from distributions of bread, beer, and meat. Pieces of cloth, numbering in the tens and hundreds, were delivered in chests (*hn*) and bundles (*gwt*), as depicted in Sixth Dynasty burial chambers, and were distributed in smaller quantities in rolls or bolts of cloth (*d3iw*). At least some of the cloth was redistributed to various individual temple personnel, possibly after it had been offered to the deceased king or used to dress his statues. The accounts specify the same qualities of cloth (*šht*, *iti.wy*, *ʕw*, *sšr*, *ḥ3tyw*) and use the same textile-size notations that occur in the Gebelein papyri and in the Old Kingdom linen lists in tombs.⁵¹

MIDDLE KINGDOM (DYNASTIES 11–12, c. 2025–1773 BCE) AND SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (DYNASTIES 13–17, c. 1773–1550 BCE)

In the first half of the second millennium BCE, written records of exchanges of goods were still rare. Nonetheless, a few texts indicate that a variety of commodities and goods—including copper, cloth, grain, and oil—could be exchanged and that weights of gold, as well as copper, could be used as a measure of value. The units of weight were the gold *deben* (13.6 g) and the copper *deben* (27.5 g).⁵² Texts in elite graves no longer refer to large numbers of textiles, and the textile-size notation system is no longer attested, perhaps because there was now sufficient copper to replace textiles as the primary store of wealth.

The Hekanakht papyri (Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.3.516–523) illustrate the relationship of cloth to other commodities used as money in the Middle Kingdom. The papyri date to the late Eleventh Dynasty or, more likely, the early Twelfth Dynasty⁵³ and were found in the entrance to the subsidiary tomb of Meseh in the larger tomb of the vizier Ipy at Deir el-Bahari.⁵⁴ Two letters indicate that Hekanakht preferred, when possible, to spend ephemeral commodities such as grain and oil and to hoard durable commodities such as copper and cloth, though he was willing to exploit the greater desirability of copper and cloth for a better exchange (Hekanakht Letter 1 recto, lines 3–9, and Hekanakht Letter 2

47 Posener-Kriéger 1976, 1:ix–xiii.

48 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 20–23.

49 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 385–86.

50 Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 387–88.

51 Posener-Kriéger 1976, 2:341–67; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006, 429–38.

52 Vercoutter 1977.

53 Allen 2002, 127–31.

54 Allen 2002, 3.

verso, lines 1–4).⁵⁵ Another letter and two accounts further show that Hekanakht actively tried to convert his surplus grain into more durable cloth by growing flax and paying grain rations to have it processed into thread for cloth (Hekanakht Letter 4 and Accounts VII and P).⁵⁶

Stela Cairo Museum JE 52453 illustrates the use of gold as a measure of value in the Second Intermediate Period—and perhaps also as a medium of exchange alongside copper, cloth, and grain. The stela dates to the Sixteenth Dynasty and was found in the temple of Karnak at Thebes.⁵⁷ It records the resolution of a dispute about “60 *deben* of gold, being gold, copper, grain, and clothes” (line 14). The weight of gold was clearly being used to indicate the value of a variety of other commodities used as media of exchange, including gold.⁵⁸ The use of gold rather than silver as a standard of value is probably the result of Egypt’s having local sources of gold and copper but not silver.⁵⁹

NEW KINGDOM (DYNASTIES 18–20, c. 1550–1069 BCE)

In the second half of the second millennium BCE, written references to and records of exchanges of goods increase in number. These texts show that a wide variety of commodities and goods were exchanged, though the commodities and goods were usually valued using weights of copper or silver, or occasionally volumes of oil or grain. The units of weight were the *deben* (91 g), used for both copper and silver, and the *kite* (9.1 g, one-tenth of a *deben*) and occasionally the *shati* (7.6 g, one-twelfth of a *deben*), both used exclusively for silver.⁶⁰ The switch from gold and copper to silver and copper as standards of value was probably the result of increasing trade with the Near East, where silver was more abundant than in Egypt.⁶¹ Silver began to be used occasionally as a medium of exchange in high-value transactions in Egypt, but copper, usually in the form of tools and utensils, was far more common.⁶² Cloth was also used as a medium of exchange, but more often took the form of named items of clothing than measured sheets of cloth.⁶³ A few hoards of gold and silver indicate that they were occasionally available for use as concentrated stores of wealth.⁶⁴ Copper tools and utensils, however, were more common and widespread stores of wealth. A few texts mention large numbers of textiles and especially items of clothing donated to and stockpiled in temples. The emphasis on items of clothing suggests that they were not strictly considered stores of wealth for use in exchanges, though they could be so used, much like copper tools and utensils.

⁵⁵ Baer 1963, 16–17; Allen 2002, 155–57.

⁵⁶ Allen 2002, 172–78.

⁵⁷ Lacau 1949, 1.

⁵⁸ Lacau 1949, 24–26.

⁵⁹ Ogden 2000, 149–51 (copper), 161–62 (gold), 170–71 (silver).

⁶⁰ Janssen 1975, 9–10, 101–11.

⁶¹ Ogden 2000, 170–71.

⁶² Janssen 1975, 312–23.

⁶³ There is little agreement about the translation of the names of items of clothing. For the New Kingdom, Janssen 1975, 259–92, is followed here unless otherwise specified.

⁶⁴ Kemp 1989, 242–46; Singer 2013, 254–59.

Papyrus Cairo Museum JE 65739, dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty early in the reign of Ramesses II, records a court case about a disputed payment for a slave.⁶⁵ The plaintiff's accusation is lost, but she evidently accused the defendant of purchasing a slave with the plaintiff's property without her permission. The defendant responds that she purchased the slave with cloth that she herself wove and with commodities loaned to her by others but not the plaintiff (lines 1–6). She then proceeds to list the cloth and commodities and their values in weights of silver. The cloth that she wove included a “shroud” (*swḥ*), a “cloak” (*d3yt*), and a “sheet” (*ifd*) made from “fine cloth” (*šmꜥ*), together worth 1.23 *deben* of silver, and three “loincloths” (*sdy*) and a “skirt” (*d3iw*) made from “good fine cloth” (*šmꜥ nfr*), together worth 1 *deben* of silver (lines 6–8). The commodities that were loaned to her included five bronze utensils, 10 *deben* of beaten copper, ten “tunics” (*mss*) of “good fine cloth” (*šmꜥ nfr*), and one vessel of honey, together worth 1.87 *deben* of silver (lines 8–13).

Papyrus Harris I (British Museum EA 9999), dated to the Twentieth Dynasty at the end of the reign of Ramesses III, is an inventory of real property (*imy.t-pr*) of the major gods of Egypt and their temples, as well as their annual revenues (*htr rnpt*) and royal gifts (*inw-n-nb*) in the form of commodities. Some of the commodities undoubtedly served as raw materials for construction and craftwork, but others probably also served as stores of wealth and media of exchange for salaries, gifts, and exchanges, both by temples and by kings, who could call upon temple reserves as needed.⁶⁶ The lists of commodities usually begin with gold, silver, and copper, and then cloth, perhaps representing the most desirable media of exchange. These items are usually followed by a wide variety of stones, wood, incense, oil, honey, and other commodities.

The list of the annual revenues of the gods of Thebes begins with 569.6 *deben* of gold, 10,964.9 *deben* of silver, and 26,320 *deben* of copper, followed immediately by 3,722 articles of cloth. The royal gifts begin with 183.5 *deben* of gold, followed by 827.1 *deben* of silver and 822 *deben* of copper. These are followed by a short list of incense, then 8,586 articles of cloth.⁶⁷ The annual revenues of the gods of Heliopolis begin with 586.3 *deben* of silver and 1,260 *deben* of copper, followed immediately by 1,019 articles of cloth. The royal gifts begin with 1,479.3 *deben* of gold, 2,255.5 *deben* of silver, and 1,819 *deben* of copper, followed immediately by 18,793 articles of cloth.⁶⁸ The annual revenues of the gods of Memphis begin with 98.3 *deben* of gold, followed immediately by 133.5 articles of cloth. The royal gifts begin with 263.55 *deben* of gold, 516.5 *deben* of silver, and 2,018 *deben* of copper, followed by 7,026 articles of cloth.⁶⁹ The royal gifts to the smaller temples begin with 1,719.8 *deben* of gold, 2,428.5 *deben* of silver, and 14,130.3 *deben* of copper. Lead and myrrh follow, then 3,047 articles of cloth.⁷⁰

As in the Old Kingdom linen lists, the articles of cloth in the lists in Papyrus Harris I are usually broken down by quality designations, either “royal cloth” (*šsr nsw*), “cloth” (*mk*), “very good fine cloth” (*šmꜥ nfr nfr*), “good fine cloth” (*šmꜥ nfr*), “fine cloth” (*šmꜥ*), or

65 Gardiner 1935.

66 Helck 1967, 137–40 (text B); Janssen 1991.

67 Grandet 1994, 1:237–45.

68 Grandet 1994, 1:267–70.

69 Grandet 1994, 1:293–96.

70 Grandet 1994, 1:312–19.

“smooth cloth” (*nꜥꜥ*).⁷¹ In many cases, the articles of cloth in these lists are further broken down by type. The meanings of the type designations are often ambiguous, but most seem to describe articles of clothing, such as “tunics” (*mss*), “skirts” (*d3iw*), “loincloths” (*sḏw*), “cloaks” (*d3yt*), “kerchiefs” (*idg*), “shawls” (*rwdw*), and “kilts” (*šndyt*).⁷² Two type designations may refer to sizes of cloth as in the Old Kingdom linen lists, however—namely, the “sheet” (*ifd*, literally “four”) and possibly the “skirt” (if *d3iw* is a variant of *dīw* “five”).⁷³

THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (DYNASTIES 21–25, c. 1069–664 BCE)

In the first half of the first millennium BCE, written records of exchanges increasingly refer to payment in weights of silver rather than in commodities valued using weights of silver or copper as in the New Kingdom. The contrast with earlier practices suggests that silver was increasingly being used as a medium of exchange, as well as a measure of value and a store of wealth.⁷⁴ There is, however, one brief period at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, in the middle of the Twenty-First Dynasty during the pontificate of the high priest of Amun Menkheperre, when two sources mention cloth both as a measure of value and as a medium of exchange alongside silver, copper, and grain. The units of weight for silver and copper were again *deben* (91 g), while the units of volume for grain were sacks (*h3r*, 76.8 liters) and *oipe* (*ip.t*, 19.2 liters = one-quarter sack). The use of cloth as a medium of exchange in this period could be seen as an unremarkable continuation of practices attested in the preceding New Kingdom, but its use as a measure of value is an exceptional return to practices last attested more than a millennium earlier, in the Old Kingdom. This exceptional use of cloth may reflect special circumstances during this period, however, since one of the sources, Papyrus Brooklyn 16.205, refers to a “bad time” (*h3 bin*, column 4, lines 1 and 6).⁷⁵

The Oracular Property Decree for the high priest of Amun Menkheperre dates to the Twenty-First Dynasty and was inscribed in the first court of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak.⁷⁶ It records an oracular consultation with the god Amun, seeking and receiving his approval and guarantee of Menkheperre’s purchase of several plots of land. In it, the sellers of the plots say to Menkheperre: “We have received the 5 [sacks] of emmer per [shawl, evaluated at 100] copper [*deben*] per *deben* of silver” (line 13). In the list of payments for the plots (lines 32–52), 10 *deben* are repeatedly equated to 1 shawl (*dr* or *rd*),⁷⁷ which taken together with the sellers’ statement implies that 100 *deben* of copper was worth 50 sacks of emmer wheat, 10 shawls, or 1 *deben* of silver. These equivalences may have been exceptional, however, because Menkheperre says, “Let the silver payment be great

71 Janssen 1975, 256.

72 Janssen 1975, 259–90.

73 Janssen 1975, 291–92. On pp. 265–71 he translates *d3iw* as “skirt,” however, and Staehelin (1969, 125–33) argues for “bolt of cloth.”

74 Muhs 2016, 159–62.

75 Parker 1962, 51, 52 n. g.

76 Epigraphic Survey 1981, 17–20, pl. 133; Ritner 2009, 130–35 (no. 30).

77 The word for shawl is alternately written *dr* (cols. 10, 33, 36) and *rd* (cols. 16, 28, 37, 39). Epigraphic Survey 1981, 19, suggests an identification with the *rwdw*-garment, which Janssen (1975, 284–86) translates as “shawl.”

from Amun-Re, king of the gods, the great god. Give it, per *deben* of silver, at 60 *deben* of copper, and I shall give the 40 (*deben*) over and above them. I shall give 5 sacks of emmer [per] shawl (*rd*), though it is 3 sacks that the country gives per shawl (*rd*), an excess of 2 sacks” (lines 27–28). This statement implies that the normal equivalences were that 60 *deben* of copper was worth 30 sacks of emmer, 10 shawls, or 1 *deben* of silver. These amounts were, in fact, the usual exchange rates for copper, emmer, and silver in the immediately preceding Twentieth Dynasty. Menkheperre’s statement implies that silver had become rarer and more expensive relative to copper than it was in the Twentieth Dynasty and that shawls had been introduced as a lower-denomination measure of value pegged to silver. It also suggests that payment was actually made in inflated copper and emmer, rather than in more valuable silver or shawls.

Hieratic Papyrus Brooklyn 16.205 records several oracular consultations about disputed payments.⁷⁸ One of the consultations is dated to an anonymous year 4 but refers to an earlier “bad time” in a year 49 that can only belong to the king Psusennes I or the high priest of Amun Menkheperre in the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁷⁹ In this consultation, one party claimed that Ikeni had not paid their father Harsetitef for a plot of land (column 3, lines 4–6), while another party claimed that Ikeni had indeed made the payment: “Verily Harsetitef received two *oipe* of emmer—one *oipe* (equalling) a cloth (*d3iw*)—in year 49. The scribe (also) received two cloths (*d3iw*), total four” (column 3, lines 6–8). The two written claims were placed before the god Khonsu-in-Thebes, who favored the second claim: “Right is Ikeni! He did give the two *oipe* and the two cloths (*rwḏw*), total four, to Harsetitef” (column 3, lines 8–10). This oracular consultation is followed by an account of the payments that Ikeni had made for plots of land. Payment for one plot consisted of “barley as barley, two *oipe* making emmer, three *oipe*; . . . cloth (*thy*), one cloth (*d3iw*). Total, amounting to four pieces (ꜣ) of cloth (*rwḏw*)” (column 4, lines 4–5). Payment for the plot that was the subject of the oracular consultation was repeated: “emmer, two *oipe*; good fine cloth (*šmꜣ nfr*), two cloths (*rwḏw*). Total, amounting to four pieces (ꜣ) of cloth (*rwḏw*)” (column 4, lines 6–8). In this papyrus, then, items of clothing were used both as a medium of exchange, alongside grain, and as a measure of value for grain, barley being first converted to emmer at a rate of 2:3 and then emmer converted to cloth at a rate of 1 *oipe* : 1 cloth (*d3iw* or *rwḏw*).⁸⁰ The rate of exchange is much less than the 3 or 5 sacks of emmer equated to 1 shawl (*dr* or *rd*) in the Oracular Property Decree for Menkheperre.

CONCLUSIONS

Cloth played an important role in the evolution of money in ancient Egypt from the third through the early first millennia BCE. The ancient Egyptians regularly used weights of metal, especially copper and silver, as measures of value, but their limited availability restricted their use as stores of wealth and media of exchange. Similarly, the ancient Egyptians

⁷⁸ Parker 1962, 49–52 and pls. 17–19 (appendix 1).

⁷⁹ von Beckerath 1994.

⁸⁰ This text alternates and equates two words for clothing, *d3iw* and *rwḏw*. Parker (1962, 49–52) translates *d3iw* as “loincloth,” but Staehelin (1969, 125–33) prefers “bolt of cloth” and Janssen (1975, 265–71) translates as “skirt.” Janssen (1975, 284–86) translates *rwḏw* as “shawl.”

regularly used grain as a medium of exchange, but its limited durability also restricted its use as a store of wealth. Cloth could serve as a store of wealth, however, because it was more durable than grain and more accessible than metal. Individual farmers could grow and process flax and weave cloth, but only major institutions could organize expeditions into the deserts to mine and smelt copper and gold or expeditions abroad to trade for silver.

In the third millennium BCE, the rarity of metals meant that large stockpiles of sheets of cloth often served as stores of wealth as well as media of exchange. In the second millennium BCE, however, centuries of mining, smelting, and trade had increased the availability of silver, and especially copper, and made stockpiles of sheet cloth less desirable as stores of wealth. Cloth was still accumulated and used as a medium of exchange, but usually as functional items of clothing rather than unfinished sheets of cloth. It was not until the first millennium BCE, however, that the increasing availability of silver made the use of cloth, as well as copper, largely redundant both as stores of wealth and as media of exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agapov, Sergey

- 2015 "Soziale Strukturen und wirtschaftliche Aktivitäten in Gebelein zur Zeit der 4.–5. Dynastie (nach Angaben der Gebelein-Papyri)." In *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22–29 May 2008*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis and Nikolaos Lazaridis, 1:583–94. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 241. Leuven: Peeters.

Allen, James P.

- 2002 *The Heqanakht Papyri*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 27. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Baer, Klaus

- 1963 "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letters to His Family." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83: 1–19.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1902 *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gabrawi. Part 2, Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 12. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Der Manuelian, Peter

- 2003 *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 7. New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Dreyer, Günter

- 1998 *Umm El-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftszeugnisse*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo 86. Mainz: von Zabern.

Epigraphic Survey

- 1981 *The Temple of Khonsu—Volume 2: Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and First Hypostyle Hall*. Oriental Institute Publications 103. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Fischer, Henry G.

- 1961 "Notes on the Mo'alla Inscriptions and Some Contemporaneous Texts." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 57: 59–77.

454 BRIAN MUHS

- 1976 "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' *Deir el Gebrâwi*." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 9–20.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
 1935 "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 21: 140–46.
- Goedicke, Hans
 1970 *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*. Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 5. Vienna: Notring.
- Grandet, Pierre
 1994 *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*. Bibliothèque d'étude 109/1–2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Hallmann, Aleksandra
 2015 "More Items of Funerary Linen from the Deir el-Bahari Burial Assemblages." In *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean XXIV/2, Special Studies: Deir el-Bahari Studies*, edited by Zbigniew E. Szafranski, 113–36. Warsaw: Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw.
- Helck, Wolfgang
 1967 "Eine Briefsammlung aus der Verwaltung des Amuntempels." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 6: 135–51.
- Hodjash, Svetlana I., and Oleg D. Berlev
 1980 "A Market-Scene in the Mastaba of *D3d3-m-ḥnh (Tp-m-ḥnh)*." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 7: 31–49.
- James, Thomas G. H.
 1953 *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekh*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir 30. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Janssen, Jac. J.
 1975 *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period: An Economic Study of the Village of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes*. Leiden: Brill.
 1991 "Requisitions from Upper-Egyptian Temples." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77: 79–94 with pl. 4.
- Jones, Jana
 2008 "Pre- and Early Dynastic Textiles: Technology, Specialization and Administration during the Process of State Formation." In *Egypt at Its Origins 2: Proceedings of the International Conference "Origin of the State—Predynastic and Early Dynastic Egypt," Toulouse (France), 5th–8th September 2005*, edited by Béatrix Midant-Reynes, Yann Tristant, Joanne Rowland, and Stan Hendrickx, 99–132. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 172. Leuven: Peeters.
 2010a "The 'Linen List' in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Egypt: Text and Textile Reconciled." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, edited by Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, 81–109. Oxford: Oxbow.
 2010b "Some Observations on the Dimensions of Textiles in the Old Kingdom Linen Lists." In *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, edited by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, 1:247–62. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités.
- Kanawati, Naguib
 2010 *Decorated Burial Chambers of the Old Kingdom*. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- Kemp, Barry
 1989 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*. London: Routledge.

Köhler, E. Christiana, and Jana Jones

- 2009 *Helwan II: The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Funerary Relief Slabs*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 25. Rahden-Westfalia: Leidorf.

Lacau, Pierre

- 1949 *Une stèle juridique de Karnak*. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 13. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Menu, Bernadette

- 1998 (1985) "Ventes de maisons sous l'ancien empire égyptien." In *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte II*, edited by Bernadette Menu, 271–87. Bibliothèque d'étude 122. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale. First published in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, edited by Francis Geus and Florence Thill, 249–62. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations.

Moreno García, Juan Carlos

- 2016 "Economies in Transition: Trade, 'Money,' Labour and Nomads at the Turn of the 1st Millennium BC." In *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East, 1300–500 BC*, edited by Juan Carlos Moreno García, 1–39. Oxford: Oxbow.

Moussa, Ahmed M., and Hartwig Altenmüller

- 1977 *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo 21. Mainz: von Zabern.

Muhs, Brian

- 2016 *The Ancient Egyptian Economy, 3000–30 BCE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ogden, Jack

- 2000 "Metals." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technologies*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, 148–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parker, Richard A.

- 1962 *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3]*. Brown Egyptological Studies 4. Providence: Brown University Press.

Posener-Kriéger, Paule

- 1973 "Les papyrus de l'Ancien Empire." In *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972. Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, edited by Serge Sauneron, 2:25–35. Bibliothèque d'étude 64. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 1976 *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (les papyrus d'Abousir): Traduction et commentaire*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque d'étude 65/1–2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 1977 "Les mesures des étoffes à l'ancien empire." *Revue d'égyptologie* 29: 86–96.
- 1979 "Les prix des étoffes." In *Festschrift Elmar Edel, 12. März 1979*, edited by Manfred Görg and Edgar Pusch, 318–31. Ägypten und Altes Testament 1. Bamberg: Görg.
- 1986 "Old Kingdom Papyri: External Features." In *Papyrus: Structure and Usage*, edited by Morris L. Bierbrier, 25–41. British Museum Occasional Paper 60. London: British Museum Press.
- 1994 "Le coffret de Gebelein." In *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 1, *Études pharaoniques*, edited by Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, 15–26. Bibliothèque d'étude 106/1. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 2004 *I papyri di Gebelein—scavi G. Farina 1935*. Studi del Museo Egizio di Torino 1. Turin: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al museo delle antichità Egizi.

Posener-Kriéger, Paule, Miroslav Verner, and Hana Vymazalová

- 2006 *Abusir X: The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef—the Papyrus Archive*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.

Riggs, Christina

- 2014 *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*. London: Bloomsbury.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. SBL Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Scheele, Katrin

- 2005 *Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches: Lexikographie, Entwicklung und Gebrauch*. MENES: Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Sethe, Kurt

- 1933 *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. 2nd ed. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Singer, Graciela Gestoso

- 2013 "The Gold and Silver Hoard from Tell el-Amarna." *Aula Orientalis* 31, no. 2: 249–59.

Smith, William Stevenson

- 1935 "The Old Kingdom Linen List." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 71: 134–49.

Staehelin, Elisabeth

- 1969 "Bindung und Entbindung." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 96: 125–39.

Strudwick, Nigel

- 2005 *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. SBL Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Vercoutter, Jean

- 1977 "Les poids de Mirgissa et le 'standard-cuivre' au Moyen Empire." In *Ägypten und Kusch*, edited by Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter-Friedrich Reineke, and Steffen Wenig, 437–45. *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients* 13. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

von Beckerath, Jürgen

- 1994 "Zur Datierung des Papyrus Brooklyn 16.205." *Göttinger Miszellen* 140: 15–17.

16

Identity Based on Coptic Textile Terminology
in Late Antique Egypt

Tasha Vorderstrasse
University of Chicago

RECONSTRUCTING IDENTITY FROM material culture remains a major part of trying to understand what life was like in antiquity. Although textiles from Late Antique Egypt represent a unique opportunity because of their excellent preservation, they remain difficult to use because of problems with the way they were excavated, acquired, or subsequently displayed. As a result, it is interesting to look at how Coptic-speaking Egyptians viewed their textiles and whether or not we can gain any insights concerning the overlap (or lack thereof) between the archaeological and textual records. After examining some of the challenges presented by Late Antique textiles from Egypt, this essay will turn to the textual evidence for different clothing types, as the way Coptic speakers themselves categorized these textiles may provide us with a path forward in terms of how they should be studied and understood. One caveat is that the divisions that Coptic speakers in Egypt used for their textiles are difficult to recognize in the archaeological record, so while we can understand *how* the population described their textiles, identifying precisely *what* they meant remains elusive.

PROBLEMATIZING LATE ANTIQUE TEXTILES FROM EGYPT

The term “Coptic” is usually used to describe Late Antique textiles that are thought to come from Egypt (e.g., fig. 16.1). Increasingly, however, scholars have expressed concerns about this term. The website Textile-Dates, for instance, which has assembled textiles given radiocarbon dates, uses the terms “antique, Roman, late antique, early medieval, early Islamic, early Byzantine, and Central Asian” and notes, “we deliberately avoid the term ‘Coptic.’”¹ Since “Coptic” is usually thought to denote material culture used in Egypt by Christians, the term separates “Coptic” art from “pagan” or “Muslim” art in Egypt, a distinction that is difficult to support when the material culture is examined. As I have argued elsewhere, it is far better to use chronological rather than cultural distinctions, particularly as the latter remain unclear in periods of transition, such as Late Antique Egypt. The matter is further complicated by the fact that scholars do not agree about the duration

1 <https://www.iak.uni-bonn.de/christliche-archaeologie/en/research/textile-research/textile-dates-1/user-guide>.



Figure 16.1. “Typical” Late Antique textile, probably a fragment of a tunic, museum dated to the late third to fifth century CE. Linen with wool tapestry weave. Metropolitan Museum of Art 89.18.95. Collected by Theodor Graf. Purchased by subscription, 1889. Open access image.

of the “Coptic” period—when it started or when it ended. Therefore, the term is fuzzy not only culturally but also temporally. It does not help that many textiles appeared on the antiquities market in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when cemeteries such as those at Akhmim and Antinoe were systematically looted by treasure hunters and explored by early “excavators” who, in their desire to acquire textiles, were not really concerned about where the objects they acquired actually came from and therefore did not take the stratigraphy into account. Their interest was in acquiring decorated textiles, not in their historical context or dating.² Indeed, the looting of cemeteries for textiles continues to be an issue.³ As a result, the majority of textiles identified as “Coptic” do not have a known provenience. They are assumed to be from Egypt despite the fact that textiles found in archaeological contexts in other areas of the world, such as Syria, Iraq, and Nubia, can appear similar to Egyptian textiles either because of shared styles or the influence of imports.⁴ In her study of textiles from Akhmim in the British Museum, O’Connell brought attention to the problem of attributing textiles to Akhmim if they did not necessarily come from there. Her solution to this difficulty was to look carefully at the acquisition histories of the textiles to see whether they fit with a possible origin at that site.⁵ Fluck has argued that certain stylistic characteristics might indicate that some textiles were produced in

2 Müller 2005, 2009; Pritchard 2006, 1; O’Connell 2008; Fluck 2012, 2013; Smalley 2012; 2014, 82–83; 2015; Greiner 2015; Kristensen 2015, 263, 265–66; Rooijakkers 2016, 3, 155–56; Orfinskaya and Tolmacheva 2017, 22; Kelley 2018, 41, 43–47; Brøns, Vanden Berghe, and Skals 2019, 24; Quertinmont 2019, 10–12, 15; Szymaszek and Lovén 2019; el-Sayed 2020, 29, 34–35.

3 Letellier-Willemin 2014, 49.

4 See Vorderstrasse 2018.

5 O’Connell 2008.

Antinoe,⁶ but this view will need to be tested further as more archaeological material from the site is published.

While many studies have focused on trying to reconstruct these older excavations, they face challenges because of the nature of the archaeological methods and recording and collection practices used at the time.⁷ Textiles from a number of modern excavations also have yet to be published fully.⁸ Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence indicates that textiles have been found primarily in burials. The deceased were often buried with multiple layers of clothing, either wearing them or wrapped in them as shrouds, and in many instances clothes and furnishings were reused.⁹ In other cases individuals were buried in highly decorated wooden coffins, and at some sites, such as Tebtunis, the use of coffins was very common for both adults and children.¹⁰ But intact burials excavated in modern times remain rare.¹¹

The lack of concern for the provenience and excavation methodologies of textiles during older excavations meant that when it came time to date the textiles (e.g., fig. 16.2), one was unable to date them archaeologically. As a result, scholars who study Late Antique textiles from Egypt have usually made certain art historical assumptions about their dating (e.g., fig. 16.3).¹² When textiles started to be dated using radiocarbon methods, it became evident that many textiles had been assumed to be earlier than they actually were, in some cases by several hundred years. In other instances, the textiles were dated too late, although such cases are more unusual.¹³ Radiocarbon dates



Figure 16.2. Richly decorated tunic, radiocarbon dated to 660–870 CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.185.2. Gift of Maurice Nahman, 1912. Open access image.

6 Fluck 2012; Greiner 2015, 56–57, 61.

7 Nauerth 1996; Kajitani 2006; Müller 2007; 2009, 172–73; van Strydonck et al. 2011; Smalley 2015; Rooijakkers 2016, 157; Pleša 2017; Huber with Nauerth 2018; Davies 2020; Mérat 2020.

8 Czaja-Szewczak 2005, 209–10; Redmount 2005, 2007; Cortopassi 2006; Heikkinen 2012; Lösch, Hower-Tilmann, and Zink 2012; Yohe, Gardner, and Heikinnen 2012; Letellier-Willemin 2013, 2020; Orfinskaya and Tolmacheva 2017.

9 Redmount 2005; Lösch, Hower-Tilmann, and Zink 2012, 31–32; Yohe, Gardner, and Heikinnen. 2012, 119, 121–22; Rooijakkers 2016, 169–70; Davies 2020; Elias 2020, 457–58, table 11; Mace 2020, 500; Mérat 2020, 444, 447, 504–5.

10 Huber with Nauerth 2018.

11 Fluck 2015, 116.

12 Greiner 2015, 18–19; Kristensen 2015, 267.

13 van Strydonck, de Moor, and Bénazeth 2004; van Strydonck et al. 2011, 241; van Strydonck and Bénazeth 2014; Kristensen 2015, 278; Bénazeth et al. 2016, 1571–72; Mérat 2016, 1483; Kelley 2018, 47–55; Brøns, Vanden Berghe, and Skals 2019, 28–29. See, e.g., von Falck and Lichtwark 1996, 375, cat. no. 427, dated to the eighth to tenth centuries and the same textile published in Fluck, Helmecke, and O'Connell 2015, cat. no. 206, radiocarbon dated to 1024–1215.

are not precise, however; they give a range rather than a precise date, and this imprecision means that one often cannot differentiate the chronology of textiles too finely.¹⁴ In one instance, textiles were dated on the basis of a single coin in a burial to the mid-fifth to sixth century CE.¹⁵ Dating material culture on the basis of a single coin is problematic because coins can stay in circulation for some time or be accidentally dropped. The dating of textiles remains opaque even in some modern excavations. At the site of Deir el-Bachit, the excavators argued that the burial of a young female, a pregnant victim of homicide, was later than the other burials (dated to the sixth to tenth centuries CE) based on the archaeological context and the textiles, but the latter have not been published, so a confirmation is not possible.¹⁶ Because of concerns about dating, Dauterman Maguire's exhibition catalog *The Rich Life and the Dance: Weavings from Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic Egypt* did not date any of the textiles in the collection.¹⁷ Although such an approach acknowledges the problem of dating the textiles, ignoring the dates currently assigned to them does not really help matters.



Figure 16.3. Wall hanging, museum dated to the fifth to sixth century CE. Linen with wool. Metropolitan Museum of Art 22.124.4. Gift of Arthur S. Vernay. Open access image.

TEXTILE TERMS IN COPTIC TEXTS

While understanding actual Late Antique textiles is problematic, Coptic terms for textiles give us information about how individuals in Late Antique Egypt categorized and understood them.¹⁸ It can be challenging to identify these terms with actual textiles or depictions

¹⁴ Kristensen 2015, 268.

¹⁵ Mace 2020, 487–88; Mérat 2020, 443, 450.

¹⁶ Lösch, Hower-Tilmann, and Zink 2012, 38.

¹⁷ Dauterman Maguire 1999, 8.

¹⁸ For a list of terms, see Boud'hors 1997.

of textiles. It is not clear what, precisely, the textile terms refer to—whether an actual textile or perhaps features of textiles, including the way textiles were worn, the material they were manufactured from, or potentially the gender of the intended wearer. Further, textile terms can apply to multiple types of textiles, and multiple textile terms are used to refer to a single type of textile.¹⁹ As Wild and Droß-Krüpe have correctly noted, people of antiquity knew what they meant by the textile terms they used, but we do not.²⁰ Moreover, since they were written down in a nonliterate society, the terms also describe textiles used by only certain groups in society.²¹ In other cases, such as in Nubia, we do not know what terms individuals used for textiles.²²

Coptic textile and color terms can be divided into two types: Greek terms and local Egyptian terms. Textile terms appear frequently in Coptic texts, including many loanwords that come from Greek and Latin.²³ In addition to the actual names of garments, there are descriptors that provide additional information about the textiles. A popular description of textiles categorizes them according to their physical appearance, such as their color or decoration.²⁴ Other information includes the age and gender of the wearer or whether the garments are specialized ones worn by certain groups in society, such as monks.²⁵ But one can see differences between literary and papyrological texts that describe those monks' dress. Literary texts use terms for textiles that people believed monks wore, but in papyri the textile terms appear to refer to clothes that were worn by both men and women rather than any specialized group and largely cannot be associated with only monastic dress.²⁶ Literary sources attest to textile terms for the types of clothing in which monks were supposed to be buried, but finding archaeological correlates to these textile terms is difficult.²⁷ There are, however, shirts that, based on their findspots, may have been typically worn by monks.²⁸ It is possible that different names for tunics differentiated between liturgical and secular clothing.²⁹

COPTIC TEXTILE TERMINOLOGY AND SELF-REPRESENTATION: COLOR AND DECORATION

A number of documentary texts list textiles together, including CPR XII.1 and CPR XII.2 (both seventh/eighth century CE). These texts are important because they list textiles

19 Russo 2004, 137, 141; Magoula 2008, 128, 233; Letellier-Willemin 2011, 87; Harlow and Nosch 2014, 10, 15; Droß-Krüpe 2017, 300; Gaspa, Michel, and Nosch 2017, 20; Kelley 2018, 49. For textile terms in Greek papyri and discussions of actual textiles, see Mossakowska-Gaubert 2017.

20 Wild and Droß-Krüpe 2017, 303.

21 Magoula 2008, 233.

22 Innemée 1992, 172.

23 Hasitzka 2000, 31; Froschauer 2007, 698.

24 Cleland 2005a, 44–45; Harlow and Nosch 2014, 15.

25 Innemée 1992; Mossakowska 1996; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004; 2015, 43; Torallas Tovar 2007; Giorda 2011.

26 Mossakowska 1996, 31–36; Mossakowska-Gaubert 2004; 2017, 324, 336–38; Rooijakkers 2016, 285–86.

27 Bechtold 2008, 87–89.

28 Bechtold 2008, 86–87.

29 Rooijakkers 2016, 286.

together with descriptors that provide information about the textiles' color and provenience, as well as the gender and age of their wearers. Other texts, such as wills and church inventory lists, are also important. Studies of Coptic textile and color terms have largely restricted themselves to listing the terms and then, in some instances, trying to find parallels among actual textiles, whereas the present study looks at the descriptors present in these texts, as well as single mentions in other texts that may help us understand these descriptors. The texts indicate that textiles used by Coptic speakers were categorized according to a number of colors, particularly different shades of red. There were also colors associated with plants, animals, and minerals, such as cypresses, dates, milk, honey, apples, lead (white), crabs (red), lemons, saffron, leeks, and mice. And some colors are further described as shimmering.³⁰ General color words are limited, and it is unclear what they necessarily meant.³¹ Outside of Coptic-language documentary texts, color terms inspired by the natural world are used to describe textiles.³² On the other hand, some of these colors are described as shimmering, which is not something that we find in documentary texts.³³ Similar colors appear in Greek papyri,³⁴ as well as in Latin papyri from Byzantine Ravenna.³⁵ The fact that others are given a provenience suggests that certain regions were associated with certain colors.³⁶ Evidently, it was important to indicate the colors of textiles.³⁷ Some of these colors also refer to the origin of the textiles,³⁸ though the topographical information is likely not necessarily where the textile was produced. Such geographic designations can also indicate the type of textile being produced or its quality, rather than its origin.³⁹

The colors of actual textiles (e.g., fig. 16.4) support the variety of colors listed in the papyrological evidence. There are examples of green, red, purple, and yellow—all colors that were popular for both adults and children.⁴⁰ And there are, of course, many examples of decorated textiles, including clothing and household furnishings,⁴¹ which also are attested in various textile lists, where they are sometimes described as having the decorated borders or patterns that appear on actual textiles.⁴² Terms for decoration on textiles could also refer to certain textiles,⁴³ again suggesting that terms could have multiple uses and meanings depending on the context. The noun *ⲭⲱⲕⲉ* and the adjective *ⲭⲏⲃⲉ* (also spelled

30 See, e.g., CPR XII.2; Froschauer 2007, 699–701.

31 Schenkel 2007, 211; 2019, 35–36.

32 Brysbaert 2002, 127.

33 Simmons Stager 2012, 57–59.

34 Droß-Krüpe 2017, 297–99.

35 Magoula 2018, table 1.1.

36 Froschauer 2007, 700, 706–7.

37 Cleland 2005a, 80–81.

38 See, e.g., CPR XII.2; Letellier-Willemin 2011, 87.

39 Harlow and Nosch 2014, 15–16; Gaspa, Michel, and Nosch 2017, 21.

40 Bogensperger 2014; Bühl and Dospěl Williams 2019, <https://www.doaks.org/resources/textiles/catalogue/BZ.1953.2.1>. For a bright-red tunic, see <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O119593/tunic-unknown/>.

41 Wild and Droß-Krüpe 2017, 308.

42 Cleland 2003, 102; 2005a, 99–100; 2005b, 92. See, e.g., P. Ryl. Copt. 243, which describes embroidered and brocaded textiles.

43 Szymaszek 2017, 485–87.

ⲭⲏⲕⲉ) are translated in a variety of ways—the noun usually as “purple” or, more generally, “dye” and the adjective as “dyed.” Although the word is sometimes used to translate the Greek word for “purple” in New Testament Coptic translations, the fact that in more general usage it indicates “purple” in some cases and “dye” in others suggests it had multiple meanings.⁴⁴ Scalf has noted that the word is derived from Demotic *tk* “colored illustration,” attested in the Ptolemaic papyrus from Edfu known as Papyrus Ryerson,⁴⁵ an etymology that suggests it referred in some instances to decoration rather than something that was purple or dyed.



Figure 16.4. Purple silk textile fragment, museum dated to 501–700 CE. Art Institute 1907.908. Art Institute of Chicago Purchase Fund. Creative Commons image.

GENDERED TEXTILES

Textile lists also differentiate textiles on the basis of gender, but most lists do not specify whether a given textile was worn by someone of a particular gender or age. Further, certain textile types may have been worn by persons of one gender or another, and the difference in form would have been evident to the individuals involved, even if it is not obvious today.⁴⁶ It is difficult to differentiate gender in actual clothing forms.⁴⁷ Moreover, in Greek papyri, gendered terms are rare, leading to the suggestion that it was the textile term and the color of the textiles that indicated gender.⁴⁸ Coptic texts specifically note that a particular item of clothing is for a woman, just as an Anglo-Saxon will refers to “a woman’s attire, complete” and “women’s clothing” without specifying what these textiles were.⁴⁹ In contrast, the Coptic textile terms specify the clothing type and other descriptors, such as color. Coptic words are generic, and a word referring to a woman’s veil can also be used to designate a veil or a curtain⁵⁰ (which points again to some clothing being

44 Crum 1962; Gardner, Alcock, and Funk 1999, 65–66; Froschauer 2007, 707; Stoyanova, 2008, 100; Richter 2020, 161, 165–66. See CPR XII.1, line 1 with editor’s note on p. 44, where the editor translated the word ⲛⲭⲟⲩⲉⲓ as “colored,” following Crum 1962; see also Cromwell 2020, 141 n. 11, 143, 145 n. 37, table 2.

45 Scalf 2015–16, 72–73. See CDD 305–6 (https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/CDD_T.pdf).

46 Cleland 2005a, 46, 91–92.

47 Bazinet 1992, 74; Cleland 2005a, 46; Brøns, Vanden Berghe, and Skals 2019, 25.

48 Russo 2004, 139; Droß-Krüpe 2017, 297.

49 Whitelock 1930, 65; Magoula 2008, 227–28.

50 Letellier-Willemin 2011, 87.

considered gendered⁵¹) or hair wreaths that were worn by women and children or even both genders.⁵²

As Hasitzka notes, there are textiles made for women⁵³ and others for men,⁵⁴ thus providing an indication of gender differentiation for adults' clothing. CPR XII.1 lists clothing, garments, and ribbons/belts for women, white and green bands for men, and a white covering for a man. P. Bal. 323 and 328 both mention a woman's garment and also a woman's tunic. This type of textile term is echoed in Wilfong's study of two wills from Jeme, which refer to a group of textiles and other objects as "women's things" and "men's things."⁵⁵ It is interesting that this distinction is actually made in these texts, given that we often regard Late Antique Egyptian textiles as being genderless and do not discuss who actually wore them unless the wearer might be a monk. Thomas has also pointed out that people of different genders wore their clothing in different ways and argued that one could see the differences.⁵⁶ Certainly, in the representations of individuals in wall paintings and on textiles produced in Late Antique Egypt, men's and women's clothes are similarly decorated. But there is very clearly a difference in the length of the garments, as women wore longer, looser-fitting tunics and men wore tunics with tighter sleeves and pants. Women also covered their heads, with either mantles or veils.⁵⁷ P. Ryl. Copt. 239, a list of things stolen from the writer's house, included not only a new cushion but also a woman's headcloth. Gender differentiation regarding textiles also occurs in Arabic papyri, with APEL VI.388, a ninth-century CE dressmaker's account for the sewing of a woman's robe, and APEL VI.389, a ninth-century bill of sale for clothing, including women's clothes made from linen.

There are also assumptions about what types of clothing might be worn by men or women. It has been suggested that there may be gender differentiation in terms of the length of clothing, with men wearing shorter tunics than women, for instance, as well as men wearing trousers and women wearing dresses. But there is archaeological evidence for women wearing trousers,⁵⁸ so we need to rethink our own assumptions about what garments each gender might have worn. Indeed, archaeologists have noted little difference between genders in terms of the textiles that have been found.⁵⁹

51 Kwaspen 2011; Linscheid 2011; Fluck 2013; de Moor et al. 2014, 104; Rooijakkers 2016, 165–67, 173–74, 228; James 2018.

52 Fluck 2013; Rooijakkers 2016, 168, 174; Mace 2020, 501, 509–10.

53 CPR XII.1; P. Ryl. Copt. 239, eighth century; Hasitzka 2000, 34, 39.

54 O. Crum Add. 84; CPR XII.1; O.Medin.HabuCopt. 84, 88; P. Lond. IV 1610, 40 from Aphrodito; see Hasitzka 2012, 64.

55 Wilfong 2003, 213–14.

56 Thomas 2016, 43.

57 Thomas 2016, 43, 45.

58 Pritchard 2006, 49, 59; Rooijakkers 2016, 177–78 with n. 109, 218–20, 222–23, 227.

59 Mace 2020, 500.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING IN COPTIC TEXTS

Although the gender of children is not differentiated, clothing specifically for children is given in some textile lists. The form of clothing is not different from that of adults,⁶⁰ but in some instances the garments are differentiated from adult clothing. The size of the clothes is what indicates that the clothing belonged to children, and similar designs have led to the suggestion that these clothes were all worn by children.⁶¹ In clothing lists, children's clothing is also mentioned: CPR XII.1 (seventh/eighth century CE) lists children's belts (including some that were white and black), as well as a purple-red garment.⁶² The terms suggest that children of both genders might have worn the same types of clothing or that it was not important for the writer to note the distinction. Children's tunics include plain ones with embroidered necks and sleeves, as well as clothing in a variety of colors.⁶³ A number of tunics suggest there may have been regional types that were typical for certain colors. That tunics from Arsinoe have sleeves of a color different from that of the body, for example, suggests some geographic variation.⁶⁴

Archaeological evidence for children's clothing from Egypt (e.g., fig. 16.5) suggests that it is basically adult clothing in miniature, although it is often made from reworked pieces of clothes.⁶⁵ In other studies, it has been argued that there were differences in adult's and children's clothing, as suggested by western Roman burials.⁶⁶ While children are attested in more recent excavations such as at Fag el-Gamous, children's burials have not been the specific subject of study, which has largely concentrated on burial shrouds and mummy wrappings.⁶⁷ It may be that the bodies were buried not wear-



Figure 16.5. Child's dress, radiocarbon dated to 660–880 CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.174. Gift of George F. Baker, 1890. Open access image.

60 CPR XII.1; Cleland 2005a, 46, 92; Czaja-Szewczak 2005, 203; Fluck 2010, 182.

61 Médard 2015, 99, 103; Handley 2017.

62 Eichinger-Wurth 2018, 19–20, 22.

63 Fluck and Finneiser 2009, 12–25; Fluck 2012; Eichinger-Wurth 2018, 63, 72–94, 98. For tunics in general and their measurements, see Kwaspen and Verhecken-Lammens 2015.

64 Eichinger-Wurth 2018, 87–88.

65 Pitarakis 2009, 180, 182–83; Rooijakkers 2016, 234–35; Thomas 2016, 40; Eichinger-Wurth 2018, 71.

66 Grömer and Hölbling-Steigberger 2010, 155, 174.

67 South 2012.

ing clothes, as is attested in other cemeteries.⁶⁸ A child from the cemetery of Mostagedda was buried with two embroidered tunics (one with red embroidery and one with blue), wool head wrappings, and a blue headband. It is not clear from the excavation records whether the child was buried wearing the tunics or whether they were part of a shroud.⁶⁹ Children were more frequently buried wrapped in reused textiles, specifically household textiles, than adults were.⁷⁰ There is clearly evidence for textiles being reused through time.⁷¹ At Tebtunis, a cemetery of the end of the eighth/ninth century was found that consisted almost entirely of children who were buried wrapped in white and colored textiles, with blue predominating, and additional textiles that were dyed red and green, some with decoration. The deceased infants were buried with tunics and occasionally caps, but were usually wrapped in several layers.⁷² This is also the case for bodies at Douch, where a girl who was not clothed was wrapped in five shrouds and an embroidered tunic with other everyday textiles used as material that acted as a filling,⁷³ and at Antinoopolis, where four children's burials were found with the deceased buried in multiple garments, which in some cases they were not wearing.⁷⁴ Similarly, a child buried at Deir el-Bachit in a sack wore a tunic and small cap.⁷⁵

In contrast to the clothing of adults, hooded tunics (e.g., fig. 16.6) are frequently found with children⁷⁶ and have been compared to monastic costume; contemporary writers have suggested a connection between the innocence of children and that of monks.⁷⁷ Whether there is a connection remains unknown, but it is interesting that some dolls also have hooded tunics (fig. 16.7).⁷⁸ Children's clothing is rare in medieval Europe,



Figure 16.6. Child's tunic with hood, museum dated to 600–900 CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.239. Gift of George D. Pratt, 1927. Open access image.

68 Pleša 2017, 25.

69 Pleša 2017, 25, 28, fig. 8.

70 South 2012, 68.

71 Bogensperger 2014; Fluck 2014, 116–19; Roojakkers 2016, 156; Wild 2020, 69–78.

72 Gallazzi and Hadji-Minoglou 2012, 392, 394–95, 402.

73 Letellier-Willemin 2013, 23.

74 Fluck 2010, 182–84; 2013; 2015, 217–23.

75 Löscher, Hower-Tilmann, and Zink 2012, 34, fig. 7.

76 Nauwerth 1996, 91; Pitarakis 2009, 180, 182–83; Fluck 2013; 2015, 225; Colburn 2016, 131–32, figs. 1–2.5, 2–5.3; Roojakkers 2016, 235; Thomas 2016, 40; Eichinger-Wurth 2018, 96–99.

77 Innemée 1992, 108.

78 Pitarakis 2009, 183.

but one example is a late Romanesque specimen for a neonate that has a tunic with hood,⁷⁹ thus arguing that this clothing type is not strictly an Egyptian convention. The popularity of hooded cloaks points to the fact that age differences in their wearers would have been evident in addition to the size of the garments themselves, at least in some instances.

IDENTIFYING CLOTHING TERMS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ART HISTORICAL RECORDS

Individuals in Late Antique and medieval Egypt (and beyond) are often found depicted in clothes that are usually presumed to be an approximation of clothing that they actually wore (fig. 16.8). In both wall paintings and on textiles,⁸⁰ the costumes the individuals wear appear to be differentiated on the basis of gender or profession, and the choice of clothing color was potentially based on status⁸¹ or office—thus, individuals can be identified as monks or other church officials based on their dress.⁸² But the assumption that these images are reflective of reality leads to difficulty in matching textile terms with actual clothing and what is found in art, leading to suggestions that the art is not actually representational.⁸³ Further, there is the challenge that many of the textiles that have been found are just small fragments rather than the much more elaborate and complete pieces often displayed in museum collections. These complete pieces are rare, however, as many textiles were cut up and sold to collectors (fig. 16.9).⁸⁴ Moreover, the fragments are from textiles found in archaeological excavations,⁸⁵ particularly outside cemeteries. Nevertheless, there have been attempts to link archaeological finds to ancient depictions of individuals,⁸⁶ monastic clothing to monastic textile terms,⁸⁷ or monastic clothing to actual textiles.⁸⁸ It is important to keep in mind, however, that such pieces could come from other



Figure 16.7. Doll's tunic, museum dated to the sixth to eighth century CE. Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.627. Gift of George F. Baker, 1890. Open access image.

79 Bravermanová 2010; 2013, 197–99; Bravermanová and Březinová 2015, 109.

80 See, e.g., Paetz gen. Schieck and Pásztkai-Szeőke 2013, 191–96; Rooijakkers 2016, 176; 2017, 136; Thomas 2016, 46; Hanna 2018; Elsner 2020, 9–12; Raff 2022.

81 Raff 2022.

82 Rooijakkers 2017, 136; Tatz 2022, 214–16.

83 Innemée 1992, 7; Cleland 2003, 178–79; James and Tougher 2005, 155–56, 160; Szymańska 2010, 13–14; Lovén 2014, 274–75; Magoula 2018, 22; Brøns and Harlow 2020, 228.

84 Rooijakkers 2016, 156; Ball 2018, 6, 10 n. 3; Brøns, Vanden Berghe, and Skals 2019, 24–25.

85 See, e.g., Handley 2017.

86 Cardon, Granger-Taylor, and Nowik 2011.

87 Tatz 2022, 226.

88 Rooijakkers 2017, 136.



Figure 16.8. Textiles with images of individuals in Late Antique clothing. *a*, Fragment (hanging), museum dated to the fifth/sixth century CE. Grace R. Smith Textile Endowment. Art Institute of Chicago 1982.1578. Creative Commons image; *b*, Detail of hanging with Christian images, museum dated to the sixth century CE. Egypt, Byzantine period. Plain weave (tabby) with inwoven tapestry weave; dyed wool, undyed linen; overall dimensions 110.5 × 76.8 cm (43.5 × 30.25 in); mounted 120.9 × 87.0 × 3.9 cm (47.625 × 34.25 × 1.5625 in). Cleveland Museum Art, John L. Severance Fund 1982.73. <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1982.73>; *c*, Two figures framed by a jeweled border, museum dated to 450–550 CE. Egypt, Byzantine period. Dyed wool, undyed linen; slit-tapestry weave with supplementary weft wrapping and plain-weave headings; overall dimensions 24.1 × 28.6 cm (9.5 × 11.25 in); mounted 33.0 × 37.5 cm (13.0 × 14.75 in). Cleveland Museum of Art, Andrew R. and Martha Holden Jennings Fund 1979.58. <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1979.58>.

types of textiles, including but not limited to clothing. Since the corpses of the dead were not only dressed but also wrapped in different textiles,⁸⁹ both items of clothing from daily life and soft furnishings, such as curtains, are preserved. And in addition to the actual evidence for such materials, church inventories also survive. Recent colloquia and exhibitions have begun to bring more attention to nonclothing textile objects.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Fluck 2015, 216.

⁹⁰ See van Minnen 1992; Caseau 2008; de Moor and Fluck 2009; Marinis 2014, 57; Stephenson 2014; Bühl 2019; Bühl, Krody, and Dospěl Williams 2019. For curtains in general, see Dauterman Maguire 2019; Parani 2019.



Figure 16.9. Examples of collected, and probably cut, textiles. *Left*, Seventeen mummy wrapping fragments, museum dated to 1–800 CE. Art Institute 1909.152.1–70. Gift of Martin A. Ryerson through the Antiquarian Society. Creative Commons image. *Right*, Grape leaf from a curtain, museum dated to the fifth to sixth century CE. Egypt, Byzantine period. West-faced plain weave with tapestry weave and supplementary weft wrapping; undyed linen and dyed wool; average dimensions 19.0 x 31.5 cm (7.5 x 12.375 in). Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1983.262. <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1983.262>.

As an example, literary texts mention different types of clothing worn by monks, as do church inventories,⁹¹ but when one looks at the extant archaeological evidence, it is ambiguous. The best example that allows us to see how office might have influenced actual clothing choice comes from Qasr Ibrim: the body in the north crypt holding two paper scrolls, letters commissioned from the patriarch of the Coptic Church for the enthronement of Bishop Timotheos, who was consecrated in 1372 CE. Bishop Timotheos was a short man (about five feet, seven inches) who was in early middle age when he died. He seems to have died violently, since the fingers of his hands were curled and one foot was missing; this state led Plumley to suggest that the man died after having his foot amputated because of a snakebite.⁹² It was argued that he had been buried hastily because his garments were different from what one might expect. The body was wearing trousers and wrapped in a shroud, and over that a long white tunic similar to an alb and a bell-shaped cloak. A blue cotton veil was wrapped around the head and placed over the face, with a handkerchief of white linen around the neck. Crowfoot notes that the garments were not necessarily

⁹¹ Rooijakkers 2016, 258–69, 284.

⁹² Crowfoot 1977. Crowfoot cites Plumley's speculations but does not provide a citation, suggesting it was a personal communication. The suggestion does not appear in any of Plumley's published articles on Qasr Ibrim as far as I am aware.

ecclesiastical and claims they were traveling clothes, but the cloak is described as “impressive.”⁹³ Although Crowfoot is certain that these garments were not ecclesiastical, other scholars have identified them as being “vestments”⁹⁴ and a “clerical cloak.”⁹⁵

Therefore, it is clear that the church inventory lists and lists of monasteries include liturgical clothing⁹⁶ but also “soft furnishings” (P. Ryl. Copt. 238, eighth century) and clothing that seems not to have any had religious significance (P. Ryl. Copt. 238, eighth century). One instance (P. Ryl. Copt. 244) notes different types of decorated clothing, possible evidence that the textiles were decorated with embroidery.⁹⁷

CONCLUSION: LATE ANTIQUE IDENTITY THROUGH TEXTILES

When one looks at Late Antique textile terms in Coptic and compares them with the actual textiles found in archaeological excavations and seen in depictions, a number of issues quickly emerge. Beyond the problems of dating, preservation, and provenience, it is evident that the terms and the depictions do not necessarily match. What the Coptic textile terms do tell us, however, is that there is interest in gendered textiles, which do not necessarily appear in the archaeological record, as well as in textiles of different colors and styles, which do. While children’s textiles are not gendered in the texts, it is clear from the archaeological record that they can take a variety of forms. It should, in principle, be possible to identify the textiles in Coptic lists in the archaeological record, but the fact that this is not the case suggests the issue goes beyond one of the general challenges involved in the study of Late Antique textiles. Rather, it argues that the Late Antique population thought about the textiles they wore in different ways than we do today.

ABBREVIATIONS

- APEL VI Adolf Grohmann, ed., *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, vol. 6, *Economic Texts*. Cairo: Egyptian Library Press, 1962
- CDD Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds., *The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>
- CPR XII Monika R. M. Hasitzka, ed., *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, vol. 12, *Koptische Texte*. 1987
- O. Crum Walter Ewing Crum, ed., *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum, and Others*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902
- O.Medin.HabuCopt. Elizabeth Stefanski and Miriam Lichtheim, eds., *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. Oriental Institute Publications 71. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952
- P. Bal. Paul E. Kahle, *Bala’izah: Coptic Texts from Deir Bala’izah in Upper Egypt*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954

93 Plumley, Adams, and Crowfoot 1977, 47. See also Wozniak and Yvanez, chapter 3 in this volume.

94 Plumley 1964, 3–4.

95 Rooijakkers 2016, 294–95.

96 Rooijakkers 2016, 284.

97 Rooijakkers 2016, 284–85 n. 90.

- P. Lond. IV Howard Idris Bell, ed., *The Aphrodito Papyri*, with an appendix of Coptic papyri edited by Walter Ewing Crum. London: British Museum Press, 1910
- P. Ryl. Copt. Walter Ewing Crum, ed., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1909

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ball, Jennifer L.

- 2018 "Died in the Wool, Buried in the Linen: Textiles from the Graves of Late Antique Egypt." In *From the Desert to the City: The Journey of Late Ancient Textiles*, edited by Warren Woodfin, 6–13. New York: Godwin-Ternbach Museum, Queens College, City University of New York.

Bazinet, Michael

- 1992 "Coptic Dress in Egypt: The Social Life of Medieval Cloth." In *Textiles in Daily Life: Proceedings of the Third Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, September 24–26 1992*, 73–80. Los Angeles: Textile Society of America.

Bechtold, Eszter

- 2008 "A Monk's Decorated Shirt from Egypt." *Kút* 7: 81–90.

Bénazath, Dominique, Anita Quiles, Mark van Strydonck, and Michel Wuttman

- 2016 "La question des datations dans l'art et l'archéologie coptes: Recherches au Musée du Louvre." In *Coptic Society, Literature, and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008*, edited by Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Federico Contardi, 1567–78. Leuven: Peeters.

Bogensperger, Ines

- 2014 "The Multiple Function and Lives of a Textile: The Reuse of a Garment." In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 335–44. Oxford: Oxbow.

Boud'hors, Anne

- 1997 "Vêtements et textiles à l'usages divers: Termes coptes." *Grafma Newsletter* 1: 20–28.

Bravermanová, Milena

- 2010 "Archaeological Textiles from Prague Castle, Czech Republic." In *The North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles X*, edited by Eva B. Andersson Strand, Margarita Gleba, and Ulla Mannering, 31–36. Ancient Textiles Series 5. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2013 "A Baptismal Neonate Suit from the Tomb of Duke Břetislav II and the Woman's Veil, a So-Called *Kruseler*, from the Royal Crypt in the Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague Castle." In *The North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles XI*, edited by Johanna Banck-Burgess and Carla Nübold, 197–203. Rahden-Westfalia: Leidorf.

Bravermanová, Milena, and Helena Březinová

- 2015 "Further Textile Artefacts from the Royal Crypt at Prague Castle (CZ): A Tablet-Woven Silk Band and Fragments of a Child's Funeral Tunic." *Archaeological Textiles Review* 57: 104–10.

Brøns, Cecilie, and Mary Harlow

- 2020 "White Men and Rainbow Women: Gendered Colour Coding in Roman Dress." In *Textiles and Gender in Antiquity from the Orient to the Mediterranean*, edited by Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel, and Louise Quillien, 219–40. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Brøns, Cecile, Ina Vanden Berghe, and Irene Skals

- 2019 "Late Antique Textiles from Egypt in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen." *Archaeological Textiles Review* 61: 24–41.

Brysbaert, Ann

- 2002 "'Colours in Antiquity: Colour and Hue from Egypt to Byzantium,' University of Edinburgh, 10th–13th September 2001." *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 13: 125–29.

Bühl, Gudrun

- 2019 "Textiles | Architecture | Space." In *Woven Interiors: Furnishing Early Medieval Egypt*, edited by Gudrun Bühl, Sumru Belger Krody, and Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, 15–34. Washington, DC: George Washington University Museum / Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Bühl, Gudrun, and Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, eds.

- 2019 *Catalogue of the Textiles in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection*. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/textiles/catalogue>.

Bühl, Gudrun, Sumru Belger Krody, and Elizabeth Dospěl Williams, eds.

- 2019 *Woven Interiors: Furnishing Early Medieval Egypt*. Washington, DC: George Washington University Museum / Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Cardon, Dominique, Hero Granger-Taylor, and Witold Nowik

- 2011 "What Did They Look Like? Fragments of Clothing Found at Didymoi: Case Studies." In *Didymoi: Une garnison romaine dans le désert oriental d'Égypte*, vol. 1, *Les fouilles et le matériel*, edited by Hélène Cuvigny, 272–395. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 64. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Caseau, Béatrice

- 2008 "Objects in Churches: The Testimony of Inventories." In *Objects in Context, Objects in Use*, edited by Luke Lavan, 551–79. Late Antique Archaeology 5. Leiden: Brill.

Cleland, Liza

- 2003 "Colour in Ancient Greek Clothing: A Methodological Investigation." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh.
- 2005a *The Brauron Clothing Catalogues: Text, Analysis, Glossary and Translation*. BAR International Series 1428. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges.
- 2005b "The Semiosis of Description: Some Reflections on Fabric and Colour in the Brauron Inventories." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llywellyn-Jones, 87–95. Oxford: Oxbow.

Colburn, Kathrin

- 2016 "A Closer Look at Textiles from the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Materials and Techniques." In *Designing Identity: The Power of Textiles in Late Antiquity*, edited by Thelma K. Thomas, 126–41. New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cortopassi, Roberta

- 2006 "Monastère de Baouit: Premiers textiles." *Archaeological Textile Newsletter* 43: 12–17.

Cromwell, Jennifer

- 2020 "Domestic Textile Production in Dakhleh Oasis in the Fourth Century AD." In *Egyptian Textiles and Their Production: 'Word' and 'Object'*, edited by Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, 139–52. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Crowfoot, Elisabeth

- 1977 "The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop." In *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, edited by Veronika Gervers, 43–51. Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum.

Crum, Walter Ewing

- 1962 *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Czaja-Szewczak, Barbara

- 2005 "Textiles from Naqlun, 2004." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 16: 203–10.

Dauterman Maguire, Eunice

- 1999 *Weavings from Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Egypt: The Rich Life and the Dance*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.
- 2019 "Curtains at the Threshold: How They Hung and How They Performed." In *Liminal Fabric: Byzantine and Early Islamic Furnishing Textiles*, edited by Gudrun Bühl and Elizabeth Dospěl Williams. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/textiles/essays/maguire>.

Davies, Vanessa

- 2020 "Catalogue of Tombs." In *The Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir: Cemeteries N 2000 and N 2500*, edited by Vanessa Davies, 29–218. Harvard Egyptological Studies 10. Leiden: Brill.

De Moor, Antoine, and Cäcilia Fluck, eds.

- 2009 *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries. Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley," Antwerp, 6–7 October 2007*. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

De Moor, Antoine, Cäcilia Fluck, Mark van Strydonck, and Mathieu Boudin

- 2014 "Radiocarbon Dating of Linen Hairnets in Sprang Technique." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 21: 103–20.

Droß-Krüpe, Kerstin

- 2017 "Χιτών—δαλματική—μαφόρτης—σύνθεσις: Common and Uncommon Garment Terms in Dowry Arrangements from Roman Egypt." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC–1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 295–300. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Eichinger-Wurth, Martina

- 2018 "Ein spätantikes Kinderkleid aus Ägypten in der Sammlung der Mode- und Kunstschule Herbsstraße in Wien." Master's thesis, University of Vienna.

Elias, Jonathan P.

- 2020 "Coptic Burial Wrapping." In *The Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir: Cemeteries N 2000 and N 2500*, edited by Vanessa Davies, 453–82. Harvard Egyptological Studies 10. Leiden: Brill.

El-Sayed, Rafed

- 2020 "The Archaeology of Textiles and Textile Production at Akhmim: Find Spots, Finds, and Their Contents." In *The Textile Centre Akhmim-Panopolis (Egypt) in Late Antiquity: Material Evidence for Continuity and Change in Society, Religion, Industry and Trade*, edited by Rafed El-Sayed and Cäcilia Fluck, 29–52. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Elsner, Jas

- 2020 "Mutable, Flexible, Fluid: Papyrus Drawings for Textiles and Replication in Roman Art." *Art Bulletin* 102: 7–27.

Fluck, Cäcilia

- 2010 "Kinderkleidung im römischen und spätantiken Ägypten: Ein Project der DressID Studien Gruppe C: 'Gender and Age.'" *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 140: 182–84.
- 2012 "Akhmim as a Source of Textiles." In *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 1, *Akhmim and Sohag*, edited by Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla, 211–24. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- 2013 "Textiles from Antinoupolis: Recent Finds from the So-Called Peristyle Complex in the Northern Necropolis." In *Itinerari mediterranei fra IV e IX secolo: Città-capitale e deserto-monastico. Atti del convegno (Genova, 11–12–13 novembre 2010)*, edited by Beatrice Astrua, 85–104. Turin: Accademia University Press.
- 2014 "Textiles from the So-Called 'Tomb of Tgol' in Antinoupolis." In *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork*, edited by Elisabeth R. O'Connell, 115–23. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 2. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2015 "Children's Burials from Antinooopolis: Discoveries from Recent Excavations." In *Christianity and Monasticism in Middle Egypt*, edited by Gawdat Gabra and Hany Takla, 215–28. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Fluck, Cäcilia, and Klaus Finneiser

- 2009 *Kindheit am Nil: Spielzeug—Kleidung—Kinderbilder aus Ägypten in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fluck, Cäcilia, Gisela Helmecke, and Elisabeth O'Connell

- 2015 *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs*. London: British Museum Press.

Froschauer, Harald

- 2007 "Farben und Farbbezeichnungen in Papyri und Textilien." In *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes, Paris, 28 juin–3 juillet 2004*, edited by Nathalie Bosson and Anne Boud'hors, 697–709. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 163. Leuven: Peeters.

Gallazzi, Claudio, and Gisèle Hadji-Minoglou

- 2012 "Sépultures de nouveaux-nés et d'enfants dans une nécropole de la fin du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle à Umm el-Breigât, Tebtynis." In *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité*, vol. 2, *Types de tombes et traitement du corps des enfants dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, edited by Marie-Dominique Nenna, 389–406. *Études Alexandrines* 26. Alexandria: Centre d'Études Alexandrines.

Gardner, Ian, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk

- 1999 "Introduction." In *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*, vol. 1, *P. Kell. V (P. Kell. Copt. 10–52; O. Kell. Copt. 1–2)*, edited by Ian Gardner, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk, 4–124. Oxford: Oxbow.

Gaspa, Salvatore, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2017 "Textile Terminologies, State of the Art and New Directions." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC–1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 19–23. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Giorda, Mariachiara

- 2011 "Does the Cowl Make the Monk? A Monastic Accessory during the First Centuries of Egyptian Monasticism." In *Dress Accessories of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt*, edited by Antoine de Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, 182–87. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

Greiner, Katlyn Ann

- 2015 "Reweaving the History of Two Late Antique Egyptian Textiles: An Analysis on Textile Fragments from the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology at the University of Memphis (2004.1.4) and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (294–1887)." Master's thesis, University of Memphis.

Grömer, Karina, and Eva Hölbling-Steigberger

- 2010 "Gedanken zur Kinderkleidung durch die Jahrtausende mit Schwerpunkt auf das römische Österreich." *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 140: 155–75.

Handley, Fiona J.

- 2017 "What Did People Wear at Myos Hormos? Evidence for Clothes from Textile Finds." *Herom* 2: 173–204.

Hanna, Engy Eshak Yousef

- 2018 "Women's Modesty in Late Antique Egypt through Coptic Artefacts." *Minia Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 2: 112–29.

Harlow, Mary, and Marie-Louise Nosch

- 2014 "Weaving the Threads: Methodologies in Textile and Dress Research for the Greek and Roman World—the State of the Art and the Case for Cross-Disciplinarity." In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 1–33. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hasitzka, Monika

- 2000 "Liste mit Kleidern, anderen Textilien und Leder aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien." *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 30: 31–39.
- 2012 "Gewand und Gewandbezeichnungen in den koptischen Quellen." In *Gewebte Geschichte: Stoffe und Papyri aus dem spätantiken Ägypten*, edited by Bernard Palme and Angelika Zdiarsky, 61–66. Vienna: Phoibos.

Heikkinen, Deanna

- 2012 "The Influence of Christianity on Burial Practices in Middle Egypt from the Fourth to the Sixth Centuries." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2011: Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium*, edited by Heba Abd el Gawad, Nathalie Andrews, Maria Correias-Amador, Veronica Tamorri, and James Taylor, 107–16. Oxford: Oxbow.

Huber, Béatrice, with a contribution by Claudia Nauerth

- 2018 "Coptic Coffins from Qarara: The *Pfauensarg* (Peacock Coffin) in Context." In *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: Craft Traditions and Functionality*, edited by John H. Taylor and Marie Vandenbeusch, 435–69. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 4. Leuven: Peeters.

Innemée, Karl C.

- 1992 *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East*. Leiden: Brill.

James, Carol

- 2018 "Sprang Bonnets from Late Antique Egypt: Producer Knowledge and Exchange through Experimental Reconstruction." In *The Social Fabric: Deep Local to Pan Global—Proceedings of the Textile Society of America 16th Biennial Symposium*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

James, Liz, and Shaun Tougher

- 2005 "Get Your Kit On! Some Issues in the Depiction of Clothing in Byzantium." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llywellyn-Jones, 154–61. Oxford: Oxbow.

Kajitani, Nobuko

- 2006 "Textiles and Their Context in the Third- to Fourth-Century CE Cemetery of al-Bagawat, Kharga Oasis, Egypt, from the 1907–1931 Excavations by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York." In *Textiles in Situ: Their Find Spots in Egypt and Neighbouring Countries in the First Millennium CE*, edited by Sabine Schrenk, 95–112. Riggisberger Berichte 13. Riggisberg, Switzerland: Abegg-Stiftung.

Kelley, Anna C.

- 2018 "Commodity, Commerce, and Economy: Re-evaluating Cotton Production and Diffusion in the First Millennium." PhD diss., University of Birmingham.

Kristensen, Troels Myrup

- 2015 "Dressed in Myth: Mythology, Eschatology, and Performance on Late Antique Egyptian Textiles." In *Antike Mythologie in christlichen Kontexten der Spätantike*, edited by Hartmut Leppin, 263–96. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Kwaspen, Anne

- 2011 "Sprang Hairnets in the Katoen Natie Collection." In *Dress Accessories of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt*, edited by Antoine de Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, 70–86. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

Kwaspen, Anne, and Chris Verhecken-Lammens

- 2015 "Measurements and Fitting of Egyptian Children's Tunics of the 1st Millennium AD." In *Textiles, Tools, and Techniques of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries: Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley," Antwerp, 4–6 October 2013*, edited by Antoine DeMoor, Cäcilia Fluck, and Petra Linscheid, 152–67. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

Letellier-Willemin, Fleur

- 2011 "Accessories from the Christian Cemetery of El-Deir, Oasis of Khargeh, Western Desert." In *Dress Accessories of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt*, edited by Antoine de Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, 96–109. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.
- 2013 "The Embroidered Tunic of Douch—a New Approach." In *Drawing the Threads Together: Textiles and Footwear of the 1st Millennium AD*, edited by Antoine de Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, 22–33. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.
- 2014 "A Sheepskin with Its Wool, from a Christian Tomb, Kharga Oasis, Occidental Desert, Egypt." In *Production and Trade of Textiles and Dyes in the Roman Empire and Neighbouring Regions*, edited by Carmen Alfaro, Michael Tellenbach, and Jónaton Ortiz, 27–42. Purpureae Vestes 4. Valencia, Spain: University of Valencia.
- 2020 "Tackling the Technical History of the Textiles of el-Deir, Kharga Oasis, the Western Desert of Egypt." In *Egyptian Textiles and Their Production: 'Word' and 'Object'*, edited by Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, 37–48. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Linscheid, Petra

- 2011 *Frühbyzantinische textile Kopfbedeckungen*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Lösch, Sandra, Estelle Hower-Tilmann, and Albert Zink

- 2012 "Mummies and Skeletons from the Coptic Monastery Complex Deir el-Bachit in Thebes-West, Egypt." *Anthropologischer Anzeiger* 70: 27–41.

Lovén, Lena Larsson

- 2014 "Roman Art: What Can It Tell Us about Dress and Textiles? A Discussion on the Use of Visual Evidence as a Source for Textile Research." In *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by Mary Harlow and Marie-Louise Nosch, 260–78. Oxford: Oxbow.

Mace, Arthur C.

- 2020 "Arthur Mace's Draft Manuscript." In *The Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir: Cemeteries N 2000 and N 2500*, edited by Vanessa Davies, 487–514. Harvard Egyptological Studies 10. Leiden: Brill.

Magoula, Olga

- 2008 "Usage and Meaning of Early Medieval Textiles: A Structural Analysis of Vestimentary Systems in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England." PhD diss., University of Birmingham.

- 2018 "Multicultural Clothing in Sixth Century Ravenna." In *Medieval Clothing and Textiles 14*, edited by Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, 1–36. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer.
- Marinis, Vasileios
- 2014 *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Médard, Fabienne
- 2015 "A Child's Cap from the Excavations at Antinoopolis in the Museum of Anatomy, Montpellier." In *Textiles, Tools, and Techniques of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries: Proceedings of the 8th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley", Antwerp, 4–6 October 2013*, edited by Antoine DeMoor, Căcilia Fluck, and Petra Linscheid, 96–103. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.
- Mérat, Amandine
- 2016 "Tell-Edfou au Musée du Louvre: Nouvelles recherches menées sur les broderies provenant du cimetière médiéval." In *Coptic Society, Literature, and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008*, edited by Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Federico Contardi, 1479–93. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2020 "Late Antique Textiles." In *The Phoebe A. Hearst Expedition to Naga ed-Deir: Cemeteries N 2000 and N 2500*, edited by Vanessa Davies, 442–52. Harvard Egyptological Studies 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Mossakowska, Maria
- 1996 "ΜΑΦΟΡΙΟΝ dans l'habit monastique en Égypte." In *Aspects de l'artisanat du textile dans le monde méditerranéen (Égypte, Grèce, monde romain)*, 27–37. Lyon: Diffusion de Boccard.
- Mossakowska-Gaubert, Maria
- 2004 "Les origines des tuniques à manches courtes et sans manches utilisés par les moines égyptiens (IV^e–début du VII^e siècle)." *Antiquité tardive* 12: 153–67.
- 2015 "Alimentation, hygiène, vêtements et sommeil chez des moines égyptiens (IV^e–VIII^e siècle): L'état des sources archéologiques et écrites." In *La vie quotidienne des moines en Orient et en Occident (IV^e–X^e siècle)*, vol. 1, *L'état des sources*, edited by Olivier Delouis and Maria Mossakowska-Gaubert, 23–56. Bibliothèque d'étude 163. Athens: École française d'Athènes.
- 2017 "Tunics Worn in Egypt in Roman and Byzantine Times: The Greek Vocabulary." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC–1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 321–45. Lincoln: Zea Books.
- Müller, Maya
- 2005 "From the History of Archaeology: The Destruction of the Late Antique Necropoleis in Egypt Reconsidered." In *Modern Trends in European Egyptology: Papers from a Session Held at the European Association of Archaeologists Ninth Annual Meeting in St. Petersburg 2003*, edited by A. Maravelia, 43–48. BAR International Series 1448. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- 2007 "Braids for Paradise from Dynastic Egypt to the Middle Ages." In *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6–12 September 2004*, edited by Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, 1343–50. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 150. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009 "The Egyptian Textiles of the Museum of Cultures, Basel, and the 'Tykhai Tunic' Fragments." In *Clothing the House: Furnishing Textiles of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt and Neighbouring Countries: Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Research Group "Textiles from the Nile Valley", Antwerp, 6–7 October, 2007*, edited by Antoine DeMoor, Căcilia Fluck, and Susanne Martinssen-von Falck, 170–80. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

Nauerth, Claudia

- 1996 *Karara und El-Hibe: Die spätantiken ("koptischen") Funde aus den badischen Grabungen 1913–1914*. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens 15. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Orient-verlag.

O'Connell, Elisabeth

- 2008 "Representation and Self-Presentation in Late Antique Egypt: 'Coptic' Textiles in the British Museum." In *Textiles as Cultural Expressions: Proceedings of the 11th Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, September 24–27, 2008, Honolulu, Hawaii*, edited by Ann Svenson Perlman, 211–35. <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/236/>.

Orfinskaya, Olga V., and Elena G. Tolmacheva

- 2017 "Yegipetskaya tunikas dionisiyskimi motivama iz raskopok tsei ran na nekropole Deyr al'-Banat (Fayum) [The Egyptian Tunic with Dionysian Motifs from Excavation of Ces Ras at the Necropolis of Deir al-Banat (Fayoum)]." *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury* 2: 21–37.

Paetz gen. Schieck, Annette, and Judit Pásztkai-Szeőke

- 2013 "Power Dressing in Pannonia: Tunics with Arrow-Shaped Purple Decoration Represented in a Roman Wall-Painting at Brigetio." In *Political Power and Appearance: Luxury and Dress in the Roman Empire and Its Provinces*, edited by Carmen Alfaro Giner, Jónaton Ortiz García, and M. Julia Martínez García, 181–216. Valencia, Spain: University of Valencia.

Parani, Maria G.

- 2019 "Curtains in the Middle and Late Byzantine House." In *Liminal Fabric: Byzantine and Early Islamic Furnishing Textiles*, edited by Gudrun Bühl and Elizabeth Dospěl Williams. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/textiles/essays/parani>.

Pitarakis, Brigitte

- 2009 "The Material Culture of Childhood in Byzantium." In *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, edited by Arietta Papaconstantinou and Alice-Mary Talbot, 167–252. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Pleşa, Alexandra D.

- 2017 "Religious Belief in Burial: Funerary Dress and Practice at the Late Antique and Early Islamic Cemeteries at Matmar and Mostagedda, Egypt (Late Fourth–Early Ninth Centuries CE)." *Ars Orientalis* 47: 18–42.

Plumley, J. Martin

- 1964 "Qaşr Ibrim 1963–1964." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50: 3–5.

Plumley, J. Martin, William Y. Adams, and Elisabeth Crowfoot

- 1977 "Qaşr Ibrim, 1976." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 63: 29–47.

Pritchard, Frances

- 2006 *Clothing Culture: Dress in Egypt in the First Millennium AD*. Manchester: University of Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery.

Quertinmont, Arnaud

- 2019 "Les textiles coptes: Problématiques, inspirations et polysémie." In *De lin et de laine: Textiles égyptiennes du 1^{er} millénaire*, edited by Amandine Mérat and Arnaud Quertinmont, 10–16. Brussels: Musée royal de Mariemont.

Raff, Katharine A.

- 2022 "The Waiting-Servant Motif in a Late Antique Textile in Chicago: Iconography, Visuality, and Materiality." *Arts* 11, no. 3: 64. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts11030064>.

Redmount, Carol A.

- 2005 "The 2005 Archaeological Season at El Hibeh, Beni Suef Governorate." Accessed January 2023. https://nes.berkeley.edu/hibeh/05_report_1.html.
- 2007 "Report on the 2007 Fieldwork Season of the University of California Berkeley at the Archaeological Site of El Hibeh, Beni Suef Governorate." Accessed January 2023. https://nes.berkeley.edu/hibeh/07_report_1.html; https://nes.berkeley.edu/hibeh/07_report_2.html.

Richter, Tonio Sebastian

- 2020 "P. Berlin P.8316 (= BKU I, 21), ein koptisches Rezept zur Purpur-Imitation durch Krapp-Färbung auf gebeizter Wolle." *Journal of Coptic Studies* 22: 151–86.

Rooijakkers, Christina Thérèse

- 2016 "Dress Norms and Markers: A Comparative Study of Coptic Identity and Dress in the Past and Present." PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit.
- 2017 "KTN 143 (DM 152f), Austerity and Authority in a Monastic Garment." In *Favorite Fabrics from the Katoen Natie Textile Collection: A Liber Amicorum for Antoine de Moor*, edited by Cäcilia Fluck and Petra Linscheid, 133–36. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

Russo, Simona

- 2004 "L'abito nel quotidiano: L'apporto della documentazione papirologica." *Antiquité tardive* 12: 137–44.

Scalf, Foy

- 2015–16 "Demotic and Hieratic Scholia in Funerary Papyri and Their Implications for the Manufacturing Process." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 42: 69–82.

Schenkel, Wolfgang

- 2007 "Colour Terms in Ancient Egyptian and Coptic." In *Anthropology of Color: Interdisciplinary Multilevel Modeling*, edited by Robert E. MacLaury, Galina V. Paramei, and Don Dedrick, 211–28. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- 2019 "Colours as Viewed by the Ancient Egyptians and the Explanation of This View as Seen by Academics Studying Colour." In *The Value of Colour: Material and Economic Aspects in the Ancient World*, edited by Shiyanthi Thavapalan and David Warburton, 35–54. Berlin: Topoi.

Simmons Stager, Jennifer Margaret

- 2012 "The Embodiment of Color in Ancient Mediterranean Art." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.

Smalley, Ruiha

- 2012 "Dating Coptic Footwear: A Typological and Comparative Approach." *Journal of Coptic Studies* 14: 97–135.
- 2014 "Late Antique and Medieval Headwear from Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 21: 81–101.
- 2015 "Identifying Provenance: Flinders Petrie's Textile Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum." *Journal of the History of Collections* 27: 135–46.

South, Kristin Hacken

- 2012 "Roman and Byzantine Burials at Fag el-Gamus, Egypt: A Reassessment of the Case for Religious Affiliation." Master's thesis, Brigham Young University.

Stephenson, John W.

- 2014 "Veiling the Late Roman House." *Textile History* 45: 3–31.

Stoyanova, Magdalena

- 2008 "Written Sources on Coptic Dyeing Methods: Pap. Perol. Copt. 8316—about the Meaning of ἀπεί from a Technical Point of View." *Journal of Coptic Studies* 10: 99–112.

Szymańska, Agnieszka E.

- 2010 "Liminal Bishops: Episcopal Portraits from the Cathedral of Pachoras, Nubia." Master's thesis, Temple University.

Szymaszek, Maciej

- 2017 "The Textile Term *gammadia*." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC–1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 483–491. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Szymaszek, Maciej, and Lena Larsson Lovén

- 2019 "Les textiles égyptiens de l'Antiquité tardive dans les collections muséales internationales: Identification des collections et provenance du matériel." In *De lin et de laine: Textiles égyptiennes du 1^{er} millénaire*, edited by Amandine Mérat and Arnaud Quertinmont, 18–23. Brussels: Musée royal de Mariemont.

Tatz, Sabrina

- 2022 "Kleidung im Pauloskloster: Monastische Gruppenidentität zwischen *habitus* und Mode." In *Das Pauloskloster (Deir el Bachît) in den Bergen von Djeme/Oberägypten: Eine Mönchsgemeinschaft am Rande der Wüste*, edited by Ira Eichner and Daniel Polz, 211–13. Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 44. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Thomas, Thelma

- 2016 "Material Meaning in Late Antiquity." *Designing Textiles: The Power of Textiles in Late Antiquity*, edited by Thelma Thomas, 20–53. New York: Institute for the Study of the Ancient World and Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Torallas Tovar, Sofía

- 2007 "The Terminology of Egyptian Monastic Garments." In *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)*, edited by Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger, Anna Muthesius, and Dionysios Stathakopoulos, 219–24. Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 11. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 356. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

van Minnen, Peter

- 1992 "The Inventory of an Egyptian Church on a Greek Papyrus." In *Actes du IV^e congrès copte, Louvain-le-Neuve, 5–10 Septembre 1988*, vol. 1, *Art et archéologie*, edited by Marguerite Rassart-Debergh and Julien Ries, 227–33. Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 40. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique du Louvain, Institut orientaliste.

van Strydonck, Mark, and Dominique Bénazeth

- 2014 "Four Coptic Textiles from the Louvre Collection ¹⁴C Redated after 55 Years." *Radiocarbon* 56: 1–5.

van Strydonck, Mark, Antoine de Moor, and Dominique Bénazeth

- 2004 "¹⁴C Dating Compared to Art Historical Dating of Roman and Coptic Textiles from Egypt." *Radiocarbon* 46: 231–44.

van Strydonck, Mark, Ina Vanden Berghe, Mathieu Boudin, and Kim Quintelier

- 2011 "Euphemia: A Multidisciplinary Quest for the Origin and Authenticity of a Mummy's Clothes and Accessories." In *Dress Accessories of the 1st Millennium AD from Egypt*, edited by Antoine de Moor and Cäcilia Fluck, 222–35. Tielt, Belgium: Lannoo.

von Falck, Martin, and Friederike Lichtwark

- 1996 *Ägypten: Schätze aus dem Wüstensand—Kunst und Kultur der Christen am Nil*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Vorderstrasse, Tasha

- 2018 "Roman Textiles and Heritage in Syria." In *Cultural Heritage Care and Management: Theory and Practice*, edited by Cecilia L. Salvatore, 71–82. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Whitelock, Dorothy

- 1930 *Anglo-Saxon Wills*. New York: AMS Press.

Wild, John Peter

- 2020 "The Reuse of Textiles in the Roman World." In *Recycling and Reuse in the Roman Economy*, edited by Chloë N. Duckworth and Andrew Wilson, 61–88. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wild, John Peter, and Kerstin Droß-Krüpe

- 2017 "Ars polymita, ars plumaria: The Weaving Terminology of Taqueté and Tapestry." In *Textile Terminologies from the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC–1000 AD*, edited by Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch, 301–20. Lincoln: Zea Books.

Wilfong, Terry

- 2003 "Women's Things and Men's Things: Notes on Gender and Property at Jeme." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40: 213–21.

Yohe, Robert M., Jill K. Gardner, and Deanna Heikennen

- 2012 "New Evidence of Coptic Mummification Techniques from Tell el-Hibeh, Middle Egypt." In *Evolving Egypt: Innovation, Appropriation, and Reinterpretation in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kerry Muhlstein and John Gee, 105–24. BAR International Series 2397. Oxford: Archaeopress.

17

Textile Dye Technology in Prehistoric Northern Chile

Hans Barnard, *University of California, Los Angeles*Ran Boytner, *Center for Field Sciences, Los Angeles*Vicki Cassman,† *University of Delaware*

FOR MORE THAN a century, extensive archaeological investigations have taken place in the Azapa Valley, a fertile river valley in the far north of modern Chile, and in the associated coastal zone around the modern harbor town of Arica (fig. 17.1). Two cultural phases, identified as early and late, are usually recognized. The early phase is defined as the period in which a single cultural group, indigenous to the region, occupied the area. This phase is thought to span from approximately 8000 to 200 BCE. During the late phase, approximately 200 BCE to 1500 CE, other ethnic groups arrived in the region and coexisted with the original population.¹ This two-phase interpretation is based on artifacts and features from numerous mortuary sites. Equating ethnicity with the style of artifacts and specific choices of raw materials is common practice among archaeologists.² Although few studies have focused specifically on corroborating this hypothesis for the Azapa Valley, the interpretation is generally accepted and seems indeed anchored in the material evidence. Ethnohistoric models for the coexistence of multiple ethnic groups in a single ecological zone also appear to support this inference. Arica and the Azapa Valley have been suggested as the perfect case study for the prehistoric vertical archipelago model, in which highland communities are inferred to have established colonies in coastal zones.³ These highland colonists extracted and transported local resources from the fertile coastal valleys to highland centers of power. Recent research in the Azapa Valley, however, demonstrates that both the multi-ethnic model and the material record on which it is founded need to be reexamined.

Two models exist to describe the ethnic history of the Arica region. The first is a multi-ethnic model that suggests two phases of human occupation. This model assumes that Arica was initially relatively isolated and the indigenous inhabitants had little interaction with the outside world. Toward the end of the Early Intermediate period (c. 200 BCE–600 CE), intrusive groups entered the region and set up colonies that coexisted with the indigenous

1 E.g., Focacci Aste 1983; Hidalgo and Focacci Aste 1986; Mujica 1985; Muñoz 1983; Rostworowski 1986; Southon, Oakland Rodman, and True 1995.

2 E.g., Blake 1997; Emberling 1997; Finkelstein 1996; Keith 1998; Oakland Rodman 1992; Small 1997; Stanish 1992.

3 Murra 1975, 1985; Van Buren 1996.



Figure 17.1. Map of the research area in the northwest of modern Chile.

groups in a classic vertical archipelago setting.⁴ The multiethnic model was rejected by a number of scholars who suggested a circuit mobility model instead.⁵ In this model, Arica residents are interpreted as ethnically homogenous, with no permanent intrusion of foreigners but rather transient traders moving goods in and out of the valley. This situation resulted in the observed mix of material culture associated with local Arica populations with that of cultures from other regions in the Andes.

Following the multiethnic model, in which the indigenous population initially had little contact with the outside world, it should be expected that textile dyes represent locally available resources, with little temporal or spatial variation. During later periods, when outsiders migrated into the valley, some textiles should contain dyes derived from non-local sources. While some exchange of dyes and dyed textiles between the indigenous and the immigrant groups can be assumed, discrete clusters of exotic dyes reflecting foreign textiles recovered from sites inhabited by colonists should be expected. Likewise, there should be clusters of local dyes associated with the native population. Textiles found at indigenous sites should show the continued use of local dyes, possibly with some intrusion of foreign dyes, while outsider sites should reflect access to highland resources, with limited use of local materials.

4 Focacci 1983; Hidalgo and Focacci Aste 1986; Mujica 1985; Muñoz 1983; Rivera 1975, 2004.

5 Dillehay and Núñez 1988; Sutter 2000.

Following the circuit mobility model, on the other hand, local goods and foreign products should occur more or less uniformly across the region because of active exchange. Given the importance of textiles in the ancient Andes, it is very likely that dyed threads and cloth, and presumably also dyes, were among the traded items. Exotic, altiplano dyes should be found preserved on local textiles, and some foreign-made or foreign-style textiles should appear across the archaeological record. Local elites can be expected to have owned such textiles, while indigenous dyeing traditions would have continued for lower-status individuals. Ethnic homogeneity and independence were maintained, and the presence of exotic goods can be attributed to the exchange of local resources for goods from the altiplano. A more equal distribution of dyestuffs across time and space should be expected, with small occasional clusters representing social stratification within the group rather than ethnic differences.

Archaeological research in the Arica region has recently shifted from large-scale survey and excavation projects to detailed analyses of the recovered artifacts. This work includes the investigation of a single class of artifacts across time and space employing advanced analytical techniques.⁶ In her analysis of the textile record from cemeteries in the Azapa Valley and along the coast dating to the late Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate period (c. 500–1452 CE), Vicki Cassman wrote that “no ethnic distinctions were discerned either within or across cemeteries [and that] a culturally relatively homogenous group inhabited the area.”⁷ Most scholars now agree that direct Tiwanaku control was limited to the Titicaca basin.⁸ Tiwanaku administrators set up colonies at lower elevations, in regions suitable for growing maize and coca. The best-documented Tiwanaku colony was in the Moquegua Valley of southern Peru;⁹ another was in the Central Valley of Cochabamba in modern Bolivia.¹⁰ Cassman argued that “Tiwanaku influence was likely minimal in Arica prior to A.D. 700. Sometime later, immigrants settled in Arica [. . .]. These immigrants may have been refugees escaping a political and/or agrarian collapse in the highlands.”¹¹ In his investigation of genetically controlled dental traits in more than 850 human remains from various locations in the Arica region, Rick Sutter concluded that “there is no genetic evidence for an intrusive pre-Inka altiplano population in the Azapa Valley. Genetic change among these biologically isolated populations occurred through relatively low levels of gene flow.”¹² Sutter suggested that the rare presence of altiplano artifacts in burial and ceremonial contexts in Arica is best explained by “circuit mobility,” an indirect, vertical exchange model.¹³ In this model, foreigners do not permanently settle in an area but move between it and their cultural heartland while engaging in exchange and trade with local populations.

6 Uribe and Agüero 2001, 2004.

7 Cassman 1997, 151; see also Cassman 2000.

8 Goldstein 2005; Janusek 2008; Korpisaari, Oinonen, and Chacama 2014; Stanish 2002, 2003, 2009.

9 Goldstein 2005, 2013.

10 Anderson 2013.

11 Cassman 1997, 69.

12 Sutter 2000, 65.

13 Dillehay and Núñez 1988.

In ancient Andean cultures, textiles were among the prime media for social and cultural identification and distinction.¹⁴ Although often constrained, the choice of raw materials for textiles, including dyes, was never random. Indeed, dyes appear embedded with cultural, social, political, and economic meaning and value.¹⁵ Archaeological and ethnographic data suggest that the production and appropriation of textiles within Andean societies constituted one of the most important tasks associated with authority and political power.¹⁶ Because dyes are directly related to the creation of textiles and the complex iconography depicted on many of them, the investigation of dye origins and dye choices holds great potential for the understanding of larger social, political, and economic realities.¹⁷ Different patterns of textile dye distribution can be expected for each of the cultural models suggested for the Arica region, and the validity of existing models can be compared.

Here we report on a study of the dyes preserved in more than 250 textiles from the Azapa Valley and the Arica coastal region (figs. 17.2 and 17.3) ranging in date from around 8000 BCE to 1500 CE. Our research aimed to address issues of ethnic identity and homogeneity. It needs to be stressed that nonlocal artifacts do not necessarily indicate the presence of foreign groups but may instead be the result of exchange, either directly of finished goods or indirectly of raw materials or technology.¹⁸ In this study, we first identified local and imported dyes, then examined the distribution of different dye types across textile classes while accounting for temporal differences. We paid particular attention to the introduction and disappearance of dye types and their distribution on the coast and in the Azapa Valley, as well as to garment types and their inferred correlation with gender, age, and social status. Most Andean archaeologists have adopted the Horizon dating system first developed by Max Uhle and later refined by John Rowe.¹⁹ Many archaeologists working in Chile use a different system, one in which terms for specific periods are based on regional cultural-complexity levels.²⁰ For reasons of uniformity, we have chosen to employ the Horizon system of chronology²¹ while providing absolute dates to allow easy comparison with different systems.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Yarn samples, approximately 1 to 3 cm in length, were collected of each color represented in 261 textiles in the collection of the Universidad de Tarapacá's Museo de Arqueología in San Miguel de Azapa. These mortuary textiles represent twenty-five sites in the Arica

14 E.g., Arnold and Espejo 2012; Barnard et al. 2016; Boytner 2004; Conklin 1996; Costin 1993; Oakland Rodman 1992; Oakland Rodman and Fernández 2000; Paul 1990; A. P. Rowe 1984; A. P. Rowe, Miller, and Meisch 2007; J. H. Rowe 1986; Wobst 1977; Young-Sánchez and Simpson 2006.

15 Boytner 2002, 2004, 2006.

16 E.g., Donnan 1978; Guamán Poma de Ayala 1978; Murra 1962; A. P. Rowe 1984; J. H. Rowe 1982.

17 Boytner 2002, 2004, 2006; Saltzman 1978; Wallert and Boytner 1996.

18 Pollard 1984; Stanish 1989; Sutter 2000.

19 Moseley 1992, 20–24; J. H. Rowe 1945, 1960.

20 Olsen Bruhns 1994, 9.

21 Zori and Brant 2012.



Figure 17.2. Examples of ancient Andean textiles similar to those in our study. *a*, Tunic and sashes on display in the Museo San Miguel de Azapa. Photo by Sally Heredia Mundaca. Creative Commons Attribution–Share Alike 4.0 International license. *b*, Four-cornered hat on display in the Museo San Miguel de Azapa. Photo by Alexson Scheppa Peisino, 2007. Creative Commons Attribution–Share Alike 4.0 International license.

region, include examples from the Chinchorro through the Inca, and range in date from the Archaic period to the Late Horizon (c. 8000 BCE–1532 CE). The total sample size was 765, an average of almost three samples per textile. Textiles were assigned to a particular period by archaeological context and style. Because the textiles were from mortuary contexts, it was often possible to associate them with a specific individual whose gender, age, and social status could usually be inferred. Dye analysis took place at the Getty Conservation Institute Research Laboratory and at the Pasarow Mass Spectrometry Laboratory at UCLA, both in Los Angeles. The analytical technique used was ultraviolet visible spectroscopy (UV-Vis), employing a Hewlett-Packard 8453 spectrophotometer, with the dyes extracted from the fibers into a sulfuric acid solution. Samples were illuminated with visible light, and a spectrum of absorbed and reflected light was collected within the 200–700 nm wavelength range. To identify the compounds in a sample, its spectrum was compared with those of known dyes.²² Selected samples were further analyzed with high-pressure liquid chromatography to verify the results from the UV-Vis analysis²³ but not for the analysis of unknown compounds.

22 Claro et al. 2010; Fester 1940, 1954; Saltzman 1978, 1992.

23 Degano et al. 2009; Nigra, Faull, and Barnard 2015; Wouters 1985; Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos 1992; Zhang and Laursen 2005.



Figure 17.3. Examples of ancient Andean textiles similar to those in our study. *a*, Bag and belt on display in the Museo San Miguel de Azapa. Photo by Alexson Scheppa Peisino, 2007. Creative Commons Attribution–Share Alike 4.0 International license. *b*, Two Wari (sixth to tenth century CE) four-cornered hats from Peru. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1983.497.6. Donated by Arthur M. Bullowa. Photo by Peter Zera, 2016. Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

RESULTS

In 592 (77 percent) of the 765 samples analyzed, the dye could be identified. Identification was limited by low analyte concentration, sample contamination, and most importantly a lack of dye materials available for comparison with the archaeological samples. Eighteen

(2 percent) of the samples appeared not to have been dyed but instead painted with ocher, an inorganic pigment of iron oxides. Painted textiles are known from elsewhere in the Andes;²⁴ the practice of painting textiles in the Azapa Valley is outside the scope of this chapter but deserves further investigation. Of the positively identified dyes, the vast majority were a single dye and 89 (15 percent) were a combination of two dyes, likely to achieve a specific hue. Although it was impossible to identify the dye with certainty in a substantial number of samples, three recurrent UV-Vis spectra appeared to be associated with unknown orange-red to brown-red dyes, which we identified as dyes X, Y, and Z (table 17.1). We do not know the source materials used to create these dyes, but it is clear that they were consistently used and applied throughout the Arica region.

Blue yarns were dyed with indigo plants common throughout the Andes.²⁵ At least 275 indigo-producing plants native to South America, mostly *Indigofera* species,²⁶ yield similar chromophores, color-carrying molecules (fig. 17.4). It is currently impossible to distinguish between them on the basis of the dye alone. The analysis of blue yarns is thus of little use for the anthropological interpretation of dyed textiles. Likewise, many local materials

Table 17.1. Distribution of the dyes used in the Arica region identified in this study (number of samples).

Dye	Primary	Secondary	Total
Annatto	7		7 (1%)
Annatto + another dye	1		1 (0%)
Cochineal	152		152 (25%)
Cochineal + another dye	38		38 (6%)
Indigo	110	4	114 (19%)
Indigo + another dye	34		34 (6%)
Relbunium	102	1	103 (17%)
Relbunium + another dye	14		14 (2%)
Dye X	28		28 (5%)
Dye Y	53	14	67 (11%)
Dye Y + another dye	1		1 (0%)
Dye Z	51	2	53 (9%)
Dye Z + another dye	1		1 (0%)
Total	592	21	613 (100%)

24 Barnard et al. 2016; Fester and Cruellas 1934; Kashiwagi 1976.

25 Boytner 1998; Wallert and Boytner 1996; Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos 1992.

26 Cardon 2007, 335–408; Towle 1961, 46.

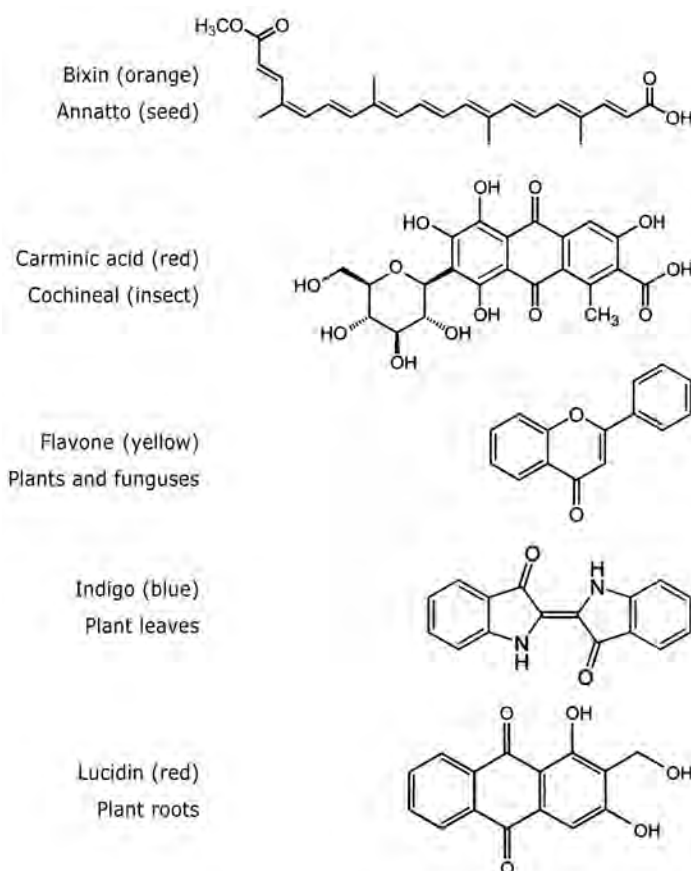


Figure 17.4. Chromophores in annatto (bixin), cochineal, flavonoid yellow, indigo blue, and lucidin red (galium and relbunium) dyes.

appear to have been used to create yellow dyes,²⁷ mostly flavonoids with UV-Vis spectra not specific concerning their source.²⁸ We examined yellow yarns in this study but could not distinguish between different dye types; these yarns are therefore excluded from our discussion. Green yarns were produced by mixing indigo blue and yellow dyes. Because it is impossible to differentiate both yellow and blue dye sources, the analysis of green yarns does not aid our interpretive purposes. The most important information is thus obtained from the analysis of red and purple dyes, which are characterized by limited diversity and distinct spectra of individual dyes. We know of four raw materials commonly used for red dyes in the ancient Andes, three of which are plant products (annatto, galium, and relbunium) and one the scale of an insect (cochineal).

Annatto is derived from the seeds of the achiote tree (*Bixa orellana*), native to modern Brazil. The red-to-orange dye is a mix of at least eight carotenoids,²⁹ the most abundant of which are norbixin and bixin (fig. 17.4). Although annatto-dyed threads are initially

27 Antúñez de Mayolo 1989; Roquero 2000; Towle 1961.

28 Cardon 2007; Zhang and Laursen 2005; Zhang et al. 2007.

29 Cardon 2007, 314.

brightly colored, their color fades quickly. Galium and relbunium are isolated from the roots of at least twenty *Galium* species and twenty-five *Relbunium* species (both in the *Rubiaceae* family) native to South America.³⁰ The chromophore in both is mostly lucidin,³¹ with different sugar molecules attached (fig. 17.4). Nine species of cochineal insects are native to the Americas, all producing carminic acid that can be used as red dye. One species, *Dactylopius coccus*, was eventually domesticated but likely always occurred mixed with wild individuals.³² Cochineal is a superior red dye that requires large investments of time and labor for its production. These properties gave rise to its association with high-status textiles. Given the current analytical limitations, it remains difficult to identify red dyes to the species level.³³ In the Arica textiles, we furthermore identified the unknown dyes X, Y, and Z as additional sources of red colors. Dyes Y and Z occurred primarily in brown threads, and only dye X was included in our analysis of red yarns.

Purple dyes in ancient South America have three known sources. The first is shellfish, which produces a strong and fast purple color.³⁴ The archaeological record indicates that shellfish was always an important food resource in coastal Andean sites.³⁵ Although it was known to have been used for dyeing in Central America, there is little archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence indicating the use of shellfish in the textile dye industry in South America.³⁶ Claims that two shellfish species native to rocky bays in coastal Peru, *Purpura patula* and *Thais kiosquiformis*,³⁷ are the source of the purple dye in ancient Andean textiles remain unsubstantiated.³⁸ The production of purple yarns is also possible by mixing red and blue dyes or by using red dyes with specific mordants, the material used to fix the dye molecules to the organic fibers. In our sample, most purple yarns appeared to have been created by adding special mordants to manipulate cochineal (76 percent) or relbunium (10 percent) red dyes. In a small number of cases (7 percent), the purple dye was made by mixing relbunium and indigo.

DISCUSSION

Reeds were the main raw material for textile production early in the Archaic period in Arica (Chinchorro culture, c. 8000–2000 BCE), before camelid fibers became common. Camelid fibers were rarely dyed by the Chinchorro, and most occur in their natural color. We expected to find only red ochre, a pigment ubiquitous on early textiles throughout the world, used for the red textiles of the Archaic period. While there was indeed evidence for the use

30 Dempster 1990; Towle 1961.

31 Cardon 2007, 676.

32 Cardon 2007, 619–35; Donkin 1977.

33 Boytner 2002, 2006; Rosario-Chirinos 1999; Saltzman 1986; Wallert and Boytner 1996; Wouters and Rosario-Chirinos 1992.

34 Gerhard 1964b; Gibaja Oviedo and Salazar de Caverio 1977; Jinesta 1940; Michel and McGovern 1987; Spanier and Karmon 1987.

35 Bird et al. 1985; Quilter and Stocker 1983; Shady Solis, Haas, and Creamer 2001.

36 Barnard et al. 2016, 220; Samanez Argumedo 1986, 32.

37 Brunello 1973, 377–78; Donkin 1977, 8; Gerhard 1964a, 1964b; Stothert 2003–4.

38 Antùñez de Mayolo 1989, 183.

of (inorganic) pigments, we found at least three types of (organic) red dyes used in Chinchorro reed textiles (fig. 17.5). The most common material was dye X (63 percent), followed by relbunium (31 percent). These textiles, however, were not dyed but instead painted, with the organic or inorganic matter applied to the surface of the textiles with fingers or a brush. The small sample size ($N = 21$), long time span (6,000 years), and lack of sufficient radiocarbon dates render study of the development over time impossible. A surprise finding was a single Chinchorro reed textile, dated to approximately 5000 to 2500 BCE, painted with cochineal red dye. This date is very early for the use of cochineal in South America. The earliest date previously reported for cochineal is about 200 BCE, in two textiles associated with the Paracas culture.³⁹ The Paracas artists, however, used cochineal as a dye and not to paint the surface of the textile. Cochineal was apparently available to early artists and should be considered a possible source of pigment in early painted contexts, including textiles, murals, and rock art.

Actual dyeing, where chromophores in solution penetrate into organic fibers and create a bond with the aid of one or more mordants, apparently did not occur in the Arica region until the Initial period, after about 1900 BCE. Samples associated with the Initial, Early Horizon, and Early Intermediate periods (locally known as the Late Chinchorro, Quiani, Tarapacá, Faldas del Morro, and El Laucho cultures) show evidence of dyeing, and the preferred raw materials for red dyes continued to be relbunium and dye X, with

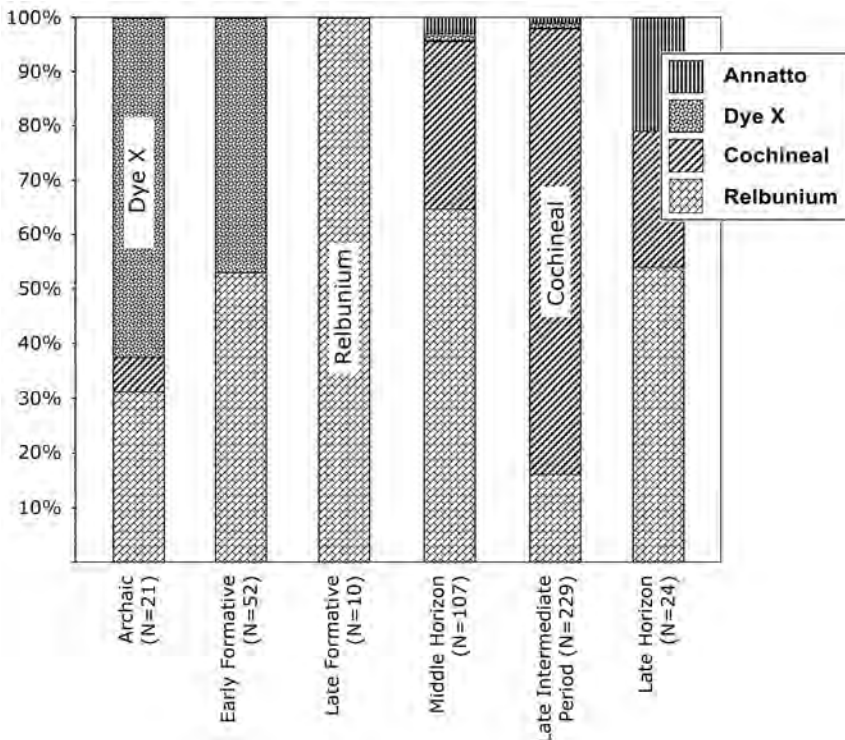


Figure 17.5. Distribution over time of the red textile dyes identified in this study.

³⁹ Saltzman 1992.

a gradual increase in the use of dye X. Between 200 BCE and 600 CE (locally known as the Alto Ramirez and Azapa cultures), relbunium dominated the choice for red dye. The results for the early periods, before the arrival of colonists from the highlands, show internal and gradual shifts that are consistent with both the multiethnic and the circuit mobility models. The strong preference for relbunium as a red dye continued into the Middle Horizon, while dye X was increasingly replaced with annatto. Its use probably reflects experimentation with lower-quality dyes at times when access to higher-quality dyes was restricted. At the same time, cochineal, probably the best natural organic red dye, was widely used. It is unlikely that cochineal was locally produced, because the environmental conditions for the insect and the *Opuntia* and *Nopalea* cacti on which it procreates are far from optimal.⁴⁰ Cochineal was probably imported, either as dried insects, as a red paste (*grana*), or on dyed threads.

The samples from the Middle Horizon revealed that the choice between the exotic cochineal and the local relbunium was partly determined by the purpose of the textile (fig. 17.6). Although the sample size is again relatively small ($N = 52$), it seems that relbunium was the preferred red dye for almost all types of textiles. More than half the textiles identified here as a kerchief (an *inkuña* or *tari*), however, appeared to have been dyed with cochineal. The custom of burying individuals with such textiles may have originated in the highlands and became increasingly common along the coast from the Middle Horizon

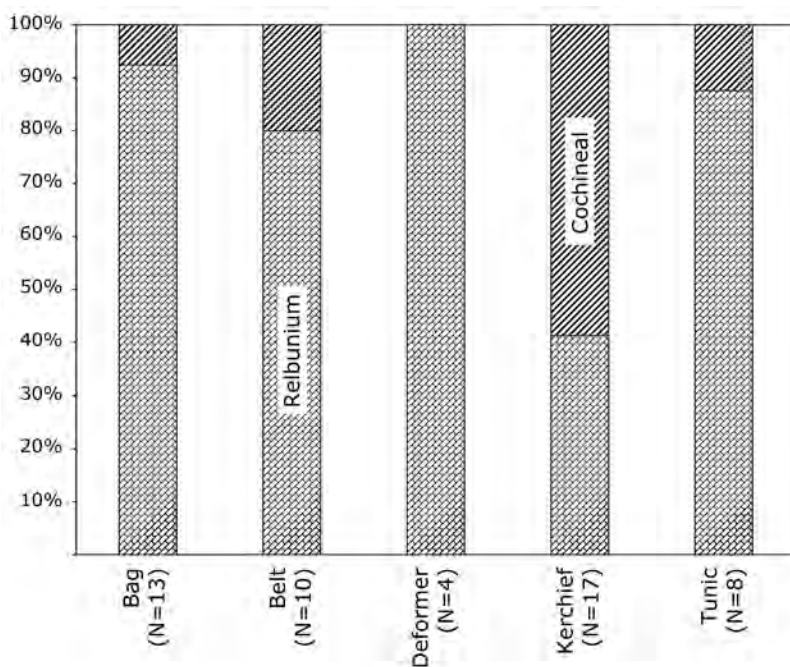


Figure 17.6. Distribution of red dyes among different textile objects dated to the Middle Horizon (c. 500–1000 CE) found in the Arica region.

40 Donkin 1977; Verheeken and Wouters 1988–89.

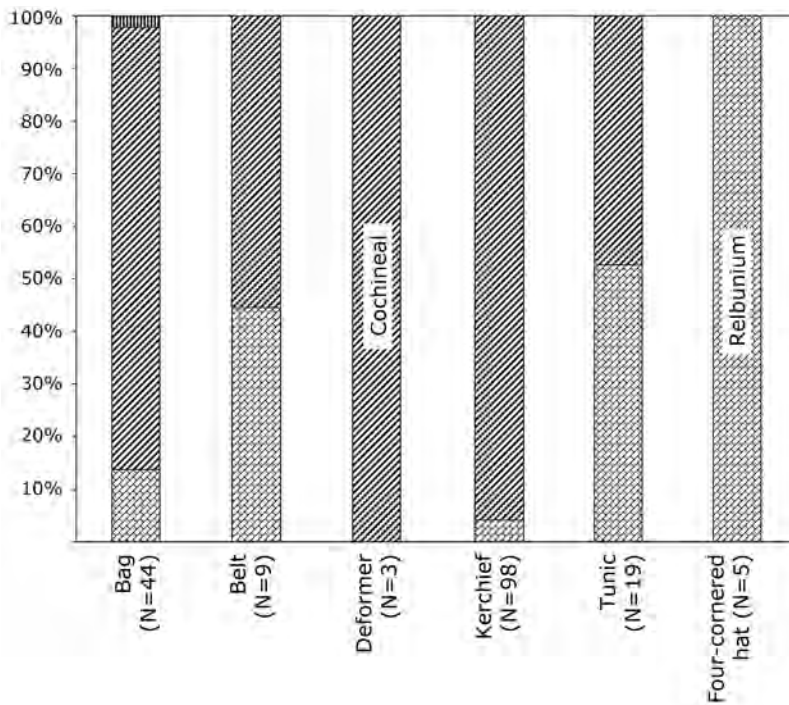


Figure 17.7. Distribution of red dyes among different textile objects dated to the Late Intermediate period (c. 1000–1452 CE) found in the Arica region.

onward.⁴¹ Kerchiefs were often used for bundling ritual objects or covering the face of the deceased and remain a type of textile with strong ritual meaning to the present day. Because both cochineal and relbunium, a local dye, were found to be used, some of these kerchiefs were likely woven locally. It thus appears that this new, foreign textile type was adopted into the local culture.

By the Late Intermediate period (c. 1000–1452 CE), cochineal was the raw material of choice for red dye. Bags, belts, and kerchiefs were dyed primarily with cochineal (fig. 17.7), with relbunium used mostly for tunics and belts. The most surprising finding was that the five red samples taken from four-cornered hats, representing a typical altiplano garment (figs. 17.2 and 17.3), were not dyed with cochineal, as would be expected in an imported highland textile. Instead, all the hats sampled appeared to have been dyed with relbunium, showing a clear integration of highland textile with local dyeing traditions. Hats and tunics are items closely associated with ethnic identity, and it has been suggested that they are the markers that distinguish one resident from the next.⁴² In this context, it is interesting to note the exclusive use of a local dye with a long tradition for newly adopted symbols of status and identity. Radiocarbon dates for four-cornered hats from the Azapa Valley place them into the twelfth or thirteenth century CE.⁴³ It seems that their presence should not be interpreted as evidence for Tiwanaku rule. The dramatic growth in cochineal

⁴¹ Boytner 1998; Donnan and Donnan 1997.

⁴² Clark and Rodman 1995.

⁴³ Korpisaari, Oinonen, and Chacama 2014.

use in the Arica region occurred after the collapse of the Tiwanaku polity and other powerful Middle Horizon political entities, contrary to the expectation of a decrease in trade during periods of political instability. Rather, an influx of dyes appears to have occurred when the altiplano political powers disintegrated and political stability beyond Arica was greatly reduced. Previously, resources were diverted from the periphery toward powerful political centers, resulting in a limited availability of high-status cochineal for residents of the Azapa Valley. With the collapse of the central authorities, more cochineal may have become available for local use.

During the Late Horizon (c. 1452–1532 CE), the use of cochineal dropped dramatically and the local red dye relbunium again became the major source of red yarns, next to lesser-quality annatto (fig. 17.8). Once again, the hegemonic authority of the regime in Cusco diverted resources toward the political center. The domination of relbunium illustrates both the flexibility of and the sense of tradition among the local dyers who were producing Inca-style textiles with local resources. The two mantles in the samples form the exception, as both appeared to be dyed with cochineal red dyes. These mantles were likely imported as high-status trade items or represent gifts from the central Inca authorities.

Based on Filipe Guamán Poma de Ayala's⁴⁴ claim that garments of Inca males differed from those worn by females, it has been suggested that the gender differentiation maintained throughout Andean prehistory was also evident in textiles.⁴⁵ Our results (table 17.2),

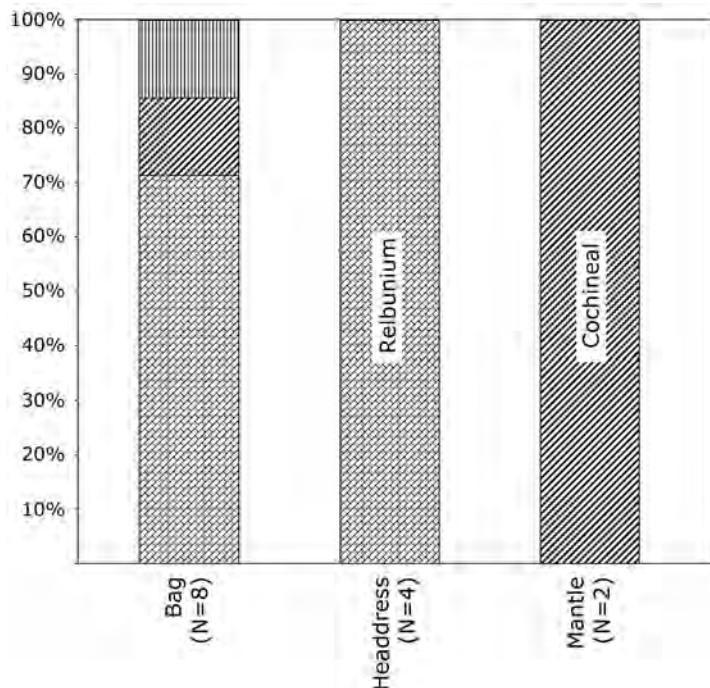


Figure 17.8. Distribution of red dyes among different textile objects dated to the Late Horizon (c. 1452–1532 CE) found in the Arica region.

44 Guamán Poma de Ayala 1987 (1613), pls. 1132, 1153.

45 Costin 1993, 1998; Gero 1992; Hocquenghem and Lyon 1980; Lyon 1979; Silverblatt 1987.

Table 17.2. Distribution of red dyes by gender of wearer.

Sex	Relbunium	Cochineal	Annatto	Dye X
Archaic period				
Male				
Female	2			2
Early Formative period				
Male	5			
Female				
Late Formative period				
Male				
Female				
Middle Horizon				
Male	6	2		
Female	13	6		
Late Intermediate period				
Male	4	1		
Female	4	3	1	1
Late Horizon				
Male	2			
Female		1		
Total males	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	0	0
Total females	19 (58%)	10 (30%)	1 (3%)	3 (9%)

however, support previous research indicating that gender differences are in fact not common in the textile record.⁴⁶ Investigation of form, style, and weaving technology of Late Intermediate period textiles from the Arica region also resulted in the conclusion that detecting gender differences in them is difficult at best.⁴⁷ In this study, the form and decoration of garments for males and females appeared to be similar, but it remained unclear whether these shared characteristics extended to the choice of raw materials and dyes. Most of the textiles included in our study were recovered from mortuary contexts, where the relation between textiles and individuals can usually be inferred. Overall, fifty-three

⁴⁶ Boytner 2004, 142–44; Cassman 2000, 264.

⁴⁷ Cassman 2000, 264.

samples could be associated with the sex of the individual, allowing examination of gender differences. As was found previously for form and decoration, dyes appeared not to be gender specific. From the Initial period until the Middle Horizon, when relbunium was the red dye of choice, the textiles of both males and females were predominantly dyed with relbunium. This lack of differentiation seems to have continued into the Late Intermediate period, although the red dye of choice had changed to cochineal (fig. 17.5). The number of Late Horizon textiles was too small to test Guamán Poma de Ayala's statements on gender differences in Inca textiles.

Age differences for dye distribution patterns were also examined. It was possible to determine the age of individuals associated with seventy-six textile samples (table 17.3). Individuals were separated into two age groups: adults and subadults. Previous research has shown that subadults in the Arica region during the Late Intermediate period had less decorative garments.⁴⁸ Resource investment in terms of dyes was probably limited in the case of children, with highly valued dyes and dyed textiles reserved for adults. Although the numbers in our study are small, there seems to be no difference in textile dyes between the two age groups until the Middle Horizon. During the Middle Horizon and the Late Intermediate period, textiles for adults were dyed more frequently compared to the textiles associated with subadults. Furthermore, the highly valued cochineal was found more often in textiles associated with adults. From the dye distribution patterns across gender and age groups, it appears that social differentiation was relatively limited.

Previous studies of the relation of Late Intermediate textiles with subsistence practices have revealed clear differences in the energy expenditure for textile production.⁴⁹ Textiles from coastal and inland contexts shared an overall style but clearly differed in their overall quality. Coastal textiles were generally made with finer yarns, higher weaving densities (thread counts), and a larger number of colors in individual garments. Decorated tunics appeared in higher numbers, and garments showed a lower frequency of wear, tear, and repair. Inland textiles were generally of a lower quality. In our study, we found that the dye distribution during this period followed a similar pattern. Coastal textiles appeared to be dyed primarily with cochineal, while inland textiles were dyed primarily with relbunium (fig. 17.9), suggesting that although the entire region likely shared access to cochineal, communities on the coast had better access to the dye or to cochineal-dyed products. It may be that marine resources such as fish, shells, and guano were exchanged with outsiders for exotic items such as cochineal.⁵⁰ The striking presence of better-quality dyes in coastal communities seems to demonstrate their control over the trade and the fact that they were able to capitalize on this advantage, at least in terms of textiles.

CONCLUSIONS

While aware of the existence of different temporal seriation methods, as well as specific chronologies for the Arica region, we followed the Andean system of horizons and intermediate periods. This system allows for temporal comparison with major events

⁴⁸ Cassman 1997.

⁴⁹ Cassman 1997.

⁵⁰ Shady Solis, Haas, and Creamer 2001.

Table 17.3. Distribution of red dyes by age of wearer.

Sex	Relbunium	Cochineal	Annatto	Dye X
Archaic period				
Subadult	2			2
Adult	2			2
Early Formative period				
Subadult	4			
Adult	6			
Late Formative period				
Subadult				
Adult				
Middle Horizon				
Subadult	10	1	1	
Adult	12	7	1	
Late Intermediate period				
Subadult	1	5		
Adult	8	7		
Late Horizon				
Subadult	2			
Adult	2	1		
Total subadults	19 (68%)	6 (21%)	1 (4%)	2 (7%)
Total adults	30 (63%)	15 (31%)	1 (2%)	2 (4%)

elsewhere, such as the rise and fall of the Tiwanaku and Inca cultural and political spheres of influence. We described the two models put forward to explain the relationship between the inhabitants of the Azapa Valley and the outside world. The actual textile dye distribution in the Arica region shows no significant geographic clusters and a long continuity of dyeing traditions. While relbunium was always widely used, the frequency of its use dropped when the better-quality and higher-status cochineal dye became available. When the availability of cochineal again decreased, the use of relbunium bounced back. Relatively poor-quality red dyes, first dye X and later annatto, represent minor dyeing practices in the region, most likely supplying dyed materials to those on the economic margins. Their use also seems to reflect continued interest in experimentation to create red textiles. The strongest differentiation appeared to be related to differences in status and access to economic resources, suggesting that dye choice was a class rather than an ethnic issue.

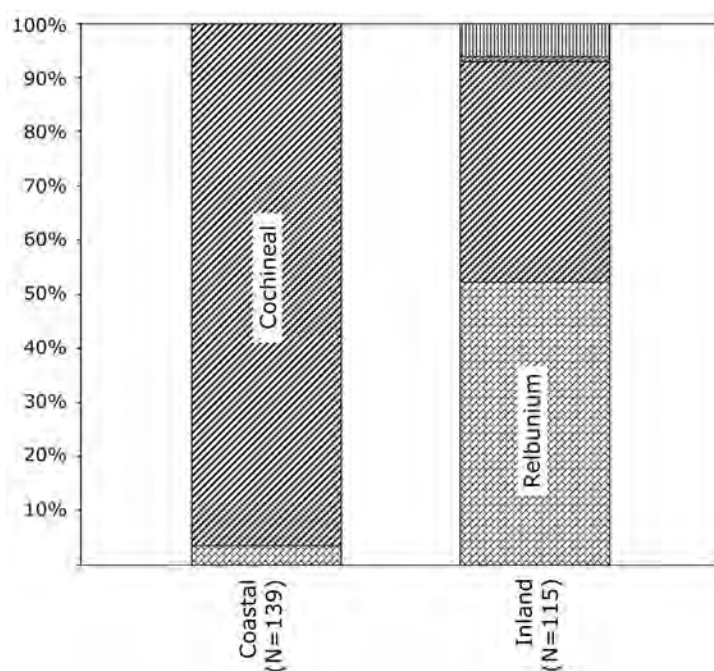


Figure 17.9. Distribution of red textile dyes at coastal and inland sites in the Arica region during the Late Intermediate period and Late Horizon (c. 1000–1532 CE).

The distribution patterns of textile dyes support the notion that no Tiwanaku or other altiplano colonies existed in the Arica region. Another study comparing the Arica and the Moquegua regions concluded that, despite their relative proximity and physical similarities, the two regions interacted vastly differently with the outside world.⁵¹ While Moquegua was directly colonized by Tiwanaku,⁵² it seems that Arica remained under local control and had contact with the outside world only through trade.⁵³ Although the data presented here represent but a narrow segment of the entire material record from the Arica region, they provide support to the arguments previously put forth about the independent nature of the region and the validity of the circuit mobility model.⁵⁴ Some have suggested that instead of building isolated colonies, Tiwanaku administrators entered and colonized the Arica region by imposing a powerful ruling elite.⁵⁵ Paul Goldstein suggested that “the idea of enclaves of Tiwanaku ruling elite imposed on a Cabuza substrata could explain the wide adaptation of Tiwanaku style and cultural practice [in Moquegua].”⁵⁶ The presence of a limited number of individual Tiwanaku ruling elites in the Azapa Valley would be difficult to prove archaeologically and might not be visible in the data on textile dyes. Local dyers, however, eagerly adopted outside techniques and

51 Sutter 2000.

52 Goldstein 1993, 2000, 2005, 2013.

53 Korpisaari, Oinonen, and Chacama 2014.

54 Cassman 2000; Sutter 2000.

55 Berenguer Rodríguez and Dauelsberg Hahmann 1989, 151; Focacci Aste 1981, 70.

56 Goldstein 2003, 156.

traditions across the board. The use of cochineal to dye kerchiefs, for example, increased from 59 percent in the Middle Horizon to 95 percent in the Late Intermediate period, while kerchiefs dyed with cochineal are found in all contexts of Late Intermediate sites. Cochineal and relbunium were not found to be exclusively associated with textile forms that can be assigned to foreign colonists in the Arica region. On the contrary, the four-cornered hats that are so strongly associated with highland cultures were dyed exclusively with relbunium, the local dye resource, during the Late Intermediate period. The overall pattern suggests that dye selection was based on factors such as the dyer's preferences and the availability of resources, not on differences of dyeing traditions within the distinct cultural groups simultaneously occupying the region. It did prove impossible to find patterns of dye distribution identifying detached foreign elites. If indeed a few Tiwanaku individuals resided within the Arica region during the Late Intermediate period and Late Horizon, they were likely not representing a dominating culture or social strata and were not acting as rulers. Instead, we interpret the even distribution across textile types and cultural boundaries as evidence for trade and exchange. The material record, including textiles and textile dyes, indicates that the region was never dominated by outsiders but instead maintained its independence throughout prehistory, in contrast to most other regions in the ancient Andes.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>N</i>	number of samples
UCLA	University of California, Los Angeles
UV-Vis	ultraviolet visible spectroscopy

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Karen

- 2013 "Tiwanaku Influence on the Central Valley of Cochabamba." In *Visions of Tiwanaku*, edited by Alexei Vranich and Charles Stanish, 87–112. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monographs 78. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.

Antúnez de Mayolo, Kay K.

- 1989 "Peruvian Natural Dye Plants." *Economic Botany* 43: 181–91.

Arnold, Denise Y., and Elvira Espejo

- 2012 "Andean Weaving Instruments for Textile Planning: The Waraña Coloured Thread-Wrapped Rods and Their Pendant Cords." *Indiana* 29: 173–200.

Barnard, Hans, Ran Boytner, Narayan Khandekar, and Marissa Schleicher

- 2016 "Painted Textiles: Knowledge and Technology in the Andes." *Nawpa Pacha* 36, no. 2: 209–28.

Berenguer Rodríguez, José, and Percy Dauelsberg Hahmann

- 1989 "El Norte Grande en la órbita de Tiwanaku (400 a 1.200 d.C)." In *Culturas de Chile: Prehistoria desde sus orígenes hasta los albores de la Conquista*, edited by Jorge Hidalgo Lehuedé, Virgilio Schiappacasse Ferretti, Hans Niemeyer Fernández, Carlos Aldunate del Solar, and Iván Solimano Roura, 129–80. Santiago: Andrés Bello.

Bird, Junius B., John Hyslop, and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner

- 1985 "The Preceramic Excavations at the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Peru." *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 62: 256–59.

Blake, Emma

- 1997 "Negotiating Nuraghi: Settlement and the Construction of Ethnicity in Roman Sardinia." In *TRAC 96: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, edited by Karen Meadows, Chris Lemke, and Jo Heron, 113–19. Oxford: Oxbow.

Boytner, Ran

- 1998 "Textiles from the Lower Osmore Valley, Southern Peru: A Cultural Interpretation." *Andean Past* 5: 325–56.
- 2002 "Preferencias culturales: Un punto de vista desde la investigación sobre los tintes de los textiles andinos." In *Actas de las II Jornadas internacionales sobre textiles precolombinos*, edited by Victòria Solanilla Demestre, 61–78. Barcelona: Autonomous University of Barcelona / Catalan Institute of Ibero-American Cooperation.
- 2004 "Clothing the Social World." In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by Helaine Silverman, 130–45. Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology. London: Blackwell.
- 2006 "Class, Control, and Power: The Anthropology of Textile Dyes at Pacatnamu." In *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*, edited by Margaret Young-Sánchez and Fronia W. Simpson, 43–74. Denver: Denver Art Museum.

Brunello, Franco

- 1973 *The Art of Dyeing in the History of Mankind*. Vicenza: Neri Pozza.

Cardon, Dominique

- 2007 *Natural Dyes: Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science*. London: Archetype.

Cassman, Vicki

- 1997 "A Reconsideration of Prehistoric Ethnicity and Status in Northern Chile: The Textile Evidence." PhD diss., Arizona State University.
- 2000 "Prehistoric Andean Ethnicity and Status: The Textile Evidence." In *Beyond Cloth and Cordage: Archaeological Textile Research in the Americas*, edited by Penelope Ballard Drooker and Laurie D. Webster, 253–67. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Clark, Niki R., and Amy Oakland Rodman

- 1995 "Ancient Andean Headgear: Medium and Measure of Cultural Identity." In *Contact, Crossover, Continuity: Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, September 22–24, 1994*, 293–304. Los Angeles: Textile Society of America.

Claro, Ana, Maria J. Melo, J. Sérgio Seixas de Melo, Klaas Jan van den Berg, Aviva Burnstock, Meredith Montague, and Richard Newman

- 2010 "Identification of Red Colorants in van Gogh Paintings and Ancient Andean Textiles by Micro-spectrofluorimetry." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11: 27–34.

Conklin, William J.

- 1996 "Structure as Meaning in Ancient Andean Textiles." In *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 321–28. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Costin, Cathy L.

- 1993 "Textiles, Women, and Political Economy in Late Prehispanic Peru." *Research in Economic Anthropology* 14: 3–28.
- 1998 "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes." In *Craft and Social Identity*, edited by Cathy Lynne Costin and Rita P. Wright, 123–41. Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association.

Degano, Ilaria, Erika Ribechini, Francesca Modugno, and Maria P. Colombini

- 2009 "Analytical Methods for the Characterization of Organic Dyes in Artworks and in Historical Textiles." *Applied Spectroscopy Reviews* 44: 363–410.

Dempster, Lauramay T.

- 1990 "The Genus *Galium* (Rubiaceae) in South America: IV." *Allertonia* 5: 283–345.

Dillehay, Thomas D., and Lautaro Núñez

- 1988 "Camelids, Caravans, and Complex Societies in the South-Central Andes." In *Recent Studies in Pre-Columbian Archaeology*, edited by Nicholas J. Saunders and Olivier de Montmollin, 603–34. BAR International Series 421(i). Oxford: Archaeopress.

Donkin, Robin A.

- 1977 "Spanish Red: An Ethnogeographical Study of Cochineal and the *Opuntia* Cactus." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 67: 3–83.

Donnan, Christopher B.

- 1978 *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Donnan, Christopher B., and Sharon G. Donnan

- 1997 "Moche Textiles at Pacatnamu." In *The Pacatnamu Papers*, vol. 2, *The Moche Occupation*, edited by Christopher B. Donnan and Guillermo A. Cock, 215–42. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History.

Emberling, Geoff

- 1997 "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5: 295–344.

Fester, Gustavo A.

- 1940 "Los colorantes del antiguo Peru." *Archeion* 22: 229–41.
1954 "Some Dyes of an Ancient South American Civilization." *Dyestuffs* 4: 238–45.

Fester, Gustavo A., and José Cruellas

- 1934 "Colorantes de Paracas." *Revista del Museo Nacional* 3: 154–56.

Finkelstein, Israel

- 1996 "Ethnicity and Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan: Can the Real Israel Stand Up?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 59: 198–212.

Focacci Aste, Guillermo

- 1981 "Nuevos fechados para la época del Tiahuanaco en la arqueología del norte de Chile." *Chungara* 8: 63–77.
1983 "El Tiwanaku clásico en el valle de Azapa." In *Asentamientos aldeanos en los valles costeros de Arica: Documento de trabajo* 3, edited by Iván Muñoz and Julia Cordova, 94–112. Arica, Chile: University of Tarapacá.

Gerhard, Peter

- 1964a "Emperor's Dye of the Mixtecs." *Natural History* 73: 26–31.
1964b "Shellfish Dye in America." In *XXXV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Mexico 1962): Actas y memorias*, 3:177–91. Mexico City: Libros de México.

Gero, Joan M.

- 1992 "Feasts and Females: Gender Ideology and Political Meals in the Andes." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 25: 15–30.

Gibaja Oviedo, Segundo, and Lydia Salazar de Cavero

- 1977 "Producción de la púrpura de tiro a partir del molusco concholepas 'Chanque.'" *Boletín de la Sociedad Química del Perú* 43: 139–40.

Goldstein, Paul

- 1993 "Tiwanaku Temples and State Expansion: A Tiwanaku Sunken Court Temple in Moquegua, Peru." *Latin American Antiquity* 4: 22–47.
- 2000 "Exotic Goods and Everyday Chiefs: Long Distance Exchange and Indigenous Sociopolitical Development in the South Central Andes." *Latin American Antiquity* 11: 335–62.
- 2003 "From Stew-Eaters to Maize-Drinkers: The Chicha Economy and the Tiwanaku Expansion." In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, 143–72. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- 2005 *Andean Diaspora: The Tiwanaku Colonies and the Origins of South American Empire*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- 2013 "Tiwanaku and Wari State Expansion: Demographic and Outpost Colonization Compared." In *Visions of Tiwanaku*, edited by Alexei Vranich and Charles Stanish, 41–63. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monographs 78. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.

Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe

- 1978 *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life under the Incas and under Spanish Rule*. Translated by Christopher Dilke. New York: Dutton.
- 1987 (1613) *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*. Edited by John Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste. Historia 16. Madrid: Historia.

Hidalgo, Jorge L., and Guillermo Focacci Aste

- 1986 "Multietnicidad en Arica, siglo XVI: Evidencias etnohistóricas y arqueológicas." *Chungara* 16–17: 137–47.

Hocquenghem, Anne Marie, and Patricia J. Lyon

- 1980 "A Class of Anthropomorphic Supernatural Females in Moche Iconography." *Ñawpa Pacha* 18: 27–48.

Janusek, John W.

- 2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jinesta, Ricardo

- 1940 "Las industrias del añil y de caracol purpura." *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales (San José, Costa Rica)* 4: 302–4.

Kashiwagi, K. Maresuke

- 1976 "An Analytical Study of Pre-Inca Pigments, Dyes and Fibers." *Bulletin of the Chemical Society of Japan* 49: 1236–39.

Keith, Kathryn

- 1998 "Spindle Whorls, Gender, and Ethnicity at Late Chalcolithic Hacinebi Tepe." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 25: 497–515.

Korpisaari, Antti, Markku Oinonen, and Juan Chacama

- 2014 "A Reevaluation of the Absolute Chronology of Cabuza and Related Ceramic Styles of the Azapa Valley, Northern Chile." *Latin American Antiquity* 25: 409–26.

Lyon, Patricia J.

- 1979 "Female Supernatural in Ancient Peru." *Ñawpa Pacha* 16: 95–140.

Michel, Rudolph H., and Patrick E. McGovern

- 1987 "The Chemical Processing of Royal Purple Dye: Ancient Descriptions as Elucidated by Modern Science." *Archaeomaterials* 1: 135–43.

Moseley, Michael E.

- 1992 *The Incas and Their Ancestors*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Mujica, Elias

- 1985 "Ecological Complementarity in the South-Central and Southern Andes." In *Andean Ecology and Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity*, edited by Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris, 103–40. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Muñoz, Iván

- 1983 "El poblamiento aldeano en el valle de Azapa y su vinculación con el Tiwanaku (Arica–Chile)." In *Asentamientos aldeanos en los valles costeros de Arica: Documento de trabajo 3*, edited by Iván Muñoz and Julia Cordova, 43–92. Arica, Chile: University of Tarapacá.

Murra, John V.

- 1962 "Cloth and Its Function in the Inca State." *American Anthropologist* 64: 710–28.
- 1975 "El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas." In *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*, edited by John V. Murra, 59–115. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- 1985 "The Limits and Limitations of the 'Vertical Archipelago' in the Andes." In *Andean Ecology and Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity*, edited by Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris, 15–20. Papers from Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Symposium 91. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Nigra, Benjamin T., Kym F. Faull, and Hans Barnard

- 2015 "Analytical Chemistry in Archaeological Research." *Analytical Chemistry* 87: 3–18.

Oakland Rodman, Amy

- 1992 "Textiles and Ethnicity: Tiwanaku in San Pedro de Atacama, North Chile." *Latin American Antiquity* 3: 316–40.

Oakland Rodman, Amy, and Arabel Fernández

- 2000 "Los tejidos Huari y Tiwanaku: Comparaciones y contextos." In *Huari y Tiwanaku: Modelos vs. evidencias—primera parte*, edited by Peter Kaulicke and William H. Isbell, 119–30. Boletín de arqueología PUCP 4. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

Olsen Bruhns, Karen

- 1994 *Ancient South America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paul, Anne

- 1990 *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Pollard, Gordon C.

- 1984 "Interregional Relations in the Southern Andes: Evidence and Expectations for Understanding the Late Prehistory of Northwest Argentina and North Chile." In *Social and Economic Organization in the Prehispanic Andes*, edited by David L. Browman, Richard L. Burger, and Mario A. Rivera, 205–47. BAR International Series 194. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Quilter, Jeffrey, and Terry Stocker

- 1983 "Subsistence Economies and the Origins of Andean Complex Societies." *American Anthropologist* 85: 545–62.

Rivera, Mario A.

- 1975 "Una hipótesis sobre movimientos poblacionales altiplánicos y transaltiplánicos a las costas del norte de Chile." *Chungara* 5:7–32.

- 2004 "Tiwanaku en la periferia: Nuevos elementos para un modelo tarapaqueño en el norte de Chile." In *Tiwanaku: Aproximaciones a sus contextos históricos y sociales*, edited by Mario A. Rivera and Alan L. Kolata, 11–30. Santiago: Editorial Universidad Bolivariana.
- Roquero, Ana
- 2000 "Catálogo de materias primas, registro etnográfico y etnohistórico de la tintorería mesoamericana y andina: Metodología y clasificación." In *Actas de la I Jornada internacional sobre textiles precolombinos*, edited by Victòria Solanilla Demestre, 29–56. Barcelona: Publication Service of the Autonomos University of Barcelona.
- Rosario-Chirinos, Noemí
- 1999 "Tintes en el Perú prehispánico virreinal y republicano / Dyes in Pre-Hispanic Viceregal and Republican Peru." In *Tejidos milenarios del Perú / Ancient Peruvian Textiles*, edited by José Antonio de Lavallo and Rosario de Lavallo de Cárdenas, 75–106. Lima: Integra AFP.
- Rostworowski, Maria
- 1986 "La región de Colesuyu." *Chungara* 16–17: 127–35.
- Rowe, Ann Pollard
- 1984 *Costume and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast*. Washington, DC: Textile Museum.
- Rowe, Ann Pollard, Laura M. Miller, and Lynn A. Meisch
- 2007 *Weaving and Dyeing in Highland Ecuador*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Rowe, John H.
- 1945 "Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area." *American Antiquity* 3: 265–84.
- 1960 "Cultural Unity and Diversification in Peruvian Archaeology." In *Men and Cultures: Selected Papers from the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, edited by Anthony F. C. Wallace, 627–31. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1982 "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, 93–118. New York: Academic Press.
- 1986 "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics." In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, edited by Anne Pollard Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer, 151–82. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection/Textile Museum.
- Saltzman, Max
- 1978 "The Identification of Dyes in Archaeological and Ethnographic Textiles." In *Archaeological Chemistry—II*, edited by Giles F. Carter, 172–85. *Advances in Chemistry* 171. Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.
- 1986 "Analysis of Dyes in Museum Textiles: Or, You Cannot Tell a Dye by Its Color." In *Textile Conservation Symposium in Honor of Pat Reeves*, edited by Catherine C. McLean and Patricia Connell, 27–39. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
- 1992 "Identifying Dyes in Textiles." *American Scientist* 80: 474–81.
- Samanez Argumedo, Roberto
- 1986 "Mural Painting on Adobe Walls during Peruvian Colonial Times—Its Restoration and Conservation." *Studies in Conservation* 31 (Suppl. 1): 75–79.
- Shady Solis, Ruth M., Jonathan Haas, and Winifred Creamer
- 2001 "Dating Caral, a Preceramic Site in the Supe Valley on the Central Coast of Peru." *Science* 292: 723–26.

Silverblatt, Irene

- 1987 *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Small, David B.

- 1997 "Group Identification and Ethnicity in the Construction of the Early State of Israel: From the Outside Looking In." In *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, edited by Neil Asher Silberman and David B. Small, 271–88. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Southon, John R., Amy Oakland Rodman, and Delbert True

- 1995 "A Comparison of Marine and Terrestrial Radiocarbon Ages from Northern Chile." *Radiocarbon* 37: 389–93.

Spanier, Ehud, and Nira Karmon

- 1987 "Muricid Snails and the Ancient Dye Industries." In *The Royal Purple and the Biblical Blue: Argaman and Tekhelet*, edited by Ehud Spanier, 179–92. Jerusalem: Keter.

Stanish, Charles

- 1989 "Household Archaeology: Testing Models of Zonal Complementarity in the South Central Andes." *American Anthropologist* 91: 7–24.
- 1992 *Ancient Andean Political Economy*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 2002 "Tiwanaku Political Economy." In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*, edited by Helaine Silverman and William H. Isbell, 169–98. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- 2003 *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2009 "The Tiwanaku Occupation of the Northern Titicaca Basin." In *Andean Civilization: A Tribute to Michael E. Moseley*, edited by Joyce Marcus and Patrick Ryan Williams, 145–64. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monographs 63. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.

Stothert, Karen E.

- 2003–4 "Shellfish Purple in Coastal Ecuador." *Textile Museum Journal* 42–43: 98–107.

Sutter, Richard C.

- 2000 "Prehistoric Genetic and Culture Change: A Bioarchaeological Search for Pre-Inka Altiplano Colonies in the Coastal Valleys of Moquegua, Peru, and Azapa, Chile." *Latin American Antiquity* 11: 43–70.

Towle, Margaret A.

- 1961 *The Ethnobotany of Pre-Columbian Peru*. Chicago: Aldine.

Uribe, Mauricio, and Carolina Agüero

- 2001 "Alfarería, textiles y la integración del norte grande de Chile a Tiwanaku." *Boletín de arqueología PUCP* 5: 397–426.
- 2004 "Iconografía, alfarería y textilería Tiwanaku: Elementos para una revisión del período medio en el norte grande de Chile." *Chungara* 36 (special issue 2): 1055–68.

Van Buren, Mary

- 1996 "Rethinking the Vertical Archipelago: Ethnicity, Exchange, and History in the South Central Andes." *American Anthropologist* 98: 338–51.

Verhecken, André, and Jan Wouters

- 1988–89 "The Coccid Insect Dyes: Historical, Geographical, and Technical Data." *Bulletin of the KIK-IRPA* 22: 207–39.

Wallert, Arie, and Ran Boytner

- 1996 "Dyes from the Tumilaca and Chiribaya Cultures, South Coast of Peru." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 23: 853–61.

Wobst, H. Martin

- 1977 "Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange." In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, edited by Charles E. Cleland, 317–44. Anthropological Papers 61. Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan.

Wouters, Jan

- 1985 "High Performance Liquid Chromatography of Anthraquinones: Analysis of Plant and Insect Extracts and Dyed Textiles." *Studies in Conservation* 30: 119–28.

Wouters, Jan, and Noemi Rosario-Chirinos

- 1992 "Dye Analysis of Pre-Columbian Peruvian Textiles with High Performance Liquid Chromatography and Diode Array Detection." *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 31: 237–55.

Young-Sánchez, Margaret, and Fronia W. Simpson, eds.

- 2006 *Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum*. Denver: Denver Art Museum.

Zhang, Xian, Ran Boytner, José Luis Cabrera, and Richard Laursen

- 2007 "Identification of Yellow Dye Types in Pre-Columbian Andean Textiles." *Analytical Chemistry* 79: 1575–82.

Zhang, Xian, and Richard A. Laursen

- 2005 "Development of Mild Extraction Methods for the Analysis of Natural Dyes in Textiles of Historical Interest Using LC-Diode Array Detector-MS." *Analytical Chemistry* 77: 2022–25.

Zori, Colleen, and Erika Brant

- 2012 "Managing the Risk of Climatic Variability in Late Prehistoric Northern Chile." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 31: 403–21.

PART V

RESPONSES

18

Looking at, Trying on, and Giving Away
Other People's Clothes

Ann C. Gunter
Northwestern University

He had never worn the most expensive suit and shirt that he owned. They had been gifts from Charlotte on his last birthday: raiment suitable for her fiancé; he remembered her beaming at him as he stared at his unfamiliarly well-styled self in a full-length mirror. The suit and shirt had hung in their carry case ever since, because he and Charlotte had not gone out much after last November; because his birthday had been the last truly happy day they had spent together. . . .

He might have incinerated the suit. Instead, in a spirit of defiance, he chose to wear it, to strip it of its associations and render it mere pieces of cloth.

—Robert Galbraith, *The Cuckoo's Calling*

SPECIALISTS ACROSS A wide range of disciplines devoted to studying the ancient world surely owe a substantial debt to the field of dress studies. In only a few decades, it has generated a wealth of new sources for reconstructing many details of social, economic, cultural, and political history and enhanced our ability to elaborate the built environment at a scale permitting nuanced observation and analysis. The Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance” approached the subject of dress and identity by considering examples from diverse cultural spheres, historically both related and unrelated.¹ Building on this cross-cultural framework, I propose and contemplate a few thematic connections across some of the disparate categories of evidence, historical circumstances, and field-specific divisions addressed in these rich and thought-provoking contributions. My aim is not to disregard the complexity of individual case studies but to affirm an inherent value in acknowledging common theoretical and analytical concerns across geographic and chronological boundaries.

One likely shared feature is the overall trajectory that scholarly attention to attire has taken in each of our chosen areas of specialization. Early art-historical study of garments in ancient Greece, Rome, and Mesopotamia generated interest in this body of evidence and

1 I am deeply indebted to Aleksandra Hallmann for including me in this remarkable conference, from which I learned a great deal, and for waiting patiently for my written response, which draws on the texts the authors submitted for publication. I am also grateful to the speakers, the other respondents, and all the participants for their stimulating presentations and discussion.

its potential assistance in developing critical tools for stylistic and iconographic analysis.² These initial investigations were chiefly typological and descriptive, aimed at reconstructing particular garment types by correlating items mentioned in texts with those rendered in statuary or two-dimensional representations. Their results were often limited and academically marginalized. Today, specialists exploring aspects of ancient attire participate in an increasingly mainstream research direction, an international and multidisciplinary enterprise that earns prestigious funding, sponsors conferences (and publishes their proceedings), and even sustains a dedicated monograph series.³ They tend to employ a more inclusive and theoretically informed notion of “dress” than their pioneering predecessors did a century or more ago, and they can also marshal previously unavailable evidence and new intellectual perspectives. New philological studies examining a wide range of texts have produced a mine of information, some of which can be productively combined with archaeological sources.⁴ Technical examination is helping reclaim some of the long-lost—or deliberately overlooked—evidence for color and metallic decoration on statuary and reliefs as well as among surviving textiles, permitting a richer picture of their original appearance and visual complexity.⁵ Fresh approaches now advocate an expansive conception of dress that embraces not only “accessories”—jewelry, footwear, and walking sticks—but also other physical and sensory dimensions of social interactions around attire, which could involve manipulation of ambient light, sound, and scent.⁶ While visual representations have long served as crucial sources for reconstructing ancient dress practices and remain fundamental, they can convey only a partial impression of the wearer’s (or viewer’s) wide-ranging sensory engagement and experience.

In addition, representations tend to emphasize the viewer’s perspective. We also want to know about the wearer’s expectations and their role in shaping often-intense responses to other peoples’ dress and bodily appearance: revulsion or ridicule, sometimes admiration and envy. Culturally specific ideas about the body largely determined the meanings associated with the clothed body and, in turn, conditioned attitudes toward foreign dress

2 Lee 2015, 10–19, provides a history of scholarship on dress in Greek art and reappraises the role of founding female scholars such as Margarete Bieber, Gisela Richter, and, later, Evelyn B. Harrison and Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway; she also mentions early research carried out by Near Eastern specialists such as Léon Heuzey. Barber 1991 is widely credited with introducing a new methodological rigor to studies of ancient textiles and enhancing their visibility in the investigation of Mediterranean antiquity.

3 The nearly three dozen volumes published to date by the Center for Textile Research in the interdisciplinary Ancient Textiles series (Oxbow, 2007–) present abundant case studies chiefly concerned with the Mediterranean, Near East, and Europe, with extensive bibliography. Other relevant literature is included here and in the other chapters in this volume.

4 The Ancient Textiles series also provides abundant bibliography for textual studies concerning the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds. The chapters in this volume furnish additional references.

5 See, recently, the papers in Goldman 2016; Stager 2022; Nagel 2023 on Achaemenid Iran; Holzman 2019 on textiles from Phrygian Gordion; and Nunn and Piening 2020 on color in Mesopotamian sculpture.

6 Recent contributions, with bibliography, include Lee 2015; Squire 2016; Thomason 2016, with special reference to the Neo-Assyrian Empire; Gawlinski 2017; Selz 2019; Neumann and Thomason 2022; as well as Thomason, chapter 11 in this volume. On phenomenological approaches in dress studies devoted to ancient Mesoamerica, see Orr and Looper 2014, xxx–xxxiii. Elsner 2007 offers a pioneering contribution to notions of gendered viewing.

practices.⁷ Mireille M. Lee refers to these embodied lenses in considering the Athenian reception of Persian or Thracian garments in the Classical period. Building on Margaret Miller's pioneering study,⁸ Lee notes that some Greek women adopted the *cheiridotos chiton* and the *kandys*—items of Persian male attire—but did not wear them in the same way Persian men did. Thus, Lee suggests, “these garments have been appropriated and given new meaning” as items of female attire.⁹ She contrasts this appropriation with the Athenian male adoption of the *zeira*, a patterned mantle perhaps made of felt and worn by Thracian warriors, which maintained its fundamental connotation of battlefield prowess following its introduction into the Greek male dress system. In the minds of the ancient Greeks, “barbarian” attire with set-in sleeves and trousered legs was objectionable because it restricted the wearer's manipulation of garments. Body-fitting clothing was altogether too alien to Greek practices centered around draped attire: “since these garments are worn directly on the body, their adoption by the Greeks would have signaled a kind of assimilation as opposed to appropriation.”¹⁰ Embodied, gendered interactions around dress and identity also occur in different times and places, as contemplation of cultural, political, and artistic responses to other peoples' clothes suggests.

(RE)CONSTRUCTING COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES IN AN IMPERIAL SETTING

Among the most abundant sources for the material construction of collective identities in antiquity are written and visual representations of conquered peoples produced by the ruling power. Several contributors to this volume (Brittenham, Foster, Hallmann, Miller, Rothe) explore issues related to the dress systems of enemies and subjects and the imperial forging or manipulation of group identities by means of attire.

Broadly speaking, the imperial context is of considerable interest for our topic. Territorial conquests far beyond the empire's heartland typically involved encounters with alien physical environments, whose human inhabitants not only exhibited unfamiliar notions about bodily appearance and dress but also often drew on distinctive local plant and animal species for their textiles, furs, dyes, and other dress components. The Roman and Inca empires, for example, encompassed dramatically diverse environments and associated ecosystems. Seasonal and climatic differences must often have prompted newcomers to strange habitats to don suitable garments and footwear, perhaps adopting or appropriating local traditions.¹¹ In the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, Assyria's expansion to the Mediterranean coast and into southern Mesopotamia enabled new access to and control over supplies of goods traded along maritime and caravan routes, including special fabrics, dyes, and finished garments.¹² Imperial gains thus often increased the availability

7 Here I draw on Mireille M. Lee's persuasive advocacy for grounding approaches to ancient Greek dress in cultural notions about the body (Lee 2015, 31–53, citing additional sources).

8 Miller 1997.

9 Lee 2015, 126.

10 Lee 2015, 126.

11 Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence and inscriptions describe problems for military operations in snowy mountainous regions, requiring cold-weather attire and tents (van Buylaere 2009; Gaspa 2018, 185–86).

12 Gaspa 2018, 110–34.

of a wider range of materials related to dress, introducing novel choices for clothing the body or furnishing interior spaces. In addition, the often-fraught political and cultural dynamics within an imperial setting must have generated heightened self-consciousness and new anxieties around dress systems and their adoption, modification, or rejection. Given unequal power structures, material expressions of group inclusion or exclusion—especially those worn on or associated with the body—likely assumed greater significance as a contested social space, a highly public and visible arena where control was exercised or resisted.

Official representations of subject peoples have often been studied with the aim of assessing their value as historical sources and comparing them with available texts or archaeological evidence to corroborate details of the *realia* depicted. They are, of course, complex and problematic sources whose function seldom (if ever) involved what we would consider a “documentary” aim; yet they are frequently presented and used as “reliable” visual accounts. Reconstructing ancient dress through uncritical examination of imperial representations carries some of the intellectual baggage of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century “costume books.” Neville McFerrin reminds us that dress as currently conceptualized departs dramatically from costume theory, grounded in the Enlightenment ambition to document and classify, which “described in order to explicate.”¹³ These compendia meticulously cataloged items of clothing and headgear that appeared in written or visual accounts of ancient peoples and, not incidentally, privileged ethnicity (and the “ethnic signifier” function of dress) as the dominant modality of group self-definition.¹⁴ They also helped perpetuate a notion of ethnicity as a highly circumscribed and immutable category, a concept persuasively challenged in recent decades.¹⁵ The dual dress systems in which prominent court figures are depicted at Persepolis—a wide-sleeved long robe on the one hand, a close-fitting tunic and trousers on the other—instructively illustrate the tenacity of this approach. They have for several decades been understood to distinguish Persians and Medes, attesting to both the Medes’ equestrian prowess and their privileged position at the Achaemenid court, despite an absence of textual evidence for either supposition. David Stronach recently examined the gradual unraveling of these assumptions, as reappraisals of Achaemenid monuments instead supported interpreting the two systems as court and riding dress. He suggested they were, in part, an elegant visual solution to Darius’s wish to express a new Persian and Iranian royal ideology and to emphasize his special claim to both Elamite and Iranian traditions.¹⁶ Broad acceptance of the assumption that these sartorial variations were most plausibly explained as reflections of separate ethnic identities

13 McFerrin 2017, 148.

14 McFerrin 2017, 147–49, offers penetrating observations on the “costume” approach and its legacy, with special reference to the dress of subject peoples depicted in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis. In dress terminology concerning the ancient art of the Americas, “costume” appears to be more standard. See, e.g., Orr and Looper 2014, esp. xxii–xxiii; Scher and Follensbee 2017; and Brittenham, chapter 1 in this volume, all with additional bibliography.

15 Hall 1997, 2, rejects the traditional view of ethnic identity as static and monolithic in favor of a model that “recognises the dynamic, negotiable and situationally constructed nature of ethnicity.” His book provides an excellent and incisive review and reinterpretation, with special reference to Greek antiquity. For the ancient Mediterranean world more broadly, see also the contributions in McInerney 2014.

16 Stronach 2011, esp. 481–82.

demonstrates the formative, enduring influence of the “costume” framework: the expectation of finding in depictions of ancient peoples their essential corporate natures, neatly codified and materialized through their “national dress.”

In their essays in this volume, Claudia Brittenham and Margaret Miller explore the possibility that the distinctive dress of subject populations so prominently articulated in the sources they examine was, at least in part, an artifact of empire. Both the Aztec and Inca states intervened in practices around the dress and bodily appearance of their subjects, Brittenham observes, alternately eradicating or exacerbating these manifestations of ethnic difference as a means of imperial control (and surveillance?). Colonial chronicles and illustrated manuscripts, for example, describe the Inca ruler's tight control over the dress and hairstyle of his subjects. The requirement that forcibly resettled communities (*mitmaqkuna*) maintain their traditional dress in their new homes, often thousands of kilometers from their regions of origin, dramatically demonstrates the degree of Inca state intervention in embodied expressions of group identity. Meanwhile, Miller examines the relationship between systems of dress and ethnicity with special reference to the Achaemenid Empire (c. 550–330 BCE). Funerary monuments in the empire's western regions indicate modes of elite self-fashioning that included “sartorial biculturalism,” allowing the same individual to appear in local dress in some circumstances and in Persian attire (or engaged in Persian social practices) in others. By contrast, the representations of subject peoples created at the new city of Persepolis in the reign of Darius I (522–486 BCE) deny this sartorial agency. Carved images of the twenty-three delegations of gift-givers in the Apadana reliefs, including the Spardiya (Delegation VI) and Yauna (Delegation XII) from the empire's far west, reveal instead a carefully choreographed use of dress to construct—and also reconstruct, conflate, simplify, or “edit”—the constituent peoples of the empire, who are ostensibly defined in official texts by region or otherwise geographically distinct groupings.¹⁷ Both in the ancient Americas and in the Achaemenid heartland, imperially staged performances involving mandated dress symbolized the boundless scope of imperial knowledge, incontestable and panoptic, uniquely capable of portraying the diverse inhabitants of the ruler's vast realms.

These contributions also turn our attention to issues of viewership. Who was the intended audience for these manipulated portrayals of subject peoples? In imperial Rome, Tonio Hölscher suggests, celebrations and sculptured images commemorating foreign military victories functioned as crucial mechanisms for communicating information about these distant places and peoples, especially with public rituals and monuments in the capital.¹⁸ Detailed depictions of foreign battles in Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs may have served a similar purpose, effectively extending participation to many who had not themselves fought in these remote locations. Michael Seymour¹⁹ interprets scenes of military campaigns in Sennacherib's southwest palace at Nineveh as a microcosm of the empire,

17 To Miller's rich bibliography in chapter 4 of this volume, add Rollinger and Henkelman 2009. Compare the universalizing of collective identities in Roman imperial depictions of conquered foes, as Tonio Hölscher (2003, 10–11) has observed. We could also compare the “four regions” that made up the Inca Empire, made visible and embodied by people wearing regional dress on ritual occasions (Brittenham, chapter 1 in this volume).

18 Hölscher 2006, 35–45.

19 Seymour 2016.

intended for the audience at the imperial center. The emissaries of subject peoples, too, likely numbered among the targeted viewership for some of these visual accounts, which emphasized the empire's reach and technological advantage, and the futility of resistance. In a fascinating study that also stimulated Miller's thinking, Margaret Cool Root conjured an Athenian visitor to Persepolis contemplating his depiction among the Apadana figures comprising Delegation XII, together with their gifts. In this way, Root could explore the premise that the sculptural program included a "performative agenda of a visual environment meant to engage a world of receivers."²⁰ While Achaemenid representations seem to have deliberately blurred distinctions among subject peoples as an imperial strategy, Miller invites us to consider that this reconfiguration—and not only the Persian threat to mainland Greek autonomy—helped reshape notions of collective identity among Greeks.

To understand how boundaries around group identity and their material expression could indeed shift under imperial rule, we can turn to the northern provinces of the Roman Empire. The Roman tradition of erecting private grave monuments became popular in these regions among local inhabitants, who drew on this practice as a means of displaying their wealth and social standing. The large corpus of surviving examples, typically inscribed and carved with half or full images of the deceased and sometimes also family members, furnishes a detailed record of continuity and change around depictions of male and female dress. Ursula Rothe's careful analysis in this volume shows multiple effects of Roman rule on the rendering of both male and female attire. One group of gravestones is especially relevant in this context: those documenting a new style of female dress that retained select features related to local traditions but departed from them in abandoning metal brooches; moreover, this style appeared on gravestones belonging to all social strata and across the entire northwestern region, eventually expanding to Britain. Unlike local garb expressing tribal affiliations, and entirely independent of Roman attire, it signified a new, "pan-Gallic" identity: an indigenous recalibration of traditional dress practices in response to Roman imperial rule.²¹ With respect to the adult female population, "Roman rule appears to have engendered a new, broader, regional identity in the Roman northwest rather than a Roman identity per se," Rothe observes.

ACQUIRING ANOTHER IDENTITY

In his book *Objects of Translation*, Finbarr Barry Flood reminds us of the crucial significance of dress in Late Antique and medieval Iran and South Asia through the story of Burzuya, court physician to the Sasanian king Khusrau Anushirvan. Sent to India to obtain Sanskrit texts recording Indian wisdom, Burzuya then undertook the arduous task of translating them into Pahlavi. Urged by the king to select a gift as compensation, Burzuya "went to the royal wardrobe and took one of the king's robes."²² In this political culture, writes Flood, "the gifting of robes constituted a metalanguage of power." Items of dress could perform in this way because of their complex, labor-intensive production and consequently high material value; the physical relationship they possessed with the donor's body; and their

²⁰ Root 2007, 178.

²¹ See also Wells 2015 for comments on the "invention of tradition" in Rome's northern provinces.

²² Flood 2009, 11.

ability to constitute identity.²³ Clothing possessed “incorporative qualities,” Flood argues, that “could lead medieval elites to adopt or appropriate modes of dress associated with the articulation of authority in powerful neighboring polities.”²⁴ Thus the rulers of Mansura, a small state in northwestern India, adopted the dress and hair fashions of contemporary Indian kings, while most of their population followed sartorial styles set in Baghdad, capital of the Abbasid caliphate. Cross-dressing in the medieval Muslim and Hindu worlds also involved the gifting of robes (*khil'a*) by the caliph in Baghdad, presented as items from the donor's own wardrobe. “Transvalued by contact (ranging from full body contact to a passing glance), the gifted robe carried with it something of the donor's essence and was valued for its synesthetic properties, including (on occasion) its olfactory qualities, which further charged the robe with the presence of its donor.”²⁵

The often transformative role of textiles or attire obtained from “outside” is a theme explored by several contributors to this volume (Brittenham, Foster, Mynářová, Ritner, Rothe). As with the medieval examples Flood discusses, these items could comprise royal gifts to client rulers or to others within the imperial system. Neo-Assyrian kings gave gifts of special clothing with multicolored trim (*lubulti birme*) to the inhabitants of Babylonian cities granted freedom, to a tribute-bearing ruler from the Iranian highlands, and to workers who finished digging with commendable speed a network of canals for the palace gardens in Nineveh.²⁶ Moreover, items of dress or adornment seized during foreign military campaigns or demanded as tribute did not invariably end up in royal storehouses. They were sometimes recirculated within the imperial system, thus acquiring a new social life often obscured by textual conventions highlighting immense (and precise) quantities of gold, silver, ivory, exotic woods, and textiles. Neo-Assyrian texts provide multiple examples of this redistribution. Ashurnasirpal II dedicated “gold jewelry, many possessions which I had captured” to temples he built at Nimrud.²⁷ From booty taken in Chaldea, Sennacherib presented his son, Esarhaddon, with “golden bracelets inlaid with ivory, a golden crown, a golden necklace, rings for the upper arm . . . as a token of love.”²⁸ Items of tribute, including luxury garments, were redistributed within the palace to various individuals,

23 Flood 2009, 11–12, 61–87. On the capacity of dress to construct who we are, see also McFerrin 2017, esp. 153–56, on the “group portraits” of delegations in the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis; like Flood, she refers to early modern theories of dress elaborated in Jones and Stalleybrass 2000. For a related theme in the realm of popular culture, Peter Strickland's 2018 dark comedy *In Fabric* tells the story of a crimson dress that preys on its owners; “I wasn't interested in making a movie about fashion, but rather about the power that clothing has over us,” Strickland was quoted as saying (in Piepenburg 2019).

24 Flood 2009, 64.

25 Flood 2009, 77, with further references and examples from the medieval Hindu and Muslim sphere. On robes as royal gifts in antiquity, see Flood 2009, 75–78, with further references. For the Neo-Assyrian evidence for this practice, see also Gunter 2009, 171–74; Gaspa 2018, 127–28. Royal garments could substitute for the Assyrian king himself—for example, to enable his participation in processions of the gods when he could not be present (Gaspa 2018, 146–47, with bibliography). On gifts of clothing (including special mantles) from the Aztec emperor, see Brittenham, chapter 1 in this volume.

26 Gunter 2009, 166–67, 171–74; Gaspa 2018, 127–28, citing examples mentioned in royal inscriptions or correspondence of Shalmaneser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. On purple-dyed wool and other fabrics, see Thavapalan 2019, 180–82, 230–44.

27 Grayson 1991, A.O.101.30, lines 68–69.

28 Kataja and Whiting 1995, no. 88.

ranging from the queen and crown prince to the highest officials and other offices, such as the palace superintendent and scribe.²⁹ They were also given to foreigners: Urartian envoys received shoes, garments, and scarves along with torques and tribute bowls made of silver.³⁰

The means and rituals of transfer could be paramount in these transactions that crossed, and sometimes bridged, sartorial systems. They include “gifts” that were simultaneously debts, expected or even mandated by the recipient: the gifts the Yauna offer the Persian king, like those of the Arabian and Iranian delegations, include sets of their own clothing.³¹ They could create or confirm relationships of dominance or deference, as with gifts of clothing or adornment from rulers to subjects (and vice versa) or tribute from client states; they could materialize crucial gender roles and calculations, as with garments or jewelry conveyed as bride-wealth in a diplomatic marriage linking sovereign powers. Under certain circumstances generally occasioned by social, political, or economic privilege, individuals could make unconventional choices about dress and accessories, and even about temporary or permanent bodily marking or alteration. This entitlement often depended on advantageous, if not exclusive, access to another sartorial system, thereby reinforcing a cultural hierarchy at home. Diamantis Panagiotopoulos has perceptively repositioned transculturality in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean world in this way. Elite eagerness to obtain foreign objects and ideas was chiefly prompted not by the wish to participate in an “international” community of shared tastes, he suggests, but by a “desire to acquire an additional cultural identity.”³² Other peoples’ clothes could thus assist mightily in forging new social and political identities within the home society.

Benjamin Foster has proposed that the smooth, fringed garment that appears as an item of royal and elite male dress on statuary and cylinder seals in the reign of the Akkadian king Manishtusu (c. 2275–2260 BCE) was inspired by textiles and clothing design encountered during military campaigns in southwestern Iran.³³ We are able to consider how this garment compared with traditional Mesopotamian dress and fabrics and thus gauge the wearer’s expectations: it was probably confining, making free movement difficult, and hence most likely formal attire worn strictly on ceremonial occasions involving appearances by the royal family. In Foster’s view, this second generation of the dynasty drew on sartorial styles brought from outside to help create an Akkadian identity among the ruling elite comprising the king’s followers. The hard, black stone specially imported and employed for Akkadian royal statuary likewise derived from southwestern Iran or the Persian Gulf region and testified to the dynasty’s long-distance contacts; perhaps its distinctive material qualities contributed to the visual impact of these novel garments and their privileged owners. We could also speculate on the attention-getting movement of

29 Mattila 2000, 144–45, with further references; also Parpola 1987, 35–36; Fales and Postgate 1995, no. 36.

30 Fales and Postgate 1992, no. 127.

31 Root 2007, 188–93.

32 Panagiotopoulos 2012, 58. For other thoughtful contributions on the transformative potential of objects coming from outside, see the other papers in Maran and Stockhammer 2012; Maran 2012, with further references.

33 Foster 2010, 125–27, 130–40; also Foster, chapter 5 in this volume.

this garment, fashioned from uncommonly thin fabric (perhaps linen) and bordered with tassels, when the special bodies allowed to wear it were in motion.³⁴

In her essay in this volume, Jana Mynářová analyzes instances in which textiles were acquired from outside not through foreign conquest but as staples of diplomatic exchange and marriage customs in the eastern Mediterranean world during the Late Bronze Age. She focuses on correspondence between the Egyptian pharaoh and Near Eastern rulers of the Amarna period (mid-fourteenth century BCE) and on letters exchanged between Egypt and Hatti (and the Hittite vassal Ugarit) in the Ramesside era (late thirteenth century BCE). She recognizes in these epistolary exchanges different spheres of social, economic, and political interactions around textiles. In the Amarna period, pharaohs sent linen cloth and garments to Babylonia and the Mittani kingdom as part of bride-wealth inventories, but the rulers of those Near Eastern states never requested them from Egypt. By contrast, Egyptian linen featured in correspondence of the same era with two kingdoms bordering the Hittite sphere, Alashiya and Arzawa: in letter EA 34, the king of Alashiya asked the pharaoh to send linen as both cloth and finished garments.³⁵ In letters between the pharaoh and vassals in the Levant, however, textiles functioned exclusively as a means of payment for services or commodities. By the Ramesside period, as correspondence shortly before and after the famous peace treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III reveals, textiles had become indispensable and prestigious components of gifts from both Egypt and Hatti.

Amarna letter EA 14 preserves a lengthy list of gifts sent by the Egyptian pharaoh (Amenhotep IV) to Burna-Buriaš II of Babylon. The vast inventory it itemizes is usually characterized as bride-wealth, in this case literally a fortune's worth of valuable objects assembled and dispatched to ensure that a Babylonian princess would join the pharaoh's wives.³⁶ As such, the presents would become the property of the bride's father. As is often observed, the list is striking for its staggering quantities and wide range, from gold earrings to ships made of cedar. Adopting an expansive notion of dress, we might ponder an attendant dimension. Perhaps this set of gifts was also intended to model proper Egyptian attire for the Babylonian princess and her servants in preparation for their arrival at the Egyptian court. Its stunning array of finished garments, jewelry, and vessels made from luxury textiles and precious materials constitutes a comprehensive set of objects that enabled the wholesale performance of royal female identity: fine mantles and sashes, dress fasteners, and sandals; cosmetics and their containers, and appropriate implements for their application; jewelry for hands, ears, and ankles; aromatics; tools for curling hair; and mirrors made of silver and bronze.

34 Peter S. Wells (2012, 2017) offers valuable discussions of visual ecology and visual complexity, with special reference to Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe. Writing about the jewelry recovered from the Early Dynastic royal cemetery at Ur, Holly Pittman (1998, 94) observed that Queen Puabi's beaded cape, found in her lavishly furnished tomb at Ur, would have shifted and shimmered as she moved—a multisensory effect to which we might add the sound of beads clicking against each other.

35 Matteo Vigo (2010, 293) suggests that Alashiya had no local linen industry but instead imported the fabric from Egypt and made it into finished garments, which then entered exchange networks in inland Syria and from there was distributed to Hittite Anatolia. Hittite inventory texts referring to "Cypriot linen" would then designate garments produced in Cyprus from imported fabric.

36 Podany 2010, 218–20; Rainey 2015, 1342–46. On diplomatic marriages in the Amarna letters, see also Meier 2000.

Responses to the introduction of foreign dress styles, which often conveyed specific cultural or political associations, could vary significantly with social status and gender—and also change over time. One alteration in local dress as recorded on local funerary monuments in the Roman northwest reflected a kind of pan-Gallic identity, as mentioned above in connection with attire in imperial contexts. In her contribution to this volume, Rothe also identifies multiple configurations of male and female attire that demonstrate the multifaceted and nuanced effects of Roman dress on indigenous practices in the empire's northern provinces. Gravestones offer a rewarding category for investigating self-representation, social conventions around death and commemoration, and the materiality of memory. Their rich potential to furnish information about the cultural construction of personhood within a specific social and cultural setting often yields a precious resource for the issues we are investigating. In Rome's northern provinces, portraits of a married couple wearing local attire were far outnumbered by examples showing males in Roman dress and females wearing traditional clothing. In some cases the men may have been immigrants from Italy, but the quantity of representations indicates that husbands and wives were both from the area. These images suggest that the males shown wearing a toga had acquired a new identity as Roman, made visible and public by adopting Roman dress, although the garment's ambiguity could allow different meanings for seemingly interchangeable portraits.³⁷ Did the toga signal legal identity, the privilege of a Roman citizen, or a chosen cultural affiliation memorialized on a funerary monument? The converse—women in Roman attire, men in native garb—was rare. Locally made, and intended for a highly local audience, these funerary monuments provide a fascinating window onto the social and gender dynamics of foreign and native attire.

DIVINE DRESS, ROYAL IDENTITY, AND MATERIAL AGENCY

While the attire and appearance of humans dominate the seminar papers, several contributors to this volume (Brittenham, Cifarelli, Nosch, Thomason) also touch on the dress of deities and its points of intersection with royal and priestly attire. The issues they consider include the types of garments and other dress components that together distinguished divine and royal attire, as well as the occasions for which they were preferred or required. The examples discussed illustrate both the semiotic and the transformative role of dress and its constituent materials.

In many societies in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East, Marie-Louise Nosch points out, the king's concurrent role as priest, or his otherwise exceptional access to the divine sphere, meant that royal and priestly or even godly dress were often closely intertwined. Rulers could adopt a distinctive costume that signaled a particular deity, thereby effectively transforming into that divine being. In the ancient Americas, Brittenham explains, the Aztec emperor dressed as a god, as royal monuments and postconquest sources attest; most often he embodied Huiztilopochtli, patron deity of the Mexica. The *Codex Xolotl* shows the early fifteenth-century ruler Chimalpopoca dressed as this deity while engaged in battle; following his capture, he was stripped of his regalia. Stelae displayed in Neo-Assyrian temples show the king wearing the symbols of the chief deities

³⁷ See also Rothe 2020.

as a necklace or pectoral, signifying their special protection of the royal person.³⁸ The king (and perhaps also other members of the royal family) adopted special attire for ceremonial occasions or as prescribed funerary dress. “The body of the king had to be adorned with splendour—a property of divine origin that also characterizes the royal person,” observes Salvatore Gaspa.³⁹ Texts attest the ritual animation not only of cult images but also of the insignia of kingship—crown, scepter, throne, and weapon—and the king himself.⁴⁰ Interactions between the divine and courtly spheres in the realm of attire, and the occasions for its display, were not unidirectional, however. “The unceasing flurry of activities surrounding divine images was modeled on palatial, courtly life,” writes Paul-Alain Beaulieu,⁴¹ referring to the elaborate attire and mobility of cult images documented in Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk. Cult images required elaborate garments and accessories, which in turn needed regular maintenance not only to convey their divine qualities but also because they were carried in processions, traveled to other sanctuaries, and participated in various rituals.

Texts and representations furnish general information, and sometimes also particulars, about the special materials from which the cult images of deities housed in Mesopotamian and Egyptian temples were fashioned and clothed. David Wengrow has thoughtfully probed this convergence between Egyptian and Mesopotamian practices beginning in the fourth millennium BCE: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, and carnelian were the principal materials used for divine images and also key components of royal dress.⁴² Because of the high value or perishable nature of their constituent materials—gold, silver, and special woods, for example—evidence for the manufacture and adornment of cult images derives almost exclusively from written and representational sources, occasionally augmented by archaeological remains.⁴³ Candidates for cult images among extant objects are therefore few, limited chiefly to extraordinary circumstances of historical accident and archaeological preservation.⁴⁴ In her essay in this volume, Megan Cifarelli suggests we consider from this perspective the group of some eighty garment pins consisting of bronze lion figures attached to iron shafts and recovered from the Early Iron Age (Period IVb) settlement at the site of Hasanlu in northwestern Iran. These pins were initially interpreted as items of elite female adornment that presumably functioned like the less elaborately decorated dress pins found associated with female bodies in deliberate burials at the site or deposited as temple votives.⁴⁵ Reexamination of the lion pins’ findspots, however, revealed that they

38 Pongratz-Leisten 2015, 423–24; an example is the stela of Ashurnasirpal II in the British Museum (ME 118805). On the royal body and image in ancient Mesopotamia, see Bahrani 2003, esp. 121–48, for important contributions.

39 Gaspa 2018, 148, with further references.

40 Gaspa 2018, 148–49, with bibliography.

41 Beaulieu 2003, 5.

42 Wengrow 2010, 32–38; 2019, 39–42, also citing Hurowitz 2006. For the Tell el-Farkha statues, see further Ciałowicz 2011, 61.

43 Seidl 1980–83; Collon 2007.

44 See Neumann 2017, 5–6, on possible remains of cult images recovered from Neo-Assyrian temples at Nimrud and Nineveh. Brøns 2017, 169–266, discusses candidates for cult images from ancient Greece and visual representations of such images.

45 Cifarelli 2017, with bibliography.

were recovered exclusively from the bodies of victims in the debris of Burned Building II, destroyed during an enemy attack around 800 BCE. Compositional analysis of four lion pins revealed an unusual amount of antimony, which would have produced a more golden color than tin-bronze (which lacks this element) and could join other evidence indicating a special mode of production.⁴⁶ Perhaps the lion pins originally adorned an image of a female deity at Hasanlu, as Cifarelli suggests, and furnished a source of divine aid that local residents turned to at a time of dire emergency.

The exceptional materials and lavish attire of Mesopotamian cult images are well attested in cuneiform sources and have for many decades been the subject of scholarly investigation. Neo-Babylonian texts from temple archives in Uruk and Sippar provide our most abundant evidence for such dress practices, and to them we can add a smaller number of Neo-Assyrian documents; the extensive study of these sources in recent years has provided new information about cult practice as well as the textile industry.⁴⁷ The golden garments in which cult images were dressed were made of wool and linen, on which were sewn hundreds of small gold appliquéés or sequins. The remains of textiles (both linen and cotton) and decorative attachments recovered from the lavishly furnished queens' tombs at Nimrud have dramatically augmented what we know from texts by providing rare archaeological testimony for the precious materials that adorned head, arms, and body.⁴⁸ The "Letter to Assur" describing Sargon's eighth campaign against Urartu mentions that the statues of deities plundered from the Haldi temple were dressed in garments decorated with gold disks and rosettes—a practice likely introduced from Assyria.⁴⁹

Yet clothing royalty in golden garments that were otherwise the special preserve of divinities (or divine *simulacra*) may have been customary elsewhere in the Near East in the first millennium BCE, perhaps quite independently of Mesopotamian tradition. Analysis of textile fibers found on the bier of the male buried in an elaborately built and furnished tumulus in eighth-century Gordion (modern Yassıhöyük), in west-central Turkey, revealed a film of goethite, an inorganic material of golden-yellow color. Unlike yellow hues made from natural dyes, the goethite film is permanent and does not fade.⁵⁰ Indeed, the practice of dressing royal bodies in golden attire (ornaments or textiles) that was otherwise reserved for the gods may prove to be widely attested among historically unrelated ancient societies. A few decades ago, Mary W. Helms drew attention to the quantity and variety of gold ornaments in chiefs' graves in ancient Panama, suggesting a symbolic association with the celestial sphere. "It is tempting to interpret the gold-bedecked warriors and gold-covered chiefs of pre-Columbian Panama as literally clad in analogous

46 Fleming, Nash, and Swann 2011, 114–18. Cifarelli also cites images of a female deity wearing a lion ornament, preserved on two objects that unfortunately lack provenience. See Beaulieu 2003, 21, 156, 219, for gold lion decorations on the cult dress of Ištar and Bēltu-ša-Rēš at Uruk.

47 Pioneering studies include Oppenheim 1949 and Leemans 1952. For the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts, see Oppenheim 1949; Beaulieu 2003; Gaspa 2017; 2018, 157–82; Zawadzki 2006, 2013.

48 Hussein, Altaweel, and Gibson 2016; Gansell 2018; Gaspa 2018, 164–82.

49 Gaspa 2018, 196. For much earlier instances of golden garments in Mesopotamia and their occurrence elsewhere, see Gaspa 2018, 180, with further references.

50 Ballard 2012.

'gold clothing' that dramatically symbolized their association with the same celestial-solar strength," she wrote.⁵¹

The affective properties of royal attire did not result solely from the use of costly, luminous materials intended to express their owners' special status. They also emanated from wearing dramatically different textiles with entirely divergent associations, whose adoption aimed instead to produce the opposite effect. According to Esarhaddon's inscriptions, when the king of Šubria was defeated he removed his royal dress and put on a garment made of sackcloth (*bašāmu*). The enemy king also dressed a statue of himself in the same material, to evoke Esarhaddon's pity and mercy.⁵²

MOVING FORWARD: DRESS STUDIES AND THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

A cross-cultural framework offers a valuable perspective for the study of dress in the ancient world. The advantages to be gained by considering topics and themes over a wide geographic and chronological span have already been demonstrated by multiple conferences sponsored by the Center for Textile Research and published in the Ancient Textiles series. In this way, a wide range of evidence and possible interpretations can be shared across specific historical circumstances of textual, archaeological, and representational sources to build an empirical and theoretical basis for this emerging field. While dress studies thus holds considerable potential to contribute detailed new information on the visual culture and historical nuance of many ancient societies worldwide, research results to date have tended to appear in specialized conference proceedings or other edited volumes that may not always reach the wider readership they deserve. Moreover, we typically conduct research within the context of our own areas of specialization, speaking to colleagues who share an interest, and expertise, in a particular geocultural sphere. The ISAC seminar and the publication of its proceedings motivate us to ponder ways that studies of art and material culture defined along prevailing boundaries of region and period can draw on this growing body of evidence without isolating and thereby trivializing it: compare the category of "minor arts" and its traditionally subsidiary role.⁵³

This task is likely to be challenging. The field of dress studies is inherently interdisciplinary, often requiring extensive references to unfamiliar written records and highly technical studies of textiles, dyes, and other manufacturing parameters. The problems are partly historiographic, given the status and authority of "fine arts" categories of sculpture, architecture, and painting. As noted earlier, scholars still contend with a persistent gender stereotyping of studies of dress and ornament, conventionally linked to presumed modern female preoccupations with fashion and jewelry. Details of clothing and adornment were long assumed to be significant chiefly for issues of style or dating—associations that likewise maintain a tenacious legacy in scholarship on the ancient world, broadly speaking.

51 Helms 1979, 87. More recent contributions include Saunders 2003 and O'Day 2014. For the Egyptian sphere, Aleksandra Hallmann reminded me of the gold from the burial of Tutankhamun and the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis and provided a reference to Goebis 2011.

52 Gaspa 2018, 244–45, with further references.

53 Thomason 2014 seeks to address this issue with respect to "portable arts," often marginalized as "minor arts."

The participants in the ISAC seminar confirmed the signal contributions that dress studies can make to current research priorities devoted to embodiment, gender, sexuality, social identity, and the political uses of material culture.⁵⁴ Seeking more diligently to tie dress studies to the built environment, as I suggested at the beginning of this essay, could also forge additional ties to perspectives on multisensory experience. A closer integration with military history surely holds considerable potential for investigating attire and the intersection of biological, social, and political identities: armor and the body, masculinity, age, and status. These topics are only a few of the promising new directions that future scholarship engaged with a theoretically informed field of dress studies could profitably pursue.

ABBREVIATIONS

EA el-Amarna

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bahrani, Zainab

- 2003 *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ballard, Mary W.

- 2012 “King Midas’ Textiles and His Golden Touch.” In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, edited by C. Brian Rose, 165–70. Gordion Special Studies 7. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Barber, Elizabeth J. W.

- 1991 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Beaulieu, Paul-Alain

- 2003 *The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Cuneiform Monographs 23. Leiden: Brill/Styx.

Brøns, Cecilie

- 2017 *Gods and Garments: Textiles in Greek Sanctuaries in the 7th to the 1st Centuries BC*. Ancient Textiles Series 28. Oxford: Oxbow.

Ciałowicz, Krzysztof M.

- 2011 “The Predynastic/Early Dynastic Period at Tell el-Farkha.” In *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization*, edited by Emily Teeter, 55–64. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 33. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Cifarelli, Megan

- 2017 “Costly Choices: Signaling Theory and Dress in Period IVb, Hasanlu, Iran.” In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 101–19. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

54 E.g., Strootman 2014 discusses the crucial role of attire in the functioning of court society.

Collon, Dominique

- 2007 "Iconographic Evidence for Some Mesopotamian Cult Statues." In *Die Welt der Götterbilder*, edited by Brigitte Groneberg and Hermann Spieckermann, 57–84. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 376. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Elsner, Jas

- 2007 *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Fales, F. M., and J. N. Postgate

- 1992 *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 7. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- 1995 *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 11. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Fleming, Stuart J., Samuel K. Nash, and Charles P. Swann

- 2011 "The Archaeometallurgy of Period IVB Bronzes at Hasanlu." In *Peoples and Crafts in Period IVB at Hasanlu, Iran*, edited by Maude de Schauensee, 103–34. Hasanlu Special Studies 4. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Flood, Finbarr B.

- 2009 *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Foster, Benjamin R.

- 2010 "Clothing in Sargonic Mesopotamia: Visual and Written Evidence." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, edited by Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, 110–45. Ancient Textiles Series 8. Oxford: Oxbow.

Galbraith, Robert

- 2013 *The Cuckoo's Calling*. New York: Mulholland / Little, Brown.

Gansell, Amy Rebecca

- 2018 "Dressing the Neo-Assyrian Queen in Identity and Ideology: Elements and Ensembles from the Royal Tombs at Nimrud." *American Journal of Archaeology* 122: 65–100.

Gaspa, Salvatore

- 2017 "Textiles in Assyrian and Babylonian Temples from the 1st Millennium BCE." In *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Cecilie Brøns and Marie-Louise Nosch, 145–73. Ancient Textiles Series 31. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2018 *Textiles in the Neo-Assyrian Empire: A Study of Terminology*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 19. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Gawlinski, Laura

- 2017 "Theorizing Religious Dress." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 161–78. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Goebs, Katja

- 2011 "King as God and God as King." In *Palace and Temple: Architecture—Decoration—Ritual; 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Cambridge, July 16th–17th, 2007*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence, 57–101. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Goldman, Rachael B., ed.

- 2016 *Essays in Global Color History: Interpreting the Ancient Spectrum*. Gorgias Studies in Classical and Late Antiquity 19. Piscataway: Gorgias.

Grayson, A. Kirk

- 1991 *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC: I (1114–859 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gunter, Ann C.

- 2009 *Greek Art and the Orient*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, Jonathan M.

- 1997 *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Helms, Mary W.

- 1979 *Ancient Panama: Chiefs in Search of Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Hölscher, Tonio

- 2003 “Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 93: 1–17.
- 2006 “The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure.” In *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, edited by Sheila Dillon and Katherine E. Welch, 27–48. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Holzman, Samuel

- 2019 “Unfolding a Geometric Textile from 9th-Century Gordion.” *Hesperia* 88: 527–56.

Hurowitz, Victor A.

- 2006 “What Goes In Is What Comes Out: Materials for Creating Cult Statues.” In *Text, Artifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, edited by Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, 3–25. Brown Judaic Studies 346. Providence: Brown Judaic Studies.

Hussein, Muzahim Mahmoud, Mark Altaweel, and McGuire Gibson

- 2016 *Nimrud: The Queens’ Tombs*. Chicago: Oriental Institute and Baghdad: State Board of Antiquities and Heritage.

Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stalleybrass

- 2000 *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kataja, L., and R. Whiting

- 1995 *Grants, Decrees, and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. State Archives of Assyria 12. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Lee, Mireille M.

- 2015 *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Leemans, Wilhelmus F.

- 1952 *Ishtar of Lagaba and Her Dress*. *Studia ad tabulas cuneiformas collectas a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia* 1/1. Leiden: Brill.

Maran, Joseph

- 2012 “One World Is Not Enough: The Transformative Potential of Intercultural Exchange in Pre-historic Societies.” In *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach*, edited by Philipp Wolfgang Stockhammer, 59–66. Transcultural Research—Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context. Berlin: Springer.

Maran, Joseph, and Philipp W. Stockhammer, eds.

- 2012 *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Mattila, Raija

- 2000 *The King’s Magnates: A Study of the Highest Officials of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 11. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

McFerrin, Neville

- 2017 "Fabrics of Inclusion: Deep Wearing and the Potentials of Materiality on the Apadana Reliefs." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 143–59. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

McInerney, Jeremy, ed.

- 2014 *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Meier, Samuel A.

- 2000 "Diplomacy and International Marriages." In *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, edited by Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook, 165–73. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Miller, Margaret C.

- 1997 *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nagel, Alexander

- 2023 *Color and Meaning in the Art of Achaemenid Persia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Neumann, Kiersten

- 2017 "Gods among Men: Fashioning the Divine Image in Assyria." In *What Shall I Say of Clothes? Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Study of Dress in Antiquity*, edited by Megan Cifarelli and Laura Gawlinski, 3–23. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 3. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Neumann, Kiersten, and Allison Thomason, eds.

- 2022 *The Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East*. New York: Routledge.

Nunn, Astrid, and Heinrich Piening, eds.

- 2020 *Mesopotamian Sculpture in Colour*. Gladbeck: PeWe.

O'Day, Karen

- 2014 "The Sitio Conte Cemetery in Ancient Panama: Where Lord 15 Wore His Ornaments in 'Great Quantity.'" In *Wearing Culture: Dress and Regalia in Early Mesoamerica and Central America*, edited by Heather Orr and Matthew Looper, 1–28. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Oppenheim, A. Leo

- 1949 "The Golden Garments of the Gods." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8: 172–93.

Orr, Heather, and Matthew Looper, eds.

- 2014 *Wearing Culture: Dress and Regalia in Early Mesoamerica and Central America*. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis

- 2012 "Encountering the Foreign: (De-)constructing Alterity in the Archaeologies of the Bronze Age Mediterranean." In *Materiality and Social Practice: Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters*, edited by Joseph Maran and Philipp W. Stockhammer, 51–60. Oxford: Oxbow.

Parpola, Simo

- 1987 *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*. State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Piepenburg, Eric

- 2019 "There's a Potential Killer, Everywhere You Look." Film review, *New York Times*, December 7.

Pittman, Holly

- 1998 "Jewelry." In *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*, edited by Richard L. Zettler and Lee Horne, 87–122. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Podany, Amanda

- 2010 *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pongratz-Leisten, Beate

- 2015 *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 6. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Rainey, Anson F.

- 2015 *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets*. 2 vols. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/110. Leiden: Brill.

Rollinger, Robert, and Wouter F. M. Henkelman

- 2009 "New Observations on 'Greeks' in the Achaemenid Empire according to Cuneiform Texts from Babylonia and Persepolis." In *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, edited by Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau, 331–51. Paris: de Boccard.

Root, Margaret Cool

- 2007 "Reading Persepolis in Greek: Gifts of the Yauna." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, edited by Christopher Tublin, 177–224. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

Rothe, Ursula

- 2020 *The Toga and Roman Identity*. London: Bloomsbury.

Saunders, Nicholas J.

- 2003 "'Catching the Light': Technologies of Power and Enchantment in Pre-Columbian Gold-working." In *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 9 and 10 October 1999*, edited by Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes, 15–47. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Scher, Sarah E. M., and Billie J. A. Follensbee, eds.

- 2017 *Dressing the Part: Power, Dress, Gender, and Representation in the Pre-Columbian Americas*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

Seidl, Ursula

- 1980–83 "Kultbild: B. Archäologisch." *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 6: 314–19.

Selz, Gebhard

- 2019 "Aesthetics." In *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Ann C. Gunter, 359–81. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Seymour, Michael

- 2016 "The Empire in the Palace: Campaign Reliefs in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh and an Assyrian Microcosm." In *Assyria to Iberia: Art and Culture in the Iron Age*, edited by Joan Aruz and Michael Seymour, 65–80. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press.

Squire, Michael, ed.

- 2016 *Sight and the Ancient Senses*. London: Routledge.

Stager, Jennifer M. S.

- 2022 *Seeing Color in Classical Art: Theory, Practice, and Reception from Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stronach, David

- 2011 "Court Dress and Riding Dress at Persepolis: New Approaches to Old Questions." In *Elam and Persia*, edited by Javier Álvarez-Mon and Mark B. Garrison, 475–87. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Strootman, Rolf

- 2014 *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East after the Achaemenids, c. 330 to 30 BCE*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Thavapalan, Shiyanthi

- 2019 *The Meaning of Color in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 104. Leiden: Brill.

Thomason, Allison Karmel

- 2014 "The Impact of the 'Portable': Integrating 'Minor Arts' into the Ancient Near Eastern Canon." In *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman, 133–57. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2016 "The Sense-scapes of Neo-Assyrian Capital Cities: Royal Authority and Bodily Experience." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 26: 243–64.

van Buylaere, Greta

- 2009 "I Feared the Snow and Turned Back." In *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, edited by Mikko Luukko, Saana Svärd, and Raija Mattila, 295–306. *Studia Orientalia* 106. Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society.

Vigo, Matteo

- 2010 "Linen in Hittite Inventory Texts." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, edited by Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, 290–322. *Ancient Textiles Series* 8. Oxford: Oxbow.

Wells, Peter S.

- 2012 *How Ancient Europeans Saw the World: Vision, Patterns, and the Shaping of the Mind in Prehistoric Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2015 "Indigenous Forms, Styles, and Practices in Provincial Roman Europe: Continuity, Reinvention, or Refashioning?" In *Reinventing 'The Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present*, edited by Dietrich Boschung, Alexandra W. Busch, and Miguel John Versluys, 161–88. *Morphomata* 32. Paderborn, Germany: Fink.
- 2017 "Visually Complex Objects, Ontology of Space and Political Dynamics." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 27: 617–30.

Wengrow, David

- 2010 *What Makes Civilization? The Ancient Near East and the Future of the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2019 "Art and Material Culture." In *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, edited by Ann C. Gunter, 25–48. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Zawadzki, Stefan

- 2006 *Garments of the Gods: Studies on the Textile Industry and the Pantheon of Sippar according to Texts from the Ebabbar Archive*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 218. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 2013 *Garments of the Gods*. Vol. 2, *Texts*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 260. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

19 Perspectives on Clothing and Identity in the Ancient World

Brian Muhs
University of Chicago

THE PAPERS PRESENTED at the seminar “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World” and published here provide multiple perspectives on clothing and identity in the ancient world. All the contributors brought their own unique, analytical framework, of course, but the issue of points of view—group internal versus group external, ancient versus modern—is also a topic of many of the contributions. Indeed, the problem of perspective is a key theme running through the studies presented.

This problem is partly a reflection of current academic trends. Early in the second half of the twentieth century, it was popular to distinguish between culture-internal, subjective “emic” perspectives and ostensibly culture-external, objective “etic” perspectives (which should not be confused with the “objective” and “subjective” identities discussed by Miller in this volume). By the end of the twentieth century, however, it became increasingly clear that supposedly objective etic perspectives simply privileged and normalized Euro-American emic perspectives and that all analytical frameworks are subjective.

The problem of perspective is also a consequence of the seminar’s focus on identity, however, because identity is rarely absolute. Actors may be assigned or ascribed identities, but these identities may differ depending on the context of the actor and on the identities, motives, and contexts of those assigning or ascribing the identities. An actor may be described within a family alternately as daughter/son, wife/husband, and mother/father, depending on the point of view and stage of life. The same actor may be described at work as a colleague and on a trip abroad as a citizen of a particular country. Such assigned identities or roles frequently also convey certain societal expectations regarding behavior, which an actor may accept, reject, or manipulate, to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of those assigning or ascribing identities. Assigned identities may then be confirmed or withdrawn based on performance: “She/he is (not) a daughter/son” is both an ascription of identity and a description of performance.

The seminar papers discussed numerous examples where forms of clothing are associated with group identities. Ancient sources assigned age and gender identities to forms of clothing, as in Vorderstrasse’s paper, or tribal and ethno-class identities, as in Rothe’s paper. Ancient imperial and colonial authorities also used depictions of typical clothing to

evoke the identities of peoples, and in doing so they frequently simplified complex realities, as Ritner's and Miller's papers demonstrated.

Seminar papers also discussed several examples of negotiation or manipulation of individual identities through clothing. Identities can be reconstructed or renegotiated through the appropriation and adaptation of foreign attributes or signifiers, such as the Achaemenid torques on Egyptian officials. Identities can also be renegotiated through the revival of old clothing styles and revision of their attributed significances, such as the high-waisted kilts adopted by Egyptian officials in the Saite and Persian periods, revived from earlier periods, as shown in Hallmann's paper. Perhaps not surprisingly, "new" identities are rarely created through the introduction of "new" clothing, presumably because "new" clothing initially has no ascribed identity or significance. Also, Gleba's paper showed that textile technologies are conservative across long periods of time.

The papers also demonstrated that modern perspectives on ancient clothing present their own challenges. Modern scholars sometimes attempt to extract identities from forms of ancient clothing, but much like ancient imperial and colonial authorities, they usually try to create neat categories for complex and fragmentary datasets, such as the "Persianizing Egyptian" dress and identity that Hallmann described and criticized. Alternatively, Vorderstrasse showed that Coptic texts sometimes made sharp distinctions in their descriptions of men's, women's, and children's clothing, which modern scholars have struggled to see in and correlate with preserved examples of clothing from Late Antique Egypt. Attempts to use forms or styles to assign dates to clothing are also problematic. As Vorderstrasse noted, there is a desperate need for contextual dates for clothing, since so many examples from Late Antique Egypt have lost such dates because of looting or poor excavation recording techniques and practices. Furthermore, styles and forms of clothing can be revived, both by imperial authorities attempting to reassert a traditional world order, as in Ritner's paper, or by individuals renegotiating their identities, as in Hallmann's paper.

Ultimately, identity is a social project. No one individual can construct an identity without the participation of others. Consequently, no single perspective, ancient or modern, can hope to describe the many complex relationships between clothing and identity in the ancient world. The multiple papers presented at the seminar and published here, however, with their different analytical frameworks and discussions of points of view, convey the rich diversity and many nuances of those relationships.

20

Understanding the Material World:
Weaving, Dress, and Meaning

Rita P. Wright
New York University

The material world must be understood
as a cultural system, that objects reflect
a wealth of cultural categories, and
that meaningful patterns relate all
“objects” with a cultural universe.
—Carol Hendrickson¹

CAROL HENDRICKSON is a cultural anthropologist who studies cloth and dress in complex societies in the modern world. As an anthropological archaeologist, I share her perspective in my studies of material culture and texts in the ancient world. Cloth and textiles are effective communicators of cultural aesthetics and deeper symbolic meanings that are shared by communities. These meanings are some of the ways in which humans learn “proper conduct”² that is passed on from generation to generation. Some scholars even suggest that interpretations that fail to address the underlying social and cultural meanings of objects or cloth are misplaced.³

At the fourteenth annual University of Chicago Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures postdoctoral seminar, the contributors looked at the properties of textiles as windows into their underlying social significance. Following the theme of the conference, “Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance,” they offered portraits, drawn from a variety of media, of the ways textiles enhanced the societies and cultures in which they were embedded. The material evidence was found on stelae, seals, sealing impressions, and other remains, as well as in ethnohistories, historical texts and documents, letters, and inventories. The contributors’ topics ranged from costume criteria in regional contexts (Miller, Rothe, Brittenham) to technologies of weave and color (Gleba, Barnard and Boytner) and context of production (Cifarelli) and from aesthetic traditions adopted and rejected (Foster, Hallmann) to internationalism (Mynářová). Status-related dress overlapped in some contexts where dress codes appear “out of place” between kings and priests (Nosch) in distinction to the

1 Hendrickson 1995, 40.

2 Eicher 2000; see also Kuper 1973; Weiner and Schneider 1989.

3 Ulrich et al. 2015.

fluidity of dress among religious personnel (Gawlinski) and, finally, the bodily engagement of cloth (Thomason).

The papers ranged over histories of many times and places and addressed them from different theoretical perspectives. I draw on two topics that have been central to my research. "Identity and dress" served as the conference's central theme and is likely why I was invited to serve as one of the discussants. In my research, I often turn to the seminal works of Fredrik Barth, among the most influential anthropologists regarding the significance of identity formation in social organization. Although his groundbreaking research was on ethnic identity among the Pathan in Baluchistan, Pakistan, he set the stage for the larger question of how interaction among disparate groups maintains effective identities in complex societies.

A second topic introduced at the conference was the significance of weaving and metalworking technologies. While Barth noted the significance of ethnic identities, he did not engage in inquiries into the individuals or groups of people who produced objects. I have used the term "hidden identities" to underscore the significance of technical knowledge as a chronological and cultural indicator. Several contributors made passing reference to technical features of cloth and objects, while three carried out meticulous reconstructions of innovative and shared technologies to uncover function and cultural connections.

IDENTITY—SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS MANY MIRRORS

Henk Nordholt⁴ referred to identity as a group's "social and cultural skin," and Aleksandra Hallmann noted that cloth often serves as a "code of belonging to a certain group and a means of distinguishing the self from the other." Of the several ways in which identities can be formed through dress, two stand out as relevant to the contributions included in this volume. The most obvious is a self-ascribed identity, in which an ethnic group chooses to distinguish itself by maintaining traditional forms of dress. By *self-identifying*, the group broadcasts its ethnicity and its adherence to a set of "rules" followed by its members. Members of the Pathan ethnic groups distinguish themselves based on genealogy and/or language. In contrast, identity groups may be *objectively* derived based on a strategy imposed by a state or some other ruling body as an identifiable segment of a society. These imposed identities may be genealogically related or actualized as an identifiable segment of a society using other criteria. As with self-identification, members of the objectively derived identities are solidified by "sharing criteria" and a commitment to a set of rules of behavior.⁵

Recent discussions of identity formation in complex societies have built on Barth's early works by emphasizing the "agency" among social groups and evidence for multi-ethnicity in early societies. Long-term research in pre-Aztec Mexico by Elizabeth Brumfiel documented the self-identification of ethnicity by local groups to signal their allegiance with local, Otomí political leadership by producing and wearing distinctive labrets.⁶ This example differs from Brittenham's contribution, in which she describes imposed identi-

⁴ Nordholt 1997.

⁵ Barth 1969.

⁶ Brumfiel 1991.

fication by the Aztec Empire as a strategy employed to strengthen state rule. In fact, as the Aztecs began to dominate the Otomí, and as social groups aligned with the ruling Aztecs, the frequency of labrets diminished. The factor of multiethnicity in early prestate and state societies therefore adds an important dimension to understanding ethnic/social-group identification by emphasizing difference. Richard Blanton returns to Barth's original introduction in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* and argues that identity signaling has the dual purpose of establishing intergroup and intragroup boundaries and a commitment to a collectivity.⁷ Based on his research on collective action, Blanton views identity formation as a boundary mechanism that sets limitations on direct contact among social groups. Their significance to social organization lies in the restriction of settings with which to create social and economic relationships. Thus, established behaviors have dual purposes of intergroup and intragroup boundaries in which identified groups are "playing the same game."⁸

Several of the case studies in this volume provide examples of how the subjective and objective identities reveal the underlying texture of social organization in the cultures studied. Based on difference and change in material culture, Ursula Rothe focused on the northern provinces of Rome and used contrastive examples in Pannonia and northern Gaul to demonstrate the ways in which differing historical circumstances accommodated the use of identities and the effectiveness with which they played the same game. Both regions lacked textual sources, and preserved textiles are rare. Rothe relied primarily on stone grave markers bearing names and imagery of the interred. Analyzing details of dress, she found ample evidence for subjective identities (or were they coerced?) in which men appear to have proclaimed their status as Roman citizens by wearing toga-like styles. An interesting gendered component raised the question of whether the apparent self-ascribed identities of Pannonia women who followed strict dress codes (stylistic variation in hats and overtunics of local tradition) had a choice in expressing their identities. These expressions were not uniform but do inform how these dichotomized groups differed with circumstances. In Gaul, the distinctions in women's tribal style were maintained at first, but then were replaced in the Iron Age by a detribalized style common across the northwest. This invention of a classic "Gallic ensemble" in later periods evokes a different history and social organization from contemporaries in Pannonia. Rothe suggested that the influx of Roman army camps, immigrants, and merchants from elsewhere may have resulted in identity stress and a tenacious insistence on local traditions "in the face of a perceived cultural threat." This instability from neither local nor Roman rule may have led to the eventual abandonment of ethnic dress in "social and cultural circumstances." In that sense, it mirrors the self-ascription and ascription by others (objective identities) that constitute a social organization in which identity boundaries set limits on communication and instability.

Margaret Miller provided contrastive views of subjective and objective identities principally based on material forms. Moving from the more narrowly focused setting of aggregates in single communities or cultures, she expanded the concepts of identity to the Achaemenid Empire and ventured beyond the ideas proposed by Barth and the creation of

7 Blanton 2015, 14.

8 Barth 1969.

material forms that differ from what Brumfiel had proposed. Through the presentation of a dazzling array of sculptural representations, Miller took us through the masterful ways in which the empire fashioned a world that existed in its images of “others.” While contact with these others likely took place, its visualizations of costume and perhaps even identity groups have provided historians with images of dress of varying styles meant to represent cultures within and without its borders. Though false representations of others, the effectiveness of this strategy was most likely impressive to those who viewed them in their own time as well as to some contemporary historians. Nothing was left to chance regarding the subtext, as it was complemented by textual proclamations in which Darius makes it clear that these ethnicities were all known to the empire through either conquest or other forms of royal oratory. The empire’s deliberate conflation of ethnicities, highlighted by Miller, offers insights into its social organization. Ever skeptical and ready to reframe the brilliance of the empire’s strategy, she raised questions for future inquiries: Did the rigid systematization modulate local “historical trajectories and ambitions”? Did the individuals on the Persepolis frieze recognize themselves? If so, are the groups represented on the frieze a “socially purposed” group for their mutual benefit, as Blanton⁹ might suggest when speaking of intra-group identities? And in what ways did these others take advantage (in either jest or reality) of the fluid boundaries of the somewhat mismatched imagery the Persians imposed?

Focusing on Mesoamerica and the Andes, Claudia Brittenham drew on Spanish texts, ethnohistory, and textiles to document how cloth took on new meanings as identities were exploited by the leaders of large empires. Reflecting on the imperial strategies implemented by Spanish colonialists in the Andes and Mesoamerica, she demonstrated the ways in which the imposition of social norms of dress restructured governance among the Aztecs, while at the same time a similar strategy employed in the Andes by the Incas and colonialists enhanced ethnic solidarity. Brittenham’s work builds on a previous study by Patricia Anawalt, who identified dress codes on a regional level in Mesoamerica, inclusive of various ethnic groups from prehistoric to modern times.¹⁰ Using Nahuatl terms, technological changes, imagery and iconographic evidence, and contemporary ethnographies, Anawalt’s regional approach challenged Spanish misperceptions of the indigenous clothing system.¹¹

In “Dress and Empire in the Ancient Americas,” Brittenham encapsulated the essence of strategies involving cloth by which governments imposed diverse patterns of dress and body adornment among newly conquered peoples as a way to drive the creation of a hierarchical ordering of society. She cited the uniforms and ornaments of ceremonial dress worn by the empire’s warriors in rituals that were symbolic of their performance in battle. These dress codes reached beyond ethnicity into defining social groups as a method to establish a civic control visible on a daily basis. Alternative strategies were adopted in the Andes, where intruding groups transformed the multiethnic dress criteria, thereby altering the status and roles of the region’s ethnic populations. While their scheme was designed to reproduce indigenous traditions, some groups in the Andes derived a collective benefit that could be exploited. By manifesting difference, the intragroup interaction among ethnic populations likely served their social purposes in some instances. The incorporation of

9 Blanton 2015, 177.

10 Anawalt 1981.

11 Anawalt 1996.

past traditions as a mechanism for controlling populations created a social organization based not only on inequality but also on power and hierarchy, beneficial to ethnic groups. It was, of course, a vastly altered social organization and disrupted the social networks that traditionally produced and distributed cloth. Cathy Costin has emphasized the disruption of the flow of cloth in the Andes from kin to the state in a scheme that ensured “a person’s clothing would signal appropriate rank, ethnicity and place of residence,” for tribute purposes and control of all “components of the empire.”¹²

The introduction of new styles of dress can be adopted or rejected depending on imperial social groups or individual choice. Benjamin Foster and Aleksandra Hallmann conducted fine-grained analyses of texts and imagery to gain insights into cultural norms, the place of dress in culture, and social organization. Adopted styles resulted in new forms of dress in both fabric and style in the Akkadian Empire but were resisted by Late Period Egyptians.

Venturing into foreign lands opened cultures to new forms of dress with an option to create fresh clothing styles. In his chapter, Foster documented the adoption of body and dress reminiscent of the foreign places where the official expeditions of the Akkadian Empire (mid- to late third millennium BCE in southern Mesopotamia) took them and demonstrated their power. Comparisons of imagery and texts show elements of dress (garments, ornaments, and hairstyles from northern Syria, Anatolia, and the Iranian plateau) sufficiently appealing to be adopted as recognizable styles designed to signal a somewhat intimate knowledge of the cultures whose paths they crossed. This adoption of these new styles and modifications of dress altered the way men looked, heralding their exploits into foreign territory. Women’s dress was apparently unaltered, signaling that women may not have traveled outside the local realm. The new forms of foreign (“ethnic”) styles were adopted by elites (conquerors and administrators) as well as lower-level persons (commercial agents and artists) who branded themselves as Akkadians of some distinction. Identity was based not on ethnicity but on a reordered view of the proper form of dress depending on one’s status—that is, social identity. For example, kings wore the most lavish emblems of wealth and status, while military styles, less sumptuous, equally depicted rank. Foster’s comparative analysis of textual sources and imagery demonstrated imperial strategies to enhance these hierarchical divisions among rank-and-file members of the military and the elite, though rank-and-file with respect to commercial agents and artists was not addressed in his study. The case of prisoners taken in battle followed from the empire’s engagement in what might be termed a “reality show”: the king’s display of skin or “undress” was trained on his muscular body, while prisoners’ bound hands and undress complemented the demeaning postures in which they were depicted. As though these visual markers of difference were unintelligible to the viewer (local viewers and visitors from elsewhere), the *Erra Epic*, which Foster cites, reminds us of the power of the Akkadian Empire and the state in the king’s words, suggesting he was the very first to do so: “I cut the clothes from the bodies of men!”

Long-standing contact among cultures can also provide important evidence for the resistance to intervention of foreign styles of dress and act as an effective communication system to instantiate tradition in the face of contact with foreign cultures. Hallmann began with questioning the core meaning of the outward and inward appearance of things

12 Costin 1998, 128–29.

and challenged previous scholarship that argued for Persian styles of dress in Late Period Egypt. She examined what Leo Oppenheim¹³ referred to long ago as “superstructural” elements. While Oppenheim emphasized ornaments, Hallmann viewed stitchery and various other features as common superstructural elements in Egyptian dress styles. In addition to subtleties of stitchery, she noted stitched-in sleeves, tunic distinctions, sash cords tied in various ways, and shawls. The presence of these features added a different twist to the strategies implemented by empires in which their resistance to foreign styles won the day. In fact, traditional styles persisted over time and spoke clearly to the retention of Egypt’s sociocultural skin. Unlike the prescribed standardization of difference among the Aztecs in Brittenham’s study, for example, in Late Period Egypt stylistic elements signaled resistance and rejection of what some scholars have thought were enticing styles from abroad.

IDENTITY—GLOBAL WORLDS

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we have tended to think of our time in human history as unique. In some sense it is, but it is not the first time in world history that countries engaged in many different forms of interaction and historical moments when new traditions of exchange were established. In her study, Jana Mynářová looked at evidence for textiles as “one of the essential commodities used to maintain and elaborate” international relations in global worlds. Using the Amarna texts in distinction to iconography-based interpretations, such as Feldman’s,¹⁴ her contribution extends the understanding of Late Bronze Age relations by revealing the significance of textiles (or their absence) in lists of goods exchanged by rulers. The chapter contributes to an advanced understanding of internationalism in the Late Bronze Age Near East during a long period, from the sixteenth to the twelfth century BCE, when diplomatic, interpersonal exchanges of goods are recorded in epigraphic sources and a brief shift from exchanges of goods to silver is documented. This study contributes to a large literature on early exchange systems that go beyond Egyptian history,¹⁵ which may be relevant to understanding the shift in references to textiles and reformulated identification of fabrics by type, color, and specific garment styles. In later times at Amarna, letters or inventories and specific payments of gold are noted along with equivalencies in return goods requested for individual items. The history of these exchanges and shifts is not unlike that in periods of ancient history elsewhere in which the exchange of objects, sometimes referred to as “important wealth,” operated in “vast interpersonal networks.”¹⁶ Mynářová’s documentation of shifts from royal gift giving, more formalized gifting, and cloth weighted in gold appears to mirror the oscillations of exchange systems in earlier times when there were shifts back and forth to old ways and objects acquired alternative forms of value.¹⁷ These shifts appear to have been the case in the Late Bronze Age, when the preference for gold supplanted textile exchanges until it swung back again, returning to an earlier pattern.

13 Oppenheim 1949.

14 Feldman 2006.

15 See, e.g., Appadurai 1988; Keane 2001; Myers 2001.

16 Harding 1967.

17 Keane 2001; Myers 2001; Wright 2013.

IDENTITY—FUSSY BOUNDARIES

Marie-Louise Nosch also looked at the adoption of elements of dress and found a significant overlap in color and styles among kings, priests, and priestesses. How to explain similarities in clothing worn by kings and priests? Contrary to what one might expect, dress codes ought to identify established hierarchies, a key feature of complex societies. But in her case study, there are no hard-and-fast rules to apply or to go to in the form of written texts that might provide answers. Nosch examined a range of factors that, in the end, appear to have been shared by kings and priests. The color purple, often a key symbolic element in royal dress, was shared and suggests that kings and priests carried out functions of parallel significance. Or did the clothing style and color originate in an earlier period when kings were the heads of cults, after which societal divisions occurred and priests and priestesses took on religious roles formerly conducted by royalty alone? Some tactile qualities, such as the weight of heavy woolen cloth worn by kings, could be an indicator of rank and power but appear to be of low symbolic value, suggesting that the state and church hierarchies were not distinguished by cloth. Nosch notes the king's scepter and crown as significant features of "dress" that distinguished kings. These accoutrements, suggestive of performance, such as cultic practices, won over garments' structuring principles. At the least, unlike other forms of identity, the identity boundaries that distinguished garments were fussy. Beyond details of dress and color, Nosch is surely correct that whatever similarities or differences there may be in color, fabric, and performance characteristics, they converge on societal concepts of "power dressing."

Laura Gawlinski's study of the representations of priests and priestesses showed a lack of distinguishable links between garment styles of priests and priestesses based on visual clues. Using a range of contexts that included funerary reliefs, dedicatory portraits, records of priesthood sales (economic indicators), and cult, she found that these identity boundaries were fluid. While high office in religious realms was significant, her evidence embraced values inclusive of gendered identities, ritual functions, and economic indicators. In the end, her final "case study" presented a somewhat different scenario based on cultic practices known from the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. This group differs from "other ancient Greek priests." As I understand the references to dress with respect to the *hierophant* and the *daduch*, different "rules" (not fluid but prescribed) for self-ascribed identities of "longest-lasting" significance and aspirations of prominence either emerged during the Roman Imperial period or lie lurking in the background throughout earlier periods. In what way was the fluidity of Greek religious authority moderated by these mysterious identities?

IDENTITIES—HIDDEN PRODUCERS: TECHNOLOGY, MENTAL TEMPLATES, TECHNIQUE, AND PRODUCTION

An identity not examined by the contributors and certainly not by Fredrik Barth is the technologies producers invented and their social identities. Years ago, V. Gordon Childe¹⁸ noted that technologies (their physical structure and end products) reflected worldviews

18 Childe 1936.

and mental templates of the societies in which they were made and used. André Leroi-Gourhan,¹⁹ following Marcel Mauss,²⁰ gave substance to the idea that culturally constructed mental templates were embedded in the physical structure or production process of an object. The methodology, referred to as a *chaîne opératoire*, implied that the repeated gestures in producing an object were embedded templates habitually applied to production and other aspects of cultural life. The strong emphasis on “ideological” constraints in production—choice of material, production sequences, technological strategies, and final product—as reflections of social choice and human agency in effect reversed the arrow of causality with respect to the technologies adopted by a society; that is, they were not imposed but constructed and used by choice. Numerous other scholars built on these theories; for example, the anthropologist Pierre Lemmonier²¹ instantiated the idea from his ethnological studies of the transmission of technological gestures by modern artisans in the production process.

An additional factor relevant to hidden producers is the relationship between technologies and craft specialization. Underlying the presence of the hidden producers are questions about the control and management of artisan production and their role in society. There are several ways in which investigating hidden producers provides windows into social organization. Understanding the social impact of craft-producing economies involves an examination of the knowledge base of the artisans who produced cloth or garments. Additionally, their specialized technologies provide indicators of the work of skilled personnel whose products were valued for local consumption or long-distance exchange. Finally, while also providing indicators of the work of skilled personnel whose products were consumed either locally or nonlocally in long-distance exchanges, exchanges can be indicators of the relative value of goods.

Several contributors (Foster, Hallmann, Nosch, and Brittenham, discussed earlier in this chapter) crossed over into the idea of hidden producers. In that context, I provide additional discussion relevant to hidden identities and producers. In his study, Foster introduced new garment styles whose production features impacted Akkadian social organization, including cloth styles produced from linen instead of the more traditional fabric used for royalty. The processes for producing linen cloth differ from those used for the more traditional wool. The cultivation of linen requires the reorganization of techniques from wool to linen, possibly in the form of different types of looms, limitations in possible final products, and new personnel to produce linen tassels and belts.²² Hallmann notes details of stitchery in Egyptian garments that may have been carried out by segments of society not previously involved in high-quality textile production. Similarly, tactile qualities, including the weight of “heavy cloth” as an indicator of rank and power noted by Nosch, provide a provocative avenue to explore. Who were the producers of these highly symbolic identifiers of rank and/or spiritual function? Both camps show strong aspirations to power through luxurious and codified colors and garment types. For the Incas, producers served many identities at the lowest and highest ranks of society that have implications for social

19 Leroi-Gourhan 1964.

20 Mauss 1923–24.

21 Lemmonier 1992.

22 Waetzoldt 2018; Wright 2021.

organization. Heather Lechtman's research on Andean metal and textiles, described below, adds to the "provocative avenues to explore."

The studies by Gleba; Barnard, Boytner, and Cassman; and Cifarelli stand out with respect to technological innovations and their hidden producers, shared mental templates, and impacts on social organization discussed below.

HIDDEN PRODUCERS—TECHNIQUE AND COLOR SYMBOLISM

Color symbolism was used throughout the Andes on a variety of media. The symbolic nature of color and texture in metal and textiles is well known. Heather Lechtman's research speaks directly to the relationship of production and mental templates. Her detailed studies of ancient (and even present-day) Andean textile and metalworking technologies showed them to be primary visual media that played a key role in Andean symbolic messaging of central ideas. Textile designs and patterns were achieved either through *superstructural* means, in which the design was added to the completed cloth—for example, embroidered additions or in distinction, as discussed earlier—or by using *structural* techniques that involved the interlacing of the warp and weft yarns in the production process. Especially with respect to structural means, their uniformity seems to have responded to "notions that saw the achievement of visual, surface messages as emerging from underlying, invisible structural relations . . . and a message embodied in and expressed by structure."²³ Coloration was also part of this symbolism, with varying messages depending on the colors achieved. Reds and blues were among the most desirable colors.

In their seminar paper, Hans Barnard and Ray Boytner presented a study of 3,255 textile fragments from 89 sites to reconstruct the chemistry of the colors blue and red and their origins throughout the Andes. Given the absence of good contextual evidence in the form of dye workshops, they used sophisticated techniques, including high-pressure liquid chromatography and ultraviolet visible spectroscopy, to generate spectra that could be compared to known dye materials and to identify the organic dyes, mordants, and pigments selected by weavers to achieve the colors they desired. The use of current high-tech instrumentation is a unique and important contribution to this volume.

For this publication, Barnard and Boytner submitted a different paper, jointly authored with Vicki Cassman. Their research focused on dyes from pre-Columbian textiles in northern Chile. As in the previous study, they analyzed a large number of samples (765 samples from 256 textiles) ranging from the earliest textiles to the Inca period. Their investigations took them to the color-carrying molecules in different plant species and the harvesting of particular colors, such as indigo for blue, cochineal insects for reds, and shellfish for purple or the achievement of the desired purple color by mixing reds and blues. There was significant variation in the technical properties of the dyes throughout time and place. Returning to identity, any differences noted were interpreted as based on "status and access to economic resources" in the Arica region and most likely were the result of trade and exchange in a region that was "never dominated by outsiders." The long-lasting nature of the traditional use of dyes provides support for the types of analyses conducted by Lechtman. To her distinction between superstructural and structural techniques, the authors have

²³ Lechtman 1984, 32, 33.

added coloration to the technical properties of textiles, raising the question of whether the colors were surface additions (as in embroidery) or integral to the interlaced structure of Arica cloth.

HIDDEN PRODUCERS—SHARED AND TRANSMITTED

Margerita Gleba approached the outward and inward significance of textiles as emblems of cultural identities based on shared aesthetics and the woven structures that lay hidden in their technological constructions. Gleba examined 190 cloth fragments that revealed the knowledge base among weavers identified with specific cultures at different times and places in the Mediterranean. As an example, Neolithic garments were woven in specific ways that allowed them to be easily shaped around the body right off the loom. In the eastern Hallstatt area, elite textiles were dyed and woven in spin-patterned twills, the earliest of their kind, while fragments from the first millennium BCE possessed other technical details. Thus, while the hidden patterns within the fragments had their aesthetic appeal, it was the subtle variation in their weaves that spoke the chronological and cultural specifics carrying the history of techniques.

In the context of the broad distribution of textile weaves in the first millennium BCE in the northern Mediterranean, Gleba observed similarities as well as local variations in technologies known in specific regions. In view of the widespread distribution of the finished cloth, she interpreted these similarities in terms of their production details—tabbies of many sorts, and warp and weft shapes, some with yarn that created “shadow patterns” of spliced twill weaves. These subtle variations touch on their history and provide important clues to the variety of northern Mediterranean techniques and the mental templates known throughout the first millennium BCE.

In view of their similarities, was the cloth exchanged and copied, or did weavers travel to distant places? As Gleba observed, a finished textile woven by a knowledgeable weaver provided the necessary information (the different technological traditions in Greece following a Near Eastern pattern, Italian in the eastern Hallstatt culture, and Spain with eastern Hallstatt trends) with which to reproduce a woven cloth exchanged from one local region to another. Alternatively, weavers—most likely women, who have been associated with weaving from the earliest textile production—may have traveled, possibly through migration or exchange in diplomatic marriages, carrying along mental templates from past lives. In either event, their widespread distribution conferred value, status, and prestige to their end products, as Gleba noted, and equally to the producers themselves. When we think in technological terms, it is these messages that reveal the hidden producers and internal significance of color, pattern, pigments, raw materials, and thread counts that were exchanged and valued in the textile history of this region. Also worth considering is whether their production techniques represent mental templates that reveal not only the hidden producers but also the internal symbolic meanings of pattern and variation across a broad area.²⁴

24 See, e.g., Arnold 2018 (on the south-central Andes) for shared mental templates in disparate cultures.

HIDDEN PRODUCERS—DIVINELY INSPIRED IDENTITIES

Lechtman's research on Andean metalworking showed that metal production embraced the same mental template described earlier for textiles, in which the appearance of finished objects, though essential, reflected a complex technique in the underlying structure of the production process. Along with silver and gold, metals were the most precious objects in the Andean world, and when Lechtman probed the composition of precious objects, she found they were produced from alloys of copper, silver, and gold, and sometimes a combination of all three. It was the golden color of the exterior of the objects that conveyed spiritual power, "no less important than their use in the secular realm."²⁵ Her examination of metal objects throughout the Andes over time and space showed they were produced using a mental template and system of values throughout the region. In that sense, technological traditions—the repeated gestures, the creation of structures behind the production of objects—included materials as varied as boats or luxury objects, as shown in Lemonnier's ethnographic studies.

While it is a long way from the Andes to Iran, the lion pins discovered in the excavated areas of Hasanlu may be the result of a mental template that stretched over time and space. The study of large quantities of pins found in a burned building there has been subject to a variety of interpretations. Megan Cifarelli reviewed earlier claims that they functioned as elite dress items and counterclaims that they did not. To get to the bottom of their use and social significance, she returned to the excavation notebooks to reevaluate the contexts of the pins' deposition and to the University of Pennsylvania Museum collections to reexamine the metal pins' stylistic features and production processes. Her research is innovative and thorough, and it offers a totally believable interpretation.

Using technical studies that differed from those undertaken by Gleba and by Barnard, Boytner, and Cassman on textiles, Cifarelli's analysis of the outward and inward significance of the lion pins involved close examination of the production processes that lay hidden beneath the surface features of the metal. Based on her detailed studies, she concluded that the pins were locally made and part of a "divinely inflected communal identity" called into service during the site's disaster and its final days.

Her convincing conclusion is based principally on the reconstructed technology of the lion pins and comparative analysis of a statuette from a later period. Her study considered the range of measurements of the pins' hefty iron spike (12 to 25 cm); the loop or chain fastener on some examples; the use and reuse of stone molds for shaping the lions; and the intentional manipulation of the proportions of alloys (antimony) to create a range of hues and surface colors, materialized as silver and gold. Finally, Cifarelli compared a small Urartian bronze figurine from the ninth century, produced many years after Hasanlu was no longer occupied, which "wears" a lion pin between its breasts and may be linked to a Urartian deity "whose iconography features lions."

Bringing the origins and significance of the lion pins back to Hasanlu, Cifarelli reflected on analogies based on Near Eastern conceptions of deities and cult statues of goddesses thought to be agents of transformation. Years ago, in *The Treasures of Darkness*,

25 Lechtman 1984, 12.

Thorkild Jacobsen described the power of cult objects (drawing on Rudolph Otto's idea of the numinous, a Wholly Other) as a "human psychological reaction by means of analogy" when confronted with a wholly other, in which the objects' immanence evokes worldly experiences.²⁶ Cifarelli updates our understanding of this phenomenon with reference to Alfred Gell's "entanglement of sensory inputs" in social experiences and Alexander Baumgarten's aesthetics. Donald Hoffman, a psychologist, and Gabrielle Starr, a neuroscientist, believe such "encounters are mediated through a network of memories, associations and emotions" that can be long-lasting, again on analogy with Lechtman's ability to trace the Andean mental templates from the earliest metal and textile production in the Andes to later times. For the residents of Hasanlu, the aesthetic impact of the lion pins was inextricable from an awareness of their awe-inspiring divinity and their magical role in the temple.

INDIVIDUALITIES OF IDENTITY

Allison Thomason's essay on the phenomenology and sensory experience of dress offered a perfect segue from Cifarelli's interpretation of the Iranian lion pins. Thomason reflected on Mesopotamian dress and, citing human psychological reactions, sensory inputs, and networks of memories at Hasanlu, embarked on a broader inquiry into the significance of the cultural factors she addressed. These factors are the specifics of bodily experiences in Mesopotamia and the types of dress objects known from the material record that speak to lived experiences and embodied moments. Her example of the possible effects of shroud pins at Hasanlu and the practicality of what could be worn during a lifetime as opposed to on one's deathbed made their point, though they might not be less cumbersome than Puabi's lavish jewelry. In distinction, Thomason spoke of the sensory awareness offered by cloth as it lay close to the body, offering comfort, and its relationship to status, class, life, and death.

CONCLUSIONS

The contributors to this volume have brought to life important moments in history, visualizations of the significance of textiles (both in and of themselves and as represented on other media), taking the framework developed by Hallmann toward new ways of thinking. The wide-ranging ideas in their presentations and written contributions are stunning demonstrations of the ways in which we can connect with the ancient world and human behavior. I put in more than two cents' worth of anthropological ideas that I found useful, offered in the spirit of our mutual interests in blending past and present.²⁷

The contributors were given the task of addressing an age-old question in the ancient world. Commenting on this book's chapters, I addressed the social and cultural implications of the outward appearance and inward significance of "attire." Most often, this led to investigating the impact of weaving, dress, and meaning on social organization as

²⁶ Jacobsen 1976, 3.

²⁷ Readers also should consult the rich theoretical and methodological literature contributed by art historians in the study of ancient societies, cited elsewhere (e.g., Cifarelli 2011; Wright 2013).

evidenced by visible remains. Two recent books led me back to outward/inward things of a different nature. One of them, *Tangible Things: Making History through Objects*,²⁸ was based on issues that arose in the process of creating an exhibition of collections held at Harvard University. The inclusion of both luxury and mundane objects raised questions about the selection of categories, including whether to categorize the objects by timelines or to create displays of mixed media. In the context of the seminar and contributions to this volume, this question becomes one of whether to focus on outward appearances or uncover their inward significance. At the seminar, both strategies were at play: on-the-ground identities and the root causes of the symbolism and social organization associated with them, or the inward mental templates invoked to reveal physical structure and technical knowledge. What can mundane fragments of cloth reveal about history? Are certain objects (such as the weavers' tools sitting in museums ready for study) a hidden dimension of the textile worth pursuing? Several of the essays identified a clothing style or fabric that was thought to be "out of place." For others, the overlap of styles among high-ranking persons hampered interpretation.

The dilemma is not new. *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World*²⁹ traced the development of Humboldt's theories. In his *Cosmos*, Humboldt's interests lay not in the material world but in natural phenomena.³⁰ Based on years of exploration of natural phenomena, though his work may appear outside the questions posed at the seminar and the contributions to this volume, it is his quest to understand "the hidden nature of things" that I find most relevant. Humboldt ultimately believed that in nature there is an external and internal world in which the external is "the thing in itself" and the internal "how things appeared to individuals."³¹ He tried, as well, to understand the universal qualities of landscape and natural phenomena in general. Though Humboldt's primary interests were in geography and plants, his classifying of plants was the beginning of a true understanding of the hidden nature of things. Not surprisingly, his ideas influenced Charles Darwin, John Muir, and Henry David Thoreau, who believed that "everything was interwoven," a thought touched on throughout this volume.³²

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anawalt, Patricia Rieff

- 1981 *Indian Clothing before Cortes: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- 1996 "Aztec Knotted and Netted Capes: Colonial Interpretations vs. Indigenous Primary Data." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 7, no. 2: 187–206.

28 Ulrich et al. 2015.

29 Wulf 2015 (which received the Royal Geographical Society's Ness Award in 2016).

30 See Helferich 2004.

31 Wulf 2015, 38.

32 Shortly before this volume was sent to press, a broad-ranging review of identity studies in anthropology appeared; see Blake 2024.

546 RITA P. WRIGHT

Appadurai, Arjan

- 1988 *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arnold, Denise

- 2018 "Making Textiles into Persons: Gestural Sequences and Relationality in Communities of Weaving Practice of the South Central Andes." *Journal of Material Culture* 23, no. 2: 239–60.

Barth, Fredrik, ed.

- 1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Blake, Emma

- 2024 *Identity Studies in Archaeology*. Cambridge Elements: Anthropological Archaeology in the 21st Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blanton, Richard E.

- 2015 "Theories of Ethnicity and the Dynamics of Ethnic Change in Multiethnic Societies." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 30: 9176–81.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M.

- 1991 "Tribute and Commerce in Imperial Cities: The Case of Xaltocan, Mexico." In *Early State Economics*, edited by Henri J. M. Claessen and Pieter van de Velde, 177–98. Political and Legal Anthropology 8. Abingdon: Routledge.

Childe, V. Gordon

- 1936 *Man Makes Himself*. London: Watts.

Cifarelli, Megan

- 2011 Review of *Gender through Time in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Diane Bolger. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 70, no. 2: 348–51.

Costin, Cathy

- 1998 "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes." In *Craft and Social Identity*, edited by Cathy Lynn Costin and Rita P. Wright. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8: 123–44.

Eicher, Joanne B.

- 2000 "The Anthropology of Dress." *Dress* 27: 58–70.

Feldman, Marian H.

- 2006 *Diplomacy by Design*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harding, Thomas G.

- 1967 *Voyagers of the Vitiaz Strait: Study of a New Guinea Trade System*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Helferich, Gerard

- 2004 *Humboldt's Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Latin American Journey That Changed the Way We See the World*. Sheridan, WY: Gotham.

Hendrickson, Carol

- 1995 *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jacobsen, Thorkild

- 1976 *The Treasures of Darkness*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Keane, Webb

- 2001 "Money Is No Object: Materiality, Desire, and Modernity in an Indonesian Society." In *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, edited by Fred R. Myers, 65–90. Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Kuper, Hilda

- 1973 "Costume and Identity." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3: 348–67.

Lechtman, Heather

- 1984 "Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy." *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1: 1–36.

Lemonnier, Pierre

- 1992 *Elements for an Anthropology of Technology*. Anthropological Papers 88. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology.

Leroi-Gourhan, André

- 1964 *Le geste et la parole*. Vol. 1, *Technique et langage*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Mauss, Marcel

- 1923–24 "Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques." *L'Année sociologique*, n.s. 1: 30–186.

Myers, Fred

- 2001 *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*. Santa Fe: School of American Research.

Nordholt, Henk Schulte, ed.

- 1997 *Outward Appearances: Dressing State and Society in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Oppenheim, A. Leo

- 1949 "The Golden Garments of the Gods." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 8, no. 3: 172–93.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, Ivan Gaskell, Sara J. Schechner, and Sarah Anne Carter

- 2015 *Tangible Things: Making History through Objects*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Waetzoldt, Hartmut

- 2018 "The Use of Wool for the Production of Strings, Ropes, Braided Mats, and Similar Fabrics." In *Ancient Textiles: Production, Craft and Society*, edited by Carole Gillis and Marie-Louise B. Nosch, 112–21. Oxford: Oxbow.

Weiner, Annette, and Jane Schneider, eds.

- 1989 *Cloth and Human Experience*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Wright, Rita P.

- 2013 "Commodities and Things: The Kulli in Context." In *Connections and Complexity: New Approaches to the Archaeology of South Asia*, edited by Shinu Anna Abraham, Praveena Gullapalli, Teresa P. Raczek, and Uzma Z. Rizvi, 47–62. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- 2021 "What Lay Beneath: Queen Puabi's Garments and Her Passage to the Underworld." In *Art/ifacts and ArtWorks in the Ancient World*, edited by Karen Sonik, 265–90. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wulf, Andrea

- 2015 *The Invention of Nature: Alexander von Humboldt's New World*. New York: Knopf.

Index

- Abbasid caliphate, 517
 Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem, 78
 Abusir, 208n24, 236, 385, 387, 395, 400, 447–48
 Abydos, 386, 389–90, 408n195, 444
 acculturation, 3, 101
 Achaemenid(s), 3, 9, 14, 15, 56, 157, 160, 164, 176, 203, 208–10, 215, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224n92, 226, 285–87, 289, 295, 302, 304, 306, 308, 514–16, 532, 535. *See also* court dress/robe: Achaemenid/Persian; jacket: “Persian”
 adornment, 2, 27n1, 28, 42, 46, 50, 53, 75, 187, 189, 191–92, 194, 197, 299n136, 337, 341, 346, 374, 517–18, 521, 523, 536
 Aegean, 14, 82, 308n192, 424
 aesthetic(s), 99, 101, 121, 339, 374–76, 419–20, 429, 433, 533, 542, 544
 agency, 7, 290, 342, 375–78, 515, 520, 534, 540
 Aha, tomb of, 444
 Akhenaten/Akhenaton, 74–75n27, 241.
 See also Amenhotep IV
 Akkad/Akkadian(s), 3, 15, 79, 163, 187–97, 339, 346, 349, 518, 537, 540
 Alashiya, 14, 73nn6–15, 76–79, 82, 519
 Alexander Balas, 297
 Alexander the Great, 286–89, 304–7
 altiplano, 42, 485, 494–95, 499
 Alto Ramirez culture, 493
 Alwa, kingdom of, 87, 89, 104
 Amanappa, 78
 Amarna, 10, 14, 71–82, 241–42, 370, 519, 538.
 See also Egypt (chronology)
 Amasis, 207, 208n24, 212, 227
 Amenemhat, tomb of (TT 82), 82n66
 Amenemhat I, 240
 Amenhotep I, 386
 Amenhotep III, 71n2, 73, 76, 215n56, 240, 246, 389
 Amenhotep IV, 74–75n27, 519. *See also* Akhenaten/Akhenaton
 Amenmose, tomb of (TT 251), 82n66
 Americas, ancient, vii, 1, 13–14, 16, 27–57, 483–500, 512n6, 514n14, 515, 520, 536.
 See also Mesoamerica
 amulet, 114–15, 194, 350, 391, 399, 401
 Amun/Amun-Ra/Amun-Re, 81, 211n41, 254–55, 386n3, 388–89, 400, 402, 451–52
 Anatolia/Anatolian(s), 14, 15, 77, 158–60, 167, 170, 172–74, 176–77, 187, 189, 191, 209, 221n84, 294, 305, 336, 346, 519n35, 537
 Andes/Andean, 27n4, 28, 32n29, 36, 38–39n64, 41, 55, 483–500, 536–37, 541–42, 543–44
 anklet, 44, 77, 340, 343, 366
 Annals of Senefru, 236
 Annals of Thutmose III, 388n17, 393–94
 annatto, 489–90, 493, 495–96, 498
 Antef, tomb of (TT 155), 82n66
 Antinoe, 94, 458–59
 Antiochus I, 303–4
 Antiochus IV, 290
 Antiochus V, 290–91
 Apadana (Persepolis), 3, 9, 14–15, 157–58, 164–69, 172, 174–75, 177, 216, 221–22, 344, 514n14, 515–16, 517n23
 appliqué, 208–9, 341, 373, 419, 423, 425, 429, 522
 apron, 14, 52n120, 96–97, 99, 108, 120, 126
 Arabic, 111, 113, 119, 121, 142, 464
 archer/archery, 94, 97, 108, 241, 369
archon basileus, 282, 291–92, 323. *See also* *basileus*
 Arica (Chile), 19, 483–87, 489, 491–500, 541–42
 Aristonoe, 326–27
 Aristotle, 281–82
 Arlon (Belgium), 264
 armband/armlet, 44, 366
 Armenia, 17, 372
 Arrian, 287–88, 305, 330n44
 artifact. *See* dress/clothing: as artifact
 artistic convention vs. reality in depiction, 8–9, 89, 118, 160, 260, 467, 514, 537

- Arzawa, 14, 73n7, 73nn14–17, 77–79, 82, 519
 Ashurbanipal, 341–43
 Ashurnasirpal II, 343–44, 517, 521n38
 Asia: Central, 9, 161, 457; Minor, 291–93, 305,
 320, 327; South, 516; West, vii, 1, 157, 370,
 374–75, 432n84
 Asiatics, 236, 240, 242
 assimilation, 3, 249, 513
 Assur, 190, 342, 346, 522
 Aššur, 295
 Assyria/Assyrian(s), 1, 12, 73n6, 163, 187,
 188, 207–8, 285, 294–95, 302, 305, 307–8,
 338, 340, 341–42, 347, 424, 513, 515, 517,
 520–21, 522
 Aswan, 87, 90, 92, 114–17, 119, 144
 Athena, 290, 292, 320, 323, 325
 Athens, 282, 292nn77–78, 319n4, 320, 322–23,
 325, 327, 329–30, 423
 Attica, 323, 326, 328n35
 attire. *See* dress/clothing
 Au am Leithaberge, 265
 audience, royal, 157–58
 Azapa culture, 493
 Azapa Valley, 19, 483, 485, 489, 494–95, 498–99
 Aztec(s), 11, 14, 28–29, 41–56, 515, 517n25,
 520, 535, 536, 538

 Babylon, 71n2, 74, 285, 519
 Babylonia/Babylonian(s), 17, 73nn6–17, 74,
 76, 77, 80, 165, 167, 171, 173, 187, 218, 285,
 287, 294–96, 303, 304, 305, 306, 346, 517,
 519, 521–22
 Balkans, 432
 Ballana, 87, 99–100, 102, 120
 band: arm, 44; body/chest, 246, 295; head, 17,
 99, 191, 293, 295, 321, 329, 466; as textile
 decoration, 40, 42n76, 95–97, 99–102,
 105–6, 108, 100, 110, 113, 119, 124, 126,
 128, 130, 132, 134, 140, 144, 146, 191, 288,
 308, 420, 423, 429, 432, 464; waist, 44, 136,
 240n16, 298–99
 bandolier, 235, 237, 240, 246, 249
 Banganarti, 108, 116
 barbarian, 41, 94, 161, 175, 177, 268, 288, 293, 513
 barley, 452
 Barnard, Hans, 9, 18, 19, 483–507
 Barth, Fredrik, 534–35, 539
 Barthes, Roland, 2, 7, 90

basileus, 290n67, 291–92, 323. *See also* *archon*
basileus
 Battlefield Palette, 239
 Battus, king, 283
 Baumgarten, Alexander, 375, 544
 beaded neck pendant, 240, 242
 beard, 38, 105–6, 165, 167, 191, 235–36, 246,
 262, 293, 308n192
 belt, 76n42, 97, 100, 104, 159, 196n30, 215, 237,
 248n30, 250, 254n47, 267, 286, 288, 293–94,
 295–96, 299, 306, 308, 323, 340–41, 347,
 373, 419, 428, 464–65, 488, 494, 540
 Betanzos, Juan de, 32, 39
 biculturalism. *See* sartorial: biculturalism
 blue, 95–96, 98–103, 110, 114, 116–17, 119–20,
 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 138, 140, 146,
 148, 159n6, 161n16, 193, 224, 285–87, 299,
 302n158, 303, 360, 367, 371, 385, 403n155,
 406, 429, 466, 469, 489–91, 541
 Blussus (Mainz grave stela), 261–62, 264
 bolt/bundle of cloth, 446–48, 451n73, 452n80
 bonnet, 262–63, 265, 267, 269
 Book of Gates, four races of mankind in, 242–43
 Book of the Dead, 386, 397–98, 409
 Bothmer, Bernard, 207–10, 215n55, 225
 bow, 94, 97, 105, 108, 117, 161, 163, 250
 Boytner, Ran, 9, 19, 483–507
 bracelet, 77, 191, 193, 209, 223–24, 340, 343,
 363n23, 366, 373, 517
 bride-price/bride-wealth, 14, 434, 518–19.
 See also dowry list
 British Museum (London), 11, 76, 83, 162, 171,
 190, 246, 324, 341, 435, 450, 458
 Brittenham, Claudia, 11, 13–14, 16, 27–69,
 350n79, 513–15, 517, 520, 533–34, 536, 538,
 540
 bronze, 17, 74–75, 102, 170, 217n65, 298, 338,
 357–58, 371–75, 425, 428–29, 433, 450, 519,
 521–22, 543
 Bronze Age, 336, 424, 429, 519n34; Late, 10,
 14, 71–72, 82, 283, 305, 338, 370, 421, 424,
 518–19, 538; Middle, 424
 brooch, 193, 260, 262, 266–68, 270, 517
 Brooklyn Museum (New York), 15, 204–6, 209,
 213–14
 buckle, 260, 298
 Burkert, Walter, 319, 434n96
 Burna-Buriāš II, 71n2, 74, 519

- byssus, 75–78. *See also* linen: quality
designations
Byzantine/Byzantium, 87, 99, 103, 104–6, 309,
457, 462, 468–69
- Cacaxtla, 55
Cairo Museum, 100, 446, 449–50
cape, 14, 35, 41–42, 44–48, 50, 52, 96–97, 120,
126, 206n9; beaded, 519n34; Gallic/hooded,
261, 264, 267, 269
Carian(s), 160, 163, 167, 174, 220nn71–75, 225
Cassman, Vicki, viii, 9, 19, 483–507, 541, 543
casta, 29, 56–57
Celts, 259
chaîne opératoire, 9, 89, 540
Chaldea, 517
Chares of Teichioussa, 171
chest, for storage of cloth, 81, 387–88, 407,
447–48
Chichimecs, 41, 52–53
“Chief of Libya” title, 237
Chile, 9, 19, 483–84, 486, 541
Chile (chronology): Archaic period, 487, 491,
496, 498; Early Formative period, 496,
498; Late Formative period, 496, 498; Late
Horizon period, 487, 495–500; Late Inter-
mediate period, 485, 494, 496–500; Middle
Horizon period, 485, 493, 495–98, 500
Chimalpopoca, 52, 54, 520
Chinchorro, 487, 491–92
chiton, 10, 167, 171, 174, 176, 280, 288, 292–93,
300, 305, 320, 322–26, 328, 513
chlamys, 10, 167, 287, 290, 293, 301, 307–8
Christian(s), 14, 56, 87, 89, 90, 91, 104, 109,
111–12, 116, 119, 121, 309, 320n8, 457, 468
Christianity/Christianization, 98, 104, 261
church, 90, 92, 111–12, 116, 118–19, 136, 138,
140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 309, 462, 467–70, 539
Cieza de León, Pedro de, 30
Cifarelli, Megan, 5n19, 17–18, 337, 357–83,
520–22, 533, 541, 543–44
citadel, 90–92, 111–12, 358, 360–65, 371, 373,
376–77
citizenship, 263, 272, 320
clavi, 99–101, 103, 120, 268
Cleomenes, 291
Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland, Ohio),
214, 468–69
cloak, 7, 43, 53, 104–6, 108, 121, 159, 167, 169,
170n48, 190, 222, 236–37, 239, 245–46, 248,
250, 262, 265–67, 269, 284–87, 289–91, 293,
301–4, 309, 340, 400, 444, 450–51, 469–70;
hooded, 110, 467; Libyan, 246, 249; open,
16, 235, 240–42, 250, 252–53
clothed/dressed body, 3, 8–10, 13, 31, 34, 41,
196, 235, 280, 284, 301, 303n162, 386, 391,
393, 466, 512, 521
clothes/clothing. *See* dress/clothing
coat, 14, 78, 114–120, 121, 138, 207, 295
Cobo, Bernabé, 30–31, 33, 38
cochineal, 489–98, 500, 541
Codex Borbonicus, 50–51
Codex Mendoza, 42, 44–45, 49n109
Codex Xolotl, 52, 54, 520
Coffin Texts, 385, 388, 401, 409
collaborator, 41, 46, 49, 205
collar, 99, 105, 106, 254n47, 341
colonial/colonialism, 33, 41n75, 43, 44, 224,
515, 531–32, 536
color, 17, 30, 31–32, 38, 43, 100–103, 113,
116, 118, 128, 132, 134, 157, 166, 240,
279, 280n5, 281, 284–85, 289, 305–6, 321,
346, 372, 385–87, 393–94, 396–99, 402–6,
408–9, 424, 428–29, 432–33, 461–63, 465,
467, 486, 489, 491, 512, 522, 533, 538–39,
541–43; color code/symbolism of textiles/
dress, 101, 284, 302, 385–86, 541; colored
garments/textiles, 18, 79, 101, 385–89, 391,
393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 406–8, 466.
See also blue; green; indigo; lapis lazuli;
purple; red; white; yellow/golden-yellow
comb, 77, 345–46
commodity, 7, 71, 109, 289, 358, 393, 443–46,
448–51, 519, 538. *See also* barley; copper;
ebony; emmer wheat; flax; furniture; gold;
grain; honey; incense; ivory; lead; linen;
metal; myrrh; oil; silver; wood
commodity label, 444–47
conformity, 97, 121, 203, 205
conquest, 14, 31, 33, 40, 50, 52, 89, 160–61, 170,
175, 259, 265, 271, 285–88, 307, 513, 519, 536
Cooney, John, 15, 205–10, 216, 224n92, 225
copper, 19, 80, 191, 196, 443, 445, 448–53, 543
Coptic, 11, 19, 103, 111, 457–58, 460–64, 469,
470, 532
Coptic Museum (Cairo), 114–15

- coronation, 302
 corselet, 159, 161
 costume. *See* dress/clothing
 cotton, 43–44, 48, 95–96, 98–99, 101–3, 110, 112, 114–21, 124, 126, 136, 138, 142, 146, 148, 285, 469, 522
 court dress/robe: Achaemenid/Persian, 157–59, 162–64, 176, 208–10, 215–18, 220, 221n84, 223, 225–26, 514 (*see also* jacket: “Persian”); Akkadian, 188
 cross, 105, 108–10, 113, 117–18; *ankh*, 96, 98, 126
 cross-dressing, 517
 crown, 1, 17, 30, 105–6, 108, 117–18, 217n65, 224, 286, 290, 293, 297, 301–2, 308–9, 328–29, 343, 396, 399, 403–6, 517, 521, 539
 crypt, as burial place, 92, 109–19, 121, 469
 cult image. *See* ritual: dressing a statue; statue: cult/divine
 cultural biography of things, 7
 currency, cloth/clothing as. *See* bride-price/bride-wealth; wealth/money, clothing/textiles as
 curtain, 286, 303, 463, 468–69
 Curtius Rufus, 286, 288, 305
 Cuzco (Peru), 29, 32, 35–36
 Cyprus, 282, 308n192, 420, 519n35
 Cyrene, 283
 Cyrus, 285, 287, 307
- daduch*, 320n5, 329–30, 539
 dancers, 50, 163n22, 243, 245
 Danube, 16, 262–64, 271
 Darius I, 14, 158, 164–66, 172, 177, 205–6, 208, 217–18, 221–22, 224, 306, 514–15, 536; statue of, 167, 169–70, 217, 221–22, 225
 Darius III, 286, 288
 dazzle camouflage, 38
 Debeira, 100, 102
 Deir el-Bachit, 460, 466
 Deir el-Bahari, 211nn41–42, 240, 242–43, 245, 386, 388–89, 400n113, 402, 448
 Deir el-Gabrawi, 446
 Deir el-Medina, 10, 211n41, 394, 398n102
 Demeter, 291–93, 322, 326–27, 329–30, 539
 Demetrius I Poliorcetes, 287, 289–90, 297
 Den, tomb of, 444
 Dendera, 386, 387n13, 391, 403, 405, 407, 447
- Descent of Inanna/Ishtar to the Netherworld*, 10, 349
 detribalization, 269
 diacritical role of dress. *See* dress/clothing: diacritical role
 diadem, 17, 43, 52–53, 108, 280n5, 284, 288n58, 298, 305, 308, 343
diagraphe/diagraphai, 328
 Didyma, 171
 Diocletian’s edict of maximum prices from Rome, 11
 Diodorus, 94n26, 283n21, 287n52, 289n62, 290
 Dionyseros, 171–72
 Dionysos/Dionysus, 293, 327n34, 328–29
 diplomacy, 71–82, 518, 519n36, 542. *See also* gifts of clothing/textiles: diplomatic
 Djedherbes (stela), 218–21, 223, 226
 Djehutynefer, tomb of (TT 104), 81n60
 Djeme. *See* Jeme
 Djer, tomb of, 444
 Dongola/Old Dongola, 87, 89, 92, 110–11, 116, 118
 dowry list, 74–76. *See also* bride-price/bride-wealth
 drape/draping, 3, 8, 11, 100–101, 167n39, 211, 215, 266, 269, 295, 326, 340–41, 513. *See also* wrap/wrapping
 dress/clothing: adults’, 462, 464; as artifact, 6–7, 89, 370, 515; ascriptive function, 47, 157, 166, 531, 535; associative function, 15–16, 18, 160; children’s, 19, 97, 99, 462, 464–67, 470, 532; cult, 522n46; diacritical role, 160, 170–71, 176; distinctive function, 15–16, 32–35, 39, 42, 55, 98, 110, 171, 197n32, 225, 235–36, 240, 293–94, 306–7, 308n192, 515, 518, 520, 534; economic function, 18, 78, 89, 265, 331, 444, 447, 486, 498, 511, 518–19, 535, 541; elite, 3, 14–15, 17, 31, 94–95, 98–99, 103–4, 116, 119–21, 171, 187–89, 193–94, 209, 221n84, 284, 286, 289, 305, 308, 331, 339–40, 342, 345, 347, 358–59, 363, 369–70, 378, 429, 444–46, 515, 517, 518, 521, 537, 543; emulation of, 56, 171, 176; ethnic, 14–16, 27–36, 38–39, 41, 47–49, 52–56, 157–58, 160, 163–64, 166, 175, 215n58, 218, 221–22, 224, 242, 253, 259, 264, 285, 287, 307–8, 494, 514–15, 534–37; as item of wardrobe, 10, 103, 110,

- 121, 210, 222, 279–80, 284, 286–87, 289–90, 299n136, 306, 309, 516–17; men's, 5, 10, 16, 27, 38–39n64, 41, 47, 96, 121, 157, 171, 194, 196, 212–13, 225, 262–67, 269, 271, 322–23, 344–45, 461, 464, 513, 520, 535, 537; as nonverbal communication tool, 2–3, 7, 12, 203, 205, 218, 222; performative function, 105, 218, 282, 516; practices, 87, 90, 92–94, 100–101, 103–4, 120–21, 331, 512, 516, 522; priestly/sacerdotal, 3, 12, 16–17, 110, 192, 213, 253, 280–84, 292–309, 319–20, 321n10, 322–23, 329, 330–31, 387, 398, 520, 539; prohibitions/regulations, 3, 11–12, 14, 43–44, 56, 101, 203, 280, 284, 289, 307, 320–21, 533–36, 539; religious 16–17, 282; royal, 3, 16–17, 40, 106, 121, 188–89, 193, 197, 220n78, 221, 224, 279–81, 285–90, 294–96, 301–2, 304–9, 339–40, 343, 346, 385, 393, 450, 516, 517n25, 518, 520–23, 539; sacred function, 292, 306; as signifier of ethnicity/identity/status/wealth, 8, 15–16, 27, 36, 38, 38–39n64, 55, 52, 160, 222, 284, 309, 443–35, 514, 516, 521, 532; socio-economic function, 18, 265; as system of signs, 2; transformative function, 15–16, 18, 385, 400–401, 517, 520; women's, 19, 55, 263, 265, 267–70, 272, 306n180, 463–64, 532, 537. *See also* color: colored garments/textiles; terminology, textile/dress
- dressing, as a process, 339, 341
- dress study, as a discipline, 2, 5–6, 7n29, 8–11, 13, 16, 20, 511, 512n6, 523–24. *See also* fashion study, as a discipline
- Durán, Diego, 43–44, 50
- dye/dyeing, 10, 19, 52n120, 101–3, 110, 114–16, 119–20, 126, 138, 146, 148, 279, 285, 287, 289, 303, 305, 346, 387–88, 393, 402n142, 423–24, 428–29, 435, 463, 466, 468–69, 483–500, 513, 517n26, 522–23, 541–42. *See also* annatto; blue; cochineal; galium; green; indigo; lapis lazuli; purple; red; reibunium; yellow/golden-yellow
- dyers, 102, 495, 499–500
- earring, 42, 48, 193, 287n49, 340, 343, 519
- Ebla, 11, 340
- ebony, 73, 74
- Ecuador, 29, 31, 56
- Edfu, 386, 389, 391, 394, 396, 399, 401–9, 463
- Egypt/Egyptian(s), 1, 3–5, 7–11, 13–16, 18–19, 71–82, 87, 89n2, 90–92, 94, 98–103, 110, 115, 116, 119, 120, 122, 163–64, 169–70, 203–27, 235–55, 280–81, 290, 291, 299, 306, 307, 308n192, 343, 385–409, 421, 424, 432, 443–53, 457–70, 519, 521, 523n51, 532, 537, 538, 540
- Egypt (chronology): Amarna period, 71, 73, 79, 82, 519; Byzantine period, 457, 468–69; Coptic period, 458; Early Dynastic period, 444–45; Eighteenth Dynasty, 10, 80–82, 211n41, 222n89, 240, 251, 388–89, 393, 398; Eleventh Dynasty, 448; Fifth Dynasty, 236–37, 385, 387, 400, 446, 448; First Intermediate Period, 240, 445; Fourth Dynasty, 236, 444, 446–47; Kushite period, 224; Late Period, 203, 206, 207, 210n38, 211n41, 212–13, 215, 221n82, 222n90, 223, 225, 226, 235, 386, 389, 401, 537, 538; Libyan dynasties, 253; Middle Kingdom, 211, 213, 227, 236, 239–40, 385, 388, 392, 395, 401n124, 448; New Kingdom, 14, 16, 80, 82, 212, 213n53, 221n82, 226, 237, 240, 243, 386, 387, 388–89, 393, 395, 401–2, 404, 408, 449, 451; Nineteenth Dynasty, 240, 389, 393–94, 398–99, 450; Old Kingdom, 16, 236n8, 240, 254, 385, 387, 397, 400, 401n124, 402n139, 445–48, 450–51; Predynastic period, 235–36, 444; Protodynastic period, 237; Ramesside period, 14, 72, 79, 82, 519; Saite dynasty/period, 16, 254, 532; Second Dynasty, 445; Second Intermediate Period, 80–81, 448–49; Sixteenth Dynasty, 449; Sixth Dynasty, 237, 392, 397, 402, 447–48; Third Dynasty, 399, 446–47; Third Intermediate Period, 212, 235, 249, 251, 386, 389, 393, 395, 397, 451; Thirteenth Dynasty, 213n52; Thirtieth Dynasty, 226, 254–55; Twelfth Dynasty, 393n53, 448; Twentieth Dynasty, 16, 251, 450, 452; Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, 224, 236–37; Twenty-First Dynasty, 251, 451–52; Twenty-Second Dynasty, 253, 386, 389; Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, 207–9, 212, 213n54, 215n56, 227, 254
- Egyptianization, 224, 235, 249, 253–54

- Egyptian Museum (Cairo), 83, 214, 218–19, 399
- Eicher, Joanne B., 2, 357
- Elam/Elamite, 158, 163, 218, 285, 306, 307, 339n31, 514
- Eleusis/Eleusian, 291, 292n78, 293, 320n5, 322, 329, 330, 539
- Elis, 282
- elite, 3, 14–15, 17, 28, 31–32, 36–37, 94–95, 98–99, 102–4, 109, 116, 119–21, 159, 171, 187–89, 191, 194, 209, 221n84, 284, 286, 289, 302, 305, 308, 329n38, 330–31, 337–40, 342, 344–45, 347, 357–59, 363, 369–70, 378, 419, 429, 444–46, 448, 485, 499–500, 515, 517–18, 521, 537, 542–43. *See also* dress/clothing: elite
- embalming process, 391
- embodiment and dress, 52–53, 89, 282, 336, 350, 358, 524
- embroidery, 43, 95–96, 98, 117, 126, 140, 289, 303, 308n191, 341, 423, 461–62, 465–66, 470, 541–42
- emmer wheat, 451–52
- emotions, archaeology of, 345, 363, 377
- Enheduanna, 193, 196
- ependytes*, 293, 320, 329n40
- Ephesus, 291–92, 305
- Esarhaddon, 338, 517, 523
- ethnicity, 3, 14, 27–28, 30–32, 39, 41–42, 47–50, 55–56, 157, 160, 166, 175–77, 222, 264, 483, 514–15, 534–37; ethnic affiliation/ascription, 157–58, 166n35; ethnic association of dress, 160, 166; ethnic diversity, 41; ethnic editing, 166; ethnic signifier, 514; ethnic traditions, 264; guardians of, 264; linkage to dress, 28, 160, 163–64, 167, 221n84; meta-ethnicity, 41; microethnicity, 42; multiethnicity, 43, 483–84, 493, 534–36; performance of, 39, 41, 47–51, 53, 55, 235, 330, 531. *See also* dress/clothing: ethnic; foreign/foreigner
- ethnogenesis, 55
- ethnography, 55, 177, 281, 343, 486, 491, 543
- ethnohistory, 13, 483, 533, 536
- Etruscan, 427, 432
- Europe/European, vii, 1, 9, 13, 30, 39n64, 260, 347, 421, 429, 431–35; Mediterranean, 9, 18, 419–20, 434n93, 435
- exchange, of cloth/clothing, 14, 56n135, 78, 80, 300, 401, 434, 443–53, 484–85, 500, 519, 538, 542. *See also* bride-price/bride-wealth; wealth/money, clothing/textiles as; gifts of clothing/textiles
- eye movement, tracking of, 308
- false sleeve. *See* tunic: false sleeve
- Faras, 87, 104–10, 117
- fashion study, as a discipline, 5–6, 308. *See also* dress study, as a discipline
- feather, 16, 32, 35, 42–43, 235, 237, 240–43, 245–46, 250, 252–55, 303–4; as tribal affiliation, 235, 253–54
- festival, 18, 48, 50–51, 240, 282n15, 322, 323, 328, 375–76, 386–87, 391, 399, 448; Dionysian, 293, 329; of *jdmy*-linen, 397, 400, 406–7; jubilee of Amenhotep III, 240; Katagogia, 328; New Year's, 408; of Ochpaniztli, 48, 50–51; Pan-Ionic, 329n39; of Sakhmet, 398; Sed, 391, 400, 401n124, 405; of Tabernacles, 297; of Thoth, 400; *W3g*, 400, 404
- Fezzan province (Libya), 249
- fiber, 3, 7, 8, 11, 17, 30, 43–44, 80, 89, 95, 102–3, 113–15, 119, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 260, 307, 346, 421, 425, 429, 431, 433, 487, 491–92, 522. *See also* cotton; flax; silk; wool
- fibula, 304, 419
- figurative art, 8, 9, 206, 226
- flax, 80, 102, 119, 138, 140, 146, 283, 299, 303n161, 346, 420–21, 425, 443, 449, 453
- Florentine Codex, 46, 48–49
- fluted dress/garment, 189, 191–93
- footgear, 189
- foreign/foreigner, 3, 9, 14, 15, 32n27, 43, 49, 50, 53, 55, 81, 159, 160, 176, 188, 203, 208, 210, 216–17, 220, 221, 223–25, 226, 235, 240–41, 254–55, 288, 305–6, 484–85, 486, 494, 500, 512, 515, 517, 518, 519, 520, 532, 537–38
- fossilized fashion, 8, 306
- Foster, Benjamin, 3, 15, 187–201
- frieze, 103, 134, 176–77, 323, 388, 393, 395, 402, 432, 536
- fringe, 17, 95–96, 98, 117, 124, 132, 140, 161, 163, 191–92, 211n41, 218, 221–22, 285, 294, 339, 344, 346, 373, 445, 518. *See also* tassel

- fulling, 346
 furniture, 73–76, 78

 Gagnepain, Jean, 90
 galium, 490–91
 gallabiya/gallabiyah, 110, 207
 Gallia/Gallic/Gaul(s), 16, 175, 259, 261, 264–72, 516, 520, 535
 Gapoiapa, 112–19, 121, 146
 Garcilaso de la Vega, 31, 35n41
 Gawlinski, Laura, 3, 12, 16–17, 282, 294, 306, 319–34
 Gebel Adda, 14, 87–88, 90–100, 102–3, 111–12, 116–18, 120–21
 Gebelein, 240–41, 446–48
 Gell, Alfred, 375, 544
 gender/gendered, 3, 19, 27, 70, 101, 259, 306, 320, 325, 327, 331, 336, 337, 340, 345, 348, 357, 359, 369–70, 461–65, 467, 470, 486–87, 495–97, 512n6, 513, 518, 520, 523–24, 531, 535, 539
genos-cult/priesthood, 320, 325, 329–30
 Georgios (archbishop), 110, 118
 Georgios III, 105–6
 Germania Superior, 259, 261
 Getty (Malibu, California), 34, 173, 487
 Gezer, 78
 gifts of clothing/textiles, 10, 41, 370, 434, 511; burial, 425; diplomatic, 14, 18, 71–82, 103, 519, 538; inventory, 71, 74, 76–78; from ruler, 16, 28–29, 32, 38, 44–48, 55, 189–91, 209, 224, 286–87, 288, 290, 297, 450, 495, 516–17, 518; to ruler, 31, 164, 194, 515–16, 518
 Giza, 446
 Gleba, Margarita, 9, 18, 419–41
 glyptic, 15, 160–61, 163, 187, 189, 195, 225. *See also* seal/sealing impression
 goethite film, 522
 gold, 43, 44, 73–78, 80–81, 89, 110–11, 113–15, 117–19, 138, 144, 161n18, 171n51, 191, 193, 196n30, 224, 285–86, 287n49, 289, 293, 297, 298–99, 300n145, 303n162, 321, 328–29, 341, 349, 372–75, 423, 429, 443, 453, 517, 519, 521–23, 543; brocade, 43, 114–15; as commodity, 448–50, 538; thread, 43, 77, 113–14, 117–19, 144, 186, 299; weight of, 74–78, 80, 448–49, 538
 Gordion (Yassihöyük), 285, 424, 512n5, 522
 grain, 443–44, 447–49, 451–53
 grave monument/gravestone/tombstone, 16, 111, 260–69, 271–72, 287, 322, 516, 520, 535
 Great Cameo of France, 175
 Greco-Roman, 5, 11, 18, 101, 299, 386–89, 391, 396–97, 399, 401–3, 408
 Greece/Greek(s), 3, 5, 8, 10, 11–12, 13n70, 15, 16–17, 18, 100, 111, 157n1, 157n4, 161n19, 162–63, 167, 171–74, 177, 215n58, 220n73, 223n91, 224, 279–94, 300, 301, 303–4, 305–8, 319–31, 338, 419–25, 432, 433–34, 461, 462, 463, 511, 512n2, 513, 516, 521n44, 539, 542
 Greece (chronology): Archaic period, 323, 421, 423, 432; Classical period, 10, 279, 285, 291, 305, 320, 325, 330, 338, 421, 423–24, 432, 513; Hellenistic period, 287, 291–92, 305, 307, 320, 325–27, 330n44, 331, 340, 424; Mycenaean period, 279, 283–84, 305, 432
 green, 102, 110, 116–17, 119, 138, 360, 385, 387, 389, 395–96, 399, 403–8, 421, 462, 464, 466, 490
 Gregorian Egyptian Museum, Vatican (Rome), 206, 208, 224, 225
 Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe, 34–35, 39–40, 495
 Gujarat, 270
 Gunter, Ann C., 13, 19, 511–29

 hair/hairdressing, 16, 27n1, 29–32, 36, 38–39, 44, 47–52, 80, 165, 170, 187, 189, 191, 235–37, 239, 240, 245–46, 248–49, 253, 262, 265, 269, 293, 345, 464, 515, 517, 519, 537
 hairlock, 16, 235–37, 241, 246, 250–51
 hairpiece, 39
 hairpin, 345
 Hallmann, Aleksandra, viii, 1–24, 58, 203–33, 279n*, 319n2, 511n1, 513, 523n51, 532–34, 537–38, 540, 544
 Hallstatt, 429, 431, 542
 Hanya (army stablemaster), 78
 Hapuseneb (TT 67), 82n66
ḥarimtu, 12, 342
 Harsetitef, 452
 Hasanlu (Iran), 17–18, 343–45, 357–78, 424, 521–22, 543–44; Burned Building II, 17, 360, 378, 522; lion pins, 17–18, 344–45, 357–78, 521–22, 543–44

- Hasmonean dynasty, 296, 298, 300
 hat, 169, 171, 174, 191, 263, 294; boat-shaped, 266; coiled (*mitra*), 167, 169–70; cone-shaped, 48; four-cornered, 487–88, 494, 500; Lydian, 173–74; petasos, 167; pointed, 161–62; turban-like, 171
 Hathor, 211n42, 243, 245, 386, 392, 394, 396, 398, 403–5, 407–8
 Hatshepsut, 82, 243, 246, 386, 388–89, 400n113, 402
 Hatti/Hatti, 14, 82, 519
 Hattusha, 79
 Hattusili III, 519
 headband, 17, 42, 99, 191, 293, 295, 321, 329, 466
 headcloth, 385n1, 464
 headgear, 39, 166, 189, 265, 294–95, 302, 308n192, 343, 349, 514
 Hecatomnus, 160
 Hegeso, 326–27
 Hekanakht, 448–49
 Hekataefankh (statue), 208, 225
 Heliopolis, 450
 Hellenistic, 10, 17, 98, 99, 120, 134, 279–80, 287, 289, 290, 291–92, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 303, 305, 307, 320, 325–27, 330, 331, 340, 424
 helmet, 15, 53–54, 108, 159, 161–63, 288
 Helwan, 444, 446
 Hendrickson, Carol, 533
 Herodotus, 11, 161n15, 170n44, 173–74, 222, 282–83, 285–86, 287n52, 305, 307n183
 Hibis, 217–18
 Hierakonpolis, 236–37
hierokeryx, 329
hierophant, 293, 320n5, 329–31, 539
 himation, 10, 167n39, 171, 174, 176, 293, 301, 302n151, 322, 325n21, 326
 Hindu, 270, 517
 History Museum of Armenia (Yerevan), 17, 372
 Hittite(s), 77, 79–80, 82, 170n44, 220n73, 249, 302n158, 338, 370, 432, 519; in Libyan costume, 249, 251
 Hoffman, Donald, 375, 544
 honey, 450, 462
 honor, 44–47, 52, 189, 194, 260, 286, 290, 292n78, 297, 301, 320n5, 321, 325, 327–29, 330nn46–47, 331
 Horemheb, 241
 Horus, 217n65, 242, 386, 390, 393, 394, 396, 400–401, 403–5, 407–8
huaca, 31
 Huasteca/Huastec(s), 41, 45, 48, 50–51, 53
 Huejotzingo, 42, 45
 Huitzilopochtli, 52–54
 Huriya, 80
 Hurrian, 76–77, 189
 Ibi, tomb of (TT 36), 212
 Iceman Otzi, 9
 iconography, 14, 16, 71, 94, 99, 105–6, 116, 118, 120–21, 126, 217, 221, 226, 237, 242, 287n53, 294, 305–6, 325n21, 327n32, 373–74, 393, 399, 432, 486, 538, 543
 identity, vii, 1, 2–3, 5, 9n39, 13, 14–15, 18, 19–20, 27–28, 34, 39, 42, 52–53, 55, 89–90, 93, 118, 121, 160, 165, 166, 169, 175, 187, 192, 203, 206, 218, 221, 222, 223, 225, 235–55, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 268–69, 270, 271, 272, 281, 295, 306, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324–25, 327, 330, 335, 337, 344, 345, 350, 357–58, 359, 362, 370, 378, 385–409, 419, 443, 470, 494, 511, 513, 515, 516, 518, 519–20, 524, 531–32, 534–45; Akkadian, 187, 518; Aztec, 53; collective, 2, 14n73, 177, 259, 281, 345, 357–59, 374, 376, 419, 513, 515–16, 531, 536, 543; cultural, 19, 93, 267, 272, 518, 542; divine/divinely inspired, 374, 376, 378, 543; ethnic, 15–16, 29–30, 38–39, 51, 55, 157–60, 176, 218, 235–55, 259, 270, 486, 494, 514, 531, 534; Gallic, 16, 268–69, 516, 520; hybrid, 266–67; imperial, 14, 224; imposed, 14, 166, 175, 534–35, 536; Inca, 38–39, 41, 540; legal 263, 520; Libyan, 16; negotiated, 220, 532; Nubian, 104; Persian, 210, 218, 220, 221; role of dress, 1–2, 5, 13, 18, 27, 41, 56, 157, 104, 203, 260, 262, 337, 357–59, 369–70, 376, 378, 385–86, 513, 516–18, 532, 534–35; Roman, 269, 516; self-/self-ascribed, 166, 337, 375, 534, 536, 539; shifting, 87, 90, 105, 400, 457, 513, 516, 532; social, 15, 160, 358, 369, 376, 378, 518, 524, 534, 537, 539; subjective, 157, 160, 175, 531, 535; transformative, 52, 401

- ideology, imperial/royal, 14, 33, 160–61, 197, 217, 294, 347, 405, 514
- Igel Pillar, 266–67
- Ikeni, 452
- imperial vs. local elements, 15–16, 159–77, 259–72
- Inana/Inanna, 10, 193–94, 349
- Incas, 14, 28–29, 33, 35n41, 36, 38, 41, 56, 536, 540
- incense, 300, 339, 391, 400–401, 450
- India/Indian, 270, 287n51, 302n158, 516, 517
- Indian(s) (ancient Americas), 30, 37–38, 56, 115, 264n8, 270, 287n51
- indigenous, 14, 16, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36, 41, 46, 49, 56, 259, 262, 271, 434, 483–85, 536; clothing/costume/dress/fashion, 15, 16, 27, 99, 206, 208, 213, 226, 227, 262, 270–71; clothing system/dress practices, 516, 520, 536
- indigo, 489–91, 541
- insignia, 17, 28, 30, 33, 38, 43, 292n78, 294n101, 308, 385, 399, 403, 521
- interculturalation, 159
- internationalism, 71, 533, 538
- investiture, 280, 284–85, 294
- inward significance, 1, 2, 13, 32, 320, 542–45
- Ipy, tomb of, 448
- Iran/Iranian(s), 15, 17, 157–60, 166, 169, 175, 187, 188, 215, 217, 224, 302, 343–45, 358, 372, 424, 512n5, 514, 516–18, 521, 537, 543. *See also* Hasanlu (Iran)
- Iranian riding dress. *See* rider/riding dress: Iranian/Median/Persian
- Iraq, 1, 195–96, 424, 458
- iron, 288, 357–58, 362–64, 366n28, 371, 374, 489, 521, 543
- Iron Age, 267, 269, 329, 343, 345, 420, 424–25, 427, 429, 432, 433–34, 519, 535; Early, 344, 421, 432, 521
- ISAC Museum (Chicago), vii, 1, 249–50, 256, 395
- Ishtar, 193, 196n28, 349
- Isis, 97, 99, 289n25, 392, 397, 405, 408
- Islam/Islamic, 89n2, 90, 113–15, 118, 119, 121, 457, 460
- Israel, 10, 299, 301, 424
- Israel Stela, 240
- Issyk kurgan, 9
- Italic, 323, 329, 432, 434, 542
- Italy/Italian(s), 6, 259, 262, 270, 281n11, 419–20, 423, 425–29, 431, 433, 435, 520
- ivory, 73–76, 82
- jacket, 113–14, 161, 170, 215; “Persian,” 205–10, 225; straitjacket, 188
- Jeme, 464. *See also* Medinet Habu
- Jesus of Nazareth, 118, 301
- jewelry, 16–17, 19, 27n1, 75, 77, 82, 109, 165, 187, 189, 191, 195, 209–10, 223–24, 262, 270, 279, 294, 296, 308, 337, 340, 343, 345–46, 366, 370, 409, 512, 517–19, 523, 544. *See also* amulet; anklet; appliqué; armband/armlet; beaded neck pendant; bracelet; brooch; earring; fibula; medallion; necklace; pectoral; pendant; pin; ring; torque
- Jewish/Jews, 286, 296–303, 307–8
- Joel, king, 112
- Josephus, 297nn121–22, 297n125, 298–300, 303, 307
- Kadašman-Enlil I, 73, 76
- Kalaki, 190–91
- kalásiris*, 222
- Kallias, 293, 330
- kandys*, 159, 513
- Kanesh, 346
- kanga*, 7, 215
- Kapiec, Katarzyna, 13, 18, 385–416
- Karaburun, 159, 163n22
- Karnak, 217n65, 386, 388, 389n27, 390–92, 399, 405, 408, 449, 451
- kausia*, 172, 287, 289–90, 307
- Kawa, 236–37
- Kazakhstan, 9, 161n17
- kerchief, 110n80, 113–14, 117, 451, 469, 493–94, 500
- key, 283, 294, 321–24, 325n21, 327
- Kha, tomb of (TT 8), 10, 211n41, 222n89
- Kharga Oasis, 217–18
- Khentika, tomb of, 447
- Khnumhotep I, tomb of, 240
- Khonsu, 395, 451–52
- kilt, 56, 212, 222, 224–25, 240, 245, 250n38, 254n47, 343, 348, 451; high-waisted, 203, 206–10, 213–15, 216, 222–23, 226–27, 532; regular-waisted, 206; Libyan, 245, 248
- kingship, 280–83, 285, 396, 403, 405–6, 521

- knife, 294, 322–23
 Knossos, 78n51, 283, 423
 koine, 104, 372; sartorial, 208–9, 226
 Komar, 112, 114–15, 117–18, 121
 Kore, 322, 326–27, 329, 539
 kothurnos, 167, 171
 Kush/Kushite(s), 87, 93, 95, 97, 98–99, 101, 103, 120, 224, 254
kypassis/kapryris, 306
- lapis lazuli, 73–74, 79, 80–81, 349, 385n1, 402, 521
 Late Antique/Antiquity, 19, 87, 89, 93, 98, 100, 102, 103, 268, 320n8, 457–60, 464, 467, 468, 470, 516, 532
 La Tène, 259
 Latin, 262, 301, 461–62
 laundry, 8, 339, 346
 lead, 450, 462
 legal status (Roman citizenship), 263, 272
 Levant, 14, 72, 78–79, 82, 220n73, 246, 279, 343, 345, 519
 Liballi-sharrat, 341
 Libu/Ribu, 235, 248, 254–55
 Libya/Libyan(s), 16, 175, 235–55
 Libyan family scene, 236–39; as “Libyan victory” pattern-book image, 236, 240
 linen, 11, 18, 73, 75–76, 77–79, 80–82, 110, 112–15, 117–19, 138, 146, 189, 286, 288, 295–96, 298–99, 303, 307nn183–84, 307n186, 339, 346–47, 385–409, 421, 425, 429, 443, 447, 458, 460, 464, 468–69, 519, 522, 540; lists (Egypt), 400, 447–48, 450–51; quality designations, 75–76, 403, 445, 446–47, 450–51
 linen terms (Egyptian): *hbs* (general term), 402; *hḏ.t* (white/bright/natural), 388n17, 389, 391–94, 404–5, 407–8; *jnsj* (red), 389, 391, 397–99, 401–4, 407–8; *jrtjw* (red/purple/bluish red), 389, 391, 397, 402–3, 404n169, 405, 407–8; *jdmj* (red/reddish; sometimes green or white), 386–89, 391, 393n49, 397–403, 404n169, 405, 407–8; *mʿr.t* (“divine”), 388; *mnḥ.t* (of unspecified colors), 388–89, 391, 399–400, 406; *p3k.t* (fine), 388n17, 393–94; *sšr nswt* (royal), 76, 388n17, 393–94, 450; *w3d.t* (green), 387, 389, 391, 395–96, 403–5, 407–8
- loincloth, 14, 41, 47, 50, 96–97, 99, 101, 109, 120, 126, 450–51, 452n80
 loom, 27, 80, 101, 419, 433–34, 542
 looted/looting, 36, 364, 366, 374, 458, 532
 luminosity of linen, 393, 396, 405, 407, 408
 Lurie, Alison, 160
 Luxor/Luxor Temple, 5, 246, 388
 Lydia/Lyidian(s), 159, 163, 165, 167–74, 176, 292. *See also* Spardiya
- Mainz/Mogontiacum (Germany), 261
 Makuria/Makurian, 87, 89, 92, 104, 110–12, 117, 121
 Manco Capac, 30–31
 Manisa Archaeological Museum (Turkey), 170
 Manishtusu, king, 188, 191, 518
 mantle, 17, 43–44, 47, 49n109, 78, 94–95, 99–102, 116, 130, 215n57, 249, 280, 286–87, 289–90, 295, 299, 301, 302n151, 302n153, 303, 305, 308, 428, 433, 435, 495, 513, 517n25, 519
mappa, 110, 114, 117–18, 140
 Mari, 340–41, 346n62, 348, 370
 market scenes, 445–46
 material culture, 6–7, 55, 90, 98, 187, 217, 281, 336, 358, 372, 376, 419, 434, 457, 460, 484, 523–24, 533, 535
 materiality, 6–7, 280n5, 520
 Maya, 27n4, 49, 55–56
 McCracken, Grant, 2
 medallion: pattern, 106, 110, 116; portrait gravestone, 262–63; of rank/office, 189; Urartian royal, 373
 Medes, 157–58n4, 514
 Median dress, 157n4, 215, 287, 288n56, 306, 307. *See also* rider/riding dress: Iranian/Median/Persian
 mediation, 90, 283
 medieval, 9, 90, 104, 109, 111, 121, 457, 466–67, 516–17; period, 14, 87, 91, 93, 109, 111–12, 114, 116, 118–21 *See also* Middle Ages
 Medinet Habu, 1, 246–50. *See also* Jeme
 Mediterranean, vii, 1, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 18, 77–79, 82, 98–99, 101, 103, 104, 108, 120, 203, 226, 285, 419–35, 512nn2–4, 513, 514n15, 518–19, 520, 542
 Megiddo booty list, 81
 Meidum, 446

- Meir, 447
- Menimane (Mainz grave stela), 261–62, 267–68, 270
- Menkheperre (high priest of Amun), 451–52
- Menkheperreseneb, tomb of (TT 86), 82
- Mentuhotep/Montuhotep II, 240–41, 399–400
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 336
- Merneptah, 246, 251; victory stela (Israel Stela), 240
- Meroe/Meroitic, 14, 87, 96–98, 103 ; garments/textiles/traditions, 95–96, 98–99, 101
- Meroitic period: Late, 14, 90–91, 93, 95, 97–101, 103, 120, 124, 126, 128, 130, 134; Post-, 87, 90, 92, 95, 98–99, 100–101, 102–3, 109, 111, 120, 128, 130, 132, 134
- Meryre II, tomb of, 241–42
- Meseh, tomb of, 448
- Meshwesh, 235, 240, 243, 248, 253–54
- Mesoamerica, 27n4, 28, 41, 55, 56n135, 512n6, 536. *See also* Americas, ancient
- Mesopotamia/Mesopotamian(s), 10, 17–18, 187–89, 192, 195, 197, 217, 294, 335, 337, 338–41, 344, 346, 347, 349, 350, 511, 512n5, 513, 518, 521–22, 537, 544
- Mesopotamia (chronology): Achaemenid period, 295; Early Dynastic period, 337; Hellenistic period, 295, 296; Middle Assyrian period, 342; Neo-Babylonian period, 188n6, 295, 296
- metal, 73–75, 78, 80, 82, 117, 138, 144, 163, 164n27, 189, 191, 260, 262, 267–68, 286, 303, 343, 345, 363, 370, 372, 419, 443–46, 452–53, 516, 541, 543–44
- metallurgy (manipulation of alloys in lion pins at Hasanlu), 372, 374, 543
- Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 37, 81, 321, 371, 448, 458–60, 465–67, 488
- Mexica, 41n75, 49–50, 52–54, 520
- Midas, 285
- Middle Ages, 112, 119. *See also* medieval
- Middle Assyrian Laws, 12, 188, 342
- military attire. *See* uniform/gear: army/military/warrior
- Milkilu, ruler of Gezer, 78
- millennium (BCE): first, 10, 19, 188n6, 203, 220n75, 296, 305, 338, 346, 419–21, 425, 443–44, 451–53, 522, 542; second, 19, 71, 294, 296, 443, 445n24, 448–49, 453; third, 11, 19, 337, 443–45, 453, 537
- Miller, Margaret C., 3, 9, 14–15, 56, 157–83, 209–10, 221n81, 221nn83–84, 221n87, 226, 320, 321n10, 329n40, 513, 515–16, 531–33, 535–36
- Minmose, 81
- mirror, 17, 54, 75n36, 77, 337–39, 511, 519
- mitmaqkuna* (displaced community in Inca Empire), 32–34, 41, 515
- mitra*, 170n44, 308
- Mittani/Mittanian, 74, 76–80
- Moche, 55
- models of ethnic history in Arica region (Chile): circuit mobility, 484–85, 493, 499; multiethnic, 483–84; vertical archipelago, 483–84
- Molina, Cristóbal de, 31
- monarchy, 285, 292, 298, 301
- money, cloth/clothing as. *See* wealth/money, clothing/textiles as; exchange, of cloth/clothing
- monk, 111, 461, 464, 466–67, 469; monks' clothing/textiles, 110, 461, 464, 466–67, 469
- Montagno-Leahy, Lisa, 208
- Montuemhat, tomb of (TT 34), 213n53
- Montuhotep/Mentuhotep II, 240–41, 399–400
- Motecuhzoma I, 43–44, 52–53
- Muhs, Brian, 10–11, 13, 15, 18–20, 443–56, 531–32
- mummers, 235, 245
- mummification/mummy, 7, 9–10, 38–39, 211n41, 220–21, 391, 400–401, 443, 447, 465, 469
- Musée archéologique d'Arlon (France), 264
- Musée du Louvre (Paris), 171–72, 188–89, 192, 194, 207–8, 225
- Musée Saint-Remi (France), 267
- Musées de la ville de Strasbourg, 268
- Museo Nacional de Antropología (Mexico City), 53–54
- Museo Nacional del Virreinato (Tepotztlán), 57
- Museo San Miguel de Azapa / Museo de Arqueología, San Miguel de Azapa, 486, 488
- Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), 249
- Museum of Islamic Art (Cairo), 114–15

- Museum of Natural History (Vienna), 435
 Muslim, 111, 121, 457, 517
 Mut, 386n3, 389n27
 Mycenae/Mycenaean. *See* Greece (chronology)
 Mylasa, 159
 Mynářová, Jana, 10, 14, 71–86, 517, 519, 533, 538
 myrrh, 450
- nakedness/nudity, 16, 94, 101, 161, 163, 169, 194–97, 235, 240, 246, 250, 252, 290n65, 322, 339, 343, 348–50, 420, 537
- Napata, 87
 Naqš-i Rostam, 158, 164–66, 221
 Naram-Sin, 189, 191–92, 194, 196–97, 348
 National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen), 174
 National Museum of Scotland, 218
 Near East/Near Eastern, vii, 1, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16–17, 71–73, 77, 78, 79, 82, 100, 170n44, 172, 197, 208, 210, 226, 284, 294, 305, 336, 338, 343, 345, 375, 376n68, 421, 424–25, 433–34, 449, 512nn2–4, 519, 520, 522, 538, 542, 543
 necklace, 189–91, 193, 223, 224n94, 237, 287n49, 373, 386, 517, 521
 Nectanebo II, 254–55
 Neferefre, 448. *See also* Raneferef
 Neferirkara/Neferirkare I, 387, 448
 Neferrenpet, tomb of (TT 133), 81n60
 Neo-Assyrian, 294–95, 302, 305, 338, 340, 342, 343, 346, 347, 350, 375n57, 512n6, 513n11, 515, 517, 520, 521n44, 522
 Neo-Babylonian, 188n6, 295, 296, 302, 305, 346, 521–22
 Nephthys, 392, 397
 Neska, tomb of, 444
 Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, tomb of, 446
 Nike, 292, 325, 328–29
 Nimrud, 170n44, 338, 339, 340–41, 343, 346, 347, 350, 517, 521n44, 522
 Nineveh, 191, 340–41, 343, 515, 517, 521n44
 Nippur, 161n20, 163
 Niuserre, 237, 239
 Nobadia/kingdom of Nobadia, 87, 89, 91–92, 98, 104
 nomad/nomadic, 9, 15, 41, 52, 87, 159, 161–62, 240
- nonverbal communication marker/meaning/signifier/tool, dress as, 2–3, 7, 12, 203, 205, 218, 222
- Noricum, 259, 262–63, 269
- Nosch, Marie-Louise, 3, 5n21, 10, 12, 16–17, 188n4, 279–318, 328n36, 520, 533, 539–40
- Nubia/Nubian(s), 1, 9, 14, 87–122, 237, 242, 248–50, 458, 461
- Nubianization, 105–6
- Nubian Museum (Aswan), 1, 92–93, 114–16, 119, 144
- objective assignation/objective ethnicity, 158, 160, 166, 175. *See also* ethnicity; identity
- Ochpaniztli, 48, 50
- oil, 73, 75, 77–78, 346, 397, 398n97, 400–401, 448–50
- ostrakon/ostraca, 11, 394, 409, 470
- Otomí, 41, 45, 48–49, 53, 534–35
- Ottoman period, 90, 111
- outward appearance, vii, 1, 2, 13, 30, 32, 52, 55, 320, 335, 511, 531, 533, 537, 544–45
- Pachacuti, 32
- painted representation of dress/clothed body:
 on canvas, 4–5; 56–57; on sculptures/stelae/reliefs, 31, 96, 166, 218; on textiles, 399, 464, 467, 489, 492; in tombs, 159, 161, 209, 393; on vases, 293, 323; on wall, 96, 104, 108, 116, 117, 120–21, 209, 254n47, 464, 467
- palla/pallium*, 10, 100, 265, 269
- Pannonia, 259, 262, 266, 269, 271, 432n79, 535
- pants/trousers, 11, 14, 27, 56, 110, 115–16, 118, 119–21, 136, 157n4, 159, 161, 166, 170, 215–16, 287, 288n57, 304, 464, 469, 514
- papyrus/papyri, 11, 241, 386, 389, 396, 401, 404, 445, 448, 461, 462; Abusir, 387, 400, 447–48; Arabic, 464; Brooklyn, 213n54, 451–52; Cairo Museum, 450; Carlsberg IA, 404; Gebelein, 446–48; Greek, 462; Harris I, 11, 450; Hekanakht, 448; Latin, 462; magical, 398–99, 401; Ryerson, 463; Salt, 401; Vienna, 404
- pastoralist Libyans, 235, 251
- pattern book, 236, 240
- Pausanias, 282n16
- pectoral, 224, 343, 349, 521

- Pediese, 253
 pendant, 109, 161n18, 194–95, 237, 240, 242, 349, 373
 Penn Museum (Philadelphia), 163, 193, 207, 338, 345, 360–62, 366–69, 371
 Pepi I, 237, 240
 Pepi II, 237, 240, 392
peplos, 294, 306
 periphery, 93, 161, 495
 Persepolis, 3, 9, 14–15, 157–58, 161n17, 162, 164–68, 170, 174–77, 215–16, 221–22, 286n42, 344, 514–17, 536
 Persia/Persian(s), 9, 14–16, 17, 108, 157–77, 203–33, 285–88, 304, 306, 307, 308, 513, 514–16, 518, 532, 536, 538. *See also* Achaemenid(s); court dress/robe: Achaemenid/Persian; Iran/Iranian(s)
 Petrie, W. M. Flinders, 235–37
 phallus sheath, 16, 235, 237, 240, 242, 245–46, 248
 phenomenology, 2, 13, 17, 282, 335–37, 339–40, 342–43, 345, 350, 512n6, 544
 Philae, 97
philoï, 280, 297, 307
 pin, 77, 189, 191, 340–41, 419; lion pins (Hasanlu), 17–18, 344–45, 357–78, 521–22, 543–44
 Plato, 281
 Plutarch, 163n22, 286, 288–89, 291, 293, 305, 309, 330
pochteca (merchants), 49
porphyra, 292–93, 297, 301
 portrait/portraiture, 104–8, 116–18, 292, 304, 517, 520, 533; of deceased, 260–66, 268–69, 271; dedicatory/honorary, 322, 325–27, 539
 power dressing, 176, 193, 284, 294, 309, 539
 priest/priesthood, 10–11, 16–17, 30, 31, 50, 110n80, 117, 253, 280–84, 290, 292–305, 308, 319–31, 375n57, 400, 533, 539; high priest, 253, 295–96, 297, 298, 299, 300, 303–4, 320n8, 451–52; priest-king, 194, 281, 308n192
 priestess, 192, 283, 292–94, 306, 319–28, 539
 priestly attire. *See* dress/clothing: priestly/sacerdotal
 prisoner, 1, 48, 196, 236, 246, 300n145, 537
 private vs. public context/sphere, 56, 264, 284, 342, 395, 399, 402
 province, 166n34, 269, 272, 287; Anatolian, 14, 221n84; Canadian, 164; Incan/Indian, 30–31, 33–36, 38–39, 41, 42, 44, 48; Fezzan (Libya), 249; Roman, 16, 99–100, 259–60, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268–70, 269, 271–72, 516, 520, 535
 Psamtek I, 213n54
 Psamtek III, 208n24
 Psamteksaneith (statue), 213n55, 214
 pseudomorphs, of textiles, 363–64
 Psusennes I, 452, 523n51
 Ptahhotep (statue), 15–16, 204–10, 213, 213–15n55, 216, 222–26
 Puabi, queen, 519n34, 544
 purple, 17, 101, 103, 110, 134, 280–81, 284–93, 295, 297–303, 305–6, 309, 321, 328–29, 385n1, 402, 406–7, 423, 429, 435, 462–63, 465, 490–91, 517n26, 539, 541
 Pylos, 78n51, 283, 338
 Pyramid Texts, 385, 397, 410
 Qasr Ibrim, 92–93, 97, 99, 109, 116, 120–21, 469
qompi (fine textile), 32
 quilt, 111, 113–15, 118–19, 146, 148
 Qustul, 100, 102–3, 120
 Ramesses/Ramses II, 246, 450, 519
 Ramesses/Ramses III, 11, 212n46, 243–44, 246, 251, 450
 Ramesside, 14, 72, 79, 80, 82, 246, 251, 519. *See also* Egypt (chronology)
 Ramose, tomb of (TT 55), 240
 Raneferet, 387, 399–400. *See also* Neferefre
 rank: distinctions in, 32, 42; insignia of, 28; military, 41, 44–45, 48–49, 536; religious, 292, 298, 357, 359; secular, 357, 359; social/political, 3, 43–44, 118, 189, 191, 251, 253, 309, 432, 434–35, 537, 539–40
 Ravenna (Italy), 462
 red, 30, 36–38, 42, 47, 101–5, 110, 112–15, 117–19, 126, 130, 132, 134, 138, 144, 146, 148, 240, 285, 287n51, 295, 302–3, 360, 385, 387, 389, 397–99, 401–8, 428, 462, 465, 466, 489, 490–99, 541
 red-figured Greek pottery, 171–72, 174, 293, 321
 regalia, 52n120, 54, 117, 280n5, 296, 302, 386, 409, 520

- rebunium, 489–98, 500
 Renenutet, 389, 392–93, 401
 resistance, 203, 262
 Rhineland, 267, 269
 Ribeiro, Aileen, 8
 Rib-Hadda, 78
 Ribu/Libu, 235
 rider/riding dress, 164, 287; Anatolian, 167;
 Iranian/Median/Persian, 15, 157–59, 161,
 170, 215–16, 218, 514
 Riello, Giorgio, 6
 ring, 94, 97, 191, 293, 328, 343, 366, 517
 Ritner, Robert K., viii, 16, 235–58, 517, 532
 ritual, 7, 17–18, 28, 34, 35n41, 36, 41, 43, 50,
 51, 52, 118, 192, 235, 240, 245, 280, 281,
 282, 284, 292, 295–96, 297, 302, 303, 305,
 306, 319, 320n5, 322–23, 325, 327, 329,
 331, 339, 340, 346–47, 374, 376, 377n72,
 385–89, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403,
 404, 406–8, 494, 515, 518, 521, 536, 539; of
 Amenhotep I, 386; of ancestors, 386; con-
 secrating the *mrt*-chests, 386, 401, 406–8;
 daily temple, 18, 386–91, 393, 395–96,
 398, 400–402, 404, 406n190, 407; dressing
 a statue, 17–18, 51–52, 96, 339, 346–48,
 374–75, 385–87, 402–3, 521; embalming,
 401n123; funerary, 18, 52, 94, 118, 369, 386;
 Karnak liturgy/liturgies for Amun and
 Mut, 386n3, 389n27, 390; *mīs pī* (opening/
 washing of the mouth), 374; opening of
 the mouth, 386, 391, 401; Prayer of the
 Linen Garments, 118; renewal of power
 for the New Year, 386, 391, 401
 Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, 2, 357
 robe, 15, 77, 106, 108, 111, 116, 121, 157–58,
 162–63, 167, 208, 209n29, 210, 215, 217n65,
 218, 223, 225–26, 236, 285–86, 290, 294,
 297nn121–23, 298, 299n136, 301–4,
 308n191, 391, 394, 399, 464, 514, 517. *See*
 also court dress/robe: Achaemenid/Persian
 rock art, 16, 235, 249–50, 492
 Rome/Roman(s), 8, 16, 18, 98, 100, 102–3, 159,
 259–72, 281, 287n52, 290n65, 299n140, 300,
 301, 307, 309, 325n24, 327–28, 330, 331,
 429, 431, 434, 457, 460, 465, 511, 513, 515,
 516, 520, 535, 539; clothing/dress, 3, 10, 12,
 16, 99, 100, 175, 260, 262–69, 271–72, 301,
 435, 516, 520. *See also* Greco-Roman
 Romanesque, 467
 Romanization, 434
 Rothe, Ursula, 16, 210, 259–76, 513, 516–17,
 520, 531, 533, 535
 royal clothing/dress. *See* dress/clothing: royal

 sacerdotal dress. *See* dress/clothing: priestly/
 sacerdotal
 sackcloth, 523
 Sahagún, Bernardino de, 41, 46, 48–49
 Sahura/Sahure, 236–38, 250, 387, 395
 Saite, 16, 207n14, 254, 532. *See also* Egypt
 (chronology)
 Saka(s), 9, 161
 Sakhmet, 392, 398
 Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua,
 Joan de, 30, 31n17
 Sapa Inca, 29, 32, 34–35, 39–40, 41
 Saqqara, 218, 225, 241, 444, 446–47
 Sardis, 157n1, 159, 167, 170, 208–9
 Sargon, 192–94, 350, 517n26, 522
 sari, 270
 sarong, 215
 sartorial, 10, 11, 14, 16, 30, 41, 47, 55, 56, 98,
 157n4, 166, 172–73, 177, 208–9, 218, 225,
 226, 284, 342, 357, 514, 515, 517, 518; biculturalism,
 14–15, 159–60, 203, 209, 221, 223,
 226, 515
 sash, 78, 193–94, 197, 213–14, 218, 249,
 299n136, 304, 340, 487, 519, 538
 satrap, 159
 Satuna, 246, 248
 scepter, 17, 99, 108, 280n5, 292n78, 294,
 302n153, 305, 308, 385n1, 521, 539
 Scorpion, king, 237
 seal/sealing impression, 159n7, 160–62, 163,
 190–91, 193, 217, 220n78, 291, 294, 341,
 344, 350, 518, 533. *See also* glyptic
 Sekhemkhet, pyramid of, 446
 selectivity: in dress, 176, 330; in representa-
 tion, 157–58, 221n84
 self-care (toilet and cosmetic practices), 17,
 337–39
 self-identification/self-identity. *See* identity:
 self-/self-ascribed
 self-presentation/self-representation, 27n1,
 171, 176, 461, 520
 Sematawytaefnakht (statue), 207–8, 225

- semiology of dress, 90
 Sennacherib, 196n30, 515, 517
 senses, 336–37, 339, 342, 349–50
 sensory experience of dress, 10, 17, 335–50, 544
 sensory studies, 336, 340
 Serket, 392, 396, 403
 Serra East, 102
 Seti I, 242–44, 246, 249, 386, 389–90, 408n195
 sewing, 101, 116, 119, 126, 134, 146, 429, 464
 Seyitömer Höyük, 161, 161–62n20, 163
 shawl, 77, 215, 222, 291, 295, 340, 451–52, 538;
 Lower Egyptian, 226
 sheet, of cloth, 19, 443–47, 449–51, 453
 Sheshonq I, 253, 405
 shroud, 92, 94, 109–15, 118–19, 121, 425, 450, 459, 465–66, 469, 544
 sidelock. *See* hairlock
 silk, 103, 110–19, 121, 138, 140, 144, 148, 463
 silver, 14, 19, 71, 73–77, 78–79, 80, 81, 102, 191, 196n30, 286, 288n56, 338, 372, 374, 375, 443, 444, 445, 449–53, 517, 518, 519, 521, 538, 543
 Sippar/Sippar stone, 188, 194, 522
 Siwa Oasis, 254
 skeletons, 17, 94, 111, 113, 360, 362, 364, 366, 369; sexed/sexing, 338, 345, 359
 skirt, 41, 56n135, 95–96, 99, 101, 218n70, 249–50, 261, 270, 446n29, 450–51, 452n80
 Skudra, 167, 170, 173–75
 sleeve, 99–100, 104, 108, 116–17, 159, 166, 170, 205–7, 211–13, 215, 216n63, 218, 225–26, 261, 264–68, 287, 288n57, 294, 295n110, 299, 304, 306, 320, 340–41, 464–65, 513–14, 538. *See also* tunic: false sleeve
 Smith, W. S. (William Stevenson), 237, 239, 246
 Sonqi Tino, 105–6
 South America, 489, 491–92
 Spain, 419, 420n4, 429–31, 433, 542
 Spanish, 14, 27–29, 31, 32, 37, 41, 42n81, 44, 46, 49, 56–57, 433, 536
 Spardiya, 167, 169, 172, 174, 515. *See also* Lydia/Lydian(s)
 Sparta/Spartans, 282–83, 285, 291, 293
 spin/shadow pattern, 427, 429, 542
 spinning, 119, 126, 421, 433; S direction (S-spun), 95–96, 119, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 138, 140, 146, 148; Z direction (Z-spun), 115, 119, 124, 136, 138, 140, 142, 146, 148
 splicing, 420–22, 425–26, 429–30, 542
 Staatliche Museen (Berlin), 323, 390
 staff, 17, 237, 240, 290n65, 292n78, 302n153, 305, 321–22
 Starr, Gabrielle, 375, 544
 statue, 1, 8, 10, 15, 52, 73, 75, 80, 167, 171, 172, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 204–10, 213–17, 222, 224–25, 260, 266, 325–26, 339, 398, 521; *ba*-, 96–97; cult/divine, 17–18, 295, 323, 339, 346–48, 358, 372–76, 385–87, 391, 400, 407, 522, 543; royal, 3, 5, 167, 169–70, 172, 188, 191, 217, 221–22, 225, 306, 448, 523
 stola/stole, 10, 116, 293, 295n109, 297–98, 328
strophion, 293, 321, 329–30
 Šubria, 523
 Sudan, 9, 87, 89–90, 95, 97–98, 103, 106, 122
 Sudan National Museum, 106
 Sumer/Sumerian, 1, 187, 340, 349
 sumptuary regulations, 41, 43, 342
 Šuppiluliuma, 80
 Susa, 157, 163–64, 166, 167–70, 172, 177, 192n20, 194, 217–18, 221, 225, 286
 Syria/Syrian(s), 15, 81, 169n42, 170n44, 174, 187, 189, 246, 249, 271, 424, 432, 458, 519n35, 537
 Szyborska, Wisława, 1
 tabby/tabby technique, 95, 98, 101, 110, 115, 118–19, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 146, 148, 420, 421–22, 424, 425–26, 429–30, 432, 434, 468, 542; balanced, 95–96, 126, 421–26, 429–30; basket, 95, 124, 126; half-basket, 95, 126; warp-faced, 119, 148, 425; weft-faced, 96, 132, 144, 421–26, 432–34, 469. *See also* weave/weaving
 tablet weave, 132, 306, 427, 429, 433–34
 Tadrart Acacus cliffs, 249
 Tadu-Ḥepa, 76–77
 Tagi of Gintikirmil, 78
 tags attached to grave goods, 444
 Taharqa, 236–37
 Tahmaya, 78

- tailored garments, 8, 27, 101, 115–17, 119–21, 138, 210, 335, 339, 419
- Tanis, 251, 523n51
- tapestry, 38, 95–96, 98, 100–101, 103, 110–11, 113–14, 124, 128, 130, 134, 287n49, 303, 341, 424, 432, 458, 468–69
- tassel, 17, 95, 98, 126, 132, 171, 188–92, 294, 339, 346–47, 519, 540. *See also* fringe
- Tatarlı, 159, 161, 163n22
- tattoo, 191, 235, 237, 241–42, 246, 248, 250n38, 253
- Tawantinsuyu (Inca Empire), 34–35
- Tayet, 392, 402, 405
- Tebtunis, 459, 466
- technology. *See* textile/cloth: production/technology
- Tehenu, 235
- Tehran Museum (Iran), 169
- teixiptla* (god-embodier), 50–51
- Tell el-Yahudiya, 246
- Temet, 392, 398
- Tenochtitlan, 41, 43–44, 50
- terminology, textile/dress, 10–11, 19, 78, 89, 209n29, 210, 296, 298–99, 307–8, 446–48, 450–51, 452, 457–71, 514n14; loanwords, 76, 82, 461
- textile/cloth: dating, 19, 95, 420–21, 429, 431, 458–60; funerary, 92, 94, 96, 99, 103, 109, 113, 117–18, 211n41, 340–42, 369, 388, 420, 434, 444–45, 448, 486–87, 496, 521; furnishing, 103, 115, 119, 286, 420, 468, 470, 514; imported, 14, 102–3, 112, 119–21, 134, 427, 434, 458, 494–95, 519n35; patterns on, 27n4, 32, 35–41, 52n120, 95, 97–98, 101–3, 105–6, 110, 114, 117–21, 126, 134, 138, 140, 144, 146, 148, 157, 240, 242, 248–49, 270, 279, 293, 303, 305–6, 346, 427–29, 432–34, 462, 486, 497, 499–500, 513, 541–42; preservation, 9, 19, 28, 89, 92, 110, 116, 457, 470; production/technology, 3, 9–10, 18–19, 36–37, 80–81, 90, 93, 95, 98, 101–3, 110, 112n87, 120, 188n4, 189, 283–84, 287, 419–23, 429, 431, 433–34, 486, 491, 496–97, 516, 519n35, 522, 533, 540–42, 544; provenience, 18, 458–59, 462, 470; repair, 94, 103, 130, 134, 300n145, 497; reuse, 7, 10, 18, 92, 94, 109, 459, 466; trade/traders, 10, 18–19, 53, 224, 266, 269, 346, 434, 485, 495, 497, 500, 513, 541. *See also* color; dye/dyeing; exchange, of cloth/clothing; fiber; gifts of clothing/textiles; painted representation of dress/clothed body; textile-size notation; textile tools; wealth/money, clothing/textiles as
- textile cultures, Mediterranean Europe, 419–35
- Textile Museum (Cairo), 119
- Textile Museum (Washington, DC), 40
- textile-size notation, 444–48
- textile tools, 18, 98, 433–34, 545
- Thebes, 81, 211n44, 251, 449–50, 452
- Theodosian Code, 11
- Thomason, Allison, 10, 12–13, 17, 196n30, 208n18, 335–56, 512n6, 520, 523n53, 534, 544
- throne bearers, 158, 165–67, 169, 170n46, 171–74, 221
- Thutmose III, 81–82, 388, 393–94
- tiara, 159, 288n57, 294, 303, 308
- tiles depicting ethnic prisoners, Egyptian, 1, 246, 248–50
- Tilley, Christopher, 336
- Timotheos, 109–10, 116, 469
- Tiwanaku, 485, 494–95, 498–500
- Tjemehu, 235
- tlahtoani*, 44
- toga: Akkadian, 189, 197; Roman, 10, 12, 100, 262–63, 265–67, 272, 520, 535
- toilet instruments/practices, 337–39
- Toltec(s), 41, 52–54
- toqapu*, 40
- torque, 16, 206, 209, 223–24, 518, 532
- traje*, 27–28, 34, 55
- Treveri, 261, 269
- tribe/tribesmen, 16, 30–31, 235, 240, 248, 251, 253, 254, 259, 260, 261, 263, 267, 268–69, 270, 271, 299, 516, 531, 535
- tribute, 42, 47–48, 241, 287, 517–18, 537; tribute bearers, 164–65, 174, 222, 344, 517
- Trier (Germany), 264–66, 269
- tunic, 10, 14, 94, 99–101, 103, 110, 120, 128, 130, 205–13, 215, 216, 218, 221–22, 223, 225–27, 267, 269, 287, 298, 299n136, 300n145, 303n162, 308, 340, 433, 450–51, 458–59, 461, 462n40, 464–67, 469, 487, 494, 497, 514, 538; bag-tunic, 99, 212; checked,

- 36, 37–39, 40, 299n136; false sleeve, 206, 211; Gallic, 264, 266–68; hooded, 466–67; Inca, 31, 35–41, 56; long-sleeved, 99, 205, 264, 266–67, 304; overtunic, 261–62, 266, 535; purple/purple-edged, 286, 288, 302; Roman, 265–66, 268; short-sleeved, 265–66, 294, 340
- tunica*, 100, 286n43
- Tupa Inca Yupanqui, 39
- turban, 56, 169, 171, 299n136, 307n186, 308n191, 349
- Turkey, 159n8, 336, 424, 522
- Tuśratta, 76
- Tutankhamun, viii, 3, 5, 10, 388n17, 393, 523n51
- Tuttanabshum, 192
- twill, 111, 420, 427–34, 542
- twist/twisted, 24, 293, 420–21, 423, 425, 427, 431, 538
- Udjahorresnet (statue), 206, 208–10, 216, 222, 224–26
- Ugarit, 79, 519
- Ugaritic correspondence/documents, 79, 82
- Umm ‘Ubaydah, 254–55
- Umma, 265–66
- Unas, 237, 240
- undergarment, 215, 288, 293, 299n136, 337
- underwear, 347–48
- undressing, as an act/process, 10, 284, 305, 335, 337, 342, 347, 349–50
- uniform/gear
- army/military/warrior, 308; Achaemenid/Persian, 158n4, 165; Akkadian, 192, 197, 537; Aztec, 14, 28, 42–47, 49n109, 53, 536; British, 56; Carian, 163; Chichimec, 52–53; French, 28; Greek, 161–63, 288, 293n89, 302n158, 304, 308, 330; Huastec, 45, 48, 53; Inca, 14, 28, 36–39, 41, 536; Indo-European, 302n158; Libyan, 241, 246; Lycian, 163; Lydian, 159, 163; Neo-Assyrian, 513n11; Nubian, 97; Roman, 266–67; Thracian, 513; Toltec, 53; West Phrygian, 163
- elite (king/priest), 103, 280, 284, 293, 301–2, 330
- Meroitic official, 96–97
- units of measure (Egyptian): cloth-cubit, 445–46, 447n36; *deben*, 78, 448–52; *kite*, 449; *oipe*, 451–52; sack, 451–52; *shati*, 445–46, 449
- Upper Retjenu, 81
- Ur, 337–38, 424, 519n34
- Urartu/Urartian, 17, 360, 370, 372–74, 518, 522, 543
- Uruk, 194, 295, 303, 521–22
- veil, 12, 105–6, 300, 302, 303n161, 342, 463–64, 469
- Verucchio, 428, 433, 435
- victory stela: from Lagash, 191; Merneptah, 240; from Nasiriyah, 191–92, 197; Naram-Sin, 191, 194, 197, 348; Rimush(?), 192; Sargon, 194; from Telloh, 196
- viewer/viewership, 3, 8, 12, 90, 157, 157–58n4, 221, 284, 322, 327, 342–43, 345, 374, 376, 512, 515–16, 537
- Vindolanda, 260
- Viracocha, 31
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian, 93, 122, 126, 138, 148, 210n39, 211n40, 211n44, 387n13
- Vorderstrasse, Tasha, 11, 19, 457–81, 531–32
- Wadjet, 394, 396–97, 405
- Walters Art Gallery/Museum (Baltimore), 206–7, 212, 225
- warrior costume. *See* uniform/gear: army/military/warrior
- Warsaw National Museum, 105–7
- wealth/money, clothing/textiles as, 10, 14, 17, 19, 79, 109, 119, 121, 187, 268, 286, 339, 346, 419, 443–53. *See also* bride-price/bride-wealth; exchange, of cloth/clothing
- weave/weaving, 14–15, 18, 26n4, 28, 37n52, 38, 95–96, 98, 100–103, 115, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 260, 289, 338, 346, 420–21, 424–25, 427, 429, 433–34, 453, 458, 460, 468–69, 496–97, 533–34, 542, 544. *See also* tabby/tabby technique
- weaver, 18, 37, 96, 101–3, 120, 288, 541–42, 545
- Wels (Austria), 262–63
- Wenamun, 254–55
- Weninger, Johannes, viii, 3n13, 5
- white, 37, 96, 102, 116, 119, 132, 146, 173, 280, 286, 288, 292–93, 298, 302, 305, 328, 385, 389, 391–94, 399, 403–8, 428, 462, 464–66, 469

- wild madder (*Rubia peregrina*), 428–29
 woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), 428–29
 wood, 75, 81
 wool, 11, 30, 32, 79n52, 80, 82, 96, 100–103,
 110–11, 119–20, 128, 130, 132, 134, 148,
 189, 191, 266, 283, 293, 303, 307n184,
 307n186, 346, 420–21, 425, 427, 431, 433,
 458, 460, 466, 468–69, 517n26, 522, 539–40
 Wozniak, Magdalena, 9, 13–14, 18, 87–156
 wrap/wrapping, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9–10, 27, 30, 38,
 52, 56n135, 92, 94–96, 101, 108–13, 118,
 120–21, 189, 211n41, 215, 294, 295n109,
 322, 326–27, 341, 344, 365n23, 371, 373,
 391, 397, 399–400, 425, 443, 459, 465–66,
 468–69; wraparound garment/dress, 6,
 207–8. *See also* drape/draping
 wreath, 293, 322, 328–30, 464
 Wright, Rita P., 13, 18–19, 533–47
 Xenophon, 221n81, 224n94, 283, 287n52
 Xerez, Francisco de, 37
 Xerxes, 166n36, 170n46, 174, 177, 286
 Yauna, 15, 167–77, 515, 518
 yellow/golden-yellow, 47, 50, 102, 113, 116,
 132, 240, 428, 462, 490, 522
 Yvanez, Elsa, 9, 13–14, 18, 87–156, 279n*
 Zacharias III, 104–5
 zeira, 513
 Zinacatan (Chiapas, Mexico), 56
 Zit/da, 80

Clothes are often considered mundane, yet they play a crucial role in people's lives beyond mere bodily protection. The meaning of a piece of clothing changes the moment it is worn, as it becomes associated with its wearer. Because attire can demonstrate affiliation with a particular religious, ethnic, or political group, it serves as an important means of constructing self-identity and plays a vital role in social acculturation and assimilation. To understand what clothing reveals about the ethnicity, beliefs, social rank, profession, gender, or age of the wearer, one must examine its sociocultural context and the nonverbal language it conveys.

This volume takes a multidisciplinary and comparative approach to dress studies in the ancient world. Spanning a wide geographic spectrum, from the Near East and North Africa to the Mediterranean world and the Americas, it explores the cultural, social, and political significance of attire and engages the reader in a debate about the cross-culturally developed role of dress in construing and projecting various identities. Essays by experts from a range of disciplines, including art history, anthropology, archaeology, classics, Near Eastern studies, and conservation, approach the subject from different perspectives, apply varied methodologies, and draw on a diverse array of primary sources, including artifacts, iconography, and texts, to offer a nuanced understanding of the clothed self in ancient societies. This book will be of interest not only to experts in dress studies but to everyone interested in the cultural anthropology of dress and fashion.

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Aleksandra Hallmann is an assistant professor at the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw). Her research focuses on dress studies, ancient textiles, and the art and archaeology of Egypt in the first millennium BCE.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

**INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY
OF ANCIENT CULTURES**
West Asia & North Africa